Anouk Beentjes Ettema

A Narrative Analysis of Multimodal Representations of Indigenous Cultures in EFL Textbooks

A Failed Quest for Intercultural Competence in the Norwegian Primary Classroom

Master's thesis in Didactics - English and Foreign Language Education
Supervisor: Libe García Zarranz
May 2021

Master's thesis

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Kunnskap for ei betre verd

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Abstract

The aim of this master's thesis is twofold. Firstly, I examine how Indigenous cultures are represented in multimodal narratives across four English as a foreign language (EFL) textbooks developed for 6th grade in Norway. Secondly, I explore if and how these depictions foster intercultural competence. The thesis draws on Indigenous theorical approaches and theoretical approaches to culture, and representations of Indigenous cultures. The textbooks are based on the national curriculum 2006 (LK06), however, in 2019 a new national curriculum (LK20) was issued. I have therefore analysed how the previous and the new curriculum view and have implemented culture. The analysis was conducted by carrying out a multimodal narrative analysis that consists of a structural narrative analysis and visual semiotic analysis. Applying a narrative analysis offers an opportunity to examine who is portrayed and how they are depicted. Furthermore, a narrative approach provides information such as who has written the narrative and for what purpose. The findings reveal that there is a trend in the textbooks portraying Indigenous people in an undefined past and de-historicized way. The textbooks also fail to represent the diversity of Indigenous cultures, as many of the portrayals are simplistic and homogeneous. Consequently, the study concludes that the multimodal representations of Indigenous cultures generally reproduce stereotypes, which decreases students' intercultural competence. It is therefore important for teachers in the English subject to think critically about this topic and supplement textbooks with other materials.

Keywords: Indigenous culture; multimodal narrative analysis; visual semiotic analysis; structural narrative analysis; Indigenous theoretical approaches; intercultural competence

Sammendrag

Formålet med denne masteroppgaven er todelt. Første del handler om å analysere hvordan urfolk og deres kulturer blir fremstilt i fire lærebøker i engelskfaget for 6. trinn i Norge. Andre del handler om hvordan disse fremstillingene er med på å fremme interkulturell kompetanse. I oppgaven ser jeg på urfolks teori og praksis, teoretiske tilnærminger til kultur, og fremstillinger av urfolk og deres kulturer. Læreverkene følger læreplanen fra 2006 (LK06) i engelsk. I 2019 ble det innført en ny læreplan (LK20), derfor har jeg analysert hvordan den tidligere og nye læreplanen vektlegger og inkludert kultur. Analysen er gjennomført ved å implementere en multimodal narrativ analyse, som inkluderer både strukturanalyse og visuell semiotisk analyse. Ved å bruke en multimodal narrativ analytisk tilnærming har man mulighet til å analysere hvem som blir fremstilt og på hvilken måte. Videre gir en narrativ tilnærming informasjon som hvem som har skrevet fortellingen og for hvilket formål.

Funnene avslører at det er en trend i lærebøkene som viser urfolk i en udefinert fortid for å representere urfolks kulturer. Lærebøkene representerer ikke mangfoldet av urfolks kulturer, ettersom mange av skildringene er stereotypiske og homogene. Denne studien konkluderer dermed at urfolk og deres kulturer blir fremstilt på en slik måte at de kan være med på å danne stereotypier hos elevene. Dette kan være med på å redusere elevenes interkulturelle kompetanse. Med dette i betraktning er det viktig at engelsklærere har en kritisk tilnærming til dette temaet og supplerer med andre læremidler.

Nøkkelord: urbefolkning; multimodal narrative analyse; visuell semiotisk analyse; strukturanalyse; urfolks teori og praksis; interkulturell kompetanse

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I also want to thank my dad, who was (voluntarily) forced to proof-read my master's thesis. I hope I have taught a professor in Human Movement Science something about English didactics, and Indigenous cultures. Last but not least, a thank you needs to go to the rest of my family for cheering me on.

I want to dedicate this thesis to my childhood friend Mayli, a Coastal Sámi (Norwegian: sjøsame), who has sparked my interest in learning about the Sámi culture.

I have had a fun, educational, and enjoyable six years here at NTNU. Now off to new adventures as a teacher!

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

EFL   English as a foreign language

NTNU   The Norwegian University of Science and Technology

LK06   National Curriculum 2006

LK20   National Curriculum 2020

ICC   Intercultural communicative competence

UNESCO   The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural
                   Organization

1. Introduction

In this section, I will offer an overview of the background and context to this study. Here, I will explain the chosen topic and justify why it is relevant to analyse representations of Indigenous people in textbooks developed for the English as a foreign language (EFL) classroom in Norway for grade 6. Secondly, I will provide an insight into the purpose of the thesis and research questions. Thirdly, I will give an in-depth review of the previous (2006) and current (2020) Norwegian national curriculum and how they incorporate the idea of culture. This is important for this thesis, because the textbooks are based on the national curriculum 2006. Fourthly, I will present previous research conducted in the fields of culture and education, which outlines what has already been done and how and why my research contributes to this. Finally, I will give an outline of the thesis's structure.

1.1 Background and Context

Walt Disney's animated film *Pocahontas* (1995) was one of my favourite films when I grew up. However, the older I got, the more I learned about colonization and the true story about Pocahontas, so I realised this film offered a romanticized version of the truth (Monton, 2020, p. 14). For a long time, I thought that the Native American people lived in teepees, wore war bonnets, and hunted for a living and that the Sámi people lived in lavvus, wore Gáktis, and had reindeer (and this despite my friend being a Sámi herself and not living up to these stereotypes). In my childhood, I was presented with stereotypical representations of Indigenous cultures in the media, at school, and in literature and films. Therefore, I associated Indigenous people with these reductive images and viewed them in a de-historized time and space as depicted in my textbooks. This was not only the case in the English subject but also in the other subjects that taught us about other cultures.

My Dutch cultural background is a part of my identity, which is important to me, and I am proud of my country and our culture. In my primary school, I was one of the few non-Norwegian students. Sometimes, my fellow students would make fun of it. They would laugh at my lunch, as in the Netherlands we have other spreads that we put on our bread, or they would sometimes tease me for my wooden shoes (which I wore with pride). Despite experiencing these hurtful and degrading instances, I underline that I have in no way, shape, or form been oppressed or have experienced racism for my culture, because I am a privileged white West-European woman. Unfortunately, this is not the case for other people from minority cultures. A person's culture is part of a person's identity, so I find it very important that students develop understanding and respect for other cultures and other peoples' identities. Thus, the school should be an arena where students are allowed to be themselves and where we learn that having different cultural backgrounds is not something we make fun of, or view as less valuable or important. Røthing and Svendsen (2009) point out that there is a difference between direct and indirect discriminating (p. 57). Direct discrimination is when the purpose of an action is to differentiate people, whilst indirect discrimination is when seemingly neutral actions, practices, and decisions result in a particular group of people experience disadvantage compared to other (Røthing and Svendsen, 2009, p. 57). The school is an arena where we are obliged to prevent direct and indirect discrimination and harassment, since these can lead to groups of people, often minority groups, being marginalized and otherized (Røthing and Svendsen, 2009, p. 58).

The way Indigenous people are represented in literature has an immense impact on the way they are perceived. Textbooks play a large role in teaching in Norway and have been used as a resource in teaching for many decades (Nylenna, 2017, p. 86). The textbooks provide the teachers with assorted topics in order to help them attain the learning aims from the previous Norwegian national curriculum (LK06)[1]. The Core Curriculum of the previous national curriculum (LK06) states that one of the purposes of education is to foster knowledge about other cultures and to get insight into minority groups and people with a different cultural background. Education shall prevent prejudice and discrimination and promote mutual respect and tolerance between people with different cultural backgrounds (my own translation, Ministry of Education and research, 2015). In the new national curriculum (LK20), some of the core values state that "School shall give pupils historical and cultural insight that will give them a good foundation in their lives and help each pupil to preserve and develop her or his identity in an inclusive and diverse environment" and "a common framework gives and shall give room for diversity, and the pupils must be given insight into how we live together with different perspectives, attitudes and views of life" (Ministry of Education and Research, 2019). Furthermore, the Education Act (2020, §1) states that one of the objectives in education is that the students must learn to think critically and provide insight into cultural diversity. Since textbooks are based on the national curriculum, they are therefore a component in the depiction of various cultures, including Indigenous cultures. In this sense, the textbooks should also be resources to help teachers develop the students' critical thinking skills.

Over the past years, there has been increasing attention in the media regarding representation of Sámi culture and people in Norway. Topics that have been featured in the news are, for example, depictions of Sámi people to commercialize products, such as the Joikakaker (Holmestrand and Verstad, 2020). Many Sámi people encounter threats, incitement of hatred, and harassment (Helleland, 2021). In Norway, the Sámi people are recognized as a people, and they are an Indigenous people who have their own culture, community, and languages (Helleland, 2021). It is therefore important that they are respected and valued. A great deal of Sámi people find the depiction of the Sámi boy on the Joikakaker-box stereotypical, since it reduces them to caricatures and mythical figures (Verstad and Holmestrand, 2020). Christina Hætta, leader of the Cultural Committee in the Sámi Council, emphasizes that "This is about respecting our [the Sámi people's] culture and our right to define ourselves and how we want to be portrayed" (my own translation, Verstad and Holmestrand, 2020). Furthermore, Ella-Marie Hætta Isaksen, a Northern Sámi musician, states that "Who has the right to define the minority Sámi people? Should the majority [white Norwegians] have the power to decide what is acceptable for us [the Sámi people's]? Is it not time that we are allowed to take that voice back?" (my own translation, Holmestrand and Verstad, 2020). I have been discussing the topic of my thesis with a good friend of mine, who is a Coastal Sámi, and she told me that the shame of wearing a "kofte" or Gákti (the traditional clothing) has decreased. Mayli Munkebye (2021) puts it as follows: "And we [Sámi people] are taking our culture back. The Sámi people want to own their own culture and regulate how it is represented. Social media has a tremendous impact on

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[1] In section 1.2, I will provide an in-depth review of the competence aims concerning culture in the English subject. While the textbooks in this study are based on the previous curriculum, I will consider both this previous and the new curriculum, being the most relevant for this thesis.

representing Sámi culture, where people have shared their kofte" (Mayli Munkebye, personal communication, April 2021). More and more Sámi people are regaining their culture and appreciating their cultural background, which indicates that it is important that Indigenous people are allowed and given space to represent themselves. A Western perspective on Indigenous cultures differs from that of an Indigenous perspective, and I will fully develop this issue in chapter 2 Theoretical Background. These representations, as I argue in this thesis, affect how people perceive Indigenous cultures.

1.2 Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to analyse multimodal representations of Indigenous cultures in textbooks developed for 6th grade and how do these contribute to develop students' intercultural competence. The following research questions will help to address the purpose of this study:

- How are Indigenous cultures represented in Norwegian textbooks for the English subject at primary level?
- To what degree do the representations of Indigenous cultures foster intercultural competence?

The topic of Indigenous cultures and how they are represented in EFL textbook is suitable and relevant, as a new national curriculum came into effect in August 2020. This thesis will unfortunately not have the opportunity to examine the textbooks based on the current curriculum (LK20), as they were published after I began the research process. However, it is still relevant to examine the existing textbooks to consider whether they meet the aims from the previous and current curriculum regarding the promotion of intercultural competence. Since the textbooks are comprised of both written texts and visual images, I have decided to apply a multimodal narrative approach to analyse the representations of Indigenous cultures. This involves a structural analysis and a visual semiotic analysis. These methods will help me examine if the multimodal representations of Indigenous people foster intercultural competence, which can be defined as learning about other cultures together with the ability to communicate with people effectively and appropriately with different cultural backgrounds than oneself (Chen and Starosta, 1999, p. 28). Thus, intercultural competence requires students to obtain knowledge about cultural diversity as well as developing respect and tolerance for other ways of being. Applying a multimodal narrative analysis in this study allows me to analyse the representations of Indigenous cultures and how they affect students' intercultural competence. In this study, four Norwegian EFL textbooks developed for grade 6 were analysed and discussed, *Steps 6*, *Stairs 6*, *Explore 6,* and *Quest 6.* The multimodal narrative analysis examines both the written text and visual images as a whole to explore how the stories represent Indigenous cultures.

From an Indigenous perspective, research has a negative connotation given how it is affected by European colonialism and imperialism where Indigenous people often are viewed as passive subjects (Smith, 2012, p. 1; Graeme, 2014, p. 513). The research paradigms portray the perspective one has on the world and the knowledge one gains becomes the foundation, which functions as guidelines for conducting research (Wilson, 2001, p. 175). Doing research on Indigenous cultures as a non-Indigenous researcher is thus complex. I, therefore, draw on an Indigenous Theoretical Approaches because they allow me to carry out my research integrating their perspective and knowledge. Storytelling is valuable in

research, as it allows the researcher to get an opportunity to gain insight into social relationships in such a way that other modes of interactions may not. Both group and individual identities are built through storytelling, which gives the researcher an opportunity to analyse how these identities are represented (Riessman, 2008, p. 7-8). Moreover, storytelling is important for Indigenous communities, as it promotes collectivity; despite people's journeys not necessarily being similar, they are all components of the same community (Kovach, 2000, p. 112).

Due to the limited timeframe, I was required to limit the number of cultures and the number of textbooks analysed in this study. Accordingly, since it was not possible to analyse all minority cultures that were depicted in the textbooks, I chose to focus on Indigenous cultures for three reasons. The first reason is that both the previous and current curriculum mention that the students should learn about Indigenous cultures. The second reason is my own personal interest for the topic. I have noticed that many depictions of Indigenous people in the media, literature, and films are stereotypical, so I was therefore curious about how they were portrayed in textbooks. Additionally, I do not want my students to acquire a reductive perspective on Indigenous cultures. I want them to be critical of the representations they encounter, and to be open, have respect and tolerance for other cultures. The third reason is that, after watching John Howe's (2019, January 19) documentary *Unspoken: America's Native American boarding schools*, I got the impression that Indigenous people often have the lowest status from a historical perspective. They were an obstacle and had little or no purpose for the new settlement. Other minorities, slaves, and immigrants came to the "new settlement" for a particular purpose – they contributed in one way or another to the new society (even though they may not be recognized, respected for that). It is therefore important that Indigenous people are considered as equal as the majority, and that they are respected for being Native to the land. This study gave me an opportunity to gain more knowledge on culture, how Indigenous cultures are represented, and how inaccurate representations will affect how people perceive other cultures.

1.3 Curricular Requirements on Culture in the EFL Classroom

The Norwegian national curriculum has three functions: 1) a way for the government to regulate the educational system. It is considered one of the most important tools in order for the government to manage what students are supposed to learn and why. 2) The curriculum has an indicative function for schools and teachers. It is supposed to work as a guide for producing content for teaching. 3) The last function the curriculum has is to give information to the parents. Norwegian schools are obliged to cooperate with the students' parents. This requires that the parents gain significant information about the school's function. Therefore, the national curriculum in Norway is a legal document (Andreassen, 2016, p. 18). The textbooks analysed in this thesis are based on the previous national curriculum, LK06. In 2019 a new curriculum and competence aims were issued (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020c, p. 1). However, despite the presence of the new and current curriculum, I will examine and focus primarily on the previous curriculum, which my materials are based on. It is important, however, to address the new curriculum and consider if the textbooks are suitable according to the subject's significance and central values, the core elements, and the new aims.

The previous national curriculum for the English subject stated that the purpose of "the subject of English shall contribute to providing insight into the way people live and different cultures where English is the primary or the official language" and that "Learning about the English-speaking world […] will provide a good basis for understanding the world around us […]" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, p. 2). These aims are relevant for my thesis, since the textbooks depict Indigenous cultures in English speaking countries. However, if the textbooks do not represent Indigenous cultures in a holistic manner, these resources fail to cover the purpose of the English subject, which is to provide insight into the way people live. Presenting students with inaccurate images of Indigenous cultures will not provide a suitable understanding of the world. Further, the English subject states that "Development of […] cultural insight can promote greater interaction, understanding and respect between persons with different cultural backgrounds" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, p. 2). This is central to my study considering that if students are presented with an appropriate representation of people and cultures, they will most likely gain positive attitude towards them. This might promote interaction, understanding, and respect towards other cultures. In turn, if students are presented with stereotypes of Indigenous cultures, this may foster "othering" and decrease respect and understanding towards Indigenous cultures.

One of the main subject areas in the English subject curriculum is "culture, society and literature" which "focuses on cultural understanding in a broad sense" and "covers key topics connected to social issues […] and other cultural expressions" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, p. 4). In reference to section 2.2 Theoretical Approaches to Culture, it can be argued that the "broad sense" can involve both cultural expressions and the anthropological definition of culture, which includes "topics connected to social issues". Furthermore, this is shown in the learning aims in the English subject. As I will explain in more detail in the Material and Textbooks section, 3.2, I am analysing textbooks designed for grade 6. Therefore, I will examine the competence aims after year 7, since these are the aims the textbooks are based on. After year 7, the students are expected to: "narrate about people, places, and events in English-speaking countries" and "converse about the way people live and socialise in different cultures in English-speaking countries and in Norway, including the Sami culture" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, p. 8). These two aims both have an anthropological approach on culture, which refers to art, entertainment, and leisure-activities, as well as a way of life. Additionally, cultural expressions, such as narratives, music, art, and architectural forms, are also present here. This is represented in both learning aims where the students are expected to "narrate about people, places, and events" and "converse about the way people live and socialise". Considering the students are expected to narrate about places and the way people live and socialise, it can also be argued that the curriculum has an encyclopaedic perspective on culture. Taking this into account, it is evident that the national curriculum, LK06, does put emphasis on a cultural understanding in a wide perspective, since multiple aspects of culture are included. Despite the focus on culture, there is little attention given to intercultural competence. The curriculum does focus on communication in the sense that students are supposed to "narrate" and "converse", but it is not done from an intercultural perspective. Consequently, it is shown that the learning aims are directed to a descriptive approach of culture, which I will further evolve in section 2.2 Theoretical Approaches to Culture.

It must be pointed out that despite the lack of intercultural competence in the learning aims, the curriculum does facilitate for a more dynamic approach to culture. The purpose of the English subject states that "Development of communicative language skills and cultural insight can promote greater interaction, understanding and respect between persons with different cultural backgrounds. Thus, language and cultural competence promote the general education perspective and strengthen democratic involvement and co-citizenship" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, p. 2). It is quite clear that one of the purposes of the English subject is to promote intercultural competence through fostering understanding and respect towards people with a different cultural background than oneself, including Indigenous cultures.

In the new curriculum, LK20, one of the core elements is "Exposure to English texts", which states that language learning occurs when students are exposed to English texts, including visual and written texts. It explains how exposing and working with English texts will contribute to giving students knowledge about the language and cultural diversity and provide an insight into Indigenous people's ways of living, mindset, and traditions (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020b, p. 3). Furthermore, it states that through reflecting about, interpretation, and critically assessing different types of English texts, students should be able to acquire language and knowledge about cultures and societies. This approach helps students develop intercultural competence so that they can relate to various ways of living, mindsets, and patterns of communication (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020b, p. 3). Moreover, the new curriculum has created a section named "interdisciplinary" (my own translation) where "democracy and citizenship" is one aspect. Here they highlight that the purpose of the interdisciplinary topic democracy and citizenship in the English subject is to develop students' understanding that their perception of the world is constructed culturally. The English subject should then facilitate for students to encounter different cultures. This can contribute to students interpreting the world in different ways and participating in developing curiosity and engagement, as well as actively preventing prejudice (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020b, p. 3). It is clear that the new curriculum has increased its focus on intercultural competence and states this more explicitly than the previous one. This also indicates that the new curriculum has a dynamic approach to culture, as it focuses on how interaction and the students' perception of the world is culturally constructed.

The learning aims in the new curriculum state that after year 7, students are expected to: "Examine ways of living and traditions in different English-speaking societies and in Norway and reflect on identity and cultural affiliation" (my own translation, The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020b, p. 7). Compared to the previous curriculum, the current one has merged both learning aims concerning culture into one. This aim is wider, and teachers have to interpret it themselves more, as it does not explicitly say that the students should learn about people, places, and events. More attention to intercultural competence is given here, since the students have to "reflect on identity and cultural association". This could include their own, and people from a different cultural background, identity, and cultural association. This implies that the aim has more of a dynamic approach to culture than the previous aims. Further, the aims have an anthropological approach on culture, as they continue to refer to ways of living and traditions.

Another major change in the new curriculum, LK20, is the focus on Indigenous people. The previous curriculum mentioned the Sámi people in the learning aims after year 7. The curriculum LK20 is developed with a sense that it can be interpreted in different ways. Free interpretation can lead to some teachers or authors of EFL textbooks ignoring or focusing less on Indigenous cultures. However, the aim of the new curriculum does not explicitly say anything about Indigenous cultures, which the previous one did by referring to the Sámi people. As mentioned, the new curriculum does underline that students should learn about Indigenous people and be exposed to English texts in order to gain awareness about cultural diversity. The new curriculum can therefore potentially facilitate, or even motivate, teachers' use of Indigenous written and visual texts in the EFL classroom.

1.4 Previous Research

There are numerous studies conducted on and articles written about the Sámi people in Norway, as well as other Nordic countries. These examine a great range of topics from reindeer herding and healthcare-related matters to language revitalization. While there are many articles and academic texts about, and studies carried out, on the Sámi people, it is difficult to track down literature related to representation of Indigenous cultures in education in Norway.

At the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), a research group was established in 2019 on Indigenous Topics in Education. The research group looks at various topics on Indigenous cultures in education, such as cultures, languages, literatures, histories, politics, and societies. Furthermore, they look at how Indigenous topics are taught to students, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. It looks at what the curriculum requires of teachers, and how this is interpreted in teaching materials and in the classroom. One of the purposes of this group is to bring forth new ideas and materials to practicing teachers and those in teacher training programmes (NTNU, n.d.). A similar group can be found at the University of Tromsø – The Arctic University of Norway, which is the Centre for Sami Studies (SESAM). This centre is an all-university resource for research on Sámi and Indigenous cultures, education, and competence production. Their aim is to strengthen the university's multidisciplinary research, education and outreach on Sámi and Indigenous matters (UiT, n.d.). Furthermore, at Nord University there is a Saami Research Group who conduct trance-disciplinary research on linguistic, cultural, historical, and didactical topics regarding Sámi and Indigenous concerns. Their objectives are, among others, to be a resource for the Sámi communities, and to expand and reinforce the relations with these. Additionally, they want to increase collaboration with other institutions, both Sámi and non-Sámi. They also aspire to improve the recruitment of scholars in the field of Sámi research, as well as to enhance policies and framework for research and to establish essential, new, and stronger collaboration between the Sámi research environments throughout faculties and campuses at Nord University (Nord University, n.d.). The Sámi University of Applied Sciences (SUAS) has a Centre for Sámi language in education which focuses on the education system from kindergarten stage to higher education. They work extensively to foster oral and written use of language between the Sámi communities. Key areas are literacy and oral development which involves increasing and fostering the employment of Sámi language in education, awareness of multilingualism and language revitalization, along with the spread of knowledge about reading and writing (Sámi allaskuvla, n.d.).

Regarding published scholarly work, I found Tryndyuk (2017) master's thesis that is concerned with "How are the Norwegianization process and the Alta conflict presented in lower secondary school textbooks?". The objective of her study is to examine how significant events from Sámi history, such as the Norwegianization process of the Sámi population and the Alta conflict, are presented in Norwegian Social Studies textbooks for lower secondary. The findings show that the Sámi people are presented as passive before World War 2 in the textbooks and that they do not discuss the reactions from the Sámi peoples' side of the assimilation policies. According to the textbooks, the Sámi people became more active, later, in fighting for their rights. Thus, the textbooks do not depict an accurate image of how Sámi people fought for their rights in Norway. Another article that focuses on the topic of representations of Sámi people is "Teaching About the Other in Primary Level Social Studies: The Sami in Norwegian Textbooks" by Eriksen (2018). The purpose of her article is to analyse to what degree and how Sámi people are included in the national imaginary in Social Studies textbooks for grades 1 to 4. The results indicate that the Sámi people are essentialized and illustrated as the Other.

Furthermore, there are studies conducted on topics that concern Indigenous cultures in the Nordic countries. In her master's thesis, Austad (2016) examined how is cultural diversity acknowledged in textbooks in Norwegian on the 2nd and 5th grade. Thomas (2017) has also published an article on the portrayal of Non-Westerners in EFL classroom textbooks in Norway. Even though neither of these studies explicitly examine Indigenous cultures, they do address people that are non-Western and topics such as cultural diversity which includes Indigenous cultures. Austad's (2016) study shows that the textbooks acknowledge cultural diversity through the use of various names and languages. The textbooks also display a variety of ethnicities, and various clothes that can be associated with other cultures. Additionally, the textbooks show some diversity by depicting different cultural communities and ways of living. However, she points out that there are few portrayals of cultural diversity viewed in the number of textbooks she has analysed. Thomas (2017) found that there is a consistent pattern which shows that people with a non-Western background (Asian, Native American, Black, and Hispanic) are represented as the Other.

Two studies conducted on representations of Indigenous cultures that are essential to this study are the ones by Brown (2016) and Aasly[2] (2020). Both these studies examine the visual representations of Indigenous cultures in the EFL classroom textbooks and how these representations promote intercultural competence and contribute or contradict the general aims of the English subject in Norway. The difference between these studies is that Aasly (2020) examined four textbooks for grade 7 and Brown (2016) examined twelve textbooks for the lower secondary grades. Both studies have applied visual content analysis and semiotic image analysis to examine how Indigenous cultures are represented in the textbooks. The studies show that the visual representations of Indigenous cultures in the textbooks are stereotypical, which decreases students' intercultural competence and contradicts the general cultural aims of the English subject in Norway. Later, together with Habegger-Conti, Brown published her master's thesis as an article (2017). My contribution to this critical scholarship is the engagement with Indigenous theoretical approaches and

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[2] I want to thank Anna Aasly, for allowing me to read her thesis, despite it not being published yet, which has contributed to the development of this thesis.

combined methods which analyses multimodal narratives of Indigenous cultures textbooks developed for primary students.

1.5 Thesis Overview

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Succeeding the introductory chapter, the purpose of chapter 2 is to provide an outline of the theoretical background of the study. In the second chapter, I will offer insight into Indigenous theoretical approaches, theoretical approaches to culture, representations of Indigenous cultures, and intercultural competence in the EFL classroom and Norwegian education. In chapter 3, I will present and discuss the methodology and materials used in this study. The chapter includes a detailed account of how and why I have applied multimodal narrative analysis, structural narrative analysis, and visual semiotic analysis in my research, as well as an explanation and justification for the collection of materials. Furthermore, I will give an interpretation of the ethical considerations of the study, in addition to my positionality in the research. Chapter 4 presents the findings from the study, which will be discussed in relation to the theoretical background and research questions in chapter 5. The 6th and final chapter will present the conclusions and implications that can be taken from the study. Ultimately, I will offer suggestions for further research.

2. Theoretical Background

The following section presents the theoretical framework I plan to use in my master's thesis. After carefully considering several methodologies and ethical issues, I have decided to use Indigenous theoretical approaches and theory on intercultural competence and examine why it is important to focus on these in my master's thesis. This is especially essential, since I plan on conducting a study on Indigenous cultures as a non-Indigenous researcher, where positionality is key. Additionally, this chapter includes Theoretical approaches to culture. Furthermore, intercultural competence is an important element in language teaching where students develop tolerance, respect, and communicate appropriately with people from various cultures.

2.1 Indigenous Theoretical Approaches

According to Davison and Diaz Andrade (2018), the role of theory in research is significant due to various reasons. Theories can help to systematically handle a topic, explain, and predict features of human behaviour, and "abstract our knowledge to the most fundamental and universal ideas" (p. 759), in this manner indicating basic patterns and theoretical relationships. However, Davison and Diaz Andrade (2018) further point out that:

> theory plays a role in the generalisation of research findings, since findings from one study can be generalised to theory (either by creating a new theory or by modifying an existing theory) and a theory can be validated in a context different to the one where it was originally developed, thereby leading to further generalisation of the ideas. (p. 759)

Additionally, new or modified theory can lead to further generalization of ideas, since theory can be supported in a context that is different from the original one (Davison and Díaz Andrade, 2018, p. 759). Furthermore, "theory should be practical" (p. 759), improving our knowledge, function as a guide toward key questions, and contribute with essential knowledge to both the academy and practice (Davison and Díaz Andrade, 2018). Nevertheless, Davison and Díaz Andrade (2018) emphasize that "theory should be appropriate to the context where it is applied if we are to reach an accurate understanding of the phenomenon investigated" (p. 759). In other words, applying inappropriate or inaccurate theory can lead to false or incorrect assumptions of the field of study. This can again lead to groups of people and cultures being stereotyped and misrepresented. I find this point particularly relevant to my thesis because textbooks tend to misrepresent Indigenous cultures in a stereotypical manner (Aasly, 2020; Brown and Habegger-Conti, 2017).

