Modern Indigenous Curriculum:
Teaching Indigenous Knowledge of Handicraft
at Sámi Colleges in Finland and Norway

Oddaáigasaš eamiálbmoga oahppoplánat:

Arbevealuš Diedu Oahpaheapmis

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Abstract

The Sámi people have struggled for centuries to maintain their culture in spite of pressures against it from colonialism. The formal education systems of Norway and Finland have acted in discord with Sámi decision-making since their inception. In response to this lack of decision-making power, there is a dynamic internal process at work; Sámi people have begun to take control of their own schooling.

This thesis qualitatively examines the processes of curriculum development and implementation for wood handicraft programs at the Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu, Norway and in Anár, Finland, and details the most significant educational and political factors involved in the transmission and production of indigenous knowledge associated with Sámi handicraft. Factors associated with the teaching of Sámi handicraft in the form of increasing commercialization, generalization and mechanization in formal duodji education and the stereotyping of Sámi cultural imagery pose potential risks to appropriate transfer of Sámi cultural knowledge. This thesis will show that the teaching of Sámi handicraft (duodji) is an educational and political tool that helps develop and define modern Sámi culture. Accordingly, attempts by the Sámi colleges to incorporate greater indigenous knowledge have resulted in the implementation of modern indigenous curriculum that promotes cultural knowledge through the teaching of Sámi handicraft.

Resumé

Au cours des siècles, le peuple Sámi a lutté pour maintenir sa culture, malgré la pression du colonialisme. Depuis leur création, les systèmes d'éducation formelles norvégiennes et finlandaises, représentaient un obstacle pour les décisions des Sámi. Pour répondre à cette manque de pouvoir décisif, un processus dynamique interne s'est manifesté: les Sámi ont commencé à prendre le control de leur propre éducation.

Ce thèse examine qualitativement les processus de développement et de réalisation de programmes d'études de la fabrication d'objets en bois sculpté (duodje) aux collèges Sámi en Guovdageaidnu, Norvège et en Anár, Finlande, et détaille les facteurs pédagogiques et politiques les plus importants de la transmission et du développement de connaissances autochtones associées au duodje Sámi. Les facteurs associés à l'enseignement du duodje tels qu'un niveau croissant de commercialisation, de généralisation et de mécanisation de l'education formelle de l'artisinat Sámi ainsi que la création d'un stéréotype de l'image culturelle Sámi, posent des risques potentielles quant au transfert des connaissances culturelles Sámi. Ce thèse démontrera que l'enseignement de duodje est un outil pédagogique et politique qui aide à développer et définir la culture Sámi moderne. Par conséquent, les efforts des collèges Sámi à adopter un niveau élévé de connaissances indigènes ont mené à la réalisation d'un programme d'études indigènes moderne qui promuvoit une connaissance culturelle à travers de l'enseignement du duodje.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to Modern Indigenous Curriculum

1.1 Opening

The Sámi people live within a region of northernmost Europe called Sápmi. This homeland stretches across approximately 300,000 – 400,000 km^2 of four nation-states – Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia (Henriksen, 1999). The Sámi way of life has and continues to be strongly connected to reindeer herding and the land of Sápmi. Today, only a small fraction of Sámi work as reindeer herders, however reindeer herding still remains an important component of Sámi cultural identity.

For centuries, Sámi have been subjected to colonial pressures from the nations controlling their homeland. As a response to these pressures, Sámi people even today have to struggle for the enfranchisement of their political rights. This struggle for increased autonomy focuses on all aspects of Sámi society - culture, politics, economy, the environment and education.

Intense and state-controlled colonization into Sápmi began in the late 17^{th} and early 18^{th} centuries by Norway, Sweden and Russia. These countries centralized their colonial influences through military, economic, social and religious control. This control by state and church included forcing the formal education systems of these countries upon the Sámi people. Historically, decisions affecting the formal education of Sámi have often been made without Sámi consent. However, at present, there is a dynamic, internal movement for educational control at work; Sámi people have begun to take control of Sámi education. These educational efforts are fundamentally concerned with the right of indigenous people to maintain an independent culture (Seurujärvi-Kari, 1996).

In order to ground an examination of the Sámi movement for greater control of education, it is important to understand that the natural environment of Sápmi and the Sámi culture and language are closely related (Jernsletten, 1997). This relationship between the land and their own culture and language is clearly visible through Sámi

handicraft, or duodji as it is called in the North Sámi language. Duodji is an affirmation of Sámi identity: both the handicraft objects themselves and their production and use play a distinctive and essential role in maintaining Sámi culture (Sámi instituhtta et al, 1990). Therefore, as a result of the significance and uniqueness of this Sámi word, duodji is thus introduced in the original Sámi version to English usage without italics.

Traditionally, the production of duodji was taught through the home. Today, it is increasingly being taught in Sámi schools. However, historically the Sámi formal educational system tended, like formal schooling in other indigenous communities, to serve outside interests namely the colonial powers. As a result, schools did not accommodate for Sámi culture. Instead, schools encouraged cultural replacement from Sámi to European. This process of cultural replacement has been the major role of formal schooling for centuries until quite recently.

Over the last several decades, Sámi communities have wrestled greater control over their own educational systems from national governments. Correspondingly, Sámi have demanded greater inclusion of their own indigenous knowledge within the restructuring of these systems leading to programs at Sámi schools better reflecting Sámi culture and language. This restructuring is critical for Sámi educational control since schools are fundamental to the distribution and production of cultural knowledge (Apple, 1995). The teaching of duodji has become an integral part of this movement to reflect more Sámi culture in schools.

A study of the Sámi struggle for increased control of duodji education would provide insight into the mechanisms of greater educational control and cultural survival within Sámi communities. The need for this type of research has for decades been recognized as seen in Singleton's following quotation of 1974.

