Toward the Practical Framework of Sámi Education

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ABSTRACT

Aims: The challenge of the Sámi School is that the western school culture dominates teaching, and socializes the Sámi pupils into the dominant society. The aim of this article is to introduce a practical framework for Sámi education which would direct teaching arrangements and comprehensive pedagogy drawn from the Sámi people's own starting points.
Study design: School ethnography.
Place and Duration of Study: Sámi and Norwegian speaking classes in six Sámi schools in Norway between 2001 and 2007.
Methodology: The research material comprised observations and research diary on education, interviews and questionnaires of teachers (N=108), entries in the research journal, and school documents such as annual plans and curricula.
Results: Education at Sámi schools is affected by outer historical-cultural foundation and background factors, and on the other hand, the inner special features of developing Sámi education.
Conclusion: The framework introduced in this article aims at filling a gap – to create a model that is based on an independent Sámi School system.

Keywords: Sámi school; indigenous people; teaching arrangements; cultural sensitivity; practical framework;

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1. INTRODUCTION

Our previous researches (Keskitalo, 2010; Keskitalo and Määttä, 2011a; Keskitalo and Määttä, 2011b) have shown that the special features of Sámi education are not considered in teaching arrangements sufficiently. Education at Sámi schools is not culturally sensitive enough and it should be further developed. Culturally sensitive school notices the important role of the local culture and its worldview and values when it comes to teaching arrangements. In this article, our purpose is to create a practical framework that supports education at Sámi schools; in other words, to highlight the factors that enhance such teaching practices that help confronting and supporting Sámi culture in instruction and school.

In this article, we concentrate on the culturally sensitive situation and cultural-historical background factors within the indigenous people's schooling system and discuss the encounter between different cultures. Culture as a concept is complicated; especially when it comes to the Sámi School. Sámi School is heterogeneous because diverse ethnic groups and many languages operate there. How well is the system prepared for the reality, and what kind of special features does it have? What should be taken into account when pursuing acting in a way that pays attention to the situation in the field of the manifold school?

Although the school has operated in the Sámi community for a long time, actually for centuries, the Sámi people do not have their own school culture that would be based on their own circumstances and values. This is the case although the Sámi people do have their own traditional learning and teaching culture. Furthermore, the Sámi people do not have an educational history that would be based on their distinct circumstances and their way of thinking. Thus, the school is a foreign concept and institution imported into Sámi society by outsiders (Sara, 1987) even though the school has existed in the area historically for a long time.

According to Mikkel Nils Sara (2003), the reason for the estrangement of the school from Sámi culture is that earlier, there was no need for the school to be aware of and take into account how to provide culturally sensitive teaching. These issues are new to the school, which has its own – the most western – tradition of teaching and competence. However, the situation has now changed as Norway has adopted a separate Sámi curriculum in 1997 (O97S, 1997). The second reform is going on, implemented in 2007 (Máhttolokten, 2008). Viewed from this starting point, developing a practical framework for Sámi education appears extremely interesting.

1.1 The Sámi as Indigenous People

The Sámi live in four countries: in Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Kola Peninsula in Russia. Altogether, there are about 100 000 Sámi people in these countries. About 40 000 of them can speak the Sámi language. The word *'Sámi'* is derived from the word *'Sápmi'* which means both the geographical area populated traditionally by the Sámi and the Sámi people. The Sámi people form a nationality that does not have a nation or nation borders but a common language, culture, and history (Smith, 2005). The definition of Sámi varies by country. According to the one used in Norway is based on the Sámi electoral register:

All persons who make a declaration to the effect that they consider themselves to be Sámi, and who either a. have Sámi as their domestic language, or b. have or have had a parent, grandparent or great-grandparent with Sámi as his or her domestic language, or c. are the child of a person who is or has been registered in the Sámi electoral register may demand to be included in a separate register of Sámi electors in their municipality of residence. The Sámi electoral register is drawn up on the basis of the national population register in the municipality, the register of Sámi electors at the time of the last election and the demands for inclusion or deletion received during the electoral term (Act of 12 June 1987 No. 56, § 2-6).

The Sámi are recognized as one of the indigenous peoples. The debate concerning indigenous people has raised the Sámi at a new position (Valkonen, 2009). There are several definitions for indigenous peoples but in this article, we use the definition compiled by the International Labor Organization (ILO no. 169, 1989). Being the only one of the countries with Sámi population, Norway has ratified the ILO 169 convention. The definition of indigenous peoples in ILO 169 convention grounds on the assumption that the nation is governed by some other population than the indigenous one. In addition, the indigenous population in question has to identify itself as an indigenous people. The Sámi have their own culture, language, and means of livelihood as well as a distinct connection with the traditional territories and territorial waters (Henriksen et al., 2005).

The collective rights of indigenous peoples emphasize their right to preserve and develop their special societies (Henriksen et al., 2005). Several international agreements point out that indigenous peoples have the right of self-determination (see Anaya, 1996; Henriksen, 2008). Practicing this right also includes educational autonomy (United Nations General Assembly, 2009). A population which does not form a nation and lives in an existing nation or whose residential area extends to more than one nation can constitute "a people". Therefore, it has to be considered as a legal entity and regarded to have the right of self-determination based on the international justice – including stateless indigenous peoples. Thus, the Sámi also constitute a people having the right of self-determination (Henriksen et al., 2005).

Norway has ratified the declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007). It was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly during its 62nd session at UN Headquarters in New York City on 13 September 2007. As a General Assembly Declaration, it is not a legally binding instrument under international law, according to a UN press release, it does represent the dynamic development of international legal norms and it reflects the commitment of the UN's member states to move in certain directions. The UN describes it as setting an important standard for the treatment of indigenous peoples that will undoubtedly be a significant tool towards eliminating human rights violations against the planet's 370 million indigenous people and assisting them in combating discrimination and marginalization. Furthermore, the declaration ensures that both individual and collective rights, cultural rights and identity, rights to education, health, employment, language, and others are addressed (UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues, 2007).