In the influential study *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Māori scholar Linda T. Smith (2012) points out that "the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (p. 1). Traditionally, research conducted on Indigenous cultures has been carried out through a Western paradigm where Indigenous peoples have been researched as passive subjects (Graeme, 2014, p. 513). Additionally, in this context, the desired research consists of extracting knowledge from Indigenous communities and controlling how that knowledge is collected, classified, and spread and published. This is often done without considering "other ways of seeing the world" (Graeme, 2014, p. 513). In other words, research has had a traditional top-down

approach where researchers seek to find knowledge about Indigenous cultures without considering their point of view. Therefore, one can say that the Western paradigm has led to giving them labels that might not be accurate (e.g., that all Sámi people live in lavvus). Consequently, this led to an increased demand for Indigenous research to be carried out based on a paradigm that recognizes Indigenous perspectives and methods of knowledge (Graeme, 2014, p. 513). Smith (2012) emphasizes that the word research often has a negative connotation in Indigenous contexts, as it "stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful" (p. 1). From a historical perspective, colonialism has had a strong impact on Indigenous peoples and their cultures. To this day, it remains "a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples" (Smith, 2012, p. 1). Thus, it is important, in my position as a non-Indigenous researcher, to use theory and methodologies that not only support Indigenous cultures but that are also designed by Indigenous scholars themselves.

Positionality is therefore a central aspect within Indigenous theory. Nêhíyaw and Saulteaux educational scholar Margaret Kovach (2009) states that self-location implies cultural identification, which will be expressed in different manners. Researchers have diverse backgrounds and, therefore, they also have different perspectives of the world. For Indigenous researchers this means that they will have another perspective than non-Indigenous researchers, as they are locating themselves as being a part of an Indigenous community (Kovach, 2009). Kovach (2009) points out that the purpose and research question of a study is fundamental for Indigenous research, as it is the research question that ground and guides the study that is carried out. The research question should be specific enough to provide the study with findings. However, it should also enable to uncover and identify new knowledge (Kovach, 2009). The research questions play an important role to respond to a need and help the researcher to indicate a gap in knowledge. Thus, the research should assist in filling this gap of knowledge (Kovach, 2009). In academic research design, it is expected that the researcher identifies the reason behind carrying out the research in the purpose statement of the study (Kovach, 2009). Having said that, the purpose statement is more flexible within Indigenous methodologies where there is more emphasis on personal motivation (Kovach, 2009). Indigenous research does not only want researchers to clarify the academic purpose of a study but also the personal purpose for carrying out research on Indigenous cultures. The purpose statement should therefore ask questions such as "What is your purpose for this research?", "How is your motivation found in your story?", and "Why and how does this research give back to the community?" (Kovach, 2009, pp. 114-115). These questions are especially crucial for my study, where I identify as a non-Indigenous researcher carrying out Indigenous research. Additionally, since I am not part of any Indigenous community, the questions about motivation and giving back to the community are crucial to reflect on.

A third term that Kovach (2009) mentions is "cultural grounding" (p. 7-8), which I find relevant, since we all come from different backgrounds and thus have different ways of viewing the world. From an Indigenous research perspective, cultural grounding is best defined "within the context of a person's life and relationship with culture" (Kovach, 2009, p. 115). Cultural grounding could therefore be understood as the cultural background one has. The researchers' cultural background will play a role in how they engage with culture (Kovach, 2009, 116). In other words, one's cultural background influences the way one views other cultures and theory. A non-Indigenous researcher has a different worldview

than an Indigenous researcher, which takes us back to the positionality of the researcher. An Indigenous researcher can locate themselves inside the culture being researched, whereas a non-Indigenous researcher positions themselves outside the culture. It is therefore important for a non-Indigenous researcher like myself to use Indigenous theory that supports Indigenous communities and their view of knowledge while being aware of the tensions[3] and possibilities of such approach. From an educational perspective, when teaching about Indigenous cultures, it is essential that students develop an awareness about the fact that Indigenous peoples are not just objects of research (e.g., what they see in textbooks), but also subjects of research (e.g., Indigenous writers, filmmakers, educators, researchers etc.). The textbooks and other materials used by teachers should also present Indigenous peoples as cultural producers. Additionally, Indigenous people are often misrepresented in textbooks as attached to nature exclusively and thus outside the cultural realm.

2.2 Theoretical Approaches to Culture

The term culture, as Hall (1997a) states, is a complex concept and since there are multiple meanings, it is difficult to define it in the human and social sciences (p. 2). Stuart Hall (1932-2014) was a Jamaican-born British sociologist, cultural theorist, and political activist. He was one of the main figures in British Cultural Studies in the 1960s and 1970s. He included discussions of race in relation to culture (Raleigh, 2020). Furthermore, Banks (2014) points out that despite the various definitions of culture, there is "no single definition that all social scientists would accept" (p. 72). From a traditional human and social sciences perspective, culture is characterized as "the best that has been thought and said" in society (Hall, 1997a, p. 2). In this context, culture stands for the entirety of the "great ideas" which are portrayed in classic works in literature, painting, music, and philosophy. This is also referred to as the "high culture" of a period (Hall, 1997a, p. 2). Following a more modern perspective on culture, on the other hand, the term is applied to spread forms of popular music, publishing, art, design, and literature more broadly, or leisure activities and entertainment. These forms fabricate the daily life of the larger part of the "ordinary" population. This is often referred to as "mass culture", "popular culture" or "pop culture" of a period (Hall, 1997a, p. 2). For several years, there has been a discussion about culture where "high" and "popular" culture were used as the base for defining this notion. These terms are associated with culture in different manners, general speaking, "high culture" is valued as good, and "popular culture" is viewed as something degraded (Hall, 1997a, p. 2). However, in recent years the term culture has been assigned to "a way of life" of a people, community, nation, or social group in the context of social sciences. This is also known as the "anthropological" definition. Another definition of culture, which is often used, are the "shared values" that a community or people have (Hall, 1997a, p. 2). This matters to my thesis because I will examine how Indigenous cultures are represented in EFL textbooks.

Hall (1997a) argues that, in social and human sciences, meaning is a significant aspect in the definition of culture (p. 2). He emphasizes that culture does not necessarily deal with things, such as novels, paintings, TV-series, and comics, but with process, "a set

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[3] I am aware of the solidarities and alliances between non-Indigenous and Indigenous researchers. Due to "ongoing" histories of colonialism, there are also tensions necessarily, and that there will not be reconciliations, but processes of reconciliation are ongoing in Canada and other countries: https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1450124405592/1529106060525.

of practices" (Hall, 1997a, p. 2). In my view, this means that culture mainly focuses on how meaning is created and shared among people who belong to a community or group. This indicates that people who belong to the same culture have similar worldviews and will most likely communicate the same thoughts and feelings about the world. Culture will be interpreted differently depending on people's cultural background and their perception of reality (Hall, 1997a, p. 2). As mentioned above, the term culture has various definitions, and social scientists disagree on a common definition. However, Kroeber and Clyde (1952, as cited in Banks, 2014, p. 72) have made a definition on culture featuring several aspects:

> culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially attached values. (p. 161)

Thus, culture can be viewed as a broad and challenging concept to define, since it covers different aspects. Some definitions of culture value the artifacts and the historical aspects other definitions of culture consider how people and communities live their life. Banks (2014) underlines that culture is dynamic, complex, and changing (p. 74) meaning that cultures are fluid and are affected by other people and cultures. Globalization plays a major role in the fact that culture is dynamic. It has become more common to travel, conduct international business, and distribute international television and film. Besides that, migration and integration has increased rapidly over the past decades. These are factors that contribute to interaction between people, and therefore that cultures affect other cultures (Dahl, 2015, p. 21).

Unfortunately, in the context of education, cultures are often regarded and defined as static, unchanging, and fragmented, which will be further discussed in section 2.3 from a Norwegian educational perspective. Perceiving cultures as static, such as "American Indian culture" or "African American culture", often implies unchanging and static lifestyles (Banks, 2014, p. 74). Native American people[4] are often depicted in deceptive manners such as living in tepees, wearing feathers, or living as hunters. Such depictions facilitate perceptions and descriptions of various racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups as stereotypical (Banks, 2014, p. 74). This could lead to increasing the difference between "we" and the "others". This topic will be further elaborated later in my thesis. Furthermore, Banks (2014) contends that cultures should be viewed as systems which indicates that they should be comprehended as wholes, and not as separate and isolated components (p. 74). This is an important factor, especially in the context of education where the students are expected to obtain knowledge about and develop an understanding and respect for different ways of living and cultures.

Dahl[5] (2015), divides the term culture between the concepts of descriptive and dynamic culture (p. 35). The notion of descriptive culture defines culture as ideas, values, rules, and norms a which people adopt from previous generations and attempt to pass on to

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[4] The term Native American is an umbrella term for all the tribes who lived and continue to live in the Americas, where 90% of the tribes were wiped out by European colonizers (Biss, 2015).

[5] Øyvind Dahl is a professor with a great deal of influence within the fields of culture studies and intercultural communication in Norway.

future generation. Descriptive culture is often considered as something essential, therefore culture is something that people *have* (Dahl, 2015, p. 44). Accordingly, descriptive culture illustrates an essential perspective of culture. Meaning that culture is a common core in a group or a community. If this perspective on culture is applied one attempt to find common features between people who share the same cultural background. Additionally, people's actions are primarily described and explained through their culture (Dahl, 2015, p. 45). That is to say that people are often generalized based on the culture they are associated with. An example of a descriptive concept of culture could be that "All Norwegians are cold" or "The Sámi people live in lavvus".

The dynamic concept of culture, on the other hand, rejects that culture can be placed in limited "units". Dahl (2015) explains that the dynamic concept of culture considers culture not as something people have but rather as something people do (p. 42). Further, he explains that dynamic culture is constructed and is often created during interaction between people (Dahl, 2015, p. 42). Hall (1997a) claims that culture is connected to the production of meaning which is based on that people with the same culture interpret the world in a similar manner to obtain a common understanding (p. 2). Hence, culture is dynamic because it is constantly developing in the interplay among people. It is therefore vital that minoritized groups such as Indigenous peoples have a voice in how their culture develops. Moreover, cultures cannot be viewed as unitary, meaning that they are not a single unit, "nor simply dualistic in relation to the Self and Other" (Bhabha, 2006). In fact, he points out that a culture is not homogeneous and that a nation can never be one cultural entity since it consists of multiple different sub-cultures (Bhabha, 2006). This indicates that the dynamic concept of culture can belong to multiple cultures, but also that people within one culture might not have the same values and way of living. It appears that, from this perspective, saying that "all Norwegian people are cold" or "the Sámi people live in lavvus" is incorrect, since Norwegians and Sámi people cannot be viewed, culturally, as one single unit, where all people have mutual characteristics. This also shows that within a culture there are multiple different cultures. Furthermore, Indigenous people belong to different nations, each with different cultural traditions. These are independent from the traditions in the countries where they live. In many cases, Indigenous territories are not just located in one country or state, but they can cover multiple countries or states. Such as the cultural region Sápmi which spans over parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia (Berg, et.al., 2003, p. 21).

2.2.1 An Overview of Cultural Studies and Differences

As mentioned above, culture relates to "shared meaning" (Hall, 1997a, p. 1). Further, he expresses that cultural practices are significant, and it is the people belonging to a culture who bring meaning to people, objects, and events. The context of the culture plays a major role in deciding what something means: "It is by our use of things, and what we say, think, and feel about them – how we represent them – that we *give them meaning*" (Hall, 1997a, p. 3). Hall (1997a) explains that the way we represent meaning can be done in three ways, and often these are combined (p. 3). In one way, we provide meaning to people, objects, and events through the contexts of interpretations that we present them. We also provide meaning in how we incorporate people, objects, and events in our everyday practice. The third way we add meaning to them is through how we represent them, which is done through the words we apply about them, the narratives we develop about them, the

images we use to depict them, the feelings we relate to them, the ways we classify and conceive them, and the values we place on them (Hall, 1997a, p. 3). Representations of culture are therefore depicted through the way we communicate our perceptions, understanding, and associations to ourselves and other people.

To obtain an authentic understanding of reality, we are guided towards finding an acceptable interpretation of phenomena in life. This could only happen when people interact with each other. Understanding is created in social spaces, in dialogue, and interaction between people. To search for understanding in a conversation is to attempt to find the most comprehensive term that fits what you are saying (Dahl, 2015, p. 24). One possible outcome, however, with communication between people is that a mismatch can occur implying that various meanings do not correspond with each other, and thus, we may not understand each other (Dahl, 2015, p. 25). Dahl (2015) explains that three factors affect the way we perceive, learn about, and represent other cultures: understanding, lack of understanding, and misconception. Further, he questions what happens when we understand something, do not understand something, when there is a lack of understanding, or when misconception occurs (p. 25). Understanding takes place when the unknown is associated with something familiar. The lack of understanding occurs if we do not have any concepts to connect to the new concept or something that is unfamiliar. This often happens when two cultures meet (i.e., when people migrate from one country to another that has a different culture than their own) (Dahl, 2015, p. 26). One reason to why a lack of understanding takes place is because the concept that one culture refers to does not exist in another culture. Thus, the problem with lack of understanding is that we do not have any cultural references that we can connect to new concepts of culture. Ideally, this can be a positive aspect since a lack of understanding can promote learning about other people and cultures. Consequently, this could result in people obtaining a new understanding or knowledge (Dahl, 2015, p. 26). In the context of Indigenous people, lack of understanding is very much connected to the colonial project which is structured around the erasure of Indigenous ways of being and knowing[6]. Thus, lack of understanding can lead to frustration and feelings of insecurity that may in term lead to racism. Misconception takes place when we make a connection, but we connect a concept to the wrong reference (Dahl, 2015, p. 26). To put it differently, a misconception occurs when we interpret something incorrectly. In some cultures, it is common to bow when one greets a person, and in other cultures, one shakes hands. This could lead to misconceptions to why a person is bowing.

Our perception and understanding of concepts are influenced by our cultural references. People interpret world differently, symbols and actions could have different meanings depending on peoples' cultural experiences (Dahl, 2015, p. 28). As mentioned earlier, culture refers to sharing meaning and Hall (1997a) highlights therefore that the link between culture and representation is language. Meaning can only be shared by using language (p. 1). Our communication with each other is therefore a key aspect for the representation of other people and their cultures. How we interpret each other also plays a

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[6] During the 19th and mid-20th century, Native American children were sent to boarding schools with the purpose to assimilate them to the European culture. The goal was to "kill the Indian, save the man" (Howe, 2019, January 19). This has also been the case in Norway, where the Sámi people were not allowed to speak their language, practice their culture, and continue their way of living (Hætta, 2002, p. 123). During the first half of the 20th century, Australia's government had a desire to create "a single uniform Australian culture" too (Australians together, 2020).

significant factor in our perception of other people. A negative representation of a culture or person might influence our judgement of them. This is crucial in my thesis, as a negative or stereotypical representation of Indigenous people in textbooks can contribute to how students perceive them.

The idea of otherness is a significant aspect to representations of culture. Communities draw boundaries between the people who belong within the community and the people who do not. People are naturally different from each other, and therefore we assign labels to each other. However, when applying labels to distinguish between "us" and the "other" in a negative way it becomes problematic. Labels, therefore, may have positive and negative sides. Representation is a complex business and, especially when dealing with "difference", it engages feelings, attitudes, and emotions and it mobilizes fear and anxieties in the viewer, at the deeper levels than we can explain in a simple common-sense way (Hall, 1997b, p. 226). As already stated, representations are important and often ambiguous. As a result, the context is significant when representations of culture are presented. Representations of culture could be created and convey "several, quite different, sometimes diametrically opposite meanings" (Hall, 1997b, p. 227-228). Something could be represented in a negative way or positive way, but Hall (1997b) states that instead of looking for the "right" or "wrong" meaning, one should question which of the many meanings does the representation imply to privilege, what is the preferred meaning (p. 228). However, there is a tendency that people who are somehow considerably different from the majority, are more likely to be exposed to the binary form of representation, the "them" instead of "us". The minority appears to be "represented through sharply, polarized, binary extremes", such as good/bad, civilized/primitive, ugly/excessively attractive, reppeling-because-different/compelling-because-strange-and-exotic (Hall, 1997b, p. 229). This applies to Indigenous peoples too, since they have been historically viewed as others and exotic, and to this day still often are.

Hall (1997b) discusses the binary oppositions and draws on the philosopher Derrida. He states that binary oppositions are seldom neutral (p. 235). Furthermore, one of the sides of the binary is often the dominant one, while the other is the "other". In terms of binary oppositions, there is always a relation of power the poles represented. Hall (1997b) underlines that "we should really write, **white**/*black*, **men**/*women*, **masculine**/*feminine*, **upper class**/*lower class*, **British**/*alien* to capture this power dimension in discourse" (p. 235). As shown, the dominant poles are the ones that have, historically, been superior and privileged. Additionally, addressing the concept of race, it is important to note that the term is used when referring to non-white people. As long as race is not applied to white people, they (or we) are viewed and function as the norm: "Other people are raced, we are just people" (Dyer, 1997, p. 10). As noted in my section on Indigenous Theoretical Approaches, Indigenous people have been, and still to this day are, portrayed through a Western perspective and researched as passive subjects. The belief that white people are viewed simply as people is the equivalent of saying that white means human and other people are something different. This way of thinking is integral to white culture (Dyer, 1997, p. 10).

As indicated, binary oppositions are often biased and, on many occasions, the "other" is formed as inferior, or sinister and dangerous which leads to an unjust relationship of power. We often see this power relationship in the Western representation of culture, where the binary opponents are formed as the West, also known as the Occident, and the non-West, known as the East or the Orient. In these representations it is common that the

West are portrayed as saviours who are "bringing progress and development" (Sturken and Cartwright, 2018, p. 114). This is also recognized as Orientalism, which is described that "'the Orient' is not a place or culture in it itself, but rather a European colonial-era construction" (Sturken and Cartwright, 2018, p. 114). This is featured in the Western perspective on the East in Western literature and art. "The Orient" is therefore formed by the Europeans and are most of the time portrayed as inferior to the West which is viewed as the global norm (Sturken and Cartwright, 2018, p.114). Current depictions of Oriental cultures and people are often exotic, mysterious, and sensual, or barbaric, fanatic, and extremist. By portraying Oriental people and cultures this way supports cultural stereotypes that go back to the colonial period (Sturken and Cartwright, 2018, p. 117).

Further, Hall (1997b) points out that within the representation of racial differences, stereotyping should be viewed as a signifying practice. He draws attention to an essential differentiation between *typing* and *stereotyping*. We need to use *types* in order to make sense of the world, it would hardly be possible without. Our understanding of the world becomes clearer by referring individual objects, people, or events to overall groups into suitable, according to our culture, categories. This is also referred to *typification* and helps us in the creation of meaning (Hall, 1997b, p. 257). Stereotypes, on the other hand, locate the few traits of a person that are straightforward, striking, easily understood, and simple to recognize. In my view, this implies a person's representation is entirely reduced to those traits, as well as the traits are often exaggerated and simplified (Hall, 1997b, p. 258). Brown (2014) highlights that the use of stereotypes has, for the most part, a negative connotation since individuals are given group traits merely based on their cultural membership (p. 179). Generally, stereotypes are incorrect for depicting people from a culture, due to the dynamic, in context of the nature of culture. Therefore, stereotypes have a negative impact on people since they lead to prejudice and misjudgement. This may lead to people from other cultures to be devalued (Brown, 2014, p. 179). The world is, therefore, understood through a filter, or our worldview, which is formed by our cultural background. Stereotypes are formed when people have a closed-minded view on other cultures, and do not adapt a positive and open-minded mindset towards cultural differences (Brown, 2014, p. 179).

Dahl (2015) states that stereotypes are not always a negative aspect in representing cultures (p. 67). As mentioned above, we use typing to categorize people into groups. This can be a useful process, since it helps us to understand the world. When stereotypes are applied in the right context it can be beneficial to handle certain situations. It can be beneficial in, for example, to apply the stereotype "Muslims do not eat pork" when inviting a Muslim for dinner (Dahl, 2015, p. 68). Unfortunately, stereotypes are mostly applied in negative contexts and leads to prejudice. Prejudice is when someone has made a judgement about someone in advance based on the interest rather than evidence (Opsal, 2011, p. 179; Holliday et.al., 2010, p. 26). Dahl (2015) defines prejudice as "frozen" stereotypes, and they will hardly change despite being met with new knowledge or experiences (p. 69). This often leads to "othering", which means that the Other to something foreign and degrade them to something less than what they are (Holliday et.al., 2010, p. 26). One aspect of othering is "culturism", which is when members of a group are reduced to pre-defined traits of a cultural label (Holliday et.al., 2010, p. 26). Thus, stereotypes and prejudice are generating othering, which are elements of culturism and essentialism. Essentialism is a core that is expressed as homogeneous within a particular culture (Dahl, 2015, p. 71). This

is presented this as the 'circle of essentialism' (Figure 1). The circle of essentialism illustrates that essentialism can cause stereotypes, this can once more cause prejudice, and prejudice can cause othering and so on and so forth. This demonstrates that an essentialist, or as previously mentioned, a descriptive, perspective on culture can be problematic since it can lead to negative stereotypes and stigmatization of people and cultures.
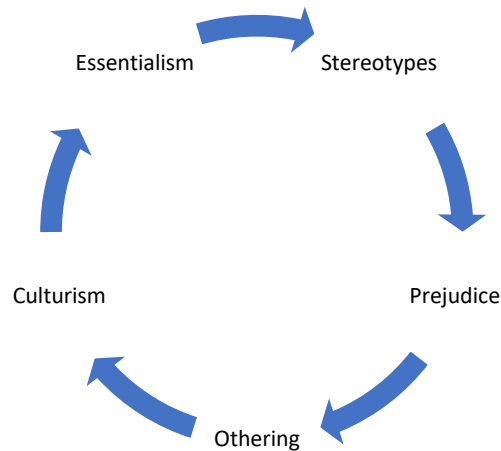
Figure 1: Circle of essentialism

On the notion of essentialism, Spivak[7] coined a term called 'strategic essentialism'. Strategic essentialism is "a political tactic employed by a minority group acting on the basis of a shared identity in the public arena in the interest of unity during a struggle for equal rights" (Chandler and Munday, 2011). In the circle of essentialism, representations of cultures are often defined by how other people perceive those cultures. Strategic essentialism is therefore a valuable within the concept of representations. This allows people from minority groups and cultures to take part in the process of representing themselves and how they identify.

2.2.2 Representations of Indigenous Cultures

Given that this thesis does not just address culture in general terms, but specifically Indigenous cultures, I will start the following section with a few notes on terminology around the term "Indigenous cultures". The term 'Indigenous' derives from the latin word 'indigenus' by the prefix "in-" and "inde-" which means in or within, and the verb "geno" and "genitus" which means give birth to or breed (Hætta, 2002, p. 188). Therefore, one can say that Indigenous people are native to the land. Hætta (2002) points out that gaining the status and to be recognized as Indigenous people is connected to the requirement for protection of ethnic minorities (p. 188). Furthermore, he notes that people that fit into the category "Indigenous people" have a culture and traditions that are historically based on (1) a semi-nomadic culture with hunting and gathering features, (2) nomadic features such as following the herds movements, and (3) settlement with

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[7] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1942) is an Indian scholar who has been influential in feminist, queer, and postcolonial theory.

agriculture, local fishing, other primary exploitation of nature, and natural crafts (Hætta, 2002, p. 190). Indigenous cultures are therefore considerably vulnerable towards modern ways of living. Additionally, in urbanized societies with the exploitation of natural resources, many Indigenous communities are segregated. They are for example often used as a resource for industrial tourism (Hætta, 2002, p. 190).

Instead of defining Indigenous people, the United Nations (2008) suggests that it would be a more "fruitful" approach to identify[8] them (p. 9). Further, they state that "Indigenous peoples' representatives themselves have taken the position that no global definition is either possible or desirable. Identification is a more constructive and pragmatic process, based on the fundamental criterion of self-identification" (United Nations, 2008, p. 9). Considering what I discussed earlier, Indigenous people have been viewed as "the other", therefore, there is a possibility that there has been the need to "define" them, whereas white people seldom have to define themselves. Furthermore, Indigenous people have been marginalized within society and lack or have inadequate political representation and participation, little to no access to social services, and are often excluded from decision-making processes on issues that have an, either direct or indirect, impact on them (United Nations, 2008, p. 9). In Norway, the Sámi population become more autonomous. In 1988, the Norwegian government added a section to the Norwegian Constitution, §110a (now §108), that addressed the Sámi people and community: "The authorities of the state shall create conditions enabling the Sámi people to preserve and develop its language, culture and way of life" (The Constitution, 2020, §108; Hætta, 2002, p. 225). The Sámi parliament was founded in 1989 and operates as the natural centre for the Sámi political debate with the interest to preserve the Sámi diversity and be an initiator in Sámi matters, such as society, culture and industry, training, and project and administration (Hætta, 2002, p. 225). Thus, the Sámi parliament was established as a tool that strengthens the Sámi populations political position. It also contributes to representing the Sámi population and functions as their governor. Later, Sámi parliaments were established in Sweden (1993) and Finland (1996) (Hætta, 2002, p. 232, 234). However, the function to the Sámi parliaments is only advisory, and the regions and communes are reliant on the national level. This can be challenging for Indigenous communities, since they are dependent on the national parliament to attain more authority and control the land they traditionally lived on (Francisco, 2018).[9]

Indigenous people have a history where they have a close relationship with their lands, territories, and resources, which is important to them not only because it provides them with economic resources for their livelihood, but also because it "sustains them as peoples" (United Nations, 2008, p. 9). Indigenous people have for many years claimed autonomy, especially with regards to "the right to control their own political, social, economic, and cultural development", which is included in the United Nations Declaration on

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[8]According to the United Nations (2008), Indigenous people identify themselves: "In almost all indigenous languages, they use names such as 'people', 'man', or 'us' when referring to a group. Often the names of the groups include the name of the place they identify with (people of X, Y places) or adjectives such as 'free', 'stand up', or 'black', 'red' and so on. In any event, it is clear that the term 'indigenous' has been adopted by many 'indigenous' peoples as an instrument mostly used at the international level to advance their rights and improve their situation" (p. 7).

[9] In the USA, on the other hand, Deb Haaland became the first Native American cabinet secretary in 2021 (Cabral, 2021). This emphasizes that some countries have made significant progress in including and representing Indigenous people.

the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2008, p. 9). For the Sámi people in Norway there has been some developments to preserve their culture. Norway has an administrative area for Sámi languages and in 1992, the act concerning Sámi languages (original: samelovens språkregler) was implemented. The purpose of this act is to uphold and develop the Sámi languages by, in particular, strengthening their use in public contexts (Regjeringen, 2020). Hence, the Sámi people in Norway are given a larger role in Norway and therefore are allowed to control their own development. The Sámi act §1-5 confirms that Sámi and Norwegian are of equal worth (Regjeringen, 2020).

For many Indigenous communities, the land and nature are important since they have a deep spiritual relationship with it (Fayant, 2019, p. 5). It is therefore crucial for their physical and spiritual survival that they are enabled to regulate and maintain their traditional lands, territories, and relevant resources. Despite that, Indigenous communities, unfortunately, have been displaced and dislocated from their ancestral lands. This is mainly due to development and exploitation of oil, gas, or natural resources, the construction of dams, conservation parks, roads, or other national development priorities. Most of the time this is done without the consent of the Indigenous communities. In fact, Indigenous communities are rarely even consulted (United Nations, 2008, p. 9-10). Usually, Indigenous people are excluded from engaging in political matters, economically and socially marginalized, and overly "represented among the victims of human rights abuses and conflicts" (United Nations, 2008, p. 10). Furthermore, Indigenous people have not been acknowledged by the country's legislation and constitution as people, some Indigenous people might still not entitle to identity papers (United Nations, 2008, p. 10). For example, in Norway, the Sámi people rallied against the construction of hydroelectric power plants in the Alta river in Finnmark (northern Norway). The conflict (1970s-1980s) shed light on the Sámi peoples' rights, or lack of rights. To this day, the Alta controversy has had major impact on the protection of the Sámi culture (Utsi, 2020). The Alta controversy was one of the leading causes to the foundation of the Sámi Parliament of Norway in 1989 (Hætta, 2002, p. 204).