"Perhaps the most significant research...has been that directed to understanding education in settings where minority ethnic groups confront schools directed by agencies remote from their influence and experience" (Singleton, 1974, p.32).

The following thesis investigates the role of Sámi handicraft (duodji) in two Sámi colleges in Norway and Finland as an indicator of larger struggles for Sámi cultural determination and survival. It is hypothesized that *the teaching of Sámi handicraft (duodji) is an educational and political tool that helps define and develop modern Sámi culture*. Curriculum development and implementation of wood handicraft programs at the Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu, Norway and in Anár, Finland have been examined through qualitative observation and interviews. This thesis details the most significant educational and political factors involved in the transmission and production of indigenous knowledge associated with Sámi handicraft.

1.2 Methodology

The methodology for this examination consists of research that fundamentally attempts to reach what Alf Isak Keskitalo, the noted Sámi philosopher, in a 1974 address described as a 'research balance'. A. I. Keskitalo states that "only in very infrequent cases will the field worker be able to establish personal and social relationships in the group before arriving, so that the presence is given a reciprocal value and appreciation, at least in the concluding stages. In some cases, the pressure of the field worker's presence can reach symmetry by curiosity and novelty satisfaction, on this level yielding a kind of research balance" (A.I. Keskitalo, 1994, p.11).

Keeping in mind A.I. Keskitalo's words and acknowledging the ethical issues of being a foreign researcher, such as a lack of knowledge about the people and places, I travelled to Finland and Norway in April 2000 in an attempt to build relationships before beginning the formal portion of my studies. During the following four months I lived and worked teaching English in Oulu, Finland. Using Oulu as a base, I began to travel throughout northern Finland and Norway where I met individuals involved with duodji production and education whom I would later work with during my research.

In these meetings I informally discussed my own interests and experiences as an educator and working with traditional handicraft back in Canada. My experience as a teacher in Inuit schools in arctic Canada and with traditional craft making has grounded my interest in issues of culture in schooling. While teaching in Canada, I came to strongly believe in the need for practical and appropriate examples of Inuit culture to be taught in Inuit schools in face of the overwhelming presence of non-Inuit culture in the structure and curriculum of schools. Once in Finland and Norway, it quickly became apparent that there were similarities in the situation between Sámi and Inuit in terms of their respective educational struggles to create a culturally appropriate education.

This preliminary period in Finland and Norway provided me with an initial perspective to build from when I later returned in January 2001 to begin the formal stage of my fieldwork. More importantly, this preliminary period gave those individuals I met perspective on my own motivations and interests in doing this work. In theory, I was working to encourage a reciprocal appreciation.

Also during this preliminary period I was told numerous times about the importance of the Sámi language with regards to my research interests. As a result when I returned the following January, I enrolled in a North Sámi language course at Sámi allaskuvla in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. At this time, I also enrolled in an independent graduate course through the University of Oulu under the supervision of Veli-Pekka Lehtola and Rauni Räsänen focusing on the teaching of duodji. With respect to learning the Sámi language, even though I did not learn the language fluently, I feel that the language skills I did learn allowed me to develop greater personal connections with the people I worked with and the communities I lived in. Many people encouraged me when I explained that I was learning the Sámi language to better grasp the connection between language and handicraft.

By beginning my research developing initial personal connections and working at learning the language, I found that the more my relationships with individuals developed the more I shared of my own experiences in education and traditional handicraft from my

own context. So that by the time I began to conduct my formal interviews, these interviews were more dialogue than a process of documentation. I feel that by working this way I was better able to make my interviews a time of mutual understanding and sharing rather than a one-way recording of opinions; I worked to meet a research balance. Subsequently, those individuals that I interviewed have directed positive comments towards my work providing me with encouragement that this research process has been mutually positive.

The documentation of interviews accordingly was a sharing experience. Between April 2000 to May 2001, I discussed my research numerous times with individuals involved in duodji and duodji education in Guovdageaidnu and Máze, Norway, Anár and Oulu, Finland and Jokkmokk, Sweden. These conversations were carried out in either the North Sámi, English or Finnish language. The content of these conversations varied widely, but in most cases ideas and hypotheses were discussed and argued. These discussions were essential to the qualitative process of hypothesis testing for this research work.

"The qualitative research process...consists of the testing of hypotheses. The difference is that these hypotheses are not formulated in advance; they evolve as the research project and the analysis unfold, as you learn more about the object of study and as you learn what sort of questions to ask and hypotheses to formulate"(Alasuutari, 1995, p.169).

Building on these early, informal discussions, I then conducted 12 formal interviews in English. These formal interviews took the form of a process of mutual understanding in which topics evolved and hypotheses were mutually developed between the interviewee and myself. Subsequently, after each one of these formal interviews, I wrote down comments that had been discussed. After completing this, I sent the interviewee the written notes of our meeting and asked them to comment on the clarity and exactness of the interpretation of my notes. After these comments had been made and the interviewee's consent had been given, I included the interpretations from each interview in the text as either exact quotations or as referenced comments. This was done in order to give interviewees access to the research documentation process. The advantage of this

form of research process is that research then reflects a dialogue in which both the researcher and the interviewees come to a common understanding that best reflects a perspective built on consensus.

1.3 Thesis Structure

My research focused on identifying what role the teaching of Sámi indigenous knowledge has in maintaining and building Sámi culture. The thesis is structured into seven chapters. Chapter one outlines the basic hypothesis, structure and methodology of the thesis. Chapter two gives an overview of the Sámi people, their life and land. Chapter three outlines the forms, function and philosophy behind Sámi wood handicraft. These first three chapters provide an introduction to the basic content and structure of the thesis.