The declaration of indigenous peoples' says: "Indigenous peoples have the right to fully enjoy as a collective or as individuals, all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law. Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity. Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By that right they

can freely determine their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development. They have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their rights to participate fully, if they choose to, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the state" (UN Permanent Forum of Indigenous Issues, 2007).

1.2 The Development of Sámi Education

In Scandinavia, curriculum development was connected to church until the very recent years. In Norway, the curricula that came into operation in 1858 and 1890 in elementary school defined the guidelines of teaching that had to be completed locally (Gundem, 1990). The elementary school curriculum of 1939 emphasized working methods and student activities so that pupils' own qualifications would be at the core of teaching. The 1939 curriculum defined the minimal level of teaching making the implementation of pedagogical contents more difficult (Hiim and Hippe, 1998). The life cycles of the curricula of Norwegian comprehensive school have become shorter. The curriculum of 1939 was effective for 35 years between 1939 and 1974. Mønsterplanen (1974) was used between 1974 and 1987 (13 years), Mønsterplanen (1987) between 1987 and 1997 (ten years) and Læreplanen (1997) between 1997 and 2006 (nine years). Kunnskapsløftet and Máhttolokten took effect in 2006-2007 (Øzerk, 2006). A separate Sámi School was established simultaneously with the Sámi curriculum in 1997. The Sámi School is a school which follows the principles of the Sámi curriculum in the district area of the Sámi language in Norway.

The school was founded by outsiders. Five stages can be distinguished in the history of Sámi education in Norway: the mission period from 1717 to the end of the 19th century, the long period of assimilation into western and Norwegian culture from the 19th century to the end of the 1960s, the status of the Sámi language as an assistant language from the World War II to approximately the 1980s, the emphasis on bilingualism from the end of the 1980s and the improvement of the position of the Sámi language after it became an official language the Sámi administrative district in Norway in 1990 (Balto, 1997a; Girko-, oahpahus- ja dutkandepartemeanta, 1995). Although Sámi upbringing (see Balto, 1997b) has not been in a major role in institutional education it still is at the core when addressing issues concerning Sámi education. In the 1950s, Paavo Päivänsalo studied Sámi child care and upbringing from the perspective of socialization. According to the researcher, Sámi upbringing aimed – based on the Sámi way of life – at socializing children into the Sámi society of that time (Päivänsalo, 1953).

In the action research plan concerning Sámi schools in Sweden, Asta Balto and her working group consider the development of working methods of the Sámi School important (Balto and Johansson, 2004). Solutions for the organization of teaching at the Sámi School and its problems can be searched in informal upbringing (e.g., Anderson, 2000; Balto, 1997b, 2008; Jávo, 2003; Päivänsalo, 1947, 1953). Thus, the basis of teaching could have a comprehensively socio-constructive (Piaget, 1978/1977; Vygotsky, 1987) and ecological approach (Ogbu, 1988; Sarason, 1971; Seitamo, 1991). In reference to previous literature, it seems obvious that the schools of indigenous peoples demand various organization models that partly differ from the western school culture.

1.3 Promising Models for Developing Indigenous Peoples' Education

Some indigenous peoples have been able to develop their schooling conditions longer than the Sámi. The Maori's situation in New-Zealand gives an encouraging example. They have a well-established self-government that also covers education. The Maori have also developed their own Kaupapa Maori –educational philosophy that is applied at schools (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Macfarlane, 2004; Smith, 2003a). Kaupapa Maori –pedagogy is a manifestation of right kinds of power relations within the context with an indigenous people. Kaupapa Maori –pedagogy is firstly based on the idea that the indigenous peoples' right to self-government is at the core of goals and teaching contents. It concerns every educational sector. Important sectors are also the position of the local culture as the foundation for teaching, the communal nature of knowledge, the detection of socio-economic and family-related factors, noticing the concept of extended family and relatives in the society as well as appreciating the collective vision and philosophy (Bishop and Glynn, 1999).

Also in Alaska, about thirty years ago, Yup'ik Inuit started developing their school culture when a group of teachers who were members of the indigenous people began to renew the school culture together with the university personnel (Lipka et al., 1998). In this project, the teachers developed teaching strategies so that they would take into account students' cultural experiences, local values, communicative norms and communication styles in a better way. The idea was to become aware and simultaneously pursue breaking out the western teacher's role that the academic teacher education departments model. These behavioral models are for example voice control that comes from the western culture as well as controlling the teaching and the way of acting as an authority. These teaching elements are culture-bound (Nelson-Barber and Dull, 1998). The resultant from the development project was that more attention was paid to Yup'ik culture, social organization and the change in the routines of classroom discourse, the development of culturally understandable pedagogy and paradigmatic change of research (Lipka and Yanez, 1998).

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

In her doctoral research, Pigga Keskitalo (2010) studied the cultural sensitivity of Norwegian Sámi schools. Based on this research, we started to develop the practical framework for Sámi education. The aim of the original empirical research was to analyze how the school culture and the Sámi culture meet. At the same time, the question of how the school supports the Sámi culture was at the center.

The research material comprised observations and research diary on education provided in the Sámi and Norwegian speaking classes in six Sámi schools in Norway between 2001 and 2007, interviews (N=15) and questionnaires of teachers (N=108), entries in the research journal, and school documents such as annual plans and curricula. The objective was to understand and present the overall situation of Sámi education. The situation has been examined through two Reforms: Curriculum 1997 Sámi (O97S, 1997) and Curriculum 2007 Sámi (Máhttolokten, 2008). The research method was a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods which complemented each other and thus increased the reliability of the study. Primarily, the study was school ethnography.