Indigenous people face a great deal of challenges, and one of them is "denial of their right to control their own development" (United Nations, 2008, p. 10). The awareness and understanding of Indigenous people well-being differ from the well-being of the more dominant society where they live. This reflects the current worldview and values, often, contributing to a lack of loyalty towards their country since their sense of development is not similar to the dominant society. Indigenous people are among the poorest population and experiencing inequality in income, education, and access to essential public services. By not providing them basic services and the right to live on their own land and territories leads to further marginalize and exclude them (United Nations, 2008, p. 10).

The UN does not provide a distinct definition of who Indigenous people are. Instead, they have established an understanding of the term supported by the following characteristics:

- They identify themselves as indigenous peoples and are, at the individual level, accepted as members by their community;
- They have historical continuity or association with a given region or part of a given region prior to colonization or annexation;
- They have strong links to territories and surrounding natural resources;

- They maintain, at least in part, distinct social, economic and political systems;
- They maintain, at least in part, distinct languages, cultures, beliefs and knowledge systems;
- They are resolved to maintain and further develop their identity and distinct social, economic, cultural and political institutions as distinct peoples and communities;
- They form non-dominant sectors of society.

(UN, 2008, p. 8)

In her article, "Indigenous Identity What Is It, and Who Really Has It?", Lakota scholar Weaver (2001) explains that the topic of identifying Indigenous people is quite complex and controversial (p. 240). It is difficult to come to an agreement on what is included in the definition of Indigenous identity, how it is measured, and who has it. Even Indigenous people themselves cannot determine what constitutes the term. There are many names just to refer to Indigenous people: Indians, American Indians, Natives, Native Americans, Indigenous people, or First Nations. Even within Native Americans there are many tribes who have their own culture and identity (Weaver, 2001, p. 240). Furthermore, Weaver (2001) adds that Indigenous identity is related perception of "peoplehood which is associated to sacred traditions, traditional homelands, and shared history as Indigenous people" (p. 245). She draws attention to that one's identity can only be affirmed by people who share the same identity. It is common that Indigenous identities are defined based on a non-Indigenous perspective. This subject therefore raises attention to the notion about authenticity: "who decides who is an Indigenous person?" (Weaver, 2001, p. 245-246) is it the Indigenous people themselves or non-Indigenous people?

Unfortunately, stereotypes have a strong impact on identity. Indigenous cultures are often represented as stereotypical and "locked in the past" (Weaver, 2001, p. 247). These representations are connected to idea of the Old West, and that all Indigenous people have "a harmonious relationship with nature and possessing an unspoiled spirituality" (Weaver, 2001, p. 247). According to Weaver (2001) these factors may result in Indigenous people being considered as tourist attractions, victims, and historical artifacts (p. 247). Indigenous representation has often been censored and non-Indigenous people tend to not have a desire to view elements of Indigenous cultures that do not uphold their notions. This often sustains stereotypes. These stereotypical and non-Indigenous impressions may affect how Indigenous people perceive themselves. How Indigenous people identify themselves is usually different then how non-Indigenous people define them (Weaver, 2001, p. 247). This proves that identifying Indigenous people and cultures is fairly individual and depends on the different Indigenous communities, and the cultures within these communities are distinctive.

2.3 Intercultural Competence in the EFL Classroom and Norwegian Education

So far, I have discussed different definitions of culture from a general perspective. In this section, I will address the concept of culture from the perspective of teaching English as a foreign language in a Norwegian context. Later, I will look at what intercultural competence is and why it is important in the EFL classroom.

Brown (2014) emphasizes that in education, language and culture learning come as a package deal in the journey to successful language learning (p. 197). In the theory of

second language acquisition (SLA), the term communicative competence and intercultural competence are important aspects. Language is connected to culture in the sense that people from the same culture, for example the same country, communicate with the same language. Thus, learning a language involves learning about the culture related to the target language (Brown, 2014, p 197). Language is one of the most essential forms of expressing human culture, as it is universal and diverse. It is a central aspect of identity, memory, and the spread of knowledge (UNESCO, 2006, p. 13). UNESCO (2006) points out that language is a historical and collective outcome and conveys world views that are culturally anchored and values (p. 13). Thus, it is clear that teaching about cultures is crucial to language teaching and learning, since culture is a part of language, and language is a part of culture.

Both the previous national curriculum (LK06) and the new curriculum (LK20) mention culture as one of their main focus points in the foreign language education. One of the main subject areas in LK06 is "culture, society, and literature". This section focuses on "cultural understanding in a broad sense" which is "essential to develop knowledge about, understanding of and respect for the lives and cultures of other people" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, p. 4). LK20, on the other hand, has core elements instead of main subject areas. One of the core elements, "exposure to English texts" (my own translation, orig. "møte med engelsspråklige tekster"), state that working with English texts should provide the students with knowledge about cultural diversity and give awareness to Indigenous peoples and their lifestyles, mindset, and traditions (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020a, p. 3). These aspects are critical to address since the textbooks examined in my thesis are based on the national curriculum. Additionally, examining the textbooks from the perspective of the new curriculum would give an indication to whether they are suitable.

However, the view on culture and its involvement in language learning has changed through history. Prior to the 1970's the foreign language education in Norway had an encyclopaedic facts-oriented approach, such as geographical, economical, historical, literature, towards culture (Dypedahl and Eschenbach, 2011, p. 215). This shifted during the 1970s where a more practical and communicative approach was adapted towards language teaching and learning. One of the aims of the English subject was now communicative competence, which affected how the cultural content was implemented in teaching. Cultural knowledge should convey facts about relevant culture that students could require in future communicative situations (Dypedahl and Eschenbach, 2001, p. 215). Despite the focus on communicative competence, this perspective on teaching about culture does not necessarily align with a dynamic approach to culture. This type of culture knowledge regards the concept of culture as something objective and exists unrelated to the observer. This approach to culture conveys cultural meaning as something national and homogenous, which relates to the descriptive approach to culture (Dypedahl and Eschenbach, 2011, p. 215). Addressing intercultural communication as something that focuses on learning about cultures as detailed facts, or stereotypes (Holliday et.al., 2010, p. 3-4). Consequently, both approaches addressed above have a similar way to the descriptive concept of culture. On the contrary, teaching culture in the EFL classroom from a dynamic perspective would focus more on culture as a process. This implies that one concentrates on how cultures generate meaning, therefore also increasing intercultural competence (Robinson-Stuart and Nocon, 1996, p. 432-433). From a dynamic perspective, culture is

created in interaction with other people. Students should gain an awareness in the processes that occurs between people with different cultural background (Dypedahl and Eschenbach, 2001, p. 217).

Education takes part in the development of a person as a human being and that "person's participation in social life" (UNESCO, 2006, p. 12). Following this important argument, the educational system is involved in the growth and development of peoples' personal identities, as well as their interaction with other people with similar cultural backgrounds, but also people who come from other backgrounds. This development can occur at all ages and is influenced by the actions of among others family, the community, and the work environment. It could also occur through interplay "with the natural environment" in particular when this type of interplay is fixed socially and culturally (UNESCO, 2006, p. 12). The school's role in social growth is essential and plays an important part in developing knowledge, competences, attitudes, and values that enables them for life in society. The ideas of culture and education are interwoven since culture forms our understandings, beliefs, and feelings through content and context (UNESCO, 2006, p. 12-13). Thus, teachers and students, along with the national curriculum and society, provide cultural perspectives and outlooks into what is expressed and how it is expressed. Moreover, education is a crucial factor for culture to survive. Culture is a collective and historical phenomenon, and for it to continue to survive it needs constant transmission and improvement. The aim and purpose of education, among other things, is to achieve to reach this goal (UNESCO, 2006, p. 13).

Further, I will discuss what intercultural communicative competence is and how this approach affects Indigenous culture in the EFL classroom in Norway.

2.3.1 Intercultural Competence in the 21st EFL Classroom

Due to the growth of globalization, migration and immigration, the focus on intercultural competence in education has increased over the years. The link between language learning and culture has become more important (Moeller and Nugget, 2014, p. 1). Therefore, language proficiency cannot be the only aim in the Foreign Language classroom (Moeller and Nugget, 2014, p. 1). Now the aims for language learning have become broader and cover the 5 C's which are communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities. These aspects of language learning should help students to participate linguistically and culturally in a diverse society (Moeller and Nugget, 2014, p. 1). When addressing cultural diversity, many theorists and teachers immediately think of multiculturalism. The term culture implies peoples' traditions, norms, values, and history (Munthe, 2013, p. 14). This means that different cultures may share, but also differ, in ways of living, traditions, family patterns, and values. One can therefore say that multiculturalism consists of multiple monocultures (Munthe, 2013, p. 14). Researchers also point out that culture and identity are tied together, based on social categories such as race, ethnicity, age, religion, sexual orientation, social status, language, gender, and sex (Munthe, 2013, p. 15). Intercultural competence is a crucial aspect in language teaching, since it focuses on learning about other cultures as well as "the ability to effectively and appropriately execute communication behaviours that negotiate each other's cultural identity or identities in a culturally diverse environment" (Chen and Starosta, 1999, p. 28). Furthermore, Douglas and Rosvold (2018) emphasize that speaking with people in their language, developing relationships with them, and effectively interacting with people, even

if they have a different point of view, contributes to fostering intercultural communicative competence (p. 27). In other words, intercultural competence means that students not only have to learn about cultural diversity but also the ability to communicate with people from different cultures. The way students learn about cultures might contribute to their views of other people and cultures. Intercultural competence might also participate in the development of tolerance and respect towards other cultures, including Indigenous cultures. Intercultural competence is important for my thesis given how textbooks potentially providing misrepresentations of Indigenous peoples can have a negative influence on students' perception of these communities.

2.3.1.1 Intercultural (Communicative) Competence

There are several different synonyms regarding the term "intercultural competence" depending on the field of study. Some of the terms that are used/have been used are cross-cultural adaptation, intercultural sensitivity, multicultural competence, trans-cultural competence/communication, global competence, cross-cultural effectiveness/awareness, cross-cultural adaption, international competence, intercultural sensitivity, global literacy, global citizenship/competence, and cultural competence (Ahnagari and Zamanian, 2014, p. 9; Deardorff, 2011, p. 66). Regardless of the various synonyms, the favourable term to apply is "intercultural" as it covers the majority of, if not all, cultures and not a specific one (Kim and Ruben, 1992, as cited in Ahnagari and Zamanian, 2014, p. 9). Chen and Starosta (1999) define "intercultural communicative competence" (ICC) as "the ability to effectively and appropriately execute communication behaviours that negotiate each other's cultural identity or identities in a culturally diverse environment" (p. 28). This definition implies that intercultural competence in addition to acquiring knowledge of other cultures, also is connected to the ability of communicating with people from other cultures. Holliday et.al. (2010) point out that Intercultural competence emerged, among other, from "culturism", and that it is an important aspect to help prevent people from misjudge other people's cultures and realities (p. 27).

Chen and Starosta (1999) identify three central elements within ICC (p. 31). The first element refers to intercultural sensitivity, or affective aspect, which relates to people's attitude towards the understanding of cultural differences. The second element, intercultural awareness, is applied to the cognitive process of someone's ability to understand the various customs within cultures that influence the way one behaves and thinks. The third element is intercultural adroitness. Intercultural adroitness refers to the behavioural process of the ability to interact with people from other cultures (Chen and Starosta, 1999, p. 31-33). However, Holliday et.al. (2010) express that intercultural communication is damaged by prejudice, and therefore it is important to deconstruct and undo this prejudice (p. 1). The emphasis should not only on people with different nationalities, but also with other senses of belonging, whether community, class, occupational, gender, and so on (Holliday et.al., 2010, p. 1). They believe that intercultural communication should grow from an understanding of people, culture, and society generally (p. 1). This shows that the concept ICC is quite complex and that there are many aspects of culture that need to be addressed in foreign language learning. This is especially relevant for my thesis because of the way Indigenous peoples and cultures are represented might affect students' attitude, ability to understand, and interaction with people from other cultures.

2.3.1.2 Intercultural (Communicative) Competence Model

Deardorff (2011) presents an "Intercultural Competence Model" that provide several key aspects that affect the assessment of ICC. The model focuses on "internal and external outcomes of intercultural competence based on development of specific attitudes, knowledge, and skills inherent in intercultural competence" (p. 66). "Internal outcome", in this model, relates to students' proficiency to adapt to other cultures, knowledge of how to communicate in an appropriate manner, the ability to view something from other people's perspective, and showing empathy towards others (Deardorff, 2011, p. 67). This means that the internal outcome, according to the ICC model, refers to students' inner value of other people and other cultures. The external outcome, on the other hand, refers to students' ability to interact in intercultural settings. This is based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes (Deardorff, 2011, p. 67). One's internal outcome therefore clearly affects one's external outcome. The model has four elements where "attitude" is the fundament and influences the other elements of ICC. Attitude implies one's respect, openness, and curiosity towards other cultures. The second element includes two components, the first one being "knowledge and comprehension", which consists of cultural self-awareness, deep cultural knowledge, and sociolinguistic awareness. The second one is "skills" which refers to skills such as listening, observation and evaluation, to analyse, interpret and relate (Deardorff, 2011, p. 67).

Clouet (2012) points out that "Intercultural skills" is an important term in ICC, which is the ability to put one's own culture in relation to with a foreign culture, developing one's ability to be sensitive and communicate appropriately with people from other cultures, fulfil the role as a middleman between one's own culture and the foreign culture and the knowledge to deal situations where misunderstandings or conflicts occur, and be capable to perceive a culture not based on stereotypes (p. 312). Knowledge and comprehension, and skills affect a person's external outcome. Internal and external outcomes make up the final two elements of the ICC model. Deardorff (2011) highlights that the "Degree of intercultural competence depends on acquired degree of attitudes, knowledge/comprehension, and skills" (p.67). Furthermore, Clouet (2012) argues that ICC is a combination of social and communicative skills, since it includes empathy, ability to deal with conflict, ability to work collaboratively, flexibility, foreign language awareness, awareness that culture causes different discussion styles, speech speeds, interpretation and thought patterns, techniques for handling interactional difficulties, reflection on one's own cultural background, and tolerance of ambiguity (p. 313-314). This strengthens the reason why it should be called intercultural communicative competence instead of just intercultural competence. Intercultural competence is central in my thesis, since the Norwegian curriculum states that the English subject has a fundamental position in developing students' understanding of culture and communicating with people from other cultures. The subject should also contribute to developing students' intercultural understanding of different ways of living, mindsets, and patterns of communication (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020b, my own translation). Textbooks are frequently used in the EFL classroom, and if cultures are portrayed in a stereotypical way, it might affect students' perspectives, tolerance, and respect towards other cultures.

3. Research Methodology

In the following chapter, I will present and justify the methodology, methods, and materials that I used in the thesis. I have decided to apply a qualitative approach as opposed to a quantitative approach with the purpose to answer my research questions: "How are Indigenous cultures represented in Norwegian textbooks for the English subject at primary level?" and "To what degree do the multimodal representations of Indigenous cultures foster intercultural communicative competence?". First, I will present and explain the choices of methods applied, which are multimodal analysis, narrative analysis, visual semiotic analysis, and structural narrative analysis. Second, an explanation will be given as to the choice of materials. In this section, I will explain the reasons for the selection of the textbooks I have analysed. Third, I will provide a section on ethical considerations which includes the study's validity and credibility.

3.1 Overview on Research Methodology, Methods, and Positionality

In the following section, I will concentrate on the methodology applied to collect and analyse my materials. Methodology is defined as the plan or approach that designs the researcher's choice of methods applied in a study (Crotty, 1998, p. 7). As I indicated, textbooks are comprised of both visual and written language. A text may be defined as multimodal if it combines two or more semiotic systems (Maagerø and Tønnessen, 2014, p. 18). Therefore, I have chosen to analyse the narratives on Indigenous cultures as multimodal texts. Visual images and written language may contradict, support, or complement each other. Hence, it is key to analyse the images and texts in textbooks as a whole. Furthermore, I have decided to use a qualitative approach to my thesis, since using a quantitative approach would not allow me to obtain in-depth information (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 365), which is essential in order to answer my research question. A qualitative approach is suitable to analyse the representation of Indigenous cultures because it allows to gain an in-depth and extended insight into these representations. Additionally, by employing a qualitative approach, the researcher could analyse how the representations could affect people's perception of Indigenous cultures (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 365). There are many different ways of analysing multimodal texts, which will not be discussed here, since they are beyond the scope of this thesis. Some have a quantitative approach, such as content analysis, whilst others have a qualitative approach, such as critical literacy. Applying qualitative methods allows for a more in-depth analysis which gives an opportunity to discover things that might not have been predicted in advance (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 362). By not using a quantitative approach, I will not be able to generalise my findings and analysis (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 241). However, the aim of this study is to examine the representations of Indigenous cultures in textbooks, and I consider a qualitative approach to be sufficient and suitable, since it allows me to gain a holistic awareness of how multimodal texts can be perceived by the reader.

In my study, I applied a multimodal narrative approach as one of my methods for analysis. To answer my research question, I have created a connection between two disciplines, multimodal approach and narrative analysis. Collectively, a multimodal approach and narrative analysis will provide me with several perspectives which helped me to analyse

the narratives in the textbooks. This study is conducted in three parts: multimodal approach, narrative analysis as a method, and a structural and visual semiotic analysis.

Wilson (2001) describes the term research paradigm as a "label for a set of beliefs that go together that guide my actions" (p. 175). In other words, a research paradigm depicts how one views the world and about gaining knowledge that becomes the foundation that guides one's actions when conducting research. As a non-Indigenous researcher carrying out research on Indigenous topics, my research framework draws from Indigenous theoretical traditions. This implies applying an Indigenous theoretical perspective that will determine the methodology and methods used in this study. Using an Indigenous research framework impacts the choice of methods, how those methods are utilized, and how the material be analysed and interpreted (Kovach, 2010, p. 41). Wilson (2001) explains methodology as how a researcher uses their way of thinking, in this case the epistemology, to obtain more knowledge about one's reality (p. 175). For my master's thesis, this is an important element, since I am a non-Indigenous researcher studying Indigenous cultures. Additionally, I have been taught methodology and theoretical approaches from a Western perspective. This means that my way of thinking is from a Western point of view where Indigenous people have been considered as "Others" and research objects (Smith, 2012, p. 20). Implementing Indigenous theoretical approaches is therefore vital for my choice of methodology and methods where Indigenous people are seen as research subjects. My research approach thus starts from below with humility instead of power and as an inquirer instead of an expert perspective from above.

Wilson (2001) explains that applying Indigenous methodologies implies talking about relational accountability (p. 177). He further states that being a researcher is not about answering questions regarding validity and reliability, or making judgement of better or worse, but rather answering concerning relations when conducting research (Wilson, 2001, p. 177). With this he means that a researcher should be fulfilling his or her relationship with the world around them (Wilson, 2001, p. 177). In other words, as a researcher, I have an ethical responsibility when conducting research in a manner that shows respect towards Indigenous communities and their cultures. Indigenous methodologies are concerned with ways of gaining knowledge and, thus, question my obligations in this relationship. Obtaining knowledge for research should not be about gaining some "abstract pursuit", but rather gaining knowledge to meet my end of the research relationship (Wilson, 2001, p. 177). As a researcher, you have certain obligations to the research and its field. Further, this implies the choice of methods. However, Graeme (2014) points out that Indigenous methodologies are practices for and by Indigenous people that rely on their traditions and knowledge to create methods where the researcher is positioned inside the "Indigenous experience" (p. 516). This way, Indigenous communities are allowed to control their own knowledge and the publication of the findings (Graeme, 2014, p. 516). Thus, as a non-Indigenous researcher, I should not apply Indigenous methodologies or methods to my study. Instead, I can employ methodologies and methods that align with Indigenous ones and that respect their culture. Additionally, I draw from Indigenous theories which will strengthen my study.

3.1.1 Multimodal Approach

Considering that most textbooks used in Norwegian primary schools include both images and written texts, it is appropriate to apply a multimodal approach in my thesis. Løvland (2010) defines multimodal texts as texts that include and combine two or more modes

27

which produce meaning in different manners (p. 1). These texts can contain modes like visual images, written language, spoken language, audio, and visual patterns. Images are things that visually depict objects such as photos, paintings, drawings, and charts (Serafini, 2014, p. 13). Texts, in this thesis, are defined as all forms of written language (Serafini, 2014, p. 13). Examples of multimodal texts could be books, newspapers, picture books, or TV-series. In this thesis, textbooks are multimodal texts that will be viewed as narratives, since they depict people, places, and/or events, and therefore be analysed as a form of storytelling (Riessman, 2008, p. 11). However, it must be pointed out that some of the representations of Indigenous people or culture are depicted as *either* an image *or* as written text, and not in a multimodal way. Therefore, some of the narrative analysis has been conducted based on a visual analysis or structural analysis alone. These descriptions of images and written texts will determine what a narrative is and what will be used as my data to analyse Indigenous cultures in this thesis.

3.1.2 Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis is a term used to describe a group of methods for interpreting texts that have the form of a story in common (Barrett and Stauffer, 2009, p. 10). Analytic methods are used for interpretation of various texts; these texts can be oral, written, or visual. In case-centred studies, the researcher often analyses "cases" of individuals, identity groups, communities, organizations, and sometimes even nations. When conducting narrative analysis, the researcher questions factors such as intention and language. This means that one has to examine how and why events are storied and not merely the content that is written or spoken (Riessman, 2008, p. 11).

Abrams (2009) describes the term "narrative" as "a story, whether told in prose or verse, involving events, characters, and what the characters say and do" (p. 208). Barrett and Stauffer (2009) underline that the most common explanation and understanding of "narrative" is "story" and that it focuses on people, places, and events, and the relationship between these elements (p. 7). However, they also emphasize that "narrative" has various other meanings, such as a "mode of knowing" and constructing meaning, and as a "method of inquiry" (Barrett and Stauffer, 2009, p. 7). Narrative, or storytelling, can be a powerful medium where people are able to create a version of events. Furthermore, narratives are the media where knowledge and interpretations about our past and present have been understood and communicated (Barrett and Stauffer, 2009, p. 7). Thus, one can say that narratives are a key aspect in depicting cultures. A narrative analysis is therefore an important valuable tool to analyse representations of Indigenous cultures that are presented in EFL textbooks. As explained earlier, narrative is a mode of knowing and constructs meaning, and I here argue that the authors of EFL textbooks create stories about Indigenous people and their cultures.

According to Barrett and Stauffer (2009), the construction of people's understanding of the world is based on narrative – this means that people's knowledge of the world is highly based on stories (p. 9). There is a link between our idea of ourselves and our idea of others in the social context around us in the world, and the fact that the narrative mode allows us to create a version of the world (Barrett and Stauffer, 2009, p. 9). One can therefore argue that positionality is vital when telling a story. Stories about Indigenous people will most likely be different if told from a Western perspective than an Indigenous perspective. Riessman and Speedy (2007) point out that researchers need to draw attention

to how facts are constructed in a particular way in narratives. They argue that in everyday use, people can tell their own stories, but this might not always be the case in other contexts (Riessman and Speedy, 2007, p. 3). They call attention on questions such as "For whom was this story constructed, how was it made, and what was the purpose?", "What cultural discourses does it draw on – take for granted?", "What does it accomplish?", and "Are there gaps and inconsistencies that might suggest alternative or preferred narratives?" (Riessman and Speedy, 2007, p. 3). Not only is the positionality of the researcher important when analyzing narratives, but factors such as the author(s) and audience's positionality further plays a central role. Narrative analysis is not just gathering and re-telling or re-presenting stories. It involves analyzing the narrative material thoroughly and addressing a framework that includes the research subjects, the researcher, and the cultural context in which they are situated (Barrett and Stauffer, 2009, p. 11). Thus, there are various aspects that affect how to analyze narratives that the researcher needs to consider when carrying out a study on Indigenous cultures.

According to Riessman (2008), narratives are formed at a point in history for a specific audience. Often, they "draw on taken-for granted discourses and values" from cultures (Riessman, 2008, p. 3). Following Barthes, Riessman (2008) points out that narratives are found in myths, legends, tales, fables, novellas, epics, histories, tragedies, dramas, comedies, mimes, paintings, stained glass windows, comics, news items, conversations (p. 4). In other words, one can find narratives everywhere. Storytelling takes place in every age, place, and society. Narratives are the history of mankind, and where people have been there is a narrative (Riessman, 2008, p. 4). Riessman (2008) further includes memoir, (auto)biography, diaries, archival documents, social service and health records, other organized documents, scientific theories, folk ballads, photographs, and other works of art to Barthes' list of narratives (p. 4).

Storytelling can provide the researcher with an entry and an opportunity to gain insight into social interactions in a manner that other modes of communication might not. One of the main reasons for this is that individuals and groups build their identities through storytelling (Riessman, 2008, p. 7-8). However, identity is fluid, and it will change as people live "through the combined process of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong" (Riessman, 2008, p. 8). Therefore, narratives provide us with knowledge about people and communities, as they capture their belonging and position in their culture. Note that I offer a detailed discussion of the term "culture" in the Theoretical Background chapter. Riessman further (2008) states that the purpose of narratives is often different for individuals than they are for groups (p. 8). Individuals apply narratives in order to remember, argue, justify, persuade, engage, entertain, and mislead the audience. Groups, on the other hand, tell stories for mobilizing others, and to foster a great sense of belonging (Riessman, 2008, p. 8). Furthermore, Kovach (2000) points out that personal storytelling facilitates for collectivity, since the journeys people are on are not necessarily alike, but they are all piece of the same community (p. 112). Additionally, narratives have a social role, where they connect to the "flow of power" around the world (Riessman, 2008, p. 8). That is to say that the way individuals and groups are narrated compose information about them. Furthermore, stories about people and communities should always be studied in context, since they are told in "a historical moment with its circulating discourse and power relations" (Riessman, 2008, p. 8). Riessman (2008) adds to this that stories are produced by someone for a specific audience, and they may interpret them differently (p. 8). An

important factor to consider here is that narratives invite the reader, listener, and viewer to see the story from the narrator's perspective (Riessman, 2008, p. 9). This means that a narrative about something, someone, or a whole community or culture can differ depending on who told it. This is relevant to my thesis, since the textbooks seem to be written from a non-Indigenous perspective[10] which gives a different narrative than if they had been written from an Indigenous perspective.

3.1.3 Research Methods: Structural Narrative Analysis

Regarding the analysis of the written text, I have decided to use a structural narrative analysis as a method that will allow me to study language and communication, since it focuses on how people form their "own perspective on phenomena" (Upham, Klapper and Carney, 2016, p. 49). A structural narrative approach is concerned with the plot and the content of the narrative; in what manner the events are brought together, the function that the narrator and the characters have, and what the purpose or function the narrative has. Additionally, structural narrative analysis focuses on what kind of format is used to tell the narrative (Larty and Hamilton, 2011, p. 230). This research method involves analysing how an author narrates a story, and this includes how the plot, features and facts are structured, and how characters are represented (Larty and Hamilton, 2001, p. 231). In other words, a structural narrative analysis includes examining the words used to describe the setting, characters and their struggles, and what kind of influence this has on the reader. This method has proved crucial in my thesis because I examine how Indigenous cultures are represented and how it affects students' perception of Indigenous people and thus influences their intercultural competence.