The incorporation of indigenous knowledge into schools raises complex social, political and environmental questions concerning the process of developing a culture. For instance, how can schools play a positive role in Sámi cultural development? Chapters four, five and six provide a discussion focusing on this question. Chapter four – Evolution of Sámi education, provides a general overview of Sámi education from its traditional roots to recent policy developments. The fifth chapter – Sámi college handicraft programs, describes and analyzes how wood duodji is presently taught in two Sami Colleges - Sámi allaskuvla / Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu, Norway and Sámi oahpahanguovddaš / Educational Centre for the Sámi Region in Anár, Finland. And lastly, chapter six – Modern indigenous curriculum, provides a theoretical exploration of why the teaching of duodji acts as an educational and political tool to develop modern Sámi culture. The final chapter is a conclusion that draws upon the main points of analysis given in the first six chapters.

The term 'modern indigenous curriculum' is being used as a description of the process of curriculum development and implementation at the two Sámi colleges. Implicit within this term, is the belief that a culture is constantly developing and that there are

individuals, communities and institutions within every society that are involved in cultural development. Educational components responsible for controlling indigenous culture form the foundation for this term and are outlined in chapter five.

Chapter 2: Sámi and Sápmi

The Sámi are the indigenous people living within the northern regions of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The history and livelihoods of Sámi people have and continue to be strongly connected to the environment of Sápmi, their homeland. The following chapter will provide the reader with an introduction to the Sámi people and their homeland Sápmi. This introduction is necessary in order to frame later chapters of this thesis that discuss the development of Sámi education. In writing the following chapter, however, it is recognized that any general and brief description of an entire people is inherently simplistic and does not properly emphasize the connection between an indigenous people and their environment. This is important to note since the following chapter compartmentalizes aspects of Sámi people and their homeland.

2.1 Peoples

Part of the difficulty of defining the exact number of Sámi is that there is no formal definition for the term Sámi (Henriksen, 1999). However, there is a general acceptance that there are between 70,000 - 100, 000 Sámi, or persons of Sámi descent (Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997, Henriksen, 1999). Estimates of the numbers of Sámi people according to each country are stated in the following chart.

State/Area	Sámi population	% of national population
Norway	40,000 – 60,000	1.18% of 4,242,000 (1991)
Sweden	20,000 – 25,000	0.26% of 8,644,000 (1991)
Finland	8,000 – 12,000	0.20% of 5,030,000 (1992)
Russia (Kola Peninsula)	2,000 - 4,000	0.26% of 1,146,000 (1989)

Table 1: Sámi Population in the early 1990's (Source: Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997, p.3)

Sámi are a minority within each of the four nations they reside. The majority of Sámi people live in northern Sweden and Norway with over half of all Sámi living in the northernmost Norwegian region of Finnmark. Sámi people make up the majority of the

population living within this Norwegian province. In Sweden, the Sámi population is concentrated around the northern municipality of Jokkmokk with many Sámi living in the southern regions of Norway, Sweden and Finland as well.

The Finnish Sámi home region consists of the municipalities of Enontekiö, Inari, Utsjoki and the northern part of the municipality of Sodenkylä with the municipality of Utsjoki being the only one in which Sámi are a majority. There are approximately 7,000 Sámi in Finland of which more than 4,000 live within the Finnish Sámi home region. This number represents a third of the total population living there. This region covers 35,000 km^2 and includes also a special region reserved for the Skolt Sámi who were resettled in Finland from the region around Petsamo which belonged to Finland between 1920 –1944 and was obtained by the Soviet Union in 1944 (Samediggi, 1999).

This migration of Skolt Sámi to Finland, however, only represented a small movement by Sámi from Russia. Approximately 2,000 – 4,000 Sámi still live on the Kola Peninsula in north-western Russia. Over the last century, this region has been subjected to heavy pressures of assimilation from Russian culture and industry to the extent that Sámi are now a small minority in the face of a Russian population majority of 87% (Volkov, 1996).