The research process was cyclic, including the analysis which overlapped with the course of action (also Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Research material was categorized and divided into

meaningful components but by preserving the connection to entirety. The research material was organized inductively; thus, the analysis is inductive, data-driven (also Tesch, 1990).

The question is about research on indigenous people and certain basic requirements concern its methodology such as research ethics. It occurs in the relationship between researchers who belong to the indigenous people (such as the first author of this article) and indigenous people who are the research partners (see also Sarivaara, 2010). The researcher's localization and goal was explained to the research participants.

Some reliability issues are important in ethnographic research. The researcher always affects the action in a classroom with her presence to some extent. The teachers were asked to describe how much the researcher actually affected in the classroom. In other words, it was about the Hawthorne effect (see also Adair, 1984). During the first days at school, the Hawthorne effect was evident but eventually, students got used to the researcher's presence. The reliability of the research was also strengthened by careful preparation before carrying out the observations by familiarizing with the written curriculum and research on curricula, discussing with the teachers, and becoming acquainted with the school plans and documents.

3. RESULTS: THE PRACTICAL FRAMEWORK OF SÁMI EDUCATION

According to the research, it seemed obvious that Sámi education should be developed by leaning on its own special features. In order to be able to meet the cultural foundations of the indigenous people better, Sámi education should take into consideration certain outer and inner factors that mold the practical framework for Sámi education. Based on these factors, the practice, implementation, research, and theory of Sámi education can be advanced. Next, we will present the practical framework that was created based on our previous studies introduced earlier in this article.

Wider outer factors are reflected in Sámi education providing a background for the implementation of education (see Figure 1). Four factors can be named as the outer factors that define Sámi education. Sámi education

- is colored by colonization,
- acts in a liminal position or in interfaces,
- acts in the field of multiculturalism, and
- acts within limited self-determination.

The following four inner factors are at the core of developing Sámi education. Not only they advance Sámi education but are also salient for developing indigenous peoples' education in general:
- creating the indigenous peoples' own curriculum based on own values and knowledge system,
- strengthening the position of the indigenous peoples' own language,
- creating cultural-sensitive teaching arrangements, and
- diversifying the extensive cooperation.

Next, we will dissect the contents of these core factors in the framework.

3.1 The Background Factors

When developing Sámi education, it is important to know what kind of cultural-historical phases it is premised on. We define these background phenomena as fundamental factors that form the background or merely a historically determined burden to the independent formation of Sámi education. We consider the role of Sámi education as the instrument of colonization, its liminalization, multiculturalism as limited self-determination as these kinds of framework factors.
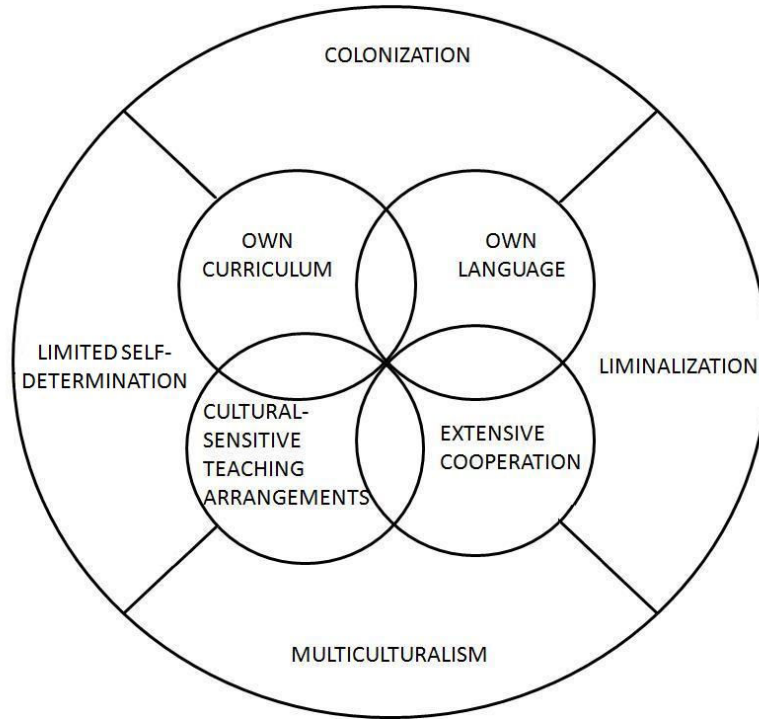

Fig. 1. The background and core factors of Sámi education
(designed by Määttä, 2011)

3.1.1 Sámi education is colored by colonization

In addition to church, the school system has a significant role in the colonization of indigenous peoples. According to Frank Darnell and Anton Hoëm (1996), a central process in the relationship between the arctic and sub-arctic indigenous peoples and formal education is the one how the arctic indigenous peoples have become subordinated by the western culture and education. Because education causes change, it can be assumed that the western culture has affected the indigenous peoples' societies regionally in quite a similar way. Certain regions have been within the ambit of western education already for 300 years while others only for forty years (Darnell and Hoëm, 1996). The genesis of the Sámi standard language and the very first books written in the Sámi language are connected to the Reformation as well (see Kähkönen, 1982).

The Sámi school culture has been molded according to the outer bases. There are not any ready models of Sámi schools where the influence of colonization could not be recognized. The colonization of the Sámi means that the people were finally divided within four countries because of the nations' sovereignty and thus, the national states started governing the Sámi's life. Little by little, the self-determination of the Sámi's own polity, the Sámi village system 'siida', disappeared. The Nordic colonialism was, indeed, supposed to end after the Sámi would be assimilated. The idea about otherness lies behind colonialism justifying the subordination of indigenous peoples: otherness has determined the relations between indigenous peoples and nations until today. The aim of colonialism was also to govern the region in order to make economic use of the area both by using its nature and work force. Furthermore, colonialism causes indigenous peoples' social inferiority in relation to the dominant population (Eriksen, 2007). The counter process of colonialism is decolonization which is closely connected with the concept of self-determination (Dehyle and Swisher, 1997; Kuokkanen, 2009). Decolonization refers to a long-term process that involves tearing down the administrative, cultural, linguistic, and psychological colonialist power (Smith, 1999).