Riessman (2008) underlines that the structure of narratives matters in human communication given that structure can relate to genre or to a general "storyline" (p. 77-78). In the case of analysing textbooks for educational purposes, structural narrative analysis allows me to examine how the authors have portrayed Indigenous cultures. Additionally, structural narrative analysis focuses on what kind of format is used to tell the narrative (Larty and Hamilton, 2011, p. 230). Riessman (2008) states that stories are "social artifacts" and that they are created and made in a certain context (p. 105). Thus, these aspects are important to include when analysing narratives. For example, the textbooks in this study are made by mainly Norwegian and British authors working or who have worked as teachers[11], and have composed narratives about Indigenous cultures. Larty and Hamilton (2011) point out that structural narrative analysis might deal with "embedded relations of power and identity" (p. 231). In the textbooks, the stories about Indigenous cultures are most likely written by non-Indigenous people who could empower the relations of power and identity. Here, Indigenous people do not have the influence on how their identity is told which could increase the binary "us" versus "the others". Additionally, the teacher and student bodies in Norwegian classrooms also include Sámi teachers and students, who would engage with and react differently to these stories compared to non-Indigenous students.

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[10] None of the editors/authors openly identify as Indigenous in their bios (see footnote 11).

[11] Aschehoug (n.d.a), Aschehoug (n.d.b), Aschenhoug (n.d.c), Cappelen Damm (n.d.a), Cappelen Damm (n.d.b), Gyldendal (n.d.a), Gyldendal (n.d.b), Gyldendal (n.d.c), Gyldendal (n.d.d), Gyldendal (n.d.e).

3.1.4 Research Methods: Visual Semiotic Analysis

Visual images are used to help interpret ourselves and make sense of the world around us, as well as to communicate feelings and ideas throughout time, and to document everyday life and experiences. Images play an essential, and often invisible, role in developing both our own and other identities (Serafini, 2014, p. 1). Textbooks used for educational purposes are predominantly multimodal, which is why I have used a visual semiotic analysis in addition to the structural narrative analysis. The following text, will examine what visual semiotic analysis is and why and how I applied this method in my thesis.

A semiotic image analysis involves the interpretation of single images and examines specific features that images contain and how these communicate meaning (van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001, p. 6). In the field of semiotics, the main point is not necessarily to analyse the who, where, and what of reality in images, but to examine how their maker(s) have (re-)constructed reality. To put it another way, the creator of the image's perspective of reality is depicted, which could lead to reality being perceived and told differently. This type of visual analysis takes bias and ideologically coloured interpretation, among other elements, into consideration and is common in cultural studies and semiotic analysis (van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001, p. 5), as I fully explain in the Theoretical Background chapter. Margolis and Zunjarwad (2018) state that visual semiotics is an approach that is applied to analyse how meaning is achieved by visible signs, and what an image means (p. 617). Semiotics focuses on the signs, and its relationship with the objects and meaning in the images. Signs are comprised of a signifier and a signified. A signifier is the physical form or content of the sign (object) in an image such as colour, perspective, and lines (e.g., a red rose) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 6). The signified, on the other hand, is the idea or notion of the thing which is used to recognize meaning (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 6). In other words, what the red rose represents, or is associated with, a symbol of passion and love. This is relevant for my study since "representation connects meaning and language to culture" (Hall, 1997c, p. 15). Thus, images used to represent a person, or object in the textbooks analysed express meaning. If the images depict stereotypes of Indigenous cultures, they might develop negative connotations towards these cultures. Peirce (1839-1914) has formed a classic triadic semiotic model, which is presented as a relationship between three elements: sign, object, and meaning. In this context, "sign" is described as a broad term which could be a word, picture, or mental image (as cited in Margolis and Zunjarwad, 2018, p. 617). Further, he explains that when a sign is associated with another thing, the object emerges. When the sign is associated with something, the object, it leads to "meaning" or interpretation (Margolis and Zunjarwad, 2018, p. 617).

Visual semiotics, as developed by Roland Barthes, is an approach within the visual analysis method. A visual semiotic approach is concerned with the representation of images and focuses on what do images represent and how do they do it. At the same time, it calls attention to the "hidden meanings" of images; "what ideas and values do the people, places, and things represented in the images stand for?" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 92). This is crucial for classroom practice because representations of minorities are often portrayed as "others" (binary oppositions) which are seldom neutral (Hall, 1997b, p. 235). The implication here is that there is a relation of power present and the ideas and values of the "other" are represented as exotic and different in a negative way. This could affect our perception of people who come from a different cultural background, for example. Van

Leeuwen (2001) mentions that studying images by applying a semiotic approach could raise questions such as (1) who and what are the people, places, and things depicted in an image, and how do we identify them as such? and (2) what ideas and values are associated with the people, places, and things portrayed in an image, "what is it that allows us to do so?" (p. 92). Studying people, places, and things in images implies that visual semiotics, for the most part, addresses the individual elements within an image.

There are two central concepts in Barthes' visual semiotics, which are that all images have layers of meaning. The first layer is called denotation that focuses on the literal or descriptive meanings or message of the image, "what, or who, is being depicted here?"; in other words, the literal meaning of the image. In turn, the second layer, connotation, focuses on "what ideas and values are expressed through what is represented, and through the way in which it is represented?", which points to the underlying and cultural meanings or message of the image (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 94; Serafini, 2014, p. 41). I will now explain in detail what these notions entail and why they are relevant to my discussion of the representation of Indigenous cultures in this thesis.

3.1.4.1 Visual Denotation

According to van Leeuwen (2001), denotation is quite straightforward for Barthes (p. 94). There is no need to learn how to code an image before the message can be interpreted. Observing a photograph is similar to observing reality since the photograph presents a detailed resemblance to what was in front of the camera. The only altering that is done is reducing the size of reality, flattening it, and, in some cases, changing or draining the colours, as seen in black and white photographs. Despite the artists' style, the case for drawings and paintings is not necessarily different. The content of paintings and drawings still corresponds to reality (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 94). The first layer, the denotative meaning of an image, is formed through "recognizing who or what kind of person is depicting there, what he is doing and so on" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 94). Thus, these are simple, broad, and basic descriptions, where most people would agree on the meaning (Hall, 1997c, p. 38) This is relevant to my project as the images used to represent Indigenous cultures in the textbooks do resemble reality. However, sometimes they can resemble reality in the wrong context by, for example, using an image of a Native American man from a century ago to refer to a Native American man today. Again, denotation will be necessary for the connotative analysis of an image, since connotative meaning of an image can depict something different than what it is used for. The denotative meaning in an image is also important, since it helps me detect images of Indigenous people as I have to recognize who or what is depicted in an image.

However, it should be noted that we can only identify objects that we have prior knowledge of. That is to say, it is difficult to describe an image if we do not have sufficient knowledge about the object in the image. The descriptions therefore often become lacking or described at a very general level (e.g., identifying a tool as a tool, without knowing what it is used for) (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 94-95). In general, it is not a problem lacking the knowledge to describe objects given how we are not even conscious about it unless we must describe it. Often, this is categorized as things we do not need comprehensive knowledge about. Thus, one can say that our knowledge is layered about things and images that are perceived at different levels of generality based on the context, who the image is intended for, and what the purpose is (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 95). Therefore, according to van

Leeuwen (2001), when depicting the denotative meaning of an image, it would be necessary to introduce a little more context compared to Barthes' understanding of denotation, "to set a plausible level of generality for the reader" (p. 95).

Further, van Leeuwen (2001) states that the denotation of images is not necessarily fully up to the beholder (p. 95). He adds that context may play a crucial role in perceiving images. In some cases, the context allows or encourages for multiple possibilities to read or view an image. In other circumstances, the creator of the image also has an interest to convey a specific message to a specific audience, and, in this case, "there will be signs to point us towards the preferred level of generality" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 95). This means that the creator of a text uses images to convey a specific message to a target audience, for example authors of textbooks used in education. The authors could use stereotypical images of Indigenous people which, most often, sheds a negative light on Indigenous cultures. In the case of stereotypical representations of Indigenous people, these often depict these individuals or communities as foreign and exotic as I fully explore in section 2.2.1.

Van Leeuwen (2001) lists four elements that could help denotate meaning in images, which could occur in multiple combinations: categorization, groups vs. individuals, distance, and surrounding text. I will discuss these briefly now as some are key to the methods/analysis in this thesis. Categorization involves mapping types, and this could be done with the use of captions, which may show the favourable level of generality. Without captions, people can be visually depicted as a certain individual (e.g., my sister, or my aunt) or a social type (e.g., an immigrant woman or Indigenous people as a group). This is called typification and occurs when one applies visual stereotypes, such as cultural characteristics (objects, dress, hairstyles etc.) or physiognomic characteristics (physical traits) (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 95). However, van Leeuwen (2001) emphasizes that the increased use of these stereotypes dominates the individual traits of a person, object, or place, the more they are represented as a type (p. 95). Portraying people in groups, rather than individuals, could have a similar impact as categorizing, and this is increased particularly if the people are depicted in similar positions or synchronized actions (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 96). In other words, representing people as a group indicates that all these people are the same and lack individual character. Presenting people from a distance can affect how their individuality is perceived. Showing people from afar, also known as a "long shot" in film terminology, often removes their individual features (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 96). Surrounding texts, similar to captions, can provide images with information about the people, objects, and places that are depicted. Images and text can then contradict one another. I will engage the film terminology again in the Analysis of Research Findings chapter.

3.1.4.2 Visual Connotation

Visual connotation, the second layer of meaning in images, focuses and examines the wider concepts, ideas, and values that the represented people, places, and things symbolize or are a sign of (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 96). The central notion in this level is to analyse the broader concepts, ideas, and values based on the denotative meaning that is already established (e.g., the red rose). With this first layer of interpretation established, "a second meaning is then superimposed", also known as the connotation of the denotation (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 97). This second layer "is no longer a descriptive level of obvious interpretation" (Hall, 1997c, p. 38). The second layer of meaning can be cultural values that

are associated with the sign (e.g., people, places, or things), or certain "connotations" or aspects in the manner that the objects are represented (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 97) This means that a person's prior knowledge about something will determine how that person perceives an object. However, in this study, where I analyse EFL textbooks, the authors have most likely not taken or created any of the images used. They have more likely chosen images used to portray Indigenous people and cultures. The way that the images portray Indigenous people and cultures participate in how students may perceive and understand Indigenous cultures after. I will engage with this further in the Analysis and Discussion chapter.

Connotations can also occur through the design of the illustration or the techniques used in the photography, for instance framing, distance, lighting, angle focus, and speed (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 98). The angle and framing can have a significant effect on the people, places, or things depicted in an image. The angle in an image can refer to which side the object is depicted from. If people in an image are depicted from the profile angle, the connotations could be detachment. In turn, when people are depicted from a semi-profile angle, the connotation could be of a somewhat greater involvement. Framing refers to how the object is framed in an image. For example, if people are shot from afar, they are socially distant from the viewer. However, if they are pictured in close-up, they are closer to the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) point out that the framing affects the viewers relationship with the characters in the image (p. 126). If the characters in an image are involved and are closer to the viewer. It is more likely that the viewer will develop a relationship and feelings with the characters. On the other hand, if the characters are depicted from an angle and frame that causes detachment and social distance from the viewer, it is more likely that relations between the characters and viewer will not be developed (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124-126). In other words, the angle and framing of images is important to whether the students can identify and develop feelings with the characters. This may generate and obtain the perception of "us" and "the others". I will fully develop this in this in the Analysis of Research Findings chapter. In addition to the broader concepts, ideas, values, and cultural associations with the objects in images, the more technical and design details play a role in how people, places, and things are represented in images.

3.2 Material and Textbooks

The aim of this study is to analyse multimodal representations of Indigenous cultures in EFL textbooks. Therefore, I have analysed four EFL textbooks by different publishers. I have chosen to examine multiple textbooks, since having various samples allows for this thesis to include a broader range of representations than just one textbook. Additionally, working with different materials provides the researcher with the opportunity to compare the various textbooks. To find my data, I have decided to examine four series of textbooks: *Steps 6* (2007)*, Stairs 6* (2007), *Explore 6* (2016)*,* and *Quest 6* (2015). These choices are based on my own observation and conversations with fellow students and teachers, as it appears that these series are most frequently used in Norwegian primary schools. Furthermore, a study by Waagene and Gjerustad (2015) shows that the most used series in Norwegian schools is *Stairs* with a market share of over 80% (p. 34). *Steps* and *Quest* have a market share of 4% and 1%, and 11% are other textbooks (presumably *Explore* is among these 11%) (Waagene and Gjerustad, 2015, p. 36). Additionally, it is shown that 71% of

teachers mainly use printed textbooks, and supplement these with digital learning resources. Many teachers apply textbooks as their central teaching resource (Waagene and Gjerustad, 2015, p. 26-27). Over 80% of teachers agree that the textbooks cover the learning aims. However, some have pointed out that printed textbooks are just one of the resources used to cover the learning aims (Gilje et.al., 2016, p. 27-28). The textbooks are based on the previous Norwegian national curriculum, LK06, where competence aims are described in units from year five through seven. There are new textbooks based on the new curriculum LK20. However, since many of the new textbooks have not been published yet, I will not analyse them here. I also find these textbooks suitable for my study because they are published by major companies, which makes them generally available. The four series are published by three major Norwegian publishing companies. *Steps* and *Explore* are both published by Gyldendal, *Quest* is published by Aschehoug, and *Stairs* is published by Cappelen Damm. Additionally, the textbooks from grade 1 to 5, in the various series, have little to no content on Indigenous cultures. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, a study was recently conducted on the representation of Indigenous cultures on the same series for 7th grade (Aasly, 2020), so this study seeks to expand this critical conversation.

The Norwegian national curriculum is grouped in units from grade 5 through 7. Therefore, there may be a different quantity of content representing Indigenous cultures in the textbooks. The authors can include different topics in the textbooks and, consequently, some textbooks may cover more content on Indigenous cultures than others. The textbooks are comprised of visual images, such as collages, illustrations, and photographs, and written content, such as long and short informative texts, stories, bullet points, and glossaries. In the series I have chosen to analyse in my thesis, there is some amount of content representing Indigenous cultures, as I explain in detail in my Analysis of Research Findings chapter. Two of the textbooks, *Quest 6* and *Explore 6*, have several pages representing Indigenous cultures. One textbook, *Stages 6*, has a singular story about a Māori girl which covers four pages, and the fourth textbook, *Steps 6*, depicts two images, one of a Native American and the other one is an Inuit, on the front and back cover. I have mainly found content that represents Native American people, four pages on Sámi people, and one narrative on a Māori girl. Some textbooks also have two images depicting Inuit people. Since the curriculum is grouped into units, this might affect what type of content the authors choose to include in the textbooks. I have not analysed textbooks for 5th or 7th grade, and they might contain more, or less, content on Indigenous cultures. However, analysing the absence of other Indigenous groups in the textbooks in this study might give an implication that Native American people and the Sámi people are more significant than other Indigenous populations.

The four series presented include textbooks, workbooks, and teacher's guides. Initially, I planned on analysing the teacher's guide as well in order to examine their representations and suggestions on what and how to teach about Indigenous cultures. Due to the limited extent of this study, however, it was necessary to restrain the material to only analysing the textbooks in each series. The workbooks are not included in the study because they contain less written and visual texts than the textbooks. The textbooks are considered the books that contain the most narratives and are therefore the books where students are exposed to stories about Indigenous cultures. As mentioned, the content on Indigenous cultures may vary in the different series, since the learning aims are grouped from year 5 to 7. Given that the textbooks consist of images and written text, which will be

viewed as multimodal narratives in this thesis, both the visual and written representations of Indigenous cultures will be analysed. Thus, this study has conducted a multimodal analysis as one of its research methods which I addressed in section 3.1.1. In order to select narratives on Indigenous cultures, I created a criteria list, which I will explain below.

3.3 Data Collection Process

With the purpose of answering my research question, I have opted to apply a multimodal approach to collect my materials. I found this to be a suitable method to apply, since textbooks for primary school students are often accompanied with both visual and written texts which together form a multimodal text. Both visual and written texts take part in creating and conveying meaning (Maagerø and Tønnessen, 2014, p. 19), in this case about Indigenous people. The data collection for this study includes all narratives (including images and written texts) on Indigenous cultures from the four textbooks presented above. The initial step was to create a criteria list to determine whether an image or text contains elements representing Indigenous cultures. Indigenous people are not necessarily defined by their looks. However, Indigenous people consider themselves Indigenous by their cultural and ethnicity belonging, and, for this reason, some of the narratives, disseminated in the textbooks, rely on being accompanied by cultural references. Therefore, I have decided to use narratives which contain explicit visual or written references to Indigenous cultures. Narratives were considered as belonging to an Indigenous culture if images or written texts portray a person from, items used by, or art belonging to any Indigenous cultures. Additionally, I have decided that if an image or written text is printed multiple times, it will be analysed in the context in which they appear. This study focuses on multimodal representations of Indigenous people and cultures, so if an image or written text appear more than once, they might have different connotations in distinct contexts.

For the purpose of maintaining an organised data collection process, the study was separated into two sections. The first section focuses on the multimodal narratives within every textbook. This section will determine whether a narrative is about Indigenous cultures. Furthermore, it will focus on which images and/or written texts are included in one narrative. The second section analyses the images and written texts in the narratives on Indigenous cultures. Here, the methods of structural analysis and visual semiotic analysis are applied. Note that the methods that I have used in the data collection process are described in further detail above, in section 3.1, Overview on Research Methodology, Methods, and Positionality.

To be assured that the same principles applied were followed when selecting the narratives, it was essential to formulate a criteria list. The criteria list is formulated based on cultural references, which is based on the section on Representations of Indigenous cultures, 2.2.2. In my view, it is vital to include Indigenous people's perspectives on their own cultures; otherwise, the criteria list will be solely based on a Western perspective on Indigenous cultures. Since Indigenous people are not defined by racial features or external appearances, it is important to have knowledge about cultural artefacts that are associated with Indigenous cultures. Therefore, the selection of narratives is based on cultural references such as clothes, artefacts, or explicitly references mentioned in the written texts. Based on previous studies on the representation of Indigenous cultures (Brown, 2016; Aasly, 2020), I have developed the following criteria list:

- The image includes cultural artifacts, art, or clothes associated with Indigenous cultures.
- The text includes words related to Indigenous people or cultures.
- Images or texts that are included in chapters on Indigenous cultures.
- Texts or captions denoting images representing Indigenous cultures.

The criteria list excludes Indigenous people portrayed with clothes, artifacts, or settings that do not refer to Indigenous cultures and traditions. The reason why these are excluded is because primary school students might not be expected to regard these narratives and recognize the person's particular cultural background. The students might not identify these narratives as belonging to Indigenous cultures. The setting is therefore important to include, since various elements affect how settings are perceived by the audience (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 72).

3.4 Ethical Considerations: Research Credibility and Reliability

This chapter has addressed the methodology, methods and materials used in this study. Important ethical aspects to consider in research are credibility and reliability. A study's quality relies on reliability, validity, and generalisability. Considering that this is a qualitative study, the three terms can be substituted with trustworthiness, credibility, and transferability. According to Johannessen, Tufte and Christoffersen (2011), these terms can be better suited to measure the quality of a qualitative approach (p. 229).

Trustworthiness refers to the question "can the findings be trusted" (Korstjens and Moser, 2018, p. 121). Further, they explain that trustworthiness consists of several criteria such as credibility and transferability. Credibility is one strategy to ensure trustworthiness in a study. The credibility within a study shows whether the findings depict credible information taken from the original material and how the data is interpreted (Korstjens and Moser, 2018, p. 121). Additionally, credibility refers to whether the researcher has applied a plausible method(s) to gather the data to support the purpose of the study (Johannessen et al., 2018, p. 230). In my Materials and Textbooks section, I have described in detail why I have chosen the textbooks that are analysed in this study. Furthermore, in the Data Collection Process section I have explained how I gathered my data, and a criteria list was created in order to follow the same principles when collecting my data. This shows how my data was addressed and handled. Moreover, I presented an Indigenous Theoretical Approaches section, 2.1, where I considered my positionality as a researcher. The aim is to make objective interpretations and analysis of my material, as I possibly can, so my interpretations have therefore been supported by my Theoretical Background chapter, as well as the methods of multimodal narrative approach, structural narrative analysis, and visual semiotic analysis discussed earlier. On the notion of objectivity, Kovach (2009) emphasizes that "self-locating affirms perspectives about the objectivity/subjectivity conundrum in research" (p. 111). In section 2.1 I explain that as a non-Indigenous researcher I need to be aware of my positionality in research about Indigenous cultures. Additionally, I have chosen to apply various Indigenous theoretical approaches to my study which involves subjective perspectives from Indigenous scholars. My interpretations and analysis can therefore not be completely objective, as they will be influenced by Indigenous perspectives. I have also tried to increase the study's credibility through triangulation, a process which implies that the researcher strengthens the quality of research by applying several approaches (Korstjens and Moser, 2018, 122).

I am aware that even if I try my best to have an objective perspective on my analysis and discussion, it is difficult not to show any subjectivity. As stated above, subjectivity is a crucial part of my study, as I involve Indigenous scholars that offer knowledge in their theoretical approaches. I am conscious that my interpretations may be influenced by my cultural background. Therefore, I emphasized this in section 2.1 Indigenous Theoretical Approaches, as I am aware of the different perspectives on Indigenous cultures. Additionally, I have reflected on my own positionality as a non-Indigenous researcher attempting to do research in a humble way, addressing Indigenous cultures with respect and carrying out my study bringing forth results, actively seeking not to suppress and misrepresent Indigenous cultures.

4. Analysis of Research Findings

In the following chapter, I present and discuss the findings of the study that resulted from Indigenous theoretical approaches and theoretical approaches to culture, and multimodal narrative analysis, structural narrative analysis, and visual semiotic analysis. I applied a multimodal narrative approach when analysing my findings, as the written language and visual images often accompany one another. This approach combines the methods of structural analysis and visual semiotic analysis, fully developed in the Research Methodology chapter. I further analysed my findings in conversation with the relevant theory presented in chapter 2.

In the material gathered for this study, which I have added as Appendices, I have found a total of fifteen narratives on Indigenous cultures. As mentioned earlier in section 3.2, since the Norwegian national curriculum is grouped in units from grade 5 through 7, there may be a different quantity of content representing Indigenous cultures in the textbooks. Two of the textbooks I have selected, *Quest 6* and *Explore 6*, have several pages representing Indigenous cultures. In another textbook, *Stages 6*, there is a singular story about a Māori girl which covers four pages, and the fourth textbook, *Steps 6*, depicts two images on the front and back cover. Overall, I have mainly found content that represents Native American people, four pages on Sámi people, and one narrative on a Māori girl. Two textbooks, *Stairs 6* and *Quest 6*, each have one image depicting Inuit people. Since the curriculum is grouped into units, this might affect what type of content the authors choose to include in the textbooks. As explained in chapter 3, I have not analysed textbooks for 5th or 7th grade; thus, the students could have learned or are supposed to learn about other Indigenous groups in 5th or 7th grade. Additionally, I wanted to add new research to the one started by Aasly (2020) who has analysed visual representations of Indigenous people in Norwegian EFL textbooks for grade 7.

In the textbooks, I found headings such as "The Native Americans", "The Sioux and the Sami people", and "Pocahontas" which indicate that the content of these texts is about Indigenous cultures. Further, the books use words and names like natives, tribes, powwow, Chief Sitting Bull, Indian Wars, feather war headdresses, chanting, yoik, Indians, and chief to describe aspects of Indigenous cultures. Most of the narratives were complemented with one or multiple images. The images used in the textbooks are predominantly of historical figures, and are depicted as drawings, photographs, paintings, and illustrations.

The narratives will be presented, in sections, based on the number of narratives they contain on Indigenous people. *Stairs 6* has the fewest narratives, followed by *Steps 6* which has one story. *Explore 6* has four narratives on Native American cultures. In turn, *Quest 6* has the majority of narratives, with a total of nine stories depicting Indigenous people. Each section will begin with a short introduction on the textbook before I provide an analysis of the narratives. I will discuss the findings more thoroughly in the Discussion of Research Findings chapter.

4.1 *Stairs 6*

 Stairs 6 was published in 2007 by Cappelen and has a total of 203 pages. The textbook is written by Cecilie Thorsen and Hege Unnerud. Tone Senje is listed as the publishing editor and Una Thoresen Dimola is registered as the photo editor[12].

4.1.1 Front Cover of the Textbook

 Stairs 6 is the textbook, in this study, that has the least content on Indigenous cultures. The textbook's cover (see appendix 1) displays a map of the USA that occupies two thirds of the page. The state of Alaska is pictured on the back, making the map a spread that spans two pages. There are multiple details of people and objects, such as buildings, cars, food, and animals, placed on the map to illustrate typical US culture. Some of these people and/or items are situated in the states they are associated with. For example, a jazz player is placed on the state of Louisiana and a camera is placed on the state of California. Interestingly for the purposes of this thesis, there are two images on the cover related to Indigenous cultures. On the state of Idaho there is an illustration of a Native American man, who is wearing traditional clothing, a war bonnet (headpiece), and holding a spear while riding a horse. The man has a prominent position in the image, but he is placed on the left side. This is primarily the only drawing of someone from a particular ethnic and cultural group. He therefore represents all Native American people. Furthermore, narratives represent solely men and Indigenous women are absent (except for the narrative on Pai and Pocahontas) in this textbook. I will discuss the role of gender further in the Discussion of Research Findings chapter. On the back cover, there is an illustration of a person on a dog sled, wearing a parka coat that resembles the ones which are associated with the Inuit culture. From my experience in teacher training, the students may perceive this figure as a person from the Inuit people. Additionally, I have seen traits of the Inuit people in other textbooks, which I will address in the sections below. Both characters are depicted with a long shot from a profile angle which creates a social distance between them and the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). This could cause the students to not develop feelings of empathy or identification for the character (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124-126).

 Despite the depiction of Indigenous people on the cover, they are not mentioned inside the textbook. Many of the other items, buildings, and people from the cover are depicted throughout chapter 6 "The American Dream". As mentioned above, the jazz player and camera are introduced again, as well as a section on the White House. Further in chapter 6, students encounter topics such as various places in the USA, the American Dream and migration to the USA, Disneyland, presidents, and historical episodes including slavery and the Civil Rights movement, and bull riding. The authors have included a few topics that relate to the USA, but there are many topics, such as the histories of Indigenous people, that are not addressed. There is limited space in a textbook for 6th grade, so it is important to keep in mind that not all the topics related to the USA can be included. However, picturing Indigenous people on the cover and not incorporating them in the content is a token gesture. A token could be described as something that is "used to describe something that is done with very little effort and only to give the appearance that an effort is being made" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). This could imply, according to the authors

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[12] Future studies could, follow up and interview the authors of the textbooks presented in this study.

of the textbook, that Indigenous people are not that important compared to other groups and cultures depicted. I interpret this is a sign of tokenism which I will further address in the Discussion of Research Findings chapter.

4.2 *Steps 6*

Steps 6 was published in 2007 by Gyldendal and has a total of 156 pages. The textbook is written by Juliet Munden, Nigel Musk, and Karin Wessman. Elisabeth Reizer is listed as the editor, the design is done by Cecilie Forfang, and the photo editors are Gine M. Grov and Anne Stuhaug.

4.2.1 "Whale Rider"

"Whale Rider" (p. 26-29, see appendix 2) is presented as a section of the sub-chapter "Unusual heroes", which is a part of the chapter "Heroes". Together with the written text, there are seven still images from the film *Whale Rider* (2002) spreading over four pages. The text depicts a story about Pai, a Māori girl who lives in New Zealand, and her grandfather and old chief, whom she calls Paka. The narrative is divided into four sections. The first one introduces Pai and Paka, and the reader learns that Paka wants to find a new leader but only boys are suitable for this role. In the second section, "Learning to be a leader", Paka starts a school to teach boys how to be a leader. However, since Pai is the only girl, she is treated differently than the boys. She learns how to chant and fight, secretly, because she is not allowed to join the boys. The third section, "The final challenge", describes the boys' final challenge that will determine who becomes the new leader. None of the boys manage to complete the challenge, except for Pai, so her uncle and grandmother believe that she must be the new leader. The final section, "The new whale rider", narrates how she becomes the new whale rider.