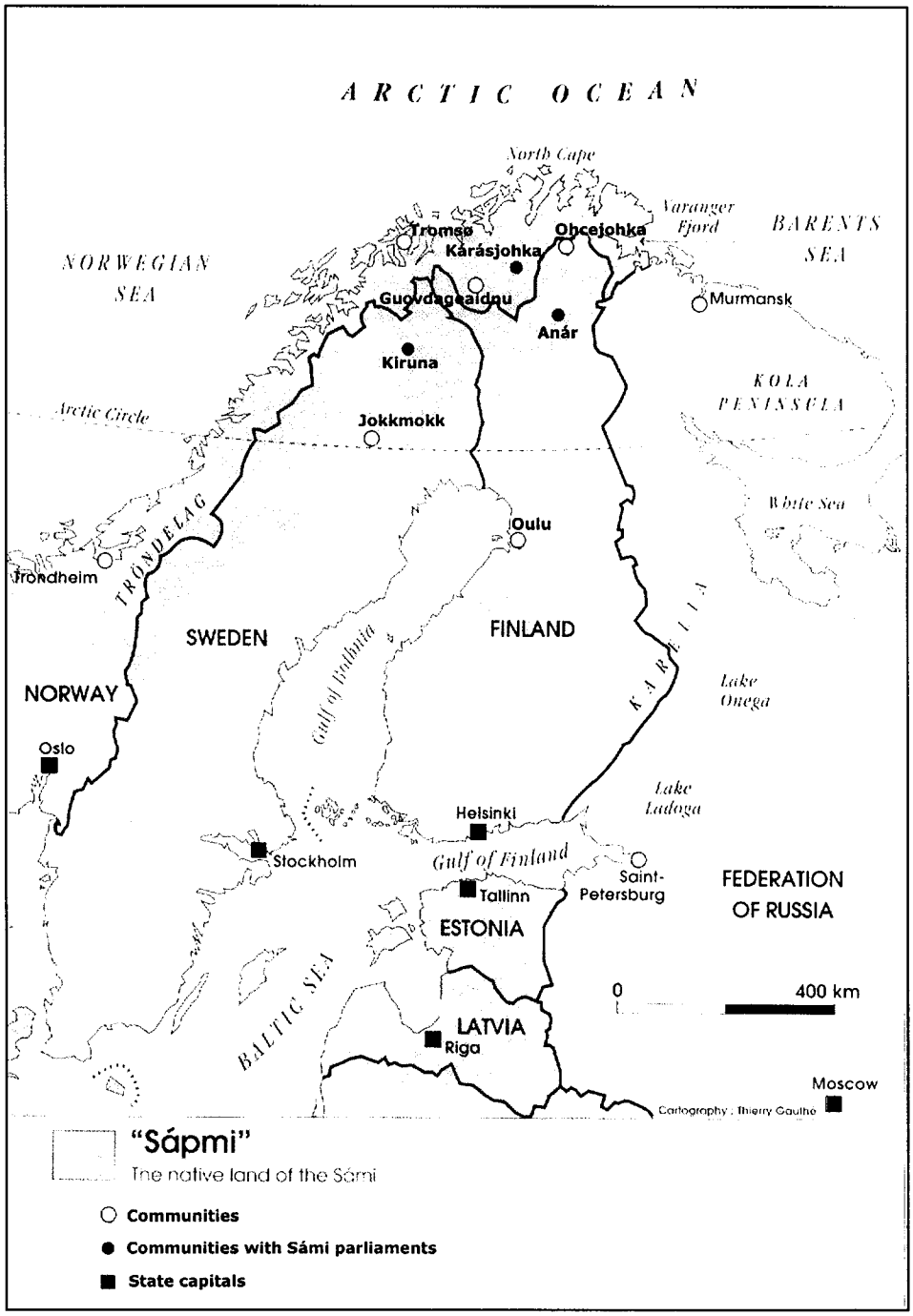

Figure 1: Map of Sápmi (adapted from Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997).

2.2 Languages

Sámi throughout Sápmi speak a diversity of Sámi languages. There are 9 or 10 Sámi languages spoken at present. The discrepancy stems from the debate that some consider Akkala Sámi to be a separate language while others consider it to be a dialect of Skolt

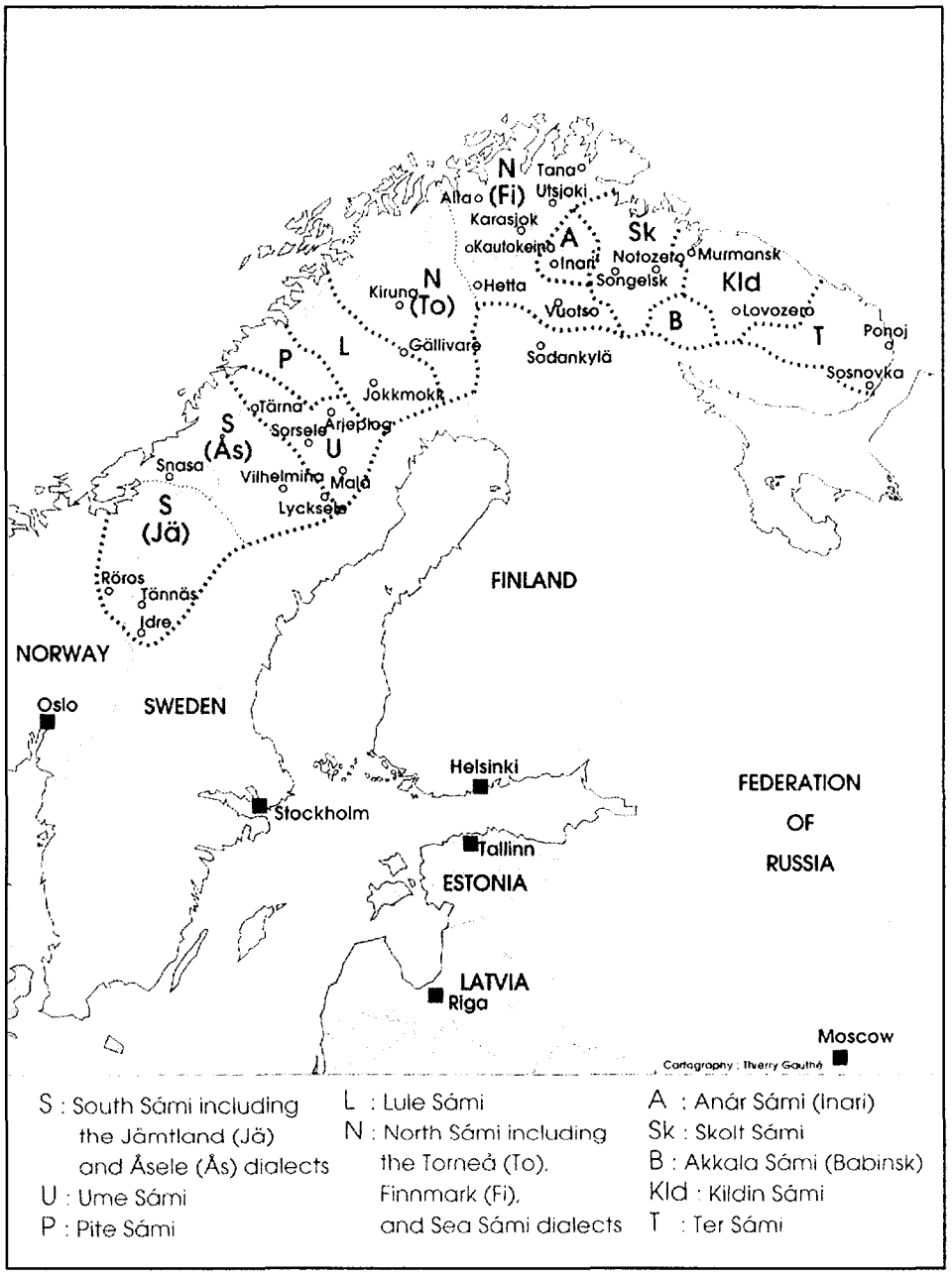

Figure 2: Geographic Distribution of the Different Sámi Languages (Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997).