3.1.2 Sámi education acts in a liminal position or interfaces

Given the colonized school history of the Sámi School and the influence of the western school culture, it can be stated that Sámi education and research function on a variety of frontiers. They can be seen both as physical, geographical and mental frontiers (cf. Anzaldua, 1999). In the practical pedagogy of Sámi education, both the tradition of western upbringing and science of education and the indigenous people's rearing culture can be seen in the operation on the frontiers. The cultures have certain languages, codes, and dressing that people assimilate. The question is whether the school culture is similar with one pupils have become used with at home, whether pupils make themselves at home when at school or whether they consider it odd and yearn for a more familiar environment – whether different things are valued at home than at school.

Learning, knowing, and teaching are connected to the concept of otherness – through the roundabout way of unconscious social and cultural denial. Otherness does not speak frankly but it is substituted, displaces, or creates dreams that learning cannot handle directly. Unconscious otherness holds an indirect position in the interaction between a teacher and a pupil. It speaks by parentheses, replacement, denial, forgetting, rejection, fear, shame, and amusement. Otherness mirrors the repressive society and culture and it manifests itself in teacher-pupil interaction so that individuals repeat the macro-level practices in an institutional education situation (Ellsworth, 1997). Instead of assimilating learners to the societal practices, teachers should guide them to break the boundaries related to, for example, social class, gender, or ethnicity (Hooks, 1994).

The position on the frontiers is concretized in many ways. First, the question is about geographical borders. The Sámi live in four countries and therefore, they have to follow teaching practices from four different countries. In the research data (Keskitalo 2010), it manifested itself for example in using Sámi text books from various countries in teaching and the problems and challenges that occurred because of it. "The letter designs have not been standardized in teaching in Norway. In Finland, they use standardized letter designs. In Finland, they use euro in math teaching whereas NoK (Norwegian crown) is used in Norway" (Research Diary, spring 2007). The different teaching cultures of these countries have affected teachers' teaching styles. Among others, these kinds of challenges have been seized at the Sámi University College in the several processes which aim at building

effective Sámi teaching not only at the University College itself but also in the school field in general. Based on the observation, apparently the tradition of teaching how to read in the Norwegian language affects Sámi language teaching in Norway in a variety of way:

"Firstly, the curriculum text is partly direct translation from the version in the Norwegian language although the question was about two different curricula. Secondly, as the Norwegian language has more difficult orthography, pupils do not learn to read and write the Norwegian language as fast as for example the Finnish language. Again, it can indirectly affect Sámi language teaching in the schools of the administrative district of the Sámi language in Norway where they, in a manner of speaking, copy the teaching practice that is derived from the Norwegian language teaching without considering its adaptability in the Sámi language teaching" (Research Diary, fall 2007).

These kinds of problems originate in the fact that the learning and teaching of the Sámi language has not been studied at the pupil level thoroughly and comprehensively yet. However, processes which are focused on deconstructing knowledge about Sámi language instruction spring up in the educational field (see e.g., Myrvoll, 2005). On the other hand, also the reasons that come from the language sociology of the Sámi language have an influence on the situation as the situation of the language is weaker than the situation of the dominant language, Norwegian. Therefore, teachers can be blind to the power of the dominant language in teaching and do not necessarily know how or are not getting enough support to handle the situation. The blindness of teachers and the school system can be explained with the colonialist processes.

The task of the school has changed as the school history proves. The previous segregating, excluding, and assimilating education directed to the Sámi has been replaced by integrating education. The task of the school has changed also globally as the industrial society has developed into information society. The increasing understanding about the challenges of diversity increases the need for analyzing the content of education and knowledge. Awareness of the threatening factors of colonization and globalization affects in the background.

3.1.3 The Sámi School in the field of multiculturalism

Due to its starting point, the Sámi School is not a coherent concept. At the ideological level, it represents a radical view of multicultural school: at the Sámi School, there are pupils who are Sámi as their ethnic background but others as well. The various ethnical backgrounds of the pupils and personnel at some municipalities and schools may have caused uncertainty of how the multicultural school with diverse values could be executed.

Because of multiculturalism and the fast changes in modern demands and learning contents, the school has to renew its practices constantly. The old practices do not work in the changing and diversifying work any longer. On the other hand, the Sámi culture has reached a transitional period which poses the danger of losing the traditional skills and knowledge. This point of view places challenges for Sámi schools.

Vuokko Hirvonen's (2004/2003) research shows that the multiculturalism in Sámi schools varies greatly. Hirvonen has adopted James Banks's (1997/1989) model of multicultural teaching. According to Hirvonen's research, Sámi schools are at different levels when it comes to the fact how they have reached the special nature of a multicultural school. The model Hirvonen has applied has four levels. The first level represents the smallest and the

fourth level the highest variation. Some of the Sámi schools represent the first level as the Sámi myths, Holidays, and separate elements of the culture act as the sorts of spices in teaching. These kinds of schools carry on with the assimilation and the dominant language at school is mostly the Norwegian language and the main content of teaching covers the Norwegian culture. Thus, the school becomes reversely Norwegian. At the second level, the contents, concepts, themes, and points of view are added in the curricula but the actual structure does not change. At the third level, the schools become Sámi as they develop in the direction of the Sámi School. Although individual teachers seem to be aware of the developmental needs and strive toward the change, schools have not reached this level. According to Hirvonen, none of the Sámi schools has reached the fourth or the highest level, the multicultural Sámi School (Hirvonen, 2004/2003). The reasons for it are the socio-economic, linguistic, and ethno-political problems (see Ventsel and Dudeck, 1995). Studies have shown that the same phenomenon can be seen in many other indigenous peoples' schools (Bartels and Bartels, 1995; Darnel and Hoëm, 1996; Keskitalo, 2003; Lipka et al., 1998).