As mentioned, there are seven still images which supplement the written text. The first two images, on page 26, depict the section "Pai and Paka". One image portrays Pai from a medium shot and with a semi-profile angle with no eye-contact. The second image is a close up shot with a semi-profile angle, and the character does not make eye-contact with the viewer. Pai is wearing a Māori headband, has a necklace around her neck, and a Ta moko, facial tattoo, painting on her chin. Both the images have a framing and angle which cause a detachment and social distance from the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). There are two images illustrating the section "Learning to be a leader" (p. 27). One image is of Pai with the boys in the school. The image is framed with a long shot, and most of the characters have a semi-profile angle or are blurred to a degree that the viewer has no eye-contact. One character is captured with a frontal angle. However, his hat shadows his eyes, causing him not to have eye-contact with the viewer. The second image is, presumably, from inside the school where the students are sitting on the floor facing the teacher. This image is taken from a long shot framing and the characters are portrayed from a back angle which creates detachment from the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). The third section, "The final challenge" (p. 28), is accompanied by two images. The first image is taken with a wide shot of Pai in a boat with a frontal angle, but the character has no eye-contact with the viewer. The wide shot creates a social distance between the characters and the viewer. The frontal angle should have an effect of involvement, but the lack of eye-contact establishes a detachment. The final image, depicted in the fourth section (p. 29), shows Pai with her grandfather Paka. They both have a semi-profile angle, and the image has a medium shot

frame which causes a somewhat greater involvement with the viewer; however, the lack of eye-contact creates a separation between the character and viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). Many of the images are shot either with a wide frame and with a semi-profile, or both. The images shot with a frontal angle often lack eye-contact. Both factors contribute to creating detachment and social distance from the viewer, which could lead to the students not developing a relation or identify with the characters (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124-126).

"Whale Rider" presented in *Steps 6,* is a retelling of the novel and film with the same name. However, the textbook uses still images from the film without stating where they are taken from or that the story is based on the novel. In the Teacher's Guide that belongs to this series (Munden, Musk and Wessman, 2007b, p. 81)[13], there is a section which has information for the teacher explaining that there is a film with the same name, and that the script is based on a novel written by Witi Tame Ihimaera from New Zealand who is Māori. It is important to acknowledge that Indigenous people are writers, filmmakers, and researchers, among other professions. Recognizing and involving such Indigenous artists and scholars in representing Indigenous cultures, in other words their own cultures, can lead to students not receiving and reproducing stereotypical images of Indigenous cultures. Furthermore, the depiction of Māori culture is entirely done through the narrative *Whale Rider*. The textbook does not explain which year this story is taken from, nor how the Māori people live today. The students could therefore interpret that all Māori people live like they do in the story. Additionally, it is essential to note that the presented narrative is a fragment of the whole story from the original novel. The students are thus not presented with the whole story. The students do not get to know the other characters such as Pai's uncle and grandmother, neither do they come to know that the story is depicted from the uncle's perspective, which can limit diversity and various perspectives, as I state in the Discussion of Research Findings chapter.

4.3 *Explore 6*

Explore 6 was published in 2016 by Gyldendal and has a total of 207 pages. The textbook is written by Elen M. Tudor Edwards, Tone Omland, Isabelle Royer, and Vicoria Armstrong Solli. Camilla Glende is the editor, and Sissel Falck is the photo editor.

4.3.1 "Stars and Stripes"

Each chapter begins with a picture collage with various images that gives the readers an indication of what topics they will be included in the following chapter. The collage for chapter 7 "Stars and Stripes" (p. 164-165, see appendix 3) depicts photographs of men with surfboards, Mount Rushmore, the Statue of Liberty, Marilyn Monroe, some of the stars from Hollywood's Walk of Fame, the Hollywood-sign, the American flag, a city at night-time, tall buildings, an eagle, pancakes, and a wanted poster. The only indication that this chapter will contain topics on Indigenous cultures is the drawing of a war bonnet with the word NATIVES written above. All the images depicted represent various aspects of the culture in the USA. In addition to the images, there are also some central written words that are associated with the USA: freedom, great, state, independent, drive, stars, and destination.

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[13] Analysing all the teacher's guides is beyond the scope of this master's thesis. However, I have looked through them in the event that they add something to the pages in the textbooks.

Moreover, there is a small section stating what the students are going to learn about in this chapter, among other facts about the USA.

Native American culture is represented by a drawing of a war bonnet, whilst the other aspects of American cultures are presented through the utilization of photographs. A drawing does not necessarily receive the same attention as a photograph or are not viewed as important as photographs. Additionally, adding the word "natives" with the war bonnet indicates that war bonnets are common in all Native American tribes. War bonnets are worn by leaders of Native American tribes in the Great Plains region (Native Languages of the Americas, n.d.). Not even every member of these tribes wears war bonnets. It is therefore problematic to use war bonnets to represent Native American culture, as it is something that is specific to one region. Such representation reinforces stereotypes of Native American people and their culture. Importantly, the word "Native" should not be used as a noun, as it is derogatory (when used by non-Indigenous peoples). Indigenous writers such as Thomas King use the word "Native" or "Indian" as a way to reclaim these terms. In section 2.2.1, I discussed the term 'strategic essentialism' which is "a political tactic employed by a minority group acting on the basis of a shared identity in the interest of unity during a struggle for equal rights" (Chandler and Munday, 2011). This is important and valuable for Indigenous people, as it allows them to partake in the process of representing themselves and how they identify in their own terms.

4.3.2 "Around the USA"

This narrative is made up of ten images which are joined by audio text (p. 168-169, see appendix 4). Therefore, in this narrative, I have decided to include the teacher's book *Explore 6 Teacher's Book* (p.168-169) for this series to gain access to the audio text (see appendix 5). Firstly, the page begins with a small section with some facts about the USA: it is the third largest country in the world with 9.8 million square kilometres, and therefore, it is 30 times larger than Norway. Further, the students are asked to look at the photos and listen to the text. The image belonging to Native American culture is a black and white photograph of Sitting Bull, a historical figure for the Sioux people. The medium frame makes the character somewhat socially closer to the viewer. Yet, it is slightly impersonal. However, the picture is portrayed with a frontal angle and the character is having eye-contact, which makes the character more involved with the viewer. In the teacher's book, audio text D is the one belonging to the image of Sitting Bull, which is the only image depicting Indigenous people. The text (Edwards, et al., 2016b) states:

> The Sioux were a Native American tribe who hunted buffalo to survive and lived in tents called tipis. Sitting Bull was the chief of the Sioux. He was nicknamed "Slow" because he was always very careful. Sitting Bull became famous for his bravery in battle and for being a great leader. Look closely. What is he wearing on his head? (p.168-169)

The image used is black and white and the audio text refers to the Sioux people in past tense, which indicates they do not exist today. However, the Sioux people continue to live and thrive in many parts of the world. Additionally, the Sioux are not one tribe, as is mentioned in the audio text, but they are groups of Native American tribes. This means that there are different tribes belonging to the Sioux. Thus, the textbook presents the students with incorrect information, both on the notion that they do not live anymore, and that the

Sioux were a (one) Native American tribe. It may be true that the Sioux were a tribe who hunted buffalo and lived in tipis hundred years ago but saying that they were a Native American tribe indicates they are extinct, when in fact they are approximately 170,000 Sioux people living in the US today (Norris, Vines and Hoeffel, 2012, p. 17). Today, they have changed their way of life, nevertheless, if it was the case to point out how they lived for hundreds of years ago this should be pointed out.

Furthermore, the text provides information about Sitting Bull, who he was and what he did. Focusing on what he is wearing, a feather, could signify that it is his appearance what is important regarding Native American culture. The textbook has reproduced a mythical man to represent the Sioux people, and also maybe to indirectly represent other Native American people, since they do not specify that there are different tribes. This could lead to the students' misinterpretation that this is the way all Native American people look and lived. Additionally, it needs to be pointed out that all the other images used are in colour, except from one which depicts a factory from the 1910s or 20s. In a chapter about the USA, they have chosen to depict Native American people from an "older" perspective, as the black and white image reinforces and perpetuates stereotypes of Native American people situated in an undefined past. This indicates that Native American cultures were a part of the USA, but not anymore. When in reality there are 574 federal recognized tribes in the United States today (National Congress of American Indians, 2020, p. 11). Finally, using Sitting Bull and the Sioux people to address the topic of Native American culture gives the impression that other Native American tribes are similar to the Sioux tribe and thus not worthy of their own specific narrative.

4.3.3 "Road Trip USA"

This narrative is displayed as a map of the USA (see appendix 6) and begins with a "Before you read"-section which asks: "Would you like to go on a long trip? Where would you like to go?" (p. 170-171). The students are then supposed to answer: "I would like to go to…". Furthermore, the introduction states that "There are so many different things to see in the United States. A good way of getting around is by car" (p. 170). This sentence indicates that the objects and people depicted on the map are attractions one goes to see, or maybe to some extent do, such as the Statue of Liberty, Mount Rushmore, and Disneyland. The objects and people are placed on the states they are associated with. On the state of Oklahoma, a man is placed with a war bonnet and wearing clothes that resemble Native American clothes. To gain access to the written text that describes the different objects or people placed on the states, I had to include the *Explore Teacher's Book* (p. 170-171, see appendix 7). In this section, I will analyse the text about Oklahoma due to the fact that this is the only one that mentions Native American people. The title reads as follows: "Oklahoma: This was a former Indian territory. Today, there exist more Indian tribes than in any other state, and there are over 25 Indian languages spoken here" (p. 171, my own translation). In my thesis, I have referred to the Indigenous people in the USA as Native Americans, so the reason why I write "Indian" in this translation is because they have used that term, "indianer", in the original text. The text starts with expressing that Oklahoma was a Native American territory, which is true in the sense that it was stolen from them. Many Native American peoples still regard their territory as theirs (Kaur, 2020).

The written text does not clarify what tribe the Native American man belongs to. Therefore, using one person depicting multiple tribes that live in Oklahoma denotes that all

the tribes look like him. Furthermore, this signals that all Native American people have a similar appearance to the person in the book. In an everyday setting, Native Americans do not wear traditional clothes and war bonnets, which addresses issues such as: do all tribes from Oklahoma wear war bonnets? I stated earlier that war bonnets are worn by leaders of tribes belonging to the Great Plains area, whilst other tribes from other regions had other headpieces, and some did not. Besides, the Great Plains region covers most Oklahoma[14]. It is important to acknowledge that the states today are geographical borders created by the settlers and imposed on the Native American people[15] and Native American regions do not cover the same states (United Nations Staff, 2009). For most Indigenous people, borders do not exist in the same sense as they do to Western people, as they are "a figment of someone else's imagination" (King, 2012, p. xvi). Consequently, stating that Oklahoma was a Native American territory expresses that the tribes come from this state while in fact, they do not come from Oklahoma, but Oklahoma was built on parts of their land (United Nations Staff, 2009). Additionally, this is the only state that mentions Native American people, which could be interpreted as if all the Native American people came from Oklahoma. Thus, the text does mention that there are more Native American people in this state than any other, which emphasizes that there are maybe other tribes in other states although none of the other texts in the other states refer to this. It must be pointed out that the text does write tribes in the plural form, as well as mentioning that there over 25 different Native American languages spoken. The textbook does suggest that there is a diversity of Native American tribes.

4.3.4 "Third Stop: South Dakota"

This is the final narrative that mentions Native American people in *Explore* (p. 178, see appendix 8). Despite that, the narrative is not about Native American culture. The story is the third stop of a family's road trip through the USA that started with the sub-chapter "Road Trip USA" analysed earlier. Native American people are mentioned in passing in this narrative. The written text describes how the family, on their way to South Dakota, cross the state of Iowa, and the students are informed that it is named after the Native American populations that once lived there. Using the phrase "[…] once lived here", indicates that there were Native American peoples there in the past but that they do not live there anymore. This further develops the idea that Native American people are erased from the present, which I have discussed earlier in the analysis. The word "once" refers to something that happened sometime in the past. Additionally, it is a word that could have a connotation to fairy tales and myths, as this is a word often used in those contexts. This could associate Native American people to mythical people of the American frontier era, which is problematic, as it maintains a recurrent stereotypical representation of Native American people. The text does not, however, point out that both South Dakota and North Dakota are named after Native American tribes.

The "Did you know?"-section provides information about Native American peoples in the following way: "The first people who lived in North America, were Native Americans, also called American Indians" (p. 178). The text does not highlight why Native Americans were called American Indians. This is essential as the word "Indian" contributes to the

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[14] As illustrated here: https://americanhistory.si.edu/buffalo/map.html. Retrieved May 5, 2021.

[15] This did not only happen to the Native American people but to all Indigenous people in different countries (United Nations Staff, 2009).

stigmatization of Indigenous people and has a negative connotation for many Native Americans (Marks, 2018). Additionally, this section is written in past tense and proclaims that they were there first but does not state that many Native American communities still live here today, which, again, increases the illustration that these communities are situated in a de-historized time and space. Additionally, Indigenous people are often placed outside history, which de-historicises them as they are represented in some timeless and placeless past. Furthermore, there are no images of Native American people in this narrative. However, there is a photograph of an animal herder and his cattle. The written text is about the Midwest where it is pointed out that "this is the home of many legends about gunfighting cowboys, train robberies and cattle rustling" (p. 178). Mentioning Native American people in this context can give connotations to the way they have been portrayed in a reductive way in the American frontier.

4.4 *Quest 6*

Quest 6 was published in 2015 by Aschehoug and has a total of 219 pages. The textbook is written by Anne Helene Røise Bade, Maria Dreyer Pettersen, and Kumi Tømmerbakke. Hege Ludvigsen is listed as the editor and Nina Hovda Johannesen is the photo editor.

4.4.1 Front Cover of the Textbook

Similar to the cover of *Stairs 6,* the cover of *Quest 6* (p. 74-75, see appendix 9) shows a map of North America (mainly the USA) seen from space. Here too, people, buildings, and things are placed on the map depicting typical things that are associated with US culture, such as Elvis, Michael Jackson, the Statue of Liberty, spaceship and astronauts, and two people who could remind readers of Abraham Lincoln and Barack Obama. It seems like people, buildings, and items are placed at random, except for the Statue of Liberty, which is located where New York is, indicating that these depictions are not related to any specific state. There are two portrayals of Indigenous people, a woman and a child (not clear whether it is a boy or a girl). The adult is wearing traditional Native American clothes and headdress (a feather headband), and the child is wearing modern clothes and holding an American football. Portraying Native American people on the cover of the textbook indicates that these are among the topics the students are going to interact with in the rest of the textbook, which is the case here. In this chapter, the students encounter multiple narratives on Indigenous cultures, both Native American culture and Sámi culture.

4.4.2 "OK, USA!"

"OK, USA!" (p. 74-75, see appendix 10) is the name of chapter 3 and functions as its front page. The front page for this chapter shows an illustration of a map of the USA naming all the states. Within the map there are drawings that represent the various states, such as a casino in Nevada, a palm tree in Florida, and the Statue of Liberty in New York. The only depiction of an Indigenous person on these two pages is an Inuit man, wearing traditional clothes, on the state of Alaska. Each chapter is accompanied by a written section which describes the focus of the chapter. The students are supposed to learn about, among other, the USA, Native American people, and African American people. Neither Native American nor African American people are pictured on the map, but there is content on them later on in the chapter. However, the Inuk is only observed on the front page. There are no narratives on Inuit people in this chapter or in the textbook altogether.

Most of the things depicted on the map that are supposed to represent the various states are either items, buildings, or animals. There are few people: Texas is represented by a man on a horse looking like a cowboy, a man on a tractor representing Kansas, a man on downhill skis in Montana, a surfing man in Hawaii, and the Inuit man in Alaska. These items, buildings, or animals could be regarded as symbols for representing what is associated with a particular state. Furthermore, some of the items and buildings are attractions or monuments that people can visit. All the other people are portrayed doing something, whilst the Inuit man is standing doing nothing. This shows that in these states you could go skiing or surfing, or there may be many farmers or cowboys. By using an Inuit person to portray Alaska, it could appear as if their culture were an attraction or entertainment. This could be harmful for the students, as it could lead to the objectification of Indigenous cultures. I will carry out an in-depth examination on this in the Discussion of Research Findings chapter.

4.4.3 "Journey to the New Land"

This narrative is presented in the shape of a timeline (p. 78-79, see appendix 11), portraying the exploration, colonization, and settlement of North America. The focus here is on who arrived when and where. The textbook explains that "30 000-15 000 B.C. The first humans, today's Native Americans, migrate from Asia into the Americas" (p. 78). This could give an impression that Native American people are not native to the country we today know as USA and Canada. However, since it was at least 15 000 years since they arrived in America it could also give a perception that they have lived there for prolonged period of time that they have become the native people of this area. Of the five "After reading"-questions, one is concerned with Indigenous cultures. Here they ask the students "Where did the first Native Americans live before they came to America?" (p. 78). This question does not encourage students to reflect on the topic of Indigenous people and that they were the first people on a land. The narrative make Native American people appear as one group of Indigenous people in the USA.

4.4.4 "The Native Americans"

One of the headings in chapter 3 in *Quest 6* is titled "The Native Americans" (p. 84-85, see appendix 12) and begins with a "Before reading"-section that asks the students a question: "What do you know about the Native Americans?" (p. 84). A question like this gives the opportunity to activate their prior knowledge about Native American people. This story narrates the history and present-day life of Native Americans. The written text is accompanied by two images. One painting of *Buffalo Hunt*, from 1897, depicting two Native American men on horses hunting buffalos with bows and arrows, wearing traditional Native American clothes. The painting has a wide shot frame, which makes the characters socially distant from the viewer and therefore, it becomes impersonal. The characters in the painting are portrayed with a semi-profile angle and make no eye-contact with the viewer which creates detachment. The second image is a photograph of a powwow, which is a social event for Native Americans where they sing, dance, socialise, and honour Native American culture. The photograph is taken with a wide frame making the viewer distant from the characters, which can be problematic as the students will most likely not develop identification for the characters in the image (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124-126). Even though there are several people in the photograph, one person is clearly delineated while the others are blurred out. The person in focus is depicted from a back angle with no eye-contact which causes disconnection between the character and viewer. All the people in

the photograph are wearing war bonnets, traditional headdresses, and traditional Native American clothes. Additionally, there is an image description explaining what a powwow is.

The written text in this narrative tells a comprised story of how the European, Columbus, arrived in America and that he met the Native Americans. Further the text explains why they were given the name "Indians" by the Europeans, how Native American people lived, why many were killed, and where they live now. It must be pointed out that the narrative does mention that when Columbus arrived in America, he met many different Native American communities who belong to various tribes. The narrative is written from a Western perspective. From a Native American perspective, Columbus and his army invaded and confiscated Native American territories, but the textbook does not consider the devastating affect colonialism had on the Native American people living there (Smith, 2012, p. 44). The textbook states how some tribes "lived in tents and gathered berries and nuts for their food" while other "hunted buffalo on the Great Plains" for livelihood. Other tribes were hunters and fishermen, and some "lived in small villages and cultivated land". These different ways of living depend on the location of the tribe. This indicates that there is diversity within the Native American people, and all Indigenous people do not belong to the same tribe. Most of the plot, features and facts used to describe Native American people is told from a historical perspective. However, when describing the Native Americans today, the textbook mentions that there are "566 tribes in the USA and 5 million Native Americans. Many of them still live on reservations, but most […] live in cities and small towns" (p. 85). This section does not describe "how" Native American people live today, just where.

Together with the images presented, the reader could interpret that Native American people still live in a traditional manner, wearing traditional clothes, headdresses, and hunting for a living. The photograph portraying a powwow event is taken from an angle where the faces of the people are not visible. If an image depicts a person from a side or rear angle, the person becomes detached from the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). This could lead to objectification of Native Americans. Both images used in this textbook portray Native Americans in a stereotypical way by not representing visually how they live everyday life in contemporary times. Additionally, the heading of this text, "The Native Americans", implies that all Native American people have lived or live like this. There is little description on diversity, aside from what they used to hunt and live on depending on where they lived, within Native American tribes. Using stereotypical images, and not depicting Native American peoples with individual characteristics, shows a level of generality and the portrayal of Native American peoples as a social type, a group (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 95). At the end of the narrative, the students are met with an "After reading" and "Talk about it"-section. All three questions presented in the "After reading"-section describe what you have read. Here the students are not asked to reflect about what they have just read. The same also applies to sentence (a) in "Talk about it" where the students are asked to find an interesting fact and tell it to their partner. It does not point out that the students have to tell their partner why they chose the fact. This task, therefore, could be considered as a "describe what you have read"-task. Task (b) could be deemed a more reflective question, since the students have to take their own feelings into account.

4.4.5 "The Sioux and the Sami people"

The next narrative on Indigenous people in chapter 3 is "the Sioux and the Sami people" (p. 86-87, see appendix 13). The introduction is set in Hammerfest (a town in

Northern Norway), where 11-year-old Anna and Ailo are taking part, together with their school, in an international project about traditional culture and traditions from different countries. Since one of the schools in the project is from the USA, they learn about the Sioux people. This narrative is divided on two pages, where the first page deals with the Sioux, and the second page compares the Sioux and the Sámi people. The first story comes in the form of a bullet point segment written by Ailo about what he learned about the Sioux. The information segment provides information such as their name meaning "little snake", that they lived mainly in Minnesota, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, that they are known for their powwows, that "a famous Sioux warrior, Chief Sitting Bull, won the Battle of Little Big Horne in 1876 against the American General Custer", and that more than 150 Sioux Indians were killed in the Battle at Wounded Knee in 1890, which ended the Indian wars. Stating that the Sioux people are known for their powwows could be problematic, as it suggests that organizing powwows is their main purpose. In fact, it makes it sound that powwows are something that belong to the Sioux peoples' culture. Powwow is a social meeting held by various Native American communities (Paul G, 2019). Most likely, people who are Sioux today have "regular" jobs and go to school. This segment is accompanied by a photograph of Chief Sitting Bull wearing traditional clothing and has braided hair. The photograph of Chief Sitting Bull is a close frame shot and taken from a frontal angle. He is also making eye-contact with the viewer. Depicting him this way makes him more involved and socially closer to the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99) which can make the students develop a relation and compassion with the character (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124.126). By using this photograph, the Sioux people are represented by Chief Sitting Bull, a historical figure who was a chief and a spiritual leader for one tribe over hundred years ago. This could be interpreted that Sioux do not exist anymore or that Sioux people still dress like he does.

The image used is a colourized black and white photograph. A colorized black and white photograph may have positive aspects as it can appear to be modern. Yet, the downsides may be worse, as this strategy could be harmful because at that time cameras could not capture images in colour and therefore, we do not know which colours are accurate in the image. By colourizing black and white photographs, we are giving more meaning than is there. This is especially detrimental to Indigenous cultures where colours have a special meaning. Native American people were, and are, thoughtful of their use of colour and shape (Smith, 2012, p. 48). Thus, colourizing pictures could be seen as appropriation. In the case of the photograph used of Chief Sitting Bull, someone has given him colours that he may not have worn. Additionally, Chief Sitting Bull is an important figure, but the authors have chosen to use an image where he wears clothes that resembles colonial clothes more than Native American clothes that they would wear at that time. There are many images of him in black and white, wearing more traditional Native American clothes, but they chose a 'colonialized' yet coloured image, which makes him seem more modern than he was.

On the second page, Anna has made a Venn diagram showing the similarities and differences between the Sioux and the Sámi people. The Sioux are represented with a war bonnet, as mentioned earlier in section 4.3.1, war bonnets are worn by tribes from the Great Plains region. This is not explicitly mentioned, which could indicate that war bonnets are worn by the Sioux people and not others. In turn, the Sámi people are represented with a Sámi hat. According to Munkebye (personal communication, May 2021) who is a Coastal

Sámi, the hat presented in this narrative is a cuipi. The hat belongs to the Northern Sámi people and is a male hat from the Karesuando area, which is in Sweden (Europeana, n.d.). The Sámi people are therefore represented by a hat worn by male Northern Sámi people. In the textbook, Anna mentions that there are many similarities between the two groups, such as: "They were first in their country", "Chanting/yoik", "Forced to speak English/Norwegian at school", and "Lived in teepees/lavvos". The differences are that the Sioux "hunted buffalo" and the Sámi "hunted reindeer", the Sioux "Wore long feather war headdresses" and the Sámi "wore gaktis", and that the Sioux had "their land taken away", and the Sámi had to "pay tax". A notable feature in this Venn diagram is that the facts are written in past tense, which indicates that actions or situations are no longer being practiced today. In this case, the facts stated in the Venn diagram could be interpreted as if the Sioux people and Sámi people were historical figures of the past, similarly to the Vikings in Norway. They are represented as an extinct group. However, according to Statistisk Sentralbyrå (Statistiscs Norway), there are over 55000 Sámi people in Norway today (Meld. St. 31 (2018-2019).

Neither the segment on the Sioux people nor the Venn diagram mention how they live today (except that the Sioux people "live mainly in Minnesota, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota"). This could be understood as if the Sioux and the Sámi people did live like this today, or that they do not exist. Moreover, the narrative uses many general terms to describe the two groups. Not all Sámi people, for example, hunted reindeer, or participated in reindeer husbandry. The Sámi people are divided into multiple groups depending on geography, language, or occupation (Hætta, 2002, p. 17-18, 111). Some Sámi people identify as "coastal Sámi" (Norwegian: sjøsamer/kystsamer), and others identify as "lulesamer", which is based on language. Using general terms to describe different Indigenous groups develops a homogenous description of culture and can create stereotypes. I have fully developed a discussion on culture in chapter 2 Theoretical Background.

4.4.6 "Make a Dream Catcher"

This narrative comes in a format of a recipe (p. 88, see appendix 14), where the students are taught how to make a dream catcher. The introductory paragraph highlights that "some Native American tribes believe dream catchers caught bad dreams and let the good dreams get through to the dreamer" (p. 88). It has been debated whether making dream catchers is problematic and if it involves cultural appropriation. Some express that is cultural appropriation when non-Indigenous people and businesses make and sell dream catcher, and that it is not considered cultural appropriation when Indigenous people use, make, sell dream catchers themselves, since they have always done it (Auntie Manda, n.d.). Others note that having students make dreamcatchers is not the problem but that having them make them and teaching the students that it is Native American is problematic, since not all Native American people make dream catchers. As mentioned in section 2.2, the term Native American is an umbrella term for all the tribes who lived in the Americas, where 90% of the tribes were wiped out by European colonizers (Biss, 2015). It is therefore important to teach students that dream catchers belong to the Ojibwe tribe and was later adopted by other tribes during the Pan-Indian movement in the 1960s (Biss, 2015). Circling back to the introductory paragraph, where they have used the phrase "some Native American tribes", it is important to note that it does not mention which Native American tribes use the dream catchers. The phrase "some Native American tribes" does therefore not specify which tribes

and does not mention the Ojibwe tribe, which could easily be interpreted as "all" tribes since "some tribes" is not specific enough. In a way, using the word "some" generalises Native American culture, and implies that "all" tribes make and use dream catchers. This, consequently, depicts Native American as a homogeneous culture (Dahl, 2015, p. 71).

4.4.7 "Tisquantum"

The narrative about "Tisquantum" (p. 89, see appendix 14) begins with a "before reading"-question: "What do you know about Thanksgiving?" (p. 89), giving the students an opportunity to reflect around what Thanksgiving is and means for US culture. The story about Tisquantum describes that "he was a Native American who taught the English settlers how to grow corn and helped them through a hard winter." Further, the story points out that the "Indians" (p. 89) celebrate the harvest of corn. And that the first time the English celebrated Thanksgiving was in 1621. The final two lines explain when and how people in the USA celebrate Thanksgiving today.

The image that is presented together with the written language is called *The First Thanksgiving* and painted by Jean Leon Gerome Farris (1863-1930). Farris was an American painter best known for painting scenes from American history (David Barnett Gallery, n.d.). Considering that the painting is included on this page, it indicates that the painting illustrates the written language in this narrative. The painting depicts a peaceful interaction between the Native American people and the settlers. The image has a wide frame long shot that makes the relation between the people and the viewer socially distant, and therefore impersonal (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). This is increased as the people in the painting are painted from semi-profile and profile angle. Portraying them from this angle, they have no eye-contact with the viewer, and therefore the viewer is detached from the people in the painting. The narrative ends with three "after reading"-questions: "How did Tisquantum help the English?", "Describe the people in the painting. What are they doing?", and "Do the Norwegians have a similar festival? If so, how do they celebrate it?" The questions do not necessarily facilitate reflection on the topic of Thanksgiving, but they ask the students to repeat and describe what they have read and see. Additionally, there is a "did you know"-fact section that explains that corn was important to the Native American people and what they did with the corn. This section circles the topic of corn back to the why Native Americans celebrated the harvest of corn.