Sámi (Sammallahti, 1998). As a family, the Sámi languages are part of a larger group of languages referred to as the Finno-Ugric language family. This larger language family includes Finnish, Karelian, Hungarian, Estonian and a collection of northern languages in Russian Siberia.

The number of speakers in each Sámi language varies widely. North Sámi is the dominant Sámi language with an estimated 70 to 80 percent of all Sámi speaking this language (Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997). Unfortunately, like with the Skolt Sámi language, which has only approximately 500 speakers, most Sámi languages are spoken by only a small number of people, leaving their fate in question.

Six of the Sámi languages have acquired a written form (Aikio et al, 1994). These six languages are: South, Lule, North, Skolt, Inari and Kildin Sámi. Although the use of Sámi in literature began in the early 17th century with the first book printed in 1619, the use of North Sámi as a literary language has expanded considerably since the adoption of a common Nordic orthography in 1979 (Jones, 1983).

The Sami languages have been enhanced by Sámi Language Laws passed in both Finland and Norway in 1992. These laws aim to preserve Sámi language by providing for the use of Sámi language for court proceedings and with other state authorities such as municipal offices. However, the linguistic rights protected under these laws are based on translation and interpretation and do not address the future of the language in other spheres of Sámi society such as education (Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997, Samediggi, 1999, Aikio-Puoskari & Pentikäinen, 2001).

And yet, steps have been taken at the national level to encourage the development of the Sámi languages. For example, in the past few years, the use of Sámi in the Finnish media for example has clearly developed with increased radio and television time in the Sámi language (Aikio at al, 1994). The use of Sámi language in schools has also slowly grown. The use of Sámi languages at day-care centres in the form of spoken Sámi is also

another development in some parts of Sápmi. Sámi High School graduates took their mother tongue exam in the North Sámi language for the first time in 1994.

In Finland, Sámi languages were taught as an instructional language at only 5 schools (comprehensive, upper secondary) in 1970. Use of Sámi later grew to include 23 schools in 1980, and 30 schools in 1990. According to the Lapland Provincial Administrative Board, 602 students were studying Sámi in Finland in 1995-6. Of the 240 students in the community of Anár, 159 were learning in North Sámi, 53 in Skolt Sámi and 28 in Inari Sámi (Aikio-Puoskari, 1996). Unfortunately, problems still remain. Throughout Sápmi, the higher the level of education, the harder it is to obtain the opportunity to learn and study in the minority language.

2.3 Culture and Identity

The culture and identity of Sámi people is strongly connected to the environment of Sápmi. This connection is maintained through the continued use of traditional indigenous knowledge of their environment.

"Sámi, as well as other indigenous peoples, have for millennia been using knowledge of their surroundings to build and sustain their culture and society. This traditional indigenous knowledge forms the foundation for how Sámi observe themselves and the world. Observations are tied to being able to understand phenomenon and connections in nature, so that people will be able to use nature for sustenance" (Jernsletten, 1997, p.86).

The term, culture, will be used interchangeably in this thesis to describe both the collective body of arts and intellectual work within any one society (material culture) and the whole way of life of a people (Jenks, 1993). These two descriptions are combined when speaking of culture to recognize the strong connection between an indigenous peoples' way of life and their material culture. In this sense, traditional indigenous knowledge, which supports material culture, can be similarly viewed as a fundamental support for their whole way of life.

Sámi traditional indigenous knowledge is passed on through a strong oral tradition. This oral tradition is based in their stories, craft and chanting called *yoik*. This form of singing is considered to be one of the most characteristic forms of Sámi culture (Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997). Traditionally, Sámi poetry was recited in this way. The *yoik* has survived centuries of external religious pressures against it and in many cases has evolved into new forms as a response to the modern context.

Traditionally, Sámi families were organized into village units called *siida* made up of extended family groups that travelled throughout their homeland. The way of life in these 'villages' has and continues to be strongly connected to reindeer herding (Samediggi, 1999). Even though today, only a small number of Sámi work as reindeer herders, reindeer herding remains an important component of Sámi cultural identity. The influences of reindeer herding can be felt in a wide range of Sámi economic, social and cultural practices as seen in Sámi handicraft forms such as the characteristic knives and bowls used for herding purposes.

The Sámi folk dress (*gakti*) has also developed to become one of the most important symbols of the Sámi nationality (Aikio et al, 1994). The Sámi people in various regions of Sápmi have their own unique style and can be identified according to the type of *gakti* worn. Consequently, the making and wearing of this folk dress is another important component of the Sámi identity.

2.4 Environment

Sápmi, the Sámi homeland, is a vast area that stretches throughout northernmost Europe. Before the 17th century when the colonial powers of Sweden/Norway and Russia moved northward into this territory, the Sámi homeland extended south encompassing almost double the land area it covers today (Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997). At that time, Sámi lived throughout an area stretching approximately 600,000 – 700,000 km^2 from the

Central Scandinavian mountains in the west, to the Kola Peninsula in the east, the Arctic Ocean to the north and as far south as Lake Ladoga in Russia.

Under its present boundaries, Sápmi stretches across approximately 300,000 – 400,000 km^2 of four nation-states – Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia (Henriksen, 1999). Sápmi is a part of the boreal, subarctic and arctic environments characterized by forests of conifers and birch and treeless slopes of mountains. It is bounded by tundra, mountain chains, lakes, rivers and marshes in the interior and fjords and a rugged shoreline along its Arctic coast. In eastern parts of the territory the ground is frozen by permafrost.