According to Aimo Aikio, who has gotten acquainted with the Sámi life policy, the solution to changing the Sámi School into multiculturalism requires the realization of cultural and linguistic equality. The minority language has to have power and everyone in a multicultural society should be polyglot and receptive to multiculturalism (Aikio, 2003). Changing the power relations is the key word: The Sámi should have more power to follow through their own education and determine their own curriculum.

3.1.4 Sámi education acts within limited self-determination

The western imperialism created considerable problems and insecurity to indigenous peoples around the world. Compromises, coalitions, and centralized power affect powerfully educational policy, the science of education, schooling, and other areas of a society and culture as well (Singh et al., 2005). The power composition challenges indigenous peoples to educate themselves. In many cases, the school systems ignore indigenous peoples when it comes to decision making, curriculum design, selecting teachers and learning materials as well as defining the standards. In addition, learning materials do not usually provide correct and accurate information about the cultures of indigenous peoples. Therefore, the educational matters among indigenous peoples are closely connected to the concept of power and democracy and human rights (King and Schielmann, 2004).

In many ways, Norway is a forerunner of improving the Sámi's situation. Yet, their educational self-determination is realized insufficiently from the modern point of view. The lack of self-determination leads to the situation where the Sámi do not have much control over the macro-level framework of education.

The Sámi's real participation in national curriculum planning and defining the standards is limited (Hirvonen, 2004/2003). The phase and extent in which the Sámi have been able to affect the planning of Sámi education in reality have been criticized (Hirvonen and Balto, 2008). However, it is recommended that they would fully participate in curriculum planning (see King and Schielmann, 2004). Hirvonen and Balto emphasize that just the demand to be heard is not enough if authorities and decision-makers do not take into consideration the results of these hearings in their final decisions. Keeping quiet about things is structural violence that nations have practiced against their own minorities and indigenous peoples for a long time note Hirvonen and Balto. (2008.) Giving the Sámi self-determination concerning

education would require political effort and becoming more aware of the matter than before also in education.

In historical sense, the Sámi do not have a school culture based on own premises. In order to undergo a transformation, Sámi education has to be considered as one of the factors that construct a welfare state. The fundamental idea is the individual and ethnic needs. Although self-determination in education is restricted at the moment and self-government has not yet come true, the legacy of assimilation should be turned into a new kind of future with decolonization (e.g. Smith, 1999) and empowerment (e.g., Bishop and Glynn, 1999). Graham Smith uses the term 'conscientization'. According to Smith, in decolonization the colonizers and the history of colonization are placed in the center. It is necessary to improve indigenous peoples' situation through conscientization so that capacity building, developing curriculum, growing both horizontal and vertical, re-claiming equity definitions, putting equity emphasis and accountability on access, participation, retention, and success for indigenous students are considered. Conscientization functions as transformative action and resistance in a lineal progression (Smith, 2003b). Therefore, adequate pedagogical methods should be provided at schools in order to construct this kind of pedagogy or conscientization – and empower the indigenous peoples.

3.2 The Core Factors

Developing the practices of Sámi education necessitates renewing the implementation of teaching and paying attention to the inner action that takes place in classrooms and at schools. The quality of teaching depends decidedly on how the Sámi succeeds in creating pedagogy that leans on Sámi culture. Then, it is important to develop their own curriculum, strengthen the position of their own language, create cultural-sensitive teaching arrangements, and diversify the extensive cooperation (see Figure 1). All this aims at improving the indigenous people's overall wellbeing and equality.

3.2.1 Developing the Sámi's own curriculum

A curriculum supports teaching in functional indigenous peoples' education by having indigenous peoples' culture, knowledge, and information in the center. This kind of curriculum which combines the indigenous people's knowledge and western way of thinking should be developed in active cooperation with the indigenous people's community. The curriculum that leans on Sámi conception of time, place, and knowledge should provide such a learning environment, teaching activity, and didactics that it not bound to a specific subject. We will review their content and meaning later when outlining the cultural-sensitive teaching arrangements.

The central and extensive features of the curriculum could be respect and appreciation of the Sámi's own and other cultures. These principles are salient features of intercultural education. Inter-culturalism derives from the need to establish rigorous and respectful dialogues between different forms of thinking and knowledge stemming from indigenous peoples and western experiences in such a manner that makes it possible to come up with a synthesis of the way of thinking, which in turn can be approached and acted upon (see Chacón et al., 2010). The most important goal is to increase understanding, tolerance, and solidarity between various groups. People who are not members of indigenous peoples should be encouraged to have a positive attitude toward indigenous peoples' language and culture. Further, the Maoris in Aotearoa emphasize "the Maori for all" –perspective which

aims at getting the Maori culture and language an equal position in the society and usable as cultural capital.

In addition, the diversity and cultural value of the learning materials that are included in the curriculum should be paid attention to. Learners and community members should participate actively in curriculum development which grounds on the indigenous peoples' cultural identity and history. (King, Schielmann, 2004.) For example, in Central America, local actors and university staff have produced cultural-sensitive learning material in a cooperation project (e.g. Programa de educación intercultural multilingüe de Centroamerica, 2008a, 2008b). According to Odora Hoppers (2002), the individuals and communities of indigenous peoples – the personal and organizational level – should be empowered. Educational culture that leans on learners' cultural and experiential strength would make both pupils and their parents as well as teachers understand themselves, their culture, and others' cultures, too (Macfarlane, 2004). These kinds of follow-throughs have been implemented in Nordic Countries; for example, learning materials in the Sámi language are produced. However, these matters have to be further developed to avoid the problem of translating the western material directly into the Sámi language without adjusting the material to the Sámi culture. School ethnography is an important tool for realizing these issues. Assimilating procedures at school, such as culturally unadjusted learning materials, remain otherwise unexposed.