This story portrays Thanksgiving from a Native American perspective, while it is in fact a non-Native tradition (Native Hope, n.d.). Here Thanksgiving is depicted as a peaceful event where Native American people and colonists live in harmony (which is the case in the book's story). Conversely, this was not reality for many other tribes in North America. The narrative does not depict notion of Thanksgiving from various angles. For many Native Americans people, Thanksgiving is highly problematic, as it reminds them of "the genocide of millions of Native people, the theft of Native lands, and the relentless assault on Native culture" (United American Indians of New England, n.d.). Since the 1970's the activist organization United American Indians of New England have led an annual protest on the same day as Thanksgiving, which is called National day of Mourning. On the National day of Mourning, the participants honour their ancestors, and the struggles Native American people encounter today (United American Indians of New England, n.d.). To cover multiple perspectives on Thanksgiving in the US, the textbook could mention something about this untold story.

4.4.8 "Pocahontas"

The narrative about Pocahontas is the longest in *Quest 6*, considering that it is spread over three pages (p. 111-113, see appendix 15). Ahead of the story about Pocahontas, the students are asked a question from the "before reading"-section: "Who did the English meet when they first landed in Virginia and Massachusetts?" (p. 111). This question does not have a lot to do with this chapter. Virginia is mentioned in the written text, but Massachusetts it not. However, looking back at pages 78-79, and the section on "Journeys to the New World", both these states are mentioned in the timeline. If the teacher uses the textbook in chronological order, this question could activate students' prior knowledge about colonization (or the "Journey to the New Land" (p. 78-79), as the book called it) of North America. From an Indigenous perspective, this is problematic as they were invaded and the colonizers confiscated their lands (Smith, 2012, p. 44). Pocahontas lived in the area that is now known as Virginia, which could be the connection between the question and the plot of the narrative the students will read. The story is divided into three sections and the written texts are joined by three images.

The first section is about Pocahontas' childhood. The first sentence of the story asks the students if they have seen the film *Pocahontas*, probably referring to the 1995 animated Disney film, as they have included an image from the film on the next page. Furthermore, the authors state that "this is her story", which is troublesome as the film is historically inaccurate (Schilling, 2017), which is not mentioned here. The film heavily romanticizes the colonial area which presents a biased image of how it was in reality (Monton, 2020, p. 21). In the story, they do point out that she was given the nickname Pocahontas because she was a playful child and that her real name was Matoaka. The story presented differs from the plotline of the film. Linking the film and the narrative presented in the textbook could make the students believe that the story in the film is the real historical account about Pocahontas. Asking students whether they have seen the film, and then stating that the following narrative is her story, can cause confusion to what really happened to Pocahontas as a historical figure. Furthermore, the story tells students that she was a princess and that she collected firewood, grew and made food, and helped build some of the homes as a young girl. The written text is accompanied by a colour print postcard, depicting Pocahontas in court with King James. The image has a wide shot where Pocahontas is portrayed from the profile causing a social distance and detachment form the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). The image does not coincide with the written text on the same page, which can cause confusion. Pocahontas' meeting with King James is mentioned in the third section on the next page. However, the narrative does not mention that she is in court with him. Thus, it appears that the image was included merely to add an image of Pocahontas as there probably are no images of her as a child. This could be seen as tokenism, meaning that it was included with little effort only to give the impression that an effort has been made (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). I will discuss the use of tokenism in detail in the Discussion of Research Findings chapter.

The second section informs the students of the arrival of the English. In this section, the students get to know John Smith, who in the film is Pocahontas' love interest. Many students may therefore associate John Smith from the written text to the one from the film. Additionally, the written text claims that John Smith and Pocahontas became friends. This is a problematic aspect, since she is a young girl aged 12 and he is an adult, about 15 years her senior (Schilling, 2017). The textbook portrays an image of a friendship that most likely

52

was not such. Moreover, they state that Pocahontas became Christian and changed her name to Rebecca. Many Native Americans did become Christian, but in this narrative, they make it seem as if it was voluntarily. In reality, they were forced to adapt to the European norm and therefore forced into Christianity (Howe, 2019, January 19). Later, as mentioned in section 2.2.1, Native American people were assimilated into the European ways of living. For example, Native American people were denied carrying out their own culture, speaking their own language, and living like they did (Howe, 2019, January 19). Native American people were not the only Indigenous people who experienced cultural assimilation, but the majority of Indigenous people suffered from assimilation and genocide[16]. Therefore, including a film as reference and writing the narrative as a romanticized depiction of the colonial area takes away the tough and cruel reality that Native American people (and other Indigenous people) experienced. At the end of section two, a new character is introduced, John Rolfe, a settler who married Rebecca and had a son together. According to the English settlers, Pocahontas and John were in love. However, there is a certain uncertainty around this, since she was not allowed to see her family. Therefore, based on Native American stories, it is indicated that she was most likely kidnapped (Schilling, 2017). On the same page, there is a painting of a portrait named *Pocahontas*, where she is dressed in English clothing. She is depicted with a medium frame and from a semi-profile/frontal angle, creating a somewhat greater involvement with the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). This is increased by the fact that she is looking straight at the viewer.

The third section describes how Pocahontas went to England. Using phrases such as "Pocahontas goes to England" and "John and Rebecca Rolfe travelled to England" indicates that she did it voluntarily, which I mentioned above is most likely untrue as she was kidnapped. Furthermore, the textbook states that twelve other Powhatans, Pocahontas' tribe, travelled with them to England. This is probably also false, as they, too, were most likely kidnapped and sold as servants or carnival attractions (Schilling, 2017). Smith (2012) stresses that "from indigenous perspectives territories, peoples and their possessions were stolen" (p. 122). It is therefore important to include marginalized cultures' perspectives as they provide a different side to a story. The textbook states that "She is one if the best-known Native Americans in history" (p. 113), which for the Norwegian population is probably due to the Disney film. Sadly, it tells an inaccurate story about Pocahontas and how Native American people were treated. The final image is located on the third page and is an illustration taken from the film *Pocahontas* from 1995. In this image, Pocahontas is portrayed with a medium frame and a semi-profile angle causing her to have no eye-contact with the viewer. These aspects create her to be social distant and a detachment from the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). The textbook portrays a quite peaceful interaction between the settlers and the Native American people during the colonial time, which can give pupils a distorted image of reality.

The arrangement of the images in this narrative could create confusion and misinformation for the reader. The image on page 111 is addressed in the text on page 112. The placement of the images on pages 112 and 113 is not thoroughly considered in relation to the text. The images correspond to the last two question on page 113. However, they are

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[16] For example, in Norway, the Sámi people have experienced an assimilation policy for the past 250 years, where they were denied speaking their language and change their fundamental cultural perception (Hætta, 2002, p. 123).

placed on the upper right and upper left corners which situates them to be actively involved with the written text when, in fact, they should have been interacting with the questions. Even though I do not agree with the use of these images, a slight improvement would have been to place the images after the questions they relate to. Thus, they would create visual distance from the story. The placement of the images allows the reader to assume that they are images of depiction, meaning that they illustrate the written text, when they are, actually, images for discussion. In the previous narratives analysed in this thesis the images have been of depiction.

Like the previous narratives analysed, this story has a "After reading" and "Talk about it!" sections. Three of the five "After reading"-questions are descriptive tasks, where the students are asked to describe parts of what they have read. Questions D and E urge the students to be more reflective where they are asked to express how they think Pocahontas felt during her meeting with King James on the painting on page 111. Additionally, they have to reflect on whether she liked to be Pocahontas or Rebecca best. In the "Talk about it"-section they are asked to reflect on what they thought about the film *Pocahontas* if they have seen it. Further, they must compare the painting on page 112 and the still image from page 113 and consider which one she looked like in reality. Although the students are asked to reflect, to a small degree, on the film and compare the two images, these questions do not foster critical thinking. They are not asked to reflect on the plot of the story they read and the film, such as what are the similarities and differences between.

4.4.9 "Sami Constellations"

This is the only section on Indigenous cultures that is not a part of chapter 3. The narrative occurs in chapter 6 "Stars" (p. 198-199, see appendix 16). Compared to the other stories about Indigenous cultures, this one does not have a "before reading"-section. The written text explains what significance constellations have in the Sámi tradition. The constellations "show a hunting scene, where hunters try to catch the best pray: a reindeer ox." Furthermore, they tell stories, according to Sámi legends, about various hunters, Fávdná and the Gállábártnit brothers (who can all be seen in the figure of the Sámi constellations on p. 198). The hunters are on a hunting trip to catch Sarvvis but fail to catch him and eventually give up. They added two images that show a figure of a Sámi Constellation and a photograph of a person at night-time standing next to a lavvu looking up at the stars and the northern lights. The photograph is a wide shot, and the person is depicted from a back angle, and therefore causes a social distance and detachment from the viewer (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). Furthermore, as the person is depicted from a back angle the viewer cannot see who the person is or what gender and age she or he is. This can create an unfamiliarity between the character and viewer. Despite that, using the photograph in this context might suggest that this person is Sámi.

In the "After reading"-section, the students are asked "What do the Sami people think of the constellations?" Here the word "think" is used in present tense which could make the students consider that the Sámi people believe in and use the Sámi constellations. The "Talk about it!"-section does not reflect around the topic of Sámi constellations because it focuses on shooting stars. The story is told from the perspective of Sámi traditions and legends but does not mention if the Sámi people still use the constellations today. This can problematic because it illustrates a representation that Sámi people still use these

constellations. Furthermore, the terms "the Sami traditions" and "the Sami people" assemble them as a whole, which indicates that <u>all</u> Sámi people believed and used, and might to this day still do, in the Sámi constellations. Additionally, it portrays a picture that Sámi people still hunt, resulting in depicting them as stereotypes which again leads to the division of "us" versus "the others" or otherization (Dahl, 2015, p. 72).

5. Discussion of Research Findings

In the following chapter, I will discuss the findings from the analysis in relation to the research questions and the theoretical background presented earlier. The first research question addresses in what way Indigenous cultures are represented, whilst the second question examines to what degree the textbooks foster intercultural competence. The results from the Analysis of Research Findings chapter indicate that the majority of representations of Indigenous cultures are stereotypical, since Indigenous people are systematically depicted in an undefined past situating these communities outside history, and as a homogeneous group. The structure of this chapter will therefore first discuss the aspect of representing Indigenous cultures as stereotypes, otherizations, and tokenisms. Further, I will address the problematic aspects of cultural appropriation. Lastly, I will discuss to what degree the textbooks promote intercultural competence.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the multimodal representations of Indigenous cultures in textbooks developed for sixth grade in the Norwegian EFL classroom. The intention is to perceive whether these resources promote intercultural competence and reach the learning aims, both in the Norwegian national curriculum LK06 and in the English subject on culture and literature. One of the aims for the English subject is to promote and develop "[…] cultural insight can promote greater interaction, understanding and respect between persons with different cultural backgrounds" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, p. 2). Additionally, the Education Act (2020, §1) states that students must learn to think critically, and that education must provide insight into cultural diversity. The aim expresses aspects of intercultural communicative competence which relate to the skills to effectively and appropriately communicate with people who have a different cultural identity (Chen and Starosta, 1999, p. 28). Further, it is important that students are met with a diversity of representations on Indigenous cultures, as well as developing their skills to reflect and to think critically about a topic. In the introductory chapter, I discussed previous research conducted by Brown (2016) and Aasly (2020) on visual representations of Indigenous cultures in EFL textbooks for grade 7 and lower secondary grades. Both studies show that most of the visual representations are illustrated in a stereotypical manner and do not promote intercultural competence. This study has, therefore, chosen to focus on multimodal representations of Indigenous cultures in EFL textbooks for grade 6 for Norwegian primary schools. Furthermore, it examines whether the multimodal representations contribute to fostering intercultural competence.

Drawing on Indigenous theoretical approaches and theories on intercultural competence, I have observed some problematic portrayals of Indigenous people in the textbooks I have analysed in this thesis. Traditionally, research conducted on Indigenous cultures has been carried out through a Western paradigm where Indigenous peoples have been researched as passive subjects (Graeme, 2014, p. 513). From a historical perspective, colonialism has had a strong impact on Indigenous peoples and their cultures. To this day, it remains "a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples" (Smith, 1999, p. 1). In other words, Indigenous people have experienced oppression and have been

marginalized, and to this day, they still do[17]. One of the long-term effects of colonialism is the erasure of Indigenous knowledge.

5.1 Stereotyping and Otherization

The findings in this thesis show that Indigenous people are mostly represented in a stereotypical way which results in them being depicted as foreign. This leads to Indigenous people being grouped as a social type and not as individual people. Smith (1999) points out that the history of research is a complex one. For Indigenous peoples, it is linked to imperialism and colonialism (p. 1). To this day, colonialism and Western research is still extracting knowledge about and from Indigenous communities and controlling how that knowledge is collected, classified, spread, and published. This is often done without considering "other ways of seeing the world" (Graeme, 2014, p. 513). The textbooks presented in this thesis are developed by non-Indigenous authors which unavoidably leads to Indigenous cultures being depicted from a Western perspective. This is not something intrinsically "wrong" but it is something to be considering in terms of questions around authority and ethics.

As explained in the Research Methodology chapter, section 3.1.4, I have applied a visual semiotic approach, which is concerned with the representation of images and focuses on what do images represent and how do they do it. At the same time, it calls attention to the "hidden meanings" of images; "what ideas and values do the people, places, and things represented in the images stand for?" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 92). The two central concepts of visual semiotics are crucial to examine, since all images have layered meanings. The denotative layer focuses on the descriptive meanings or message of an image; "what, or who, is being depicted here?" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 94). From a denotative perspective, most of the images depicting Indigenous cultures in the textbooks portray people belonging to these cultures with traditional clothing and artefacts. Illustrating Indigenous cultures with traditional clothing and artefacts might not be problematic in itself. However, when put into a specific context and analysed on a connotative level, it becomes more problematic. The connotative level focuses on "what ideas and values are expressed through what is represented, and through the way in which it is represented?" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 94). In other words, connotation refers to the underlying and cultural meanings or message of the image (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 94, Serafini, 2014, p. 41). It is at this level that the representations are portrayed as stereotypical as examined in my Analysis of Research Findings chapter. Many of the images depict Indigenous people as a homogeneous group of people that lack diversity. Looking at it from another perspective, one could argue that it is not problematic to depict Norwegian people wearing a "bunad" (Norwegian national costume). It becomes problematic, at a connotative level, if Norwegians were portrayed wearing a "bunad" all the time, and if the Norwegian culture was represented *exclusively* by the "bunad". Regarding the textbooks, the items, clothes,

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[17] For example, there are many Indigenous communities in the US and Canada that lack access to clean water. https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1506514143353/1533317130660. Or in Canada, where the last residential schools were still operating in the early 1990's. The Gordon Residential School in Saskatchewan, which was the last federally run facility, was closed in 1996. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/a-timeline-of-residential-schools-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-1.724434.

and setting depicted are connected to the various Indigenous cultures. The textbooks neglect to describe the diversity, for example, how war bonnets are used by some Native American tribes, but not all tribes have them and they are not worn by all members of the tribe. Additionally, the textbooks indicate visually that Native American people wear war bonnets and traditional clothing every day.

The textbooks represent cultures as a descriptive concept which I often considered as essential and something people have. This perspective of culture is defined as ideas, values, rules, and norms which are adopted from previous generations (Dahl, 2015, p. 44). A descriptive perspective on culture often generalizes people based on their cultural background. By using historical figures, such as Chief Sitting Bull and Pocahontas, which I have analysed in detail in the Analysis of Research Findings chapter, and events, as explained in the narrative about Tisquantum, to portray Native American cultures, students could misinterpret this information and think that the way Native American people lived in the past is also how they live now. One outcome of portraying Indigenous cultures stereotypically is that it creates a static image of the people belonging to these cultures. They are represented as homogeneous groups who do not change, which promotes an essentialist perspective on culture (Dahl, 2017, p. 71). An example of this is that some of the narratives presented in the textbooks depict Native American tribes in an unspecified past where they wear traditional clothing, ride horses, and hunt (*Quest 6*, p. 84). Additionally, note that the only image accompanying the narrative on the Sioux people is of Chief Sitting Bull (*Quest 6,* p. 86). If Indigenous individuals are depicted from a war-perspective, they will most likely be seen as not civilized and war-like people or "savages", as they were misrecognized during the colonial era (Smith, 2012, p. 48). As emphasized by Bhabha (2006), culture is not homogeneous and a nation, or in this case various Indigenous groups, can never be one cultural entity, since it consists of various diverse cultures. Therefore, one can say that a descriptive perspective on culture can lead to developing damaging stereotypes.

An important observation is that there are more images of Indigenous people that are male than female[18]. Moreover, many of the artifacts used to illustrate Indigenous cultures, such as the war bonnets worn by some Native American tribes or the cuipi hat worn by some Northern Sámi people (*Quest 6*, p. 87), are objects that men use. Indigenous cultures are highly represented by male images, causing a lack of diversity, and disguising the identity of Indigenous people. As discussed in 2.2.1, binary oppositions are seldom neutral, which I have analysed in this thesis regarding Indigenous cultures and their stereotypical representations. Hall (1997b) has also questioned the binary oppositions between men and women. Amanda Fayant, a Métis/Cree, (2019) states in her master's thesis that "making space for women's voices and bringing matriarchy back into focus is part of moving beyond inclusion to more active forms of decolonization" (p. 9). By including more male portrayals in the textbooks, these resources erase female identity and perspectives. Arvin, Tuck and Morrill (2013) highlight that within the male/female binary, the male gender is recognized as strong, capable, wise, and composed, while the female gender is recognized as weak, incompetent, naïve, and confused (p. 13). Furthermore, they point out that these gender roles are implemented and intertwined in the Western

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[18] To do an in-depth examination on the representation of gender roles goes beyond the scope of this thesis. However, I will briefly address why this is problematic in my discussion.

perspective to restrict and control Indigenous peoples' claims to land (Arvin, Tuck and Morrill, 2013, p. 15). Additionally, Fayant (2019) describes that "defining people and using science to justify these definitions is a powerful tool of the colonial system […] but also a means to colonize the Indigenous identity" (p. 149). Thus, it is vital to show gender diversity when representing Indigenous cultures, not only by the means of depicting the various tribes, but also that these Indigenous communities consist of individuals with different genders, ages, sexualities, and abilities.

In section 3.1.4.2 "Visual Connotation", I explained that the angle and framing can have a significant influence on how people, places, or things are portrayed and interpreted in an image (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 99). The analysis of the images indicates that the majority of the images have a frame and angle where the characters are socially distant and detached from the viewer. One of the consequences of using images that socially distance character and viewer will be that the characters in the image do not interact with the students. This causes disconnection and it will most likely not establish a relationship between the character and viewer (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 124-126). Applying images in the textbooks that depict Indigenous people from afar causes a distance between the characters and the students, which prevents the students identifying with the Indigenous people. Thus, the students may not be allowed to develop any feelings, for example empathy, with the Indigenous people, which generates a greater possibility that the students are going to consider Indigenous people as others. The processes of identification or misidentification would be different if the student is Indigenous or not. Dividing groups of people into categories such as "us" and "the others" increases the chance for otherization (Dahl, 2015, p. 72). Otherization is one of the aspects in the circle of essentialism presented by Dahl (2015, p. 71). As described in section 2.2.1, otherization causes other groups that do not fit into "mainstream culture" to be excluded. Categorizing Indigenous people as others further develops the notion of essentialism which again upholds stereotypes (Dahl, 2015, p. 71).

On the notion of otherization, some of the textbooks display Native American people together with other objects that one can see or things to do in the USA. Otherization classifies them as others and therefore as "less human". We can see this on the cover of *Stairs 6,* on page 170-171 in *Explore 6,* and on page 74-75 in *Quest 6*. Both these examples show a map of the USA, where they show things that are typical to see and do in the US. This becomes problematic as they portray Native American people as an attraction or entertainment, something we can see or experience if we visit the US. Hirschfelder and Molin (2018) point out in their essay that Native American people are often treated as objects in counting songs, for example "ten little Indians", books, and toys for children. Furthermore, they emphasize that children's lives are loaded with Native American stereotypes, such as "I for Indian" in alphabet books, "Ten Little Indians" song and dance, "Indian" barbie dolls, and Pocahontas costumes (Hirschfelder and Molin, 2018). Depicting Indigenous cultures as objects fosters a mindset that approves that one can dress up and play "Indian". It is normal for children to dress up and play various characters such as cowboy, nurse, or fire fighter. However, these are occupations: "Being American Indian is not a profession or vocation" (Hirschfelder and Molin, 2018). To be Indigenous, is a human identity, and portraying Native American people as objects, characters, entertainment, and products is dehumanizing, which implies that Indigenous people "are creatures of fantasy" and therefore, not completely human (Hirschfelder and Molin, 2018). This further reinforces

the binary opposites where Indigenous people are presented as inferior compared to the norm, which is represented by whiteness as a normative ideal (Hall, 1997b, p. 235; Dyer, 1997, p. 10).

As I stated in section 2.2.1, our perception of reality is affected by our interaction with other people (or in this case the textbooks, which are written by other people). Dahl (2015) lists three factors that can influence our perception, what we learn about, and how we represent other cultures: understanding, lack of understanding, and misconception (p. 25). An important aspect is, therefore, what happens when students interact with Indigenous cultures through stereotypes? In my view, they are presented with information that could be false or overly simplified. This can lead to students making a connection with a concept (Indigenous cultures) to the wrong reference (stereotypes), and thus misconception occurs. For example, students could that believe the term Native American people relates to people who wear war bonnets, or that the Sámi people live in lavvus. The students would then obtain an incorrect and stereotypical image of who Indigenous people are, which could lead to prejudice.

To avoid these stereotypical and homogeneous representations, it is important to include diverse Indigenous people and perspectives when depicting their cultures. By portraying Indigenous peoples as writers, filmmakers, researchers, or other professionals in representations of Indigenous cultures in education, the students would not encounter stereotypical portrayals. Therefore, this would contribute to not reproducing these stereotypes, which could stop the growth of prejudice. Prejudice, according to Dahl (2015), are frozen stereotypes (p. 69). Unfortunately, these frozen stereotypes are rarely going to change despite being met with new knowledge or experiences (Dahl, 2015, p. 69). When students encounter and learn about Indigenous cultures through stereotypes, it could result in fostering them develop prejudice towards Indigenous people. It is problematic that the textbooks use stereotypical representations of Indigenous cultures as they can cause prejudice, since the curriculum states that the English subject is supposed to give a cultural insight into other cultures to promote understanding and respect towards them. Prejudice leads to groups of people being valued less than others and treated as inferior. These beliefs generate racism (Dahl, 2017, p. 69), which contradicts the purpose of the English subject where students are supposed to meet topics that are connected to social issues (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, p. 4). By presenting students with stereotypical narratives that can cause prejudice, which again can lead to racism, they are not met with topics that regard the social barriers that Indigenous people have faced for hundreds of years and still experience to this day.

5.2 Tokenism

Further results indicate that tokenism occasionally slips into the textbooks. Tokenism is the practice of placing or promoting people of minority groups into roles that give the impression that they are given an equal opportunity (Heery and Noon, 2017). Another description of tokenism "refers to a relatively small or trivial positive act, a token, towards members of a minority group (Hogg and Vaughan, 2008, p. 368). In other words, when minority groups are included as a token, they are essentially integrated only as a symbolic gesture. Thus, a token is often presented as a stereotype and amplifies negative attitudes to already marginalized groups.

Tokenism is highly demonstrated in *Stairs 6* where they have portrayed a Native American man on the front cover and an Inuit man on the back cover, but these Indigenous

cultures are not further addressed in the textbook. This is an important aspect considering they have included a chapter called "The American Dream", about the USA, which present topics such as migration to the US, and famous presidents. The textbook does not mention anything on Indigenous people who lived there before the colonial era and the huge wave of migration. One might think that being included is better that nothing. Wallis (2014), however, points out that tokenism is worse than nothing, and that it is in fact "a step backward from goals that are widely desired" (par. 4). Moreover, he emphasizes that the token in itself may be harmless or positive. However, if these tokens are viewed in a larger picture, they are harmful towards the minority culture (Wallis, 2014). Tokenism is a gesture that includes non-dominant groups, and it can even be seen as defining diversity (Deckman et al., 2018, p. 14). Further Deckman et al. (2018) explain that using tokenism this way can affect critical thinking in a manner where we focus on differences as superficial and celebratory (p. 14). This is problematic as minority groups have often experienced oppression and not being included in decision making processes. Furthermore, Deckman et al., (2018) highlight that the use of tokens often portrays groups or individuals, mostly minority and under-represented groups, as insignificant (p. 15). Representing Indigenous cultures through tokenism fails to address and examine the "implications of difference" (Deckman et al., 2018, p. 15). Thus, tokens participate in strengthening stereotypes and embody the assumption that all Native American people wear traditional clothing and war bonnets. Including symbolic gestures in textbooks does not engage with Indigenous culture in depth nor call attention on, and involve critical thinking on, the topic of oppression and the difficulties these cultures have experienced, and still experience today.

Moreover, some narratives were accompanied by images that had no or little relevance specific to the story that is told. It appears that images are included in the textbooks to visualise and exemplify how Indigenous people look. An example is the story about Pocahontas (*Quest 6,* p. 111-113), where they narrate about her childhood, when the English arrived, and when she went to England. However, the images used do not explicitly illustrate the written text. In *Explore 6*, on the other hand, there is a narrative about South Dakota (p. 178) where Native Americans are mentioned as the Indigenous people who once lived there. This is the only information the reader gains on Native American peoples in this story. Not much attention is given to the Native American tribes who lived (and still live today) in South Dakota, neither does it explain what happened with the tribes.

Students who encounter these tokenistic gestures may infer that Indigenous people are less significant than other groups of people, since they are not given adequate space in textbooks. Additionally, tokens of Indigenous people are often presented as stereotypical. As I argued earlier, stereotypical portrayals often result in prejudice, which again leads to otherization (Dahl, 2015, p. 72). Otherization can lead to minority groups being excluded as they do not "fit" into the norm of the majority. The problem with tokenism is that it ignores the whole purpose of diversity, which is meant to bring together ideas, cultures, backgrounds, strengths, and talents from a wide variety of people. This is something the textbooks in this study fail to do, as some of the representations of Indigenous people remain token stereotypes.

Despite these signs of tokenism, there are several narratives on Indigenous cultures in the textbooks that attempt at including Indigenous cultures. The systematic engagement of presenting and introducing Indigenous cultures is essential in further acknowledging the topic on Indigenous peoples. For example, in *Quest 6* there are several narratives that try to

depict some of the historical aspects of Native American people, who they were and are. *Explore 6* has, to some extent, included content on Native American cultures. In *Steps 6* we find the story "Whale Rider", where the teacher's guide (Munden, Musk, and Wessman, 2007b, p. 81) mentions that this narrative is based on a novel by Māori author Witi Ihimaera. There is a difference in the portrayals of Indigenous people in these textbooks compared to *Stairs 6*, which does not have any content on Indigenous cultures beyond the cover. As I have discussed in the previous section, it is important to include a variety of representations of Indigenous cultures to avoid harmful and shallow illustrations. On that note, the authors have made an attempt to tackle Indigenous cultures. I do not think the authors' intentions were to portray Indigenous peoples as stereotypes. Unfortunately, it seems there has been little focus on depicting Indigenous cultures from the perspective of Indigenous people. It is therefore vital that the teachers take time to reflect, alone and together with the students, on the portrayals of Indigenous cultures presented in the textbooks. This way the students can continue to develop their critical thinking skills and get an insight into the diversity of Indigenous people. It is important that the teachers further engage in and examine the representations presented in the textbooks. One approach is to include Indigenous people themselves in teaching to describe their own culture. In Norway, for example, there is an organization called Samiske Veivisere which consists of four young people who travel across Norway to inform teenagers about the Sámi culture. Another way to include Indigenous perspectives is by applying literature and films by Indigenous people to supplement the materials in the textbook.