The climate varies widely throughout Sápmi, however the conditions tend to get colder the further north-east one travels. Average temperatures are 14°C in summer and –12°C in winter (Jones, 1982) with temperature extremes varying from –50°C in the winter to 35°C in the summer (Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997). The mean annual precipitation is only 300 mm. With this harsh climate and generally poor soils, agriculture is limited. There is some cattle grazing and cereals grown, however, crop production is limited by the short growing season that is approximately 125 days annually (Jones, 1982).

The animal life of Sápmi is similar to other boreal regions throughout the circumpolar north; characterized by land mammals such as reindeer, elk, bear, moose, wolf, fox, wolverine and otter. Numerous species of eagles, falcons, ptarmigan, geese, ducks and terns can be found as well as both fresh-water and ocean fish species.

Historically, animal populations were more extensive. As the surrounding states encroached into Sámi land, tax collection became intense and systematic beginning in the 13th century (Samediggi, 1999). In some areas, Sámi people paid tribute to three states at the same time. This tax system had a devastating impact on the animal life of Sápmi since, in order to pay their taxes, Sámi people had to increase their hunting and adapt trapping and snaring (Utsi, 1993). Over time, this intensive exploitation led to the decline of many animal species in Sápmi.

2.5 Economy

The Sámi traditional economy is a nature-based economy (Aikio et al, 1994). A nature-based economy refers to a self-sufficient, small-scale economic way of life in which Sámi families relied on many different activities for survival such as hunting, reindeer-herding, fishing and gathering berries. Through this form of economy, Sámi people adapted to the conditions set by the environment. Through this traditional way of life, reindeer herding has not only become a significant component of Sámi culture, but it has more recently become one of the most important sources of income (Samediggi, 1999).

Reindeer herding is a livelihood developed by the Sámi during the Middle Ages as a form of meat production and represents a direct continuation of the early hunter/gatherers' ways of knowing and using the environment (Jernsletten, 1999). In Finland, reindeer herding spread quickly in the 1600's from the south-west to Ohcejohka a hundred years later (Huttu-Hiltunen et al, 1998). Traditionally, reindeer herding was based on a semi-nomadic cycle throughout the year in which herds were taken to separate summer and winter pastures. Then, at different times of the year, they would be rounded up for marking or selective slaughter.

However, over the last two centuries, reindeer herding lands have been increasingly divided and segregated. In 1852, the Russian Czar ordered the closure of the frontier between his dominions and Norway and in 1889 the frontier with Sweden was closed. Finally, in the 1920's the frontier between Norway and Sweden was partly closed to reindeer migration. As a result, the closing of the frontiers between the Nordic nations has had a profound effect on Sámi reindeer herding and migratory life in general because the nomadic movements necessary for traditional reindeer herding were cut off by fence building (Utsi, 1993).

Today, the structure of Sámi economic life has changed (Aikio et al, 1994). The modern economy of Sápmi is diverse with Sámi in virtually all occupations of modern society (Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997). Few Sámi now work solely within reindeer herding.

Tourism and forestry have developed into important industries in the region. These industries expanded in the 1960's in connection with the improvement of the road network and communications infrastructure (Aikio et al, 1994). There is criticism from some Sámi, however, that they have little control over these industries in their region.

2.6 Modern Sápmi

To this day, Sámi people work to have their rights as an indigenous people enfranchised by the national governments of the countries controlling Sápmi. Not until the 1950's did efforts to form a broad-based Sámi organization in the three Nordic countries show results (Seurujärvi-Kari et al, 1997). In 1956, the Nordic Sámi Council was established as a political body serving the interests of Sámi people in Norway, Finland and Sweden. In 1991, the Sámi of Russia were accepted as members of this organization, now called the Sámi Council. This council represents a major development towards a unified and structured Sámi political movement.

Another key development in the movement towards greater Sámi political autonomy, was the establishment of Sámi parliaments in Finland (in 1973 and later reorganized in 1995), Norway (in 1989) and Sweden (in 1993). These three parliaments, made up of elected officials from the Sámi population, represent the interests of Sámi in their respective countries. However, each Sámi parliament acts only as an advisory body to their national parliaments. As a result, the jurisdiction of the Sámi parliaments is limited to the promotion of Sámi culture and language through the distribution of funds provided by national governments and the appointment of Sámi educational councils.

These institutional developments have allowed for the growth of a Sámi political voice. Yet, many challenges remain. One of the greatest challenges focuses on the fact that Sámi rights to land and resources are still not recognized by national governments (Samediggi, 1999). This need for an external recognition of Sámi rights to land is fundamental for future developments of a modern Sámi society. However, another

significant challenge exists relating to efforts within Sámi society to enhance Sámi cultural self-determination. Mechanisms for cultural self-determination are being developed and encouraged with one of the most important being the maintenance of Sámi handicraft (duodji) as a major aspect of modern Sámi culture and philosophy. The following chapters in this thesis will explore the role of duodji and its teaching as a mechanism for Sámi cultural self-determination.

Chapter 3: Soahki muorra duodji - Sámi Birch Wood Handicraft

This chapter will introduce the term duodji as Sámi handicraft and discuss its role in Sámi culture and society. More specifically, the uses, knowledge and evolution of birch wood duodji will be examined. Duodji in the modern context will also be explored with respect to its development beyond the traditional role as a handicraft into a commodity and art form.

3.1 Definition of Duodji

Duodji is the term in the North Sámi language used to describe Sámi handicraft in general (Sámi instituhtta et al, 1990). However, the term duodji encompasses not only the making of handicraft objects, but also the philosophy and knowledge base behind the making of those objects (Guttorm, 2001b).