The Sámi curriculum should form the stone base of educational development. Thus, the curriculum would lay the foundation for supporting cultural sensitivity and cultural diversity. Teachers should have more responsibility, integrity, and autonomy to have better conditions for changing teaching. Traditional teachers' pedagogical skills are not enough in multicultural classes because the everyday happenings that take place in them are so versatile. Teachers' capacity to adopt the new role calls for supplementary education. Therefore, a variety of issues concern school, education, and curriculum planning: educational policy, Sámi policy, school culture, and teachers' role.

The Sámi curriculum and school activities should be adjusted with the surrounding cultural, economic, and geographical factors. It is important the northern school systems would adjust to the changing conditions in circumpolar regions (Darnell and Hoëm, 1996). In this kind of pedagogy, pupils would be taught such skills, attitudes, and knowledge with which they can succeed. In addition, flexibility is important for avoiding overloading the goals and contents of the curriculum. Multicultural learning environment is challenging.

3.2.2 Strengthening the Sámi language

Well-functioning education of indigenous peoples also advances the indigenous peoples' language usage simultaneously supporting the proficiency of national and international languages. According to the ideology of multilingualism, language is not only a communication tool but also a central cultural element. Teaching and learning should be implemented in the indigenous people's language and it should also include the indigenous peoples' fund of knowledge in the curriculum. Learning material in indigenous peoples' language should be produced and tested locally and the whole teaching and especially teaching reading skills should focus on the indigenous children's own language at the initial phase of education. It enables moving on to learning other languages progressively and in a culturally suitable manner that notices the learners' own needs and starting points. Native speakers of indigenous peoples' languages should be hired as teachers. Learning other languages is considered supporting intercultural understanding and tolerance (King and Schielmann, 2004).

Securing the teaching and learning of Sámi language with all its teaching arrangements requires time, the development of didactics for reading and writing the Sámi language, creating a functional model of bilingualism and cutting down other arrangements related to the school system. Language revitalization programs and strategies must be brought to schools and the society in general.

Although the necessity of using the indigenous peoples' languages and the importance of multicultural programs were recognized in teaching, a variety of problems may occur. Firstly, there is lack of literary learning material written in indigenous peoples' languages. Also, the number of monolingual teachers slows down the positive development. Pupils' parents can still be afraid because of their previous experiences that their children will not learn the dominant language well enough and therefore, they do not offer their children the opportunity to educate themselves in the indigenous peoples' languages (King and Schielmann, 2004).

3.2.3 Cultural sensitive teaching arrangements

Western schooling dominates instruction at the Sámi School and is spirally connected with the assimilation, power relations, and socialization process that the Sámi had experienced (Keskitalo, 2010). The way the school organizes teaching is connected with the historical task of the school, namely, the nature of the school as an organization and the conditions in which Sámi schools provide their instruction. The problem in many Sámi schools is that their pedagogical arrangements and curricula are similar to the schools of the dominant culture. Students are not socialized into their own cultures because the Sámi School is organized based on the prevailing values. Rather than skills and attitudes, it is affected by the values of the dominant information society.

The research material in the original research showed that the school culture and Sámi culture did not meet each other sufficiently: regardless of the variations in practice, new teaching arrangements that ground on the Sámi way of thinking require refining and re-organization. However, the question is not that simple: Rauna Kuokkanen (2007) writes that we simply cannot talk about the collision of cultures because the issue is always linked with power relations as well. In this context, it means that Sámi education lacks self-determination. In ideal circumstances, teaching provided by the school would be based on the values of the surrounding community (see Hollins, 2008).

In order to make Sámi education cultural-sensitive, it has to perceive the meaning of the socialization task of the school organization. Therefore, it should also be considered what kind of cultural wellbeing Sámi education constructs. In Tara Yosso's model communal and cultural wellbeing is created through aspirational, familial, social, navigational, resistant, and linguistic capital. Aspirational capital means the ability to maintain hope and dreams concerning the future even when confronting obstacles. Familial capital is defined through cultural knowledge and through it communal and cultural memory, history, and intuition have been transmitted from one generation to another. Social capital includes the net between people and communal resources. Navigational capital refers to tactical skills for coping with various social institutions. Resistant capital consists of knowledge and skills that can be used for challenging inequality in the light of equality. Linguistic capital emphasizes intellectual and social skills that have been learned by using many languages (Yosso, 2006).

This model of cultural wellbeing can enhance cultural-sensitive teaching where the question is about the power relations between various groups of people. The starting point for the

challenge of developing Sámi education is the need for paradigmatic change (Kuokkanen, 2000) – in the context of which the cultural and linguistic reality at school has to be taken into consideration (see Bailey et al., 2008). Within the cultural localization and possibilities provided by diversity, people's own language and culture should form the foundation for all education (Spivak, 1993). Schedules, physical spaces, and working methods are important if we want to develop teaching (e.g. Cuban, 1993). Cultural-sensitive teaching arrangements would be realized if Sámi education was grounded on the Sámi's conceptions of place, time, and knowledge (Keskitalo, 2010; Keskitalo and Määttä, 2011b).

In the old culture, the conception of time was sun-centered and bound to observing the nature. As the sphere of operation turns into one-dimensional and limited, also the conception of time changes and becomes more dominant and restrictive (Helander and Kailo, 1999). In the light of the Sámi conception of time, it can be stated that teaching should be organized in a more flexible way by giving up the 45-minute scheduling. In addition, the Sámi's eight seasons should be utilized (Rasmus, 2004). Holding on to the school practices in a schedule that is typical of the dominant culture may turn Sámi pupils prejudiced. For example, the starting point in Sámi reindeer herding and many other traditional livelihoods is to operate according to sustainable development and flexible thinking (Helander and Kailo, 1999). Western learning at school alienates pupils from these starting points.