5.3 Cultural Appropriation

A third finding that is important to address and discuss is cultural appropriation. As I briefly indicated in the Analysis of Research Findings chapter, section 4.4.6, cultural appropriation occurs when members of a dominant culture take elements from a minority culture for their own use or to profit from it, without respect, credit, or benefit given to the creators (Young, 2008, p. 5). Making a dream catcher can be interpreted as cultural appropriation, in the case of the textbook, *Quest 6*, as the activity proposed does not respect, give credit, or benefit the creator. It mentions that in some Native American cultures, they make dream catchers. As mentioned in the analysis, the word "some" is problematic as it does not identify which tribes makes them. This does not show respect as they do not address which Native American tribes use them. Matthes (2019) draws attention to "what makes cultural appropriation wrong […] is the way it interacts with the oppression of certain cultural group members" (p. 1005). In other words, it makes cultures that experience cultural appropriation insignificant, which takes place when people do not receive respect, credit, or benefit from their culture. Additionally, Matthes (2019) links cultural appropriation to cultural essentialism, as it excludes marginalized groups based on the dominant group's interpretation of their culture (p. 1006). Essentialism is an essence within a culture that is expressed as homogeneous (Dahl, 2015, 71). As explained and discussed in the previous section 5.1, an essentialist view on culture could lead to stereotypes (Dahl, 2015, p. 71). Stereotypes do not bring attention to the diversity within Indigenous cultures but rather depict them as one homogeneous people, who all act the same. This can be detrimental for the students in 6th grade as stereotyping, othering, tokenism, and cultural appropriation all go against some of the competence aims and core values in the curriculum.

Another aspect of cultural appropriation is when Indigenous stories are retold without giving credit and recognition to the people who have written them. Lenore Keeshig-Tobias (1997), an Anishinaabe storyteller, poet, scholar, and journalist, explains:

> Stories, you see, are not just entertainment. Stories are power. They reflect the deepest, the most intimate perceptions, relationships and attitudes of a people. Stories show how people, a culture, thinks. Such wonderful offerings are seldom reproduced by outsiders. (p. 71)

The story "Whale Rider" in *Steps 6* is a retelling of the novel *The Whale Rider* by Witi Ihimaera, which was later made into a film. The problematic aspect here is that not every aspect in the novel is retold in the textbook. The authors have selected a few moments and included them in the narrative that is presented. Consequently, not all the ideas and intentions of the author are shown. While it is common to include only excerpts, due to space constraints, it is essential this is done rigorously when textbooks produce selected texts from minoritized authors. It is crucial that Indigenous authors get recognition for their work as they struggle for justice and have had their voices marginalized (Keeshig-Tobias, 1997, p. 72-73). By not mentioning who wrote the story and not telling it in its entirety or correctly, you take away their voice and ownership. In the teacher's guide (Munden et al., 2007, p. 81), they have included the section "information for the teacher" that states that there is a film which narrates the same story based on the novel *The Whale Rider*. Unfortunately, from my own experience, not all teachers implement the teacher's guide when planning lessons. Thus, this information may not be mentioned to the students which could result in the students not developing awareness of the fact that Indigenous people are also authors and directors.

5.4 Intercultural Communicative Competence

My first research question addresses how Indigenous cultures are represented in the textbooks analysed in this study. The second research question asks to what degree do the multimodal representations foster intercultural competence. This section will therefore discuss the textbooks' ability to promote intercultural competence. Developing students' intercultural competence is essential, as it focuses on learning about other cultures as well as "the ability to effectively and appropriately execute communication behaviours that negotiate each other's cultural identity or identities in a culturally diverse environment" (Chen and Starosta, 1999, p. 28). Thus, intercultural competence involves learning about cultural diversity and the ability to communicate appropriately with people who come from a different cultural background, which helps develop tolerance and respect towards other cultures.

My analysis and discussion above display that all of the multimodal representations presented stereotypical and homogeneous depictions of Indigenous people. The textbooks do not provide the students with a diverse representation of Indigenous cultures. Using historical figures, oversimplified and homogeneous illustrations to represent Indigenous cultures maintains the pernicious image of Indigenous people as traditional and "savage" (Smith, 2012, p. 48). It was argued in section 2.3.1.1 that intercultural competence emerged from culturism, and that is a crucial feature to help prevent people from misjudging other people's cultures and realities (Holliday et al., 2010, p. 27). Furthermore, Holliday et al. (2010) stress that prejudice damages intercultural competence. Therefore,

the textbooks could work counterproductively, since they apply stereotypical representations of Indigenous cultures that could cause prejudice. To promote intercultural competence, it is necessary that the students are presented with a variety of illustrations of Indigenous cultures.

As discussed in section 5.1, one of the possible outcomes of representing Indigenous cultures in a stereotypical manner is that it reproduces a descriptive approach to culture, where culture is seen as something essential and something we have (Dahl, 2015, p. 44). This is problematic because a descriptive approach to culture lacks the interaction between people, which a dynamic approach to culture has. According to a dynamic approach, culture is constantly developing in the interplay among people (Dahl, 2015, p. 42; Hall, 1997a, p. 2). It could therefore be argued that dynamic perspectives on culture are developed in interactions between students, where they reflect on other peoples' cultures. Another important aspect of intercultural competence is the ability to view something from other people's perspective, show empathy, openness, and curiosity towards other cultures, and to develop skills such as listening, observation and evaluation, to analyse, interpret and relate (Deardorff, 2011, p. 67). These aspects take part in reflection and the development of critical thinking which is one of the education objectives. The previous curriculum LK06 states that: "Development of communicative language skills and cultural insight can promote greater interaction, understanding and respect between persons with different cultural backgrounds. Thus, language and cultural competence promote the general education perspective and strengthen democratic involvement and co-citizenship" (The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2013, p. 2). The new curriculum, LK20, states that after year 7 students are supposed to "Examine ways of living and traditions in different English-speaking societies and in Norway and reflect on identity and cultural affiliation" (my own translation, The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training, 2020b, p. 7). By presenting Indigenous cultures through a descriptive perspective of culture, the textbooks do not contribute to fostering intercultural competence, since the students are presented with static and essential representations of Indigenous cultures. Additionally, the questions that follow the narratives, for the most part, asks the students to describe or re-tell what they have read. These questions do not encourage students to reflect on what they have read or have a critical awareness of what they have just read and seen. At the same time, the textbooks do not offer many tasks where the students are allowed to discuss and reflect with each other, which is essential to having a dynamic approach to culture.

As I have observed in my research, the textbooks downplay how the Europeans invaded, confiscated, and stole Indigenous territories, and how the Indigenous peoples experienced this. This could affect students' development of respect for Indigenous people, as they are not presented with the accurate story on their history and present-day life. The downplaying the Europeans settlement in America could lead to many people not knowing about and acknowledging the difficulties Indigenous people face today. Furthermore, this may affect the students' ability to develop empathy for people from minority cultures. A possible reason for this is that Indigenous people are not involved in representing their cultures. Smith (2012) claims that "representation of indigenous peoples by indigenous people is about countering the dominant society's image of indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems" (p. 188). As I have demonstrated through this thesis, a

Western perspective on Indigenous cultures has dominated in the textbooks, and therefore, these resources lack diversity.

In section 2.1, I cited Davison and Díaz Andrade (2018) where they stressed that "theory should be appropriate to the context where it is applied if we are to reach an accurate understanding of the phenomenon investigated" (p. 759). Thus, presenting inappropriate or inaccurate information can lead to false or incorrect assumptions about Indigenous cultures, which has occurred in some of the narratives analysed in this study. In section 4.3.2 and 4.4.8, I have analysed narratives on Sitting Bull and the Sioux people, and Pocahontas. Both texts provide information that is incorrect. Here the students learn that the Sioux people "were" a Native American tribe, indicating that they do not live nowadays. The narrative on Pocahontas, on the other hand, illustrates how the colonization by the Europeans is downplayed and depicted their travel to Europe as voluntarily, when she was most likely kidnapped (Schilling, 2017). Moreover, Smith (2012) underlines that allowing Indigenous people to represent their own culture also regards "proposing solution[s]" to the problems Indigenous communities encounter (p. 188). Thus, if textbooks included Indigenous people in representing their own cultures, such inaccurate representations could be avoided. At the same time, it will unfold the injustice they have faced and still do.

In section 5.2, I claimed that some of the textbooks systematically engage with Indigenous cultures which acknowledges their existence. Unfortunately, many of the representations of Indigenous people are stereotypical. It would thus require extended time and resources to teach about Indigenous cultures in more historically accurate, complex, and nuanced ways. As discussed, one option would be to invite Indigenous scholars, researchers, and teachers to share knowledge, discuss and reflect on Indigenous cultures, as well as giving the students insight from their own perspective and lived experience. Another opportunity is to use the textbooks' stereotypical representations and put the images into context by explaining what tribe they belong to, why they wear what they wear, and who wears what, as well as using resources additional to the textbooks to further display the diversity of Indigenous cultures. Doing this together with the students will help develop their critical thinking skills and ethical awareness, since they would participate in reflecting on why it is important to acknowledge, embracing, and practicing cultural diversity.

6. Conclusion

In the following chapter, I will present the conclusion from the study. First, I will give a short summary of the main findings, and I will answer the study's two research questions. Subsequently, I will give some suggestions regarding the implications that these findings have for teachers, as well as textbook producers. Lastly, I will provide a synopsis of the limitations of the current study and conclude the thesis with several suggestions for further research.

6.1 Main Findings

As I presented in the introduction, the purpose of this study was to examine how Indigenous cultures are represented in EFL textbooks used in Norwegian 6ᵗʰ grade, and to what extent these representations contribute to fostering students' intercultural competence. In order to address these two aspects, I developed two research questions. The first research question deals with the multimodal representations of Indigenous cultures: "How are Indigenous cultures represented in Norwegian textbooks for the English subject at primary level?" The second research question asks whether the textbooks foster intercultural competence: "To what degree do the representations of Indigenous cultures foster intercultural competence?" The purpose with these questions was to analyse the materials the teachers and students work with, paying attention to how minority cultures, Indigenous cultures, were represented.

Regarding method, a multimodal narrative analysis was employed to provide answers to the first research question. The analysis showed that there is a trend in the textbooks to use Indigenous people in an undefined past to represent Indigenous cultures, thus situating these communities outside history. Additionally, I noticed that there is a tendency to depict Indigenous people exclusively in traditional clothing. Furthermore, most of the written texts apply the past tense when narrating about Indigenous cultures. This implies that Indigenous people are extinct groups of people, while they in fact still exist and live today. Accordingly, the EFL textbooks analysed in this study show a trend to portray Indigenous cultures as homogeneous, thus reproducing stereotypical images and narratives. The stereotypical portrayals in the textbooks diminish the complexity of Indigenous cultures to simple, identical traits which leads to essentialism. An essentialist, or a descriptive, view on culture could be harmful, as it can result in negative stereotypes and stigmatization of people and cultures. In light of the findings from the study, the answer to the first research question is that the representations of Indigenous cultures in EFL textbooks are predominantly homogeneous and stereotypical.

Other findings that are significant to consider are cultural appropriation and tokenism in the textbooks. Cultural appropriation occurs when members of a dominant culture take elements from minority cultures for their own use and profit, without giving respect, credit, or benefits to the creator (Young, 2008, p. 5). One of the narratives in *Quest 6* suggests the students making dream catchers. This narrative does not mention which tribe the dream catcher comes from, and therefore, no credit is given, which does not show respect towards those Indigenous peoples for whom dream catchers are important to. In related ways tokenism concerns the practice where people of minority groups are situated or promoted into roles that gives the idea that they are given similar opportunities as people from dominant groups (Heery and Noon, 2017). Representing Indigenous people through

tokenistic gestures can be harmful, since this practice often presents them as stereotypes and develops negative attitudes to already marginalized groups.

The second research question engages with the topic of intercultural competence. Based on the findings in the study, it is possible to attempt to answer the second research question which addresses to what degree do the representations foster intercultural competence. In this thesis, I have argued that both the previous (LK06) and current (LK20) national curriculum, as well as the Education act, state that it is important to develop respect, understanding, and tolerance for other cultures. Additionally, the national curriculum and Educational act state that the students should gain an insight into cultural diversity. These aspects are important features in intercultural competence. Unfortunately, the multimodal representations of Indigenous cultures that I analysed are mainly stereotypical, and, as such, these portrayals do not contribute to depicting diversity. As I mentioned earlier, negative stereotypes often lead to prejudice, which is defined as a frozen stereotype and are often difficult to change (Dahl, 2015, 69). Stereotypes and prejudice often result in othering, and the stereotypical representations of Indigenous cultures in the textbooks do not contribute to decreasing the difference between "us" and "the Other"; rather, they are strengthening these binary opposites. According to my analysis and findings, the answer to the second research question would be that the multimodal representations of Indigenous culture in the EFL textbooks convey, to an extent, misconceptions that oppose the overall cultural aims of the English subject in Norwegian education.

6.2 Implications

Teaching about Indigenous cultures is complex, as there are many aspects to consider including extended time and resources. This study shows that there are multiple implications that occur from the results, both related to the way teachers' practices in schools and for the producers of the textbooks. As I argued above, the multimodal representations systematically convey misconceptions and ideologies about Indigenous cultures that oppose the need for students to develop respect, tolerance, and understanding towards other cultures. Thus, it is essential that teachers are conscious of these representations and the lack of diversity in the textbooks. These resources do systematic engage with Indigenous cultures. However, the representations do not cover the diversity of Indigenous communities. A significant aspect here is for the teachers to acknowledge the stereotypical representations that the textbooks depict, and to reflect critically together with the students on what these representations indicate. As I have discussed through this thesis, the Indigenous perspectives play a significant role in how Indigenous cultures are represented. As I have indicated earlier, one possibility is to invite Indigenous people to the EFL classroom, including scholars, authors, actors, and so on. I am aware that it might be challenging to get Indigenous people to come to one's school, but there are other opportunities available such as employing literature or films made by Indigenous people. This way teachers are able to include Indigenous perspectives in their teaching. Furthermore, Covid-19 has also revolutionized the digital worlds, so it is now possible to invite someone virtually, which will also be possible in the future.

I have pointed out in the Discussion of Research Findings chapter that some of the textbooks systematically engage with Indigenous cultures. None of the authors of the textbooks openly identify as Indigenous in their bios (see footnote 11), so I therefore

assume that the textbooks are written from a non-Indigenous perspective. To avoid stereotypical representation of Indigenous cultures, authors and editors of EFL textbooks could invite Indigenous people to contribute to generating the content concerning Indigenous cultures. Accordingly, the content about Indigenous cultures would offer various perspectives and would display the deep diversity within these cultures.

6.3 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

This study has examined how Indigenous cultures are represented in multimodal texts in EFL textbooks for grade 6, and how these representations may affect students' intercultural competence. Due to the limited timeframe and scope of the thesis, I had to limit the research to the four textbooks presented. Initially, I planned on examining how the teacher's guides, that accompany the textbooks, intended teaching about Indigenous cultures. It could therefore be interesting for a future master's thesis to examine whether the teacher's guides contribute or contradict the stereotypical portrayals of Indigenous cultures.

Together with the Theoretical Background and Research Methodology chapters, I have made some assumptions on how students will interpret the representations of Indigenous cultures. Other potential methods could be to interview students to examine how they interpret these representations themselves. Additionally, it could be relevant to interview and observe teachers and how they go forth on teaching about Indigenous cultures. Furthermore, more research is needed on how the authors of the textbooks are gathering information and writing the textbooks. It could therefore be an engaging angle to interview the authors, photographers, and graphic designers of the various textbooks and explore their thoughts on the limits and possibilities of representation of Indigenous cultures and how they have implemented these in their books.

Moreover, as explained in detail in the Research Methodology chapter, this study has followed a qualitative approach, as well as the analysis of four textbooks, so I cannot generalize my findings. However, I have been able to notice trends, which I have explained earlier. Further research could therefore address the textbooks for grade 5 and 7 from the same series in order to generalize the findings. Additionally, other series could be included. Another suggestion could be to apply a quantitative approach where one has the opportunity to compare the amount of representation of non-Indigenous people and Indigenous people. Likewise, it could be relevant to analyse the different people used to represent Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people. For example, focus on gender, age, sexuality, or disability. Such studies could display the diversity within a culture. This is a rich field; I hope that other researchers continue to work on it.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: *Stairs 6* front and back cover

Appendix 2: *Steps* 6 page 26-29
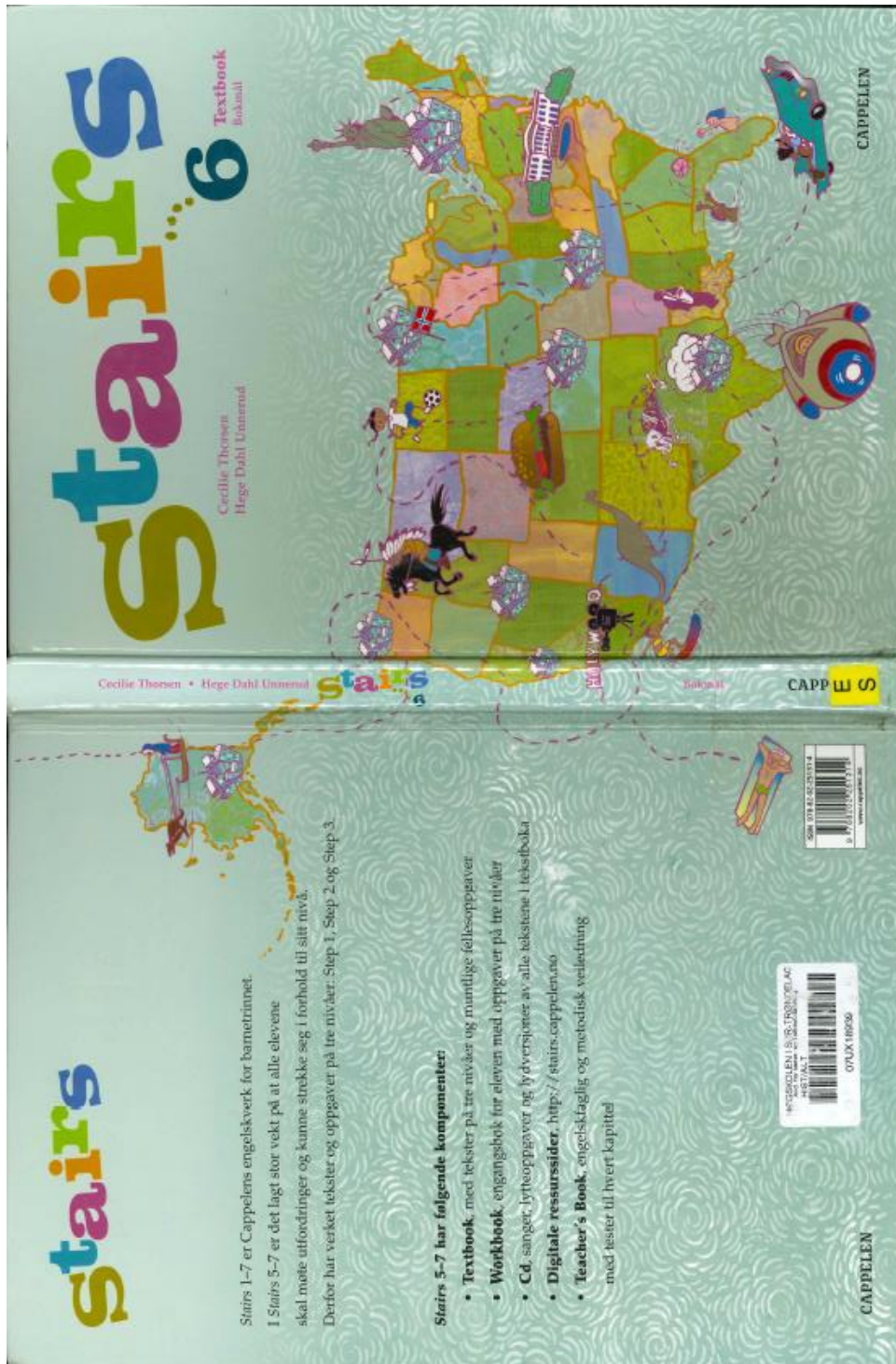
UNUSUAL HEROES

8. Whale Rider

Start in Activity Book 20

Read and write

Pai and Paka

This is the story of Pai – a Maori girl who lives in New Zealand, and of her grandfather, the old chief. Pai's people believe that long ago their first chief came to the empty land riding on a whale. The name of that leader was Paikea.

Pai loves her grandfather – she calls him Paka – and he loves Pai too. But he wishes she was a boy, because he is trying to find a new leader. If Pai had been a boy perhaps she could be the new leader. But girls just can't be leaders, says Paka.

Pai

Learning to be a leader

Paka starts a school to teach the boys how to be a leader. On the first day there are about eight boys and just one girl – Pai. "Go to the back" says Paka, "girls must sit at the back." But Pai sits at the front. "If you won't sit at the back, leave!" shouts Paka. So Pai walks away.

The boys learn to chant the traditional Maori chants, and how to fight with sticks. But Pai sneaks back and watches through the window. She learns the chants. But how can she learn to fight? Pai goes to her uncle and he teaches her how to fight. She becomes really good at chanting and fighting.

The final challenge

One day the boys go out in a boat with Paka. They have to find one boy who will be the leader. Paka will throw a whale's tooth overboard, and the boy who can dive down and come back with the tooth has shown that he is strong enough and brave enough to be the leader. All the boys try really hard. But none of them manages to come back with the whale's tooth, and Paka is very disappointed. Perhaps there will never be another leader of the people?

Later Pai goes out in a boat with her uncle and she dives deep down and comes up with the whale tooth. Then her uncle and her grandmother realise that it is Pai who must be the new leader.

But Pai survives. And now everyone, even her grandfather, realises that she is the new leader. People are so proud of her, and as she and her grandfather sit together – the new chief and the old chief – in a beautiful boat. This is what Pai says:

"My name is Paikea. Apirana and I come from a long line of chiefs stretching all the way back to the whale rider. I know that our people will keep going forward, all together, with all of our strength."

The new whale rider

Pai calls to the whales, and they bear her and come up on to the beach. This is a disaster, because they will dry out and die. They must go back to the sea. The people try to pull the biggest whale back into the sea. But they cannot, and everyone is very sad. Then, all alone, Pai climbs onto the back of the biggest whale and together they ride far out to sea, with all the other whales. "It's OK Paka," she says, "I am not afraid to die."

at the front – foran
the beach – stranden
believe – tro
chant – snakke i kor
chief – høvding, leder
disappointed – skuffet

a disaster – en stor ulykke
dive – dykke
manage – klare
realise – skjønner
strength – styrke
survives – overlever

Appendix 3: *Explore 6* page 164-165

7 Stars and Stripes

NATIVES

AHEAD OF

HUGE ROADTRIP

HOLLYWOOD

TORCH

I would like to …

I am going to …

I kapitlet vil du lære
• fakta om USA
• forskjeller mellom amerikansk og britisk engelsk
• å bøye verb i futurum

freedom

great

state

independent

however

drive

stars

destination

WANTED
DEAD OR ALIVE

165

164

Appendix 4: *Explore 6* page 168-169

● OO
Around the USA

The United States of America is the 3rd largest country in the world. It is 9.8 million square kilometres. This is 30 times bigger than Norway!

2 Look at the photos and listen to the text. Put your finger on the photo that is being described.

BLINK

PLOPP

square kilometres – kvadratkilometer

→ My Workbook page 144

Appendix 5: *Explore 6 Teacher's Book* page 168-169

Transparente ord

job, industry, favourite, history, astronauts, international, cowboys, leader, eggs, pancakes, syrup, music, culture, music, rock'n'roll, country, blues, hip hop, rap, traffic, American football, sport, best, TV programme, motor, theatre, revolutionised, productions, dilemmas, family, school

Warm Up

Gå inn på tavlerommet og velg kapittel 7, *backgrounds*. Dra fram et tankekart. Skriv USA i midten. La elevene jobbe i par, sammen gjennomføre en *brainstorm* og skrive ned en liste med fakta om USA. Ta en runde i klassen og skrive på tankekartet de setningene elevene har kommet fram til:
- *Look at all these facts that we already know about the USA! Well done!*
- *Now, are you ready to learn some more facts about the USA?*

Arbeid med sidene

◢ Before You Listen

La alle beskrive noe de ser på siden:
- *What can you see in these pictures? What are all the people doing?*

Forenkling

Skriv opp de aktuelle transparente ordene på tavla for de elevene som trenger ekstra støtte.

Lytt og se

Lytt til hver av de ti tekstene sammen med elevene:
- *Listen carefully and put your finger on the right picture.*
- *Which places have you heard of before?*

●○○
Around the USA

The United States of America is the 3rd largest country in the world. It is 9.8 million square kilometres. This is 30 times bigger than Norway!

> 2 Look at the photos and listen to the text. Put your finger on the photo that is being described.

square kilometres – kvadratkilometer

168   7 Stars and Stripes   → My Workbook page 144

Bildene i tekstboka har nummer fra 1–10, og lyttetekstene er nummerert fra A–J. La elevene koble riktig tekst til riktig bilde.

Lyttetekster til bildene i tekstboka 🔊

A Ford Motor Company is one of the largest and most successful companies in the world. It was founded in 1903 by Henry Ford. At that time, cars were only for the very rich. They were items of luxury. But, in 1908 the Model T was made. These cars revolutionised the whole car industry because they were not so expensive and ordinary people could afford them. Do you know the names of any Ford cars?

B On the 20th of July 1969 Apollo 11 landed on the moon. This was the first time in history that humans had been on the moon. Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin were the two astronauts to step on the moon's surface. They became international heroes. Would you like to go to the moon?

C Most of you have probably read some of the stories about the wimpy Greg Heffley and his dilemmas with his family, friends and school. Kids all over the world enjoy these books because they are so funny. Even though Greg is often lazy, arrogant and selfish, he can also be kind and caring. I suppose we can all be a bit like Greg, can't we?

D The Sioux were a Native American tribe who hunted buffalo to

---

5

6

7

8

9

10

ranches have lots of cattle running free. The cowboy's job is to keep the cows safe and in one place. This is hard work! They need to be excellent horse riders and they need proper equipment: a cowboy hat to keep the sun off, boots, gloves and chaps to protect their legs. Do you think being a cowboy is an easy job?

H Music is an important part of American culture. Many types of music have started here: rock'n'roll, country, blues, hip hop and rap. Hip hop and rap music began in the 1970s in New York with street parties. Roads were blocked off from traffic and the people in the neighborhood celebrated with music, dance and lots of fun! What is your favorite rap?

I Along the sidewalk of Hollywood Boulevard there are more than 2,500 stars. Here, people who have done an excellent job in the entertainment industry are awarded a star with their name on it. They can be famous actors, musicians, comedians, directors, producers and many more. The stars are engraved on the sidewalk for everyone to admire. Who is your favorite star?

J Broadway is the name of a road in New York. It is also the heart of the American theater industry. Broadway theaters are theaters that are big enough to seat 500 people. They show the best productions in the world. There are 40 Broadway theaters altogether. Broadway is nicknamed "The Great White Way". This is because of the white lights along Broadway. These theater lights light up the night sky! Do you know any Broadway musicals?

survive and lived in tents called tipis. Sitting Bull was the chief of the Sioux. He was nicknamed "Slow" because he was always very careful. Sitting Bull became famous for his bravery in battle and for being a great leader. Look closely. What is he wearing on his head?

E American Football is the most popular sport in the USA. Every year there is a championship called the Super Bowl. Here American Football teams play each other to win the National League and be recognized as the best team. This is the most sensational sporting event in the USA and the final game is the most watched TV program of the year! Have you ever watched the Super Bowl?

F Beat the eggs together with the sugar in a large bowl. Add the melted butter and the milk and stir well. Finally add the flour, baking powder and a pinch of salt. Mix until smooth. Drop a spoonful of the batter at a time onto a greased hot frying pan. Cook the pancakes on both sides until golden brown. What would you like with yours: syrup, fresh berries or both?

G Cowboys are still an important part of American society. Many

My Workbook

11	Which state? ●○○
	Elevene leser spørsmålene og finner svarene på Internett.
12	Describe what you see ●●○
	Her skal elevene velge et bilde og beskrive det.

Appendix 6: *Explore 6* page 170-171

Appendix 7: *Explore 6 Teacher's Book* page 170-171

Konkrete læringsmål

Elevene skal kunne
• gi en geografisk oversikt over USA
• bruke setningsmønsteret I would like to ...

Bakgrunnsstoff

Dette oppslaget viser de 50 amerikanske delstatene og noen sentrale severdigheter i USA. Det kan være interessant å bruke litt tid på dette oppslaget og bli bedre kjent med USAs geografi. De fleste har vel hørt om og sett bilde av Frihets-gudinnen, men det er ikke sikkert at så mange vet hvor hun er plassert på et kart over USA. Her får du oversikt over sentrale landemerker og severdigheter. Dette kan brukes som et utgangspunkt for videre arbeid.