> *"Duodji is the foundation of Sámi culture and work in Sámi society"*
> *(Guttorm, 2001a).*

There are many forms of duodji. These forms can be broken down into either the *soft* (sewed handicraft) or *hard* (wood, bone, antler and metal handicraft) forms. The traditional materials used for both these forms came from the surrounding environment: animal hides, bone, antler, wood, wool, bark, roots and horns (Aikio et al, 1994). Later, fabrics and metals made their way to the region and were incorporated. Sámi have produced a number of characteristic forms of handicraft: the long knife (*niibbi*), the birch cup (*guksi*), reindeer sleighs, skis, boats, and fur and fabric clothing.

Even though most Sámi people are involved, to some degree, in duodji production, the Sámi term *duojar* is used to describe the specific Sámi person that is known and respected in the community for their deeper knowledge and production of duodji items. A *ceahpes duojar* (literally translated as a 'highly skilled' *duojar*) is the Sámi term in the

North Sámi language describing those individuals who are most highly respected in the community for their knowledge of duodji (Hirvonen, 2001). A *duojar* or *ceahpes duojar* understands the tacit knowledge that surrounds the making of duodji and plays a large role in the passing on of duodji knowledge.

3.2 Duodji Knowledge

Knowledge of duodji varied considerably among Sámi people. Traditionally, this knowledge was passed on from generation to generation through everyday work and immersion in the oral traditions. Women and men had specific handicraft skills and knowledge related to their roles in traditional society. However, one individual or family was not expected to produce every form of duodji. Instead, families would have specialities and accordingly every family and even individuals had their own duodji style and patterns (Somby, 2001). Due to these conditions, duodji developed regional variations. These variations are clearly evident today and continue to evolve. This evolution takes place since duodji is a dynamic process and every *duojar* produces their work in a different way (Somby, 1998).

Most handicraft articles were traditionally produced for private use rather than for sale (Sámi instituhtta et al, 1990), however, families would trade for other materials that they could not get themselves (Somby, 1998). The semi-nomadic and nomadic ways of life largely dictated the guidelines of the Sami handicraft traditions (Aikio et al, 1994). In the traditional, nomadic way of life, there were limitations with regards to the transportation of goods since there was a lack of space. Therefore, objects had to be light, practical and easy to handle. Forms were mainly determined by the practical use of the object and the properties of the materials used (Aikio et al, 1994).

> *"Based on the collective work of all Sámi, there is a foundation of cultural knowledge for duodji that underlies all duodji production" (Guttorm, 2001b).*

This foundation of cultural knowledge within the society continues on through the generations. By passing on duodji skills, a strong connection to the cultural past is maintained (Somby, 1998). Each *duojar* must understand this process and appreciate Sámi cultural knowledge. According to Guttorm (2001a), the interconnected foundations of knowledge for duodji can be arranged into three areas: 1. cultural roots, 2. skill and 3. knowledge. Figure 3 outlines the specific topics included within those areas of duodji knowledge.

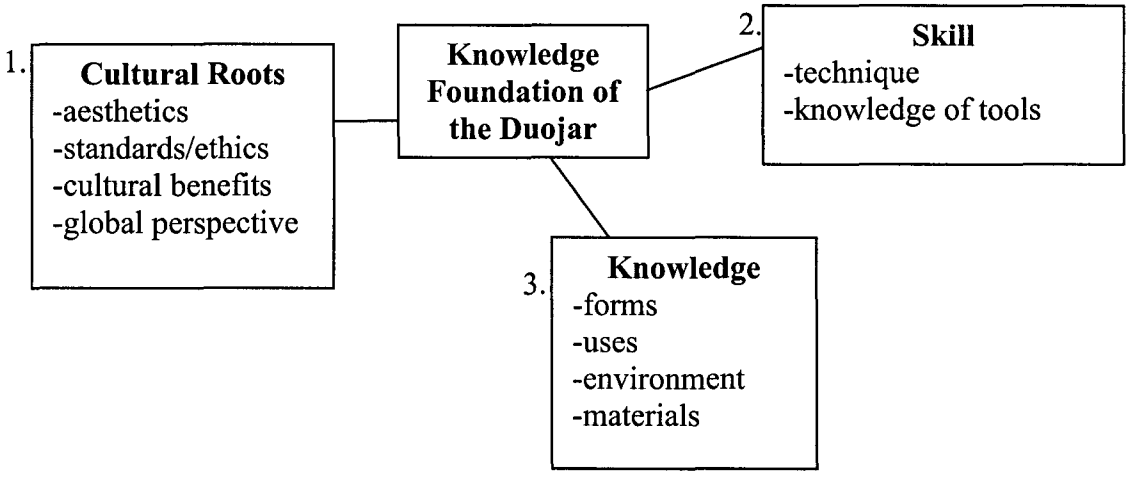

Figure 3: Knowledge Foundation of the Duojar from Guttorm (2001a).

Guttorm believes that in order to properly connect Sámi handicraft to Sámi culture a *duojar* must be well versed in each of the three areas of knowledge. Accordingly, a *duojar* would master not only a skill and technique, but also must have an equally deep knowledge of Sámi cultural roots and the materials that are found in the environment. These strong connections between Sámi traditional knowledge, based in an understanding of the land and the production of Sámi handicraft, highlight the importance of handicraft rooted in culture.

3.3 Birch Duodji

There are numerous forms of duodji with regards to materials used. My thesis focuses on only one specific type of duodji: duodji made using birch wood. The mountain birch tree (*Betula pubescens*), or *soahki* in the northern Sámi language, is one of the most common tree species found throughout Sápmi. Birch has and continues to be an important part of the Sámi way of life and culture since the birch is a hard wood and has a durable quality prized by Sámi for centuries.

> *"Birch is the most precious and best wood for wood handicrafts"*
> *(excerpt from an interview with a Máze duojar in Eikjok, 2001).*

Birch wood is harvested according to where the appropriate wood can be found. For example, Sámi people from the Guovdageaidnu region harvested their birch from the northern coast, while Sámi people from the Jokkmokk area could find workable wood close by (Juuso, 2001). Sámi traditional knowledge suggests that birch wood should be cut on a waxing moon and at the end of the winter before the tree has begun to take water and the sap flows (Juuso, 2001). Wood harvested at this time is considered best for handicraft. If the wood is taken on a waning moon, the wood does not burn as well and rots more easily (Eikjok, 2001).