The Sámi conception of space is not bound to square feet but merely, it is circular (see Fjellström, 1985). In teaching arrangements, the Sámi conception of space appears so that school should be seen as a wider space than providing just classroom-bound learning. Information that pupils need exists also outside the school walls. The traditional Sámi dwelling place *'gámme'* can be mentioned as an example. The inner organization of gámme can be applied at the Sámi School: gámme had several parts where tasks that were different people's responsibility were carried out. When applied at a classroom, it could mean for example teaching arrangements organized by stopping points. The class would be divided into posts by the various work tasks and thus the usual classroom organization would be given up. Another viewpoint is that instead of staying at the classroom, people should head outside from the classroom to the surrounding society and nature. Thus, also flora and fauna would be on teaching and manifest the interdependency of people and nature. At school, philosophically thinking, gámme could represent a cultural womb that would provide the students with resources for later life and the most important stone bases for humanity.

Indigenous peoples' way of thinking can be considered consisting of values and worldview. The challenge is how to take the connection with nature into consideration within study units. Indigenous peoples also emphasize the meaning of experience, and social and holistic views when acquiring information. In these cases, knowledge is derived directly from the environment where people live. Furthermore, highlighting criticality and power relations is seen extremely important (Kuokkanen, 2009). When describing the core elements of Sámi fund of knowledge, Elina Helander and Kaarina Kailo stress that knowledge itself does not have any goal but utility value. People participate directly in producing and sharing knowledge. Cottages, lean-to shelters, concrete working situations, and camp-fires function as sorts of scientific seminars. In the above-mentioned places, people discuss knowledge and negotiate about those connections where they act and thus, knowledge is shared from the same foundations respectively. The epistemological truth comes forward through stories, conversations, negotiations, and evaluations on the activities that have taken place as well as recalled memories and experiences. In addition, knowledge is tested in various real-life and working situations. All this happens without scientific formal action (Helander and Kailo,

1999). When applied in the school context, it means that knowledge is not considered something occupied by authorities but shared.

It seems that cultures clash when authority is pointed out at school and because, for example, teaching arrangements are closed – classrooms are closed, timetables are allocated by subjects, and working methods are teacher-centered. They are utilized instead of concentrating on, for example, adopting Sámi upbringing, the constructivist view on learning, and an ecological approach to the Sámi School.

One of the biggest challenges is to help pupils become independent and active learners. Information technology as a tool to enhance such learning has to be put to use in teaching. Furthermore, children have to be provided with opportunities to search information and learn outside the classroom because it would support the Sámi world view. Teachers have to adapt new roles as the instructors of learning in such situations where pupils would take more responsibility on learning events. It is difficult also for pupils. However, the question is only about practicing and getting used to the new methods. When adapting the traditional Sámi upbringing and knowledge at the Sámi School, teaching should lean on the ideas of social constructivism and reform pedagogy more powerfully. Jan Henry Keskitalo (2009) refers to it with the term *'sámi skuvlamáhttu'* (Sámi school knowledge).

3.2.4 Community-centered school work

Gregory Cajete who has gotten acquainted with the paradigmatic sides of research on indigenous peoples emphasizes that indigenous peoples' education should pay attention to the cultural foundation of teaching and learning where educational processes are based on traditional values. At the same time, appropriate concepts and technology should be exploited in teaching. Adapting the ideas of modern science of education with the traditional idea is complicated and necessitates cooperation with various directions (Cajete, 1994).

Educational principles and working methods, that are based on the indigenous people's culture and traditions and that are developed in cooperation between the institutional education and the indigenous people's community, are offered as the solution. Then, education would be linked with every area of life, pupils' wellbeing as well as the environment and land. The foundation of indigenous people's communal opinion, value, goal, and aspiration should be noticed in order to be able to together decide what, when, and why pupils should learn something. Hearing the community members, parents and the elders, is a method that helps recognizing traditional upbringing practices and working methods (King and Schielmann, 2004).

Developing the school is an all-round happening that concerns the whole personnel and pupils as well as requires cooperation with families, the community and society. Comprehensive development helps and supports teachers' work. Teachers' efficient work demands inner motivation and engagement to the class and the school. External change in the administrative structures does not solely guarantee efficient learning; nor does just the reconstruction of education change the way of working at the classroom. The new kind of thinking and new working methods have to be adopted before action can change for good. The change takes place as teachers' pedagogical skills develop. Teachers' mastery over the subject contents, pedagogical thinking and action are important when the goal is to improve the efficiency of teaching. To guarantee the quality of teaching, the focus has to be on the improvement of an individual teacher's skills and motivation; but at the same time, the inner

structures of school have to be developed so that they support good teaching. The shared value basis at school and mutual support among the personnel are crucial factors.

Teacher education should support the growth and development of teacherhood toward the new kind of teacherhood where teachers become a guide or a cultural mentor in learning situations instead of the teacher-centered role. It means changing the school and learning culture. Furthermore, teachers' in-service and post-graduate education has to be developed. The form of present teacher education could prepare students better to implement teaching in a way the curriculum requires. It would be necessary to make sure in teachers' basic education that teachers have the skills, attitudes, social background, and motivation needed as well as the ability to act as a teacher in the rapidly changing world. Education and the change in attitudes are the key words. Teachers do not always realize what is problematic in their teaching.

Despite the innovational ambition, school does not work as it could work. Teachers have to work under considerable strain as great expectations are placed at their work. Perhaps, the reason is that the significance of parents and culture is difficult to combine with the western school culture. To subsume the indigenous peoples' fund of knowledge into the western school system, time, place, and knowledge structures should be reconsidered.