Arbeid med sidene

◢ **Before You Read**

La elevene arbeide med en lærings-partner. Sammen ser de på USA-kartet og finner steder de har hørt om eller besøkt. Vis gjerne kartet på digital tavle og ta en runde der elevene for-teller det de vet. Se om de kan identi-fisere noen av severdighetene som er tegnet inn på kartet:
• *Now, look at the map. Tell me, have you heard of any of these states before?*
• *What do you know about them?*
• *Has anybody here been to the USA? Can you show us on the map?*
• *Good! What did you do there?*
Nå har elevene tatt en liten gjennom-gang av delstatene og fått litt bedre oversikt. Les *Before you read* øverst på siden. Nå kan de spørre hverandre hvor i USA de kan tenke seg å dra:
• *Where would you like to go? I would like to go to ...*

HAWAII: USAs minste delstat. Staten består av en rekke vulkan-ske øyer. Surfing er en veldig populær idrett her.

ALASKA: USAs største delstat. I Denali nasjonalpark ligger Mount McKinley, det høyeste fjellet i Nord-Amerika. Grizzly-

Road Trip USA

There are so many different things to see in the United States. A good way of getting around is by car.

road trip – biltur

bjørner, ulver og elger er noen av dyrene som vandrer fritt i dette området.

CALIFORNIA: Den tredje største delstaten i USA. San Francisco, Los Angeles og San Diego er de mest kjente byene her. I San Francisco ligger Golden Gate Bridge, og Hollywood ligger i Los Angeles.

OREGON: Byen Springfield i tegneserien *The Simpsons* er opprinnelig oppkalt etter Spring-field i Oregon. Matt Groening, som skapte *The Simpsons*, kommer selv fra denne staten.

WASHINGTON: Seattle er den største byen i delstaten Washington. Space Needle, et utsiktstårn, er et kjent lande-merke i byen.

NEVADA: Midt i ørkenlandskapet i delstaten Nevada ligger kasino-byen Las Vegas.

ARIZONA: Nord i Arizona ligger det spektakulære Grand Canyon, en av USAs største turist-attraksjoner.

UTAH: Staten er oppkalt etter Ute-stammen som betyr *fjell-folket*. Rainbow Bridge er verdens største naturlige bro.

MONTANA: Fjellkjeden Rocky Mountains fortsetter også gjen-nom denne delstaten, som har flott natur og et rikt dyreliv. Her finnes blant annet grizzlybjørn, elg, ulv og fjellgeit.

ILLINOIS: The Chicago Red Bulls er et amerikansk basketballag. Dette er det eneste laget noensinne som har vunnet 70 basketballkamper på én sesong.

MISSISSIPPI: Delstaten har fått sitt navn fra elven Mississippi som renner gjennom den. Navnet betyr «stor elv».

ALABAMA: Har fått kallenavnet Cotton State fordi det produseres store mengder bomull her.

TENNESSEE: Mange musikksjangere kommer fra denne staten, blant annet rock'n'roll og country/roots. Nashville, som er hovedstaten i Tennessee, er også kjent som hovedstaden for countrymusikk.

MICHIGAN: Den største byen er Detroit. Takket være Henry Ford og Ford Motors ble Detroit sentrum for USAs bilindustri.

OHIO: Wright-brødrene, som bygde verdens første fly, kom fra Dayton, Ohio. Les mer om dem på side 95.

NEW YORK: Manhattan er et område i New York som blant annet er kjent for sine skyskrapere og sin berømte skyline. The Statue of Liberty ligger her.

WASHINGTON D.C. Den amerikanske presidents offisielle hjem og arbeidsplass, Det hvite hus, ligger her.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Hovedstaden heter Charleston, er kjent for sin rike musikkultur og er kåret til USAs vennligste by. I 1920-årene ble dansen the Charleston oppkalt etter denne byen.

FLORIDA: På grunn av det behagelige klimaet er Florida et populært reisemål. Her har NASA en av sine oppskytningsstasjoner, Cape Canaveral. Der foregår det regelmessige oppskytninger. Verdenskjente fornøyelsesparker som Universal Studios og Disney World ligger også her.

WYOMING: Også kjent som The Equality State fordi dette var den første delstaten som ga kvinner stemmerett i 1869.

COLORADO: USAs høyestliggende delstat, blant annet kjent for sine flotte fjell. Her finnes mange skisteder som besøkes av folk fra hele verden.

NEW MEXICO: Tidligere var dette en del av det spanske territoriet og ble ikke offisielt en delstat før i 1912.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Her finnes det nasjonale minnesmerket Mount Rushmore. Dette er en enorm skulptur av hodene til fire av USAs presidenter: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt og Abraham Lincoln.

KANSAS: Solsikken er symbol for denne staten.

OKLAHOMA: Dette var tidligere et indianerterritorium. I dag finnes det flere indianerstammer i denne staten enn i noen annen, og det snakkes mer enn 25 indianerspråk her.

TEXAS: Dette er den nest største delstaten i areal og folketall, og det er her cowboyene har sine røtter.

LOUISIANA: Musikksjangeren jazz vokste fram i den største byen i Louisiana, New Orleans.

MISSOURI: The Gateway Arch ligger i St. Louis, Missouri. Monumentet er laget i rustfritt stål og er den største buen i verden.

Appendix 8: *Explore 6* page 178

Before you read

What do you think the words *cities, cowboys, stealing* and *markets* mean?

Third Stop: South Dakota

After visiting New York City, the next destination is South Dakota, so the family have a long drive ahead of them. On the way they pass Chicago, Illinois. They cross the state of Iowa, named after the Native Americans that once lived there. The scenery has changed from bright lights and big cities to farmlands, lakes and prairies.

Did you know?

The first people who lived in North America, were Native Americans, also called American Indians.

Dad: We are now entering the Midwest, kids. This is the home of many legends about gunfighting cowboys, train robberies and cattle rustling.

Sophia: Cattle rustling, what's that?

Dad: It's stealing cattle. A cowboy's job was to drive herds of cattle to the markets, where they sold them for good money. They woke at sunrise and rode until sunset. There were many dangers like storms, droughts, rattlesnakes and cattle rustlers. Rustlers could steal a whole herd if they were good enough. It was hard work being a cowboy.

Sophia: Do you think we will see any real cowboys here?

They cruise along the highway. Sophia and Philip watch the landscape change from flat prairies to great mountains.

Mum: We're nearly here now, Sophia and Philip! We are going to visit a very special place. It's called Mount Rushmore.

WORDS TO LEARN

ahead of – foran
pass – kjører forbi
scenery – landskapet
sunrise – soloppgang
sunset – solnedgang

lakes – innsjøer
prairies – gressletter
train robberies – togran
cattle rustling – kvegtyveri
stealing – stjele
herds of cattle – kvegflokker
drought – tørke
rattlesnakes – klapperslanger

Appendix 9: *Quest 6* **Front cover**

Appendix 10: *Quest 6* page 74-75
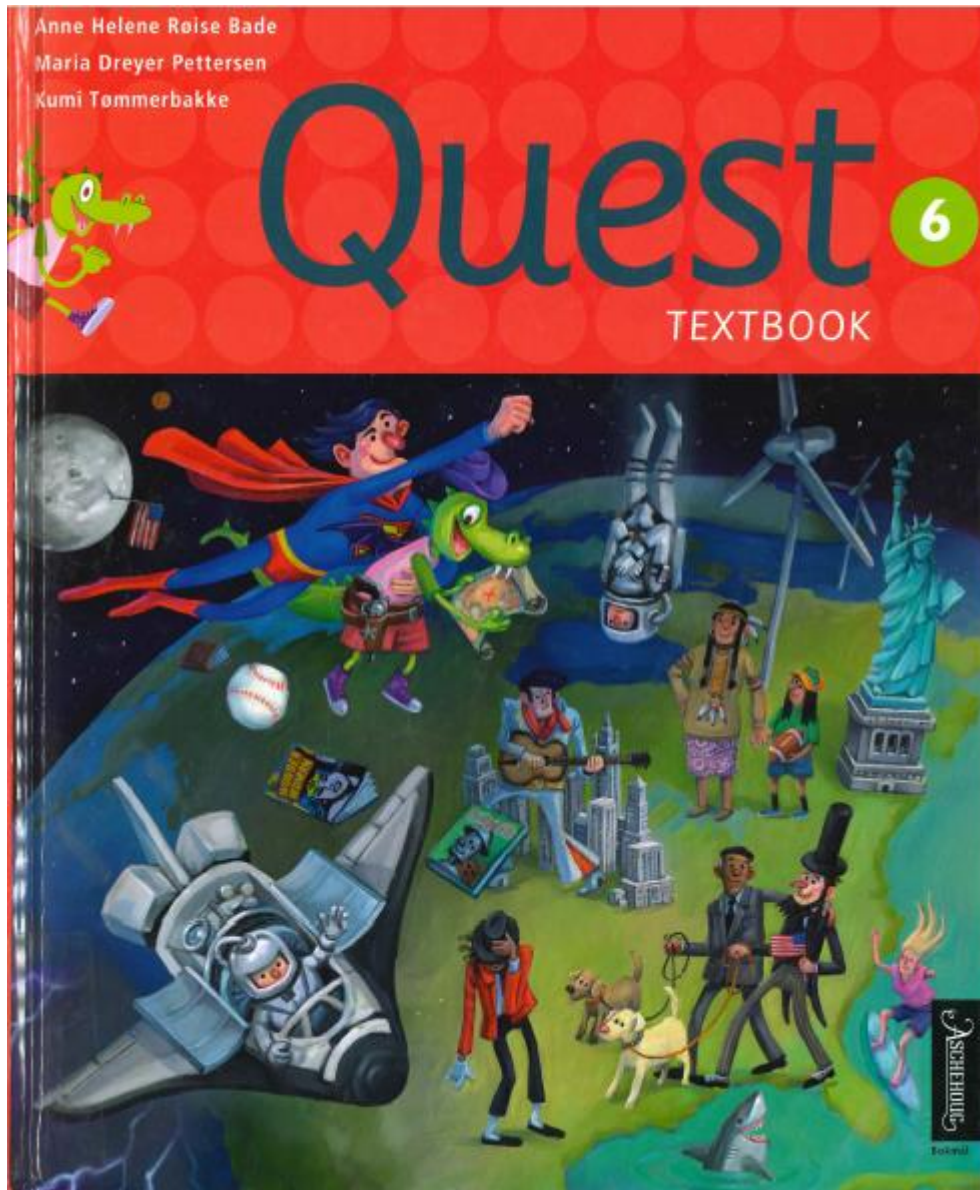
OK, USA!

CHAPTER 3 CHAPTER

Focus

Listen and read: understand facts, timeline, song, non-fiction, dialogues about the USA

Speak and write: learn words and phrases about geography, sports and activities, write a film review

Language work: learn the simple present and present progressive

Culture: learn about the USA, Native Americans, African Americans, baseball, music, differences between American English and British English

There are 50 states in the USA.

CANADA

Atlantic Ocean

New Hampshire
Vermont
Massachusetts
Maine
New York City
Rhode Island
Connecticut
New Jersey
Washington D.C.
Delaware
Maryland
West Virginia

New York
Pennsylvania
Virginia
North Carolina
South Carolina
Ohio
Michigan
Indiana
Kentucky
Tennessee
Georgia
Alabama
Mississippi
Louisiana
Florida
Miami
peninsula

Minnesota
Wisconsin
Iowa
Illinois
Missouri
Arkansas

Gulf of Mexico

North Dakota
South Dakota
Nebraska
Kansas
Oklahoma
Texas

Montana
Wyoming
Colorado
New Mexico

MEXICO

Idaho
Utah
Arizona

Washington
Oregon
Nevada
California
Los Angeles
Las Vegas

coast

Pacific Ocean

Alaska

Hawaii

N E S W

Talk about it!

a Have you ever been to the USA? Where did you go?

b Look at the map. Where would you like to go? Why?

c Look at the map. Name something typical for three of the states.

d How many states are there in the USA?

Workbook tasks 3:1 – 3:5

75

74

Appendix 11: *Quest 6* page 78-79

Journeys to the New World

Which people from Europe came to America first?

- Christopher Columbus
- The English
- The Vikings

GLOSSARY
humans *mennesker*
migrate *forflytter seg*
explores *utforsker*
establish *etablerer*
colony *koloni*
arrives *ankommer*
emigrate *utvandrer*
citizens *statsborgere*

DID YOU KNOW?
Around 10 million Africans were brought to America as slaves.

30 000–15 000 B.C.
The first humans, today's Native Americans, migrate from Asia into the Americas.

1000 A.D.
Leiv Eiriksson, a Viking, explores the east coast of Canada.

1492
Christopher Columbus from Italy lands in the Americas.

1607
The English establish Jamestown colony, Virginia.

1619
A Dutch ship carrying around 20 slaves from Africa lands at Jamestown colony in Virginia.

1620
The English ship *Mayflower* lands at Plymouth Rock, Massachussetts with 102 Pilgrims on board.

1825
The ship *Restauration* with 53 people from Stavanger arrives at Ellis Island, New York.

1825–1939
800 000 Norwegians emigrate to the USA.

Today
Over a million people become US citizens each year.

► After reading
a Where did the first Native Americans live before they came to America?
b Who was the first European to land in America?
c Where did the first English people in America live?
d How many Norwegians were on board the ship *Restauration* to the USA?
e Where did the people from Stavanger land when they came to the USA?

► Talk about it!
a Do you have any friends or relatives in the USA? If so, where do they live?
b Do you know of any famous people who come from the USA? Name them.

Appendix 12: *Quest 6* page 84-85

The Native Americans

When Columbus arrived in America in 1492, he had sailed west from Europe, and he thought he had arrived in India. So he called the people he met there Indians. But the natives he met belonged to different tribes with separate cultures and languages. Some lived in tents and gathered berries and nuts for their food. Others hunted the buffalo on the Great Plains to make a living. In the northwest, they were great hunters and fishermen. In the southwest, the Native Americans lived in small villages and cultivated the land.

When the first Europeans arrived, they were helped by the Native Americans, who taught them how to hunt turkeys, and how to grow and use corn and other foods.

However, as more and more people arrived and settled in the USA, the Native Americans were pushed west – again and again. This created tension and conflict. During the Indian Wars in the 1800s, thousands of Native Americans were killed, and a way of life disappeared.

Today there are 566 tribes in the USA and 5 million Native Americans. Many of them still live on reservations, but most Native Americans live in cities and small towns.

A powwow is an event for Native Americans. People meet and dance, sing, socialize and honour Native American culture.

▶ **Before reading**
What do you know about the Native Americans?

GLOSSARY
arrived *kom til*
natives *innfødte*
tribes *stammer*
tents *telt*
gathered *samlet*
hunted *jaktet på*
make a living *tjene til livets opphold*
villages *landsbyer*
cultivated *dyrket*
turkeys *kalkuner*
corn *mais*

GLOSSARY
settled *slo seg ned*
tension *spenninger*
disappeared *forsvant*
still *fortsatt*

▶ **After reading**
a Describe how the Native Americans lived before the Europeans came to America.
b What sort of help did the Native Americans give the Europeans?
c How do many modern Native Americans live?

▶ **Talk about it!**
a Choose one fact you find interesting. Tell it to your partner.
b How do you feel about what happened to the Native Americans?

Charles M Russell (1864–1926): *Buffalo Hunt* (1897), oil painting.

Appendix 13: *Quest 6* page 86-87

Anna thinks that the Sioux and the Sami people have many things in common. She has made a Venn diagram showing what she has found out.

Sioux

Sami

Hunted buffalo

Wore long feather war headdresses

Their land taken away

They were first in their country

Live in harmony with nature

Medicine men/shamans

Nomads

Lived in teepees/lavvos

Used animal skins to make clothes

Traded furs for other goods

Used cradleboards to carry babies

Chanting/yoik

Forced to speak English/ Norwegian at school

Hunted reindeer

Wore gaktis

Pay tax

▲ **After reading**
a Name two things that are different for the Sioux and the Sami.
b Find a picture of a baby in a cradleboard.

The Sioux and the Sami people

The twins Anna and Ailo are eleven years old and live in Hammerfest. Their school is taking part in an international project about traditional culture and traditions from different countries. One of the schools is from the USA. As part of the project, their class finds out about the Sioux people. Ailo takes notes about them. This is what he wrote.

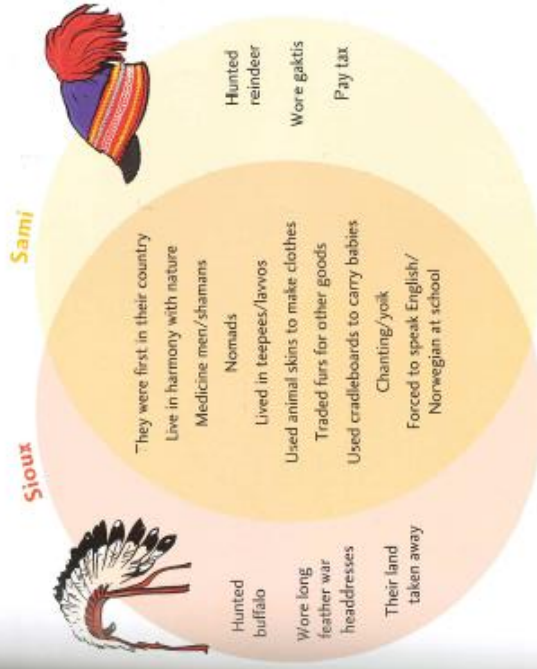### The Sioux

- Their name means "little snakes".
- They live mainly in Minnesota, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota.
- They are known for their powwows, which are festivals with dancing, singing and lots of food.
- A famous Sioux warrior, Chief Sitting Bull, won the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876 against the American General Custer.
- At least 150 Sioux Indians, also women and children, were killed in the Battle at Wounded Knee in 1890. This marked the end of the Indian Wars.

▲ **Before reading**
What do you know about the Sami people?

Chief Sitting Bull

Appendix 14: *Quest 6* page 88-89

Make a Dream Catcher

Some Native American tribes believed that dream catchers caught bad dreams and let the good dreams get through to the dreamer.

What you need:

A bendable twig about 1 foot long
A few inches of thin wire
Some twine
Beads with large holes
A few feathers

What you do:

1 Make a hoop from a twig. Wrap a short length of thin wire around the overlapping ends.

2 Cut a few feet of twine. Tie the one end of the twine to the twig hoop. String a few beads onto the twine and push the beads towards the tied end.

3 String a few more beads on the twine and then wrap the twine around the far side of the hoop. Repeat until you have a web design.

4 Tie a short length of the twine on the hoop. String a bead or two on it and then tie a feather onto the end. Repeat this a few times (2 or 3 hanging feather strings look nice).

How you use it:

Hang the dream catcher near your bed.
Happy dreams!
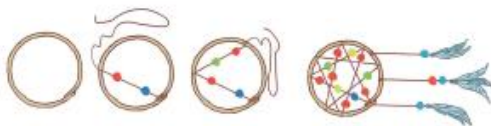
▶ **Before reading**
What do you know about Thanksgiving?

Tisquantum

Tisquantum (1585–1622) was a Native American who taught the English settlers how to grow corn and helped them through a hard winter. He also told the English how the Indians celebrated the harvest of corn. In October 1621, the English had their first Thanksgiving feast. Today Thanksgiving is celebrated on the fourth Thursday in November in the USA. It is a time for sharing good food with family and friends.

DID YOU KNOW?
Corn was very important to the Native Americans. In their different languages the word corn meant "life". The Native Americans made popcorn. It is one of the earliest snacks eaten in America.

Jean Leon Gerome Ferris (1863–1930):
The First Thanksgiving (oil on canvas)

▶ **After reading**
a How did Tisquantum help the English?
b Describe the people in the painting. What are they doing?
c Do Norwegians have a similar festival? If so, how do they celebrate it?

Appendix 15: *Quest 6* page 111-113

Who did the English meet when they first landed in Virginia and Massachusetts?
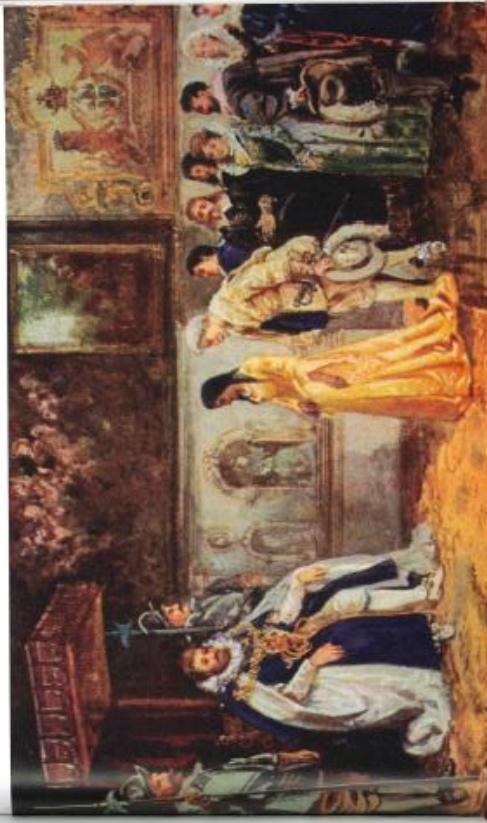
Pocahontas

Have you seen the film *Pocahontas*? This is her story.

Pocahontas was the favourite daughter of Wahunsonacock, the chief of the Powhatan People in eastern Virginia. So she was, in fact, a princess. Pocahontas' family gave her the name Matoaka when she was born. She was a happy child who liked to play and have fun, so they gave her a nickname, Pocahontas. The name means the naughty one because she liked to get up to mischief.

As a young girl, Pocahontas did the same things as all the other Native American girls. She collected firewood for the fires, helped grow and make food and build the simple homes that they lived in. Her people lived close to nature. They only took what they needed to survive.

GLOSSARY
favourite *yndlings-*
chief *høvding*
nickname *kælenavn*
naughty *rampete*
mischief *rampestreker*

Richard Rummels: *Pocahontas at the court of King James* (1907), colour print postcard.

President Barack Obama takes the oath in Washington, 2009. Michelle Obama holds the Bible.

GLOSSARY
lawyer *advokat*
elected *valgt*
re-elected *valgt på nytt*
honours *æresbevisninger*

Barack Obama

Barack Obama was born in Hawaii in 1961. His father was from Kenya and his mother from Kansas. He worked as a lawyer and then was elected senator in Illinois. Later he became the first African American president in January 2009. In 2009 he also won the Nobel Peace Prize. He was re-elected as president in 2012. He is married to Michelle Obama, and they have two daughters: Malia and Sasha. Malia was ten and Sasha only seven when their Dad became president.

▶ After reading
a What was Rosa Parks famous for?
b Why do you think Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on the bus?
c What did the African Americans in her city do to protest?
d What did Martin Luther King, Jr. like doing when he was a child?
e What was his famous speech called?
f Which jobs did Barack Obama have before he became president?
g How old were his daughters when Barack Obama became president?
h Which honours did these African American heroes receive?

▶ Talk about it!
Why do you think so many African Americans were happy when Barack Obama became president?

From the film Pocahontas, 1995.

Pocahontas (oil on canvas), 1616.

The English arrive

In 1607 Captain John Smith arrived in Virginia with a group of men from England. The English named the place Jamestown after the English king, King James. Captain Smith was captured by the Powhatan people who took him to their chief, Wahunsonacock. The Native Americans gave him food, but then it looked as if they were about to cut off his head. Pocahontas, who was then 12 years old, ran into the room and put her head on his. John Smith wrote that the chief decided to save his life because of his daughter's action.

Pocahontas and John Smith became friends. She visited his home with other members of her tribe. They exchanged food and furs for goods from England. She played with the English children. One of their favourite games was doing cartwheels.

John Smith returned to England, and more settlers kept coming. Not all the English people were friends with the Native Americans and Pocahontas was taken prisoner. The ladies made her wear English clothes. Pocahontas hated to cover her body with a dress. "Take it off," she cried. "A body should be free."

A Christian priest in the camp taught her English and Christianity. Pocahontas became a Christian and chose the name Rebecca.

John Rolfe was a settler who experimented with growing tobacco. He sent tobacco to England where it became very popular. He married Rebecca on 5 April 1614. A year later, they had a son called Thomas.

Pocahontas goes to England

In 1616 John and Rebecca Rolfe travelled to England together with twelve Powhatans. The people in England were excited to see the first people from America. Pocahontas met King James and also went to the theatre.

After some time, John, Rebecca and Thomas Rolfe wanted to return to Virginia. But Rebecca became sick and died from tuberculosis in 1617. She was only 22 years old. She is one of the best-known Native Americans in history. She was an ambassador for her people to King James, and a peacemaker, who helped the English colonists during their first years in Virginia.

GLOSSARY
survive overleve
captured fanget
action handling
exchanged byttet
furs pels
doing cartwheels slå hjul
settlers nybyggere
prisoner fange
taught lærte
compare sammenligne

► **After reading**
a What sort of child was Pocahontas?
b Why did the English call the place they came to Jamestown?
c What happened to Pocahontas in the English camp?
d Look at the painting on page 111. How do you think Pocahontas feels at the court of King James?
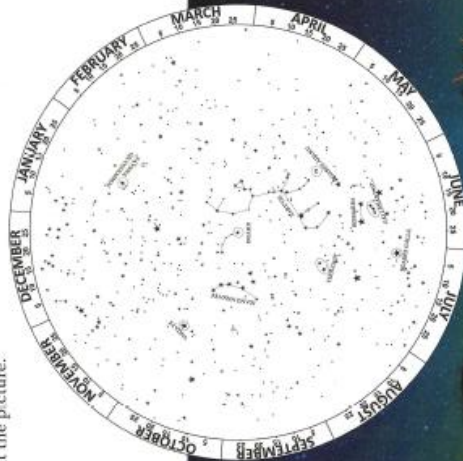e Do you think she liked being Pocahontas or Rebecca Rolfe best?

► **Talk about it!**
a Have you seen the film *Pocahontas*? What did you think of it?
b What do you think Pocahontas really looked like? Compare the film photo with the painting from 1616.

BUS STOP

Workbook tasks 3:43 – 3:50, Summing up

Appendix 16: *Quest 6* page 198-199

Sami Constellations

In the Sami tradition, the constellations show a hunting scene, where hunters try to catch the best prey: a reindeer ox. Look at the picture.

Can you see Sarvvis, the reindeer ox?

According to legend, Fávdná is one of the hunters who hunt for Sarvvis. Fávdná uses a bow and an arrow and the bow is called Fávdnadávvi. It forms the handle in the Big Dipper and is always pointed towards Sarvvis.

Other hunters are the three Gállábártnit brothers. You find them in the belt of Orion. Their father is Sirius, the brightest star in the sky. Do you know which star that might be?

The hunting scene starts early in the evening when the hunters appear in the sky one by one. Fávdná is ready with his bow and arrow and aims towards Sarvvis. The other hunters try to help. Fávdná doesn't dare to shoot because between him and Sarvvis stands Boahji, the nail of the sky. If someone hits it, the sky will fall down and all life on Earth will come to an end.

After a night of intense hunting, the hunters have to realise that Sarvvis is a difficult prey. One by one the hunters have to give up. Sirius first and Fávdná last. Sarvvis can continue its grazing till the next night when the hunt starts over again.

In this story Sarvvis is a reindeer ox. But it can also be a moose. Next time it is dark at the night time of the year, when Orion shines brightly in the South, go outside and look up and above Orion. Can you find Sarvvis? Do you see a moose or a reindeer ox?

▶ **After reading**
What do the Sami people think of the constellations?

▶ **Talk about it!**
Have you ever seen a shooting star? What happens to a star when it dies?

GLOSSARY
hunting scene *jaktscene*
hunters *jegere*
bow *bue*
prey *bytte*
handle *håndtak*
appear *viser seg*
aims *sikter*
doesn't dare to *tør ikke*
the nail of the sky *himmelnaglen*
realise *innse*
continue *fortsette*
grazing *beiting*
moose *elg*

TIME TO LAUGH
What sort of star is dangerous?

A shooting star.

When you see a shooting star, you can make a wish!

Anouk B. Ettema

A Narrative Analysis of Multimodal Representations of Indigenous Cultures in EFL Textbooks

NTNU

Kunnskap for ei betre verd