4. CONCLUSION

In this article, we discussed the development of the Sámi School. The crucial question is how to make use of the traditional Sámi model of upbringing and philosophy and to find solutions and models for organizing the Sámi education in them.

Because of the historical processes in the regions with Sámi population and the position that the Sámi have in relation to the national states, the Sámi School was previously marginalized outside the influence channels and possibilities. In addition, the Sámi School is not yet independent as it is also burdened by the governing power hierarchies. The need for paradigmatic change is included in the further development of Sámi education. The Sámi conceptions of time, place, and knowledge should be applied when organizing and planning education and teaching. The Sámi curriculum as its own independent curriculum institution is still unfinished. Indeed, indigenous peoples' right to develop their education from their starting points must be a central matter when planning new reforms. Then, the basis should meet the needs of Sámi society better than today.

The solution is not just fixing separate issues but in many cases, solutions for wider entities have to be searched. Because the Sámi society does not have self-government yet, they would need the ideas of becoming free of the power. Therefore, we would emphasize the views of critical pedagogy (e.g., Suoranta, 2005) and pedagogy for liberation (Freire, 1971). Thus, it would be possible to combine the knowledge in the general science of education with the upbringing among indigenous peoples because both of them involve conflicting themes. Because of the power arrangement of the Sámi School, it would be necessary to solve the macro-level problems first in order to make the micro level work better than it does today.

Education should be considered as a specific kind of counterforce for the colonization of mind and heart. In order to be able to achieve uncolonized pedagogy, interaction between knowledge and learning and pupils' and teachers' experiences have to taken seriously. Theorizing experiences and politicking are inevitable if the pedagogical acts concentrate

only on the systemization of administration and the presumptions of disciplinary knowledge. The cultural pluralism has to be noticed: uncolonized pedagogical action requires that various cultural logics are taken seriously when they are placed within asymmetrical power relations (Mohanty, 1994).

Research-based knowledge holds, and certainly should hold, a dominant position at school. What is problematic is that this kind of knowledge is unconnected with everyday life and thus abstract as well. Yet, everyday life is concrete and based on the daily experiences. There is plenty of informal knowledge in Sámi life. This knowledge is holistic and place-bound and an important part of the socialization perspective; and noticing this kind of approach would provide children and youngsters with better preparedness to face the modern world (Bergland, 2001). There are differences in the world views as well. For example, the worlds drawn on the Sámi drum present a picture of world that is divided into three levels (see Westman and Utsi, 1998). The most common animals, reindeer and wild reindeer, are illustrated as well as livelihoods, such as fishing and reindeer herding. There are people, gods, dwelling places, stock houses, and Arctic foxes in the pictures as well. Furthermore, foreign religion when it entered the Sámi region is described. People had to consider both traditions and the new era. Therefore, the drum could be perceived as a philosophical tool that connects the aspects of the past, present, and future.

It is also problematic that the society and nature do not sufficiently participate in the everyday life at school. The hybrid theory as a part of sociological theories (e.g. Lowe, 2005/2003) could explain this matter in the indigenous peoples' situation because it considers the society, nature, and culture hybrids or as continuum or interconnected. People and society are not just parts of nature or culture but they also encounter through the hybrid society. This thinking pulls down the traditional idea of the nature-culture dualism and involves the economic context as well. The hybrid theory suits in the context of the Sámi School because its problems can be explained, in addition to nature and culture, by economy. At the same time, the hybrid theory pursues solving the societal participation by explaining an individual's part in it. The hybrid theory supports the diversity of the Sámi School because it accepts the various ways and reasons of development. According to the theory, communication is important and natural premises offer several possibilities for it. One extremely salient issue is the language-sociological situation that varies, in this case, by families and individuals: the age when the Sámi language is learned and the levels of knowledge of the Sámi language may vary. The hybrid theory could also explain how the Sámi language is learned and thus, the task of the society and school would be to support this process, not to prevent it. Hybrid could also mean that various system start working in networks. Establishing a network between the Sámi School and surrounding society is the most topical issue.

Why developing school is so difficult? Schools, as other organizations, have their own culture and tradition (Schein, 2005/1985). School culture refers to school, working environment or its parts, and values, beliefs, perceptions, myths, stories, expectations, norms, roles, ceremonies, and rituals related to the above-mentioned. Often, they control action at school unobserved. School culture is like an invisible script according to which the organization acts. It can also be called a way of implementing the curriculum. The phrase "this is how we have done before" is part of common argumentation at school. School culture certainly consists of everything that happens at school – it is a manner how things are followed through at school. Culture socializes new people into the values and traditions of school and it can be described with continuity, preservation, and predictability. It provides an individual with the feeling of security when he/she feels like having control over the

environment. Therefore, changing the culture is a difficult and demanding process. Change means abandoning the old values, meanings, and norm and this kind of process always includes the feeling of insecurity (Kohonen and Leppilampi, 1992; 1994). Everyone does not bear this. Cultures change slowly and not until the intentions that favor the change are more powerful than the ones resisting. Resisting the change is a part of the process because the change threatens people's feeling of security (Schein, 2005/1985). Due to the resistance, school is conservative (Keskitalo, 2003; Huss, 2003).

Developing Sámi education cannot progress if the extended self-determination is not executed. The controlling document at the Sámi School, in other words the Sámi curriculum, should be an independent institution and not just a copy of the national curriculum. Developing teacher education into a more independent direction is important in order to fully meet the challenges of the Sámi School. Highlighting powerfully the Sámi upbringing and pedagogy in the discussions would support the task of the Sámi School. The Sámi School has the opportunity to make use of the cultural pluralism after the micro- and macro-level practices are developed. Sámi teachers do excellent work and try to meet the various societal, organization-level, and pedagogical challenges they confront in their daily work in the best way possible.

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