All parts of the birch were traditionally used for handicraft purposes including the roots, branches, trucks, leaves, bark and burls. The design of wooden duodji pieces developed as a result of specific practical needs (Aikio et al, 1994). Various sizes of birch trees were used according to qualities for their practical use. The ways in which Birch was used is outlined in the following four categories:

3.3.1 Trunk, Branches and Leaves

Objects made from small birch include ski poles and building materials for turf huts (Eikjok, 2001). Skis, sleighs, rowing boats, portable baby cribs (*gietkka*) and boat sledges were made from larger birch trees. Birch strips were bent and made into butter containers, chests, and carrying containers (Triumf, 2001). Birch branches were used as ground sheets in tents since they were soft. Leaves were used for feed for sheep; reindeer also eat leaves during the summer. As well, the leaves were used to make dye (Eikjok, 2001).

3.3.2 Bark

The bark of birch trees is used to make containers, roofing and used in the process of tanning hides. As a building material, it is strong, yet flexible and waterproof. This property made it a good material for roofs and water containers (*geavllet*). Specific techniques for attaching birch bark were used to seal individual pieces of bark. The bark has also been and still is used as waterproof material for constructing tents (*goahti*). The best seasons to harvest bark for handicrafts are the spring and summer (Triumf, 2001). The thinner, inner bark (*noarvi*) of birch trees is also used for medicinal use (Guttorm, 2001).

3.3.3 Burls

The burl (*bahkki* on trunks and *visir* on roots) is a highly prized piece of the birch. These rare growths are found on the trunks, roots and branches of birch. They consist of hard, complex-grained wood that is considered best for making cups and bowls. Burls are used principally to make wooden utensils such as drinking cups (*guksi*) and bowls used to milk reindeer (*nahpi*). There are a number of Sámi traditions that guide the harvest and use of

this wood such as allowing for the distinctive shapes of the burl to determine the final shape of the cup or bowl (I. Laiti, 2000).

3.3.4 Roots

The roots of birch were also used for handicraft. Roots were harvested and then woven into small baskets, bowls, bracelets and containers. It could also be sewn to attach bark, wood pieces or leather together (Musta, 2001). "It is easy to sew with birch roots, almost the same as with sinew thread" (interview in Eikjok, 2001).

3.4 Modern Duodji as Tradition, Commodity and Art

In modern Sámi society, duodji has taken on new forms. Today, many modern duodji products are not just made for practical use. Items are now produced for many different purposes ranging from purely artistic to commercial souvenir work. These modern forms range from the 1) more tradition-based work done at home, 2) commercial souvenir handicraft, 3) business duodji, to the 4) more varied duodji art and 5) pure art forms (Guttorm, 2001a). This range of current duodji forms will be briefly outlined in the following sections organized under the three general headings – traditional, commercial and artistic.

3.4.1 Traditional Duodji

Many Sámi still make their own traditional clothes, equipment and everyday articles at home. Finnish National Association for Reindeer Herding statistics show that some [Sámi] reindeer-owning families still spend up to 37% of their working time on duodji (Sámi instituhtta et al, 1990). Duodji produced at home for daily use remains close to Sámi traditional forms since functionality is most important. In the home, duodji has

always had a strong social meaning, especially when families or the women of families would get together (Somby, 1998). This family work represents handicraft made for personal and practical use that is not regularly intended for sale.

However, modern Sámi are not only producing duodji for themselves. Duodji is being redefined. Old traditional forms and styles that had specific traditional functions are being recreated for new modern uses (Burman, 2001). As a recent example, students in one duodji class at the high school in Guovdageaidnu are sewing ponchos (*luhkka*) that were traditionally made for men to use over their clothes (*gakti*). But now these ponchos are being made for local film workers. As seen by this example of a transformation of function, traditional duodji is being modified to fit the demands of modern uses.

3.4.2 Commercial Duodji

Increasingly, duodji is produced for sale and provides significant income for Sámi individuals and families. However, duodji production is not often the sole means of Sámi income. Instead, it plays a significant role as a secondary source of income. In this way, the production of duodji products is often combined with fishing, reindeer herding, farming, hunting, trapping, fishing and other primary industries (Aikio et al, 1994) to ensure a sustainable livelihood. Women 40 years of age and older are the most active in this form of duodji production (P. Laiti, 2000).

Recently, demand for duodji objects in the souvenir and art markets has increased regionally and internationally. At present, there is a definite link between the production of commercial duodji and access to markets. It is argued that this link can be seen in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. Partly as a result of the high population of Sámi in the region that wear the traditional dress, soft duodji is thriving in this community because there is a significant market for them (Burman, 2001). Accordingly, the production and sale of duodji has become increasingly organized to accommodate this growth of trade in duodji.

In 1979, a nation-wide organization in Norway, Sámiid duodji, was founded for the protection, promotion and development of Sami arts and crafts and for the creation of duodji products of high quality. In Finland, a similar organization named Sápmelaš duoddjarat was established in 1975. As a result of this increased organization, Sámi labelling has become a visible part of the marketing of duodji products. Together with the Swedish counterpart organization Sáme-Ätnam, founded in 1945, these duodji organizations agreed on the registered trademark, *Sámi duodji*, in 1982.

Through the use of this registered trademark, Sámi duodji products are given a label showing their authenticity as a Sámi-produced product. In Finland for example, only those individuals who are voting members of the Sámi parliament are given approval under the labelling system (Musta, 2001). The use of labelling has become a necessity to ensure the authenticity of Sámi handicraft products in the growing market for handicraft products in which Sámi and non-Sámi compete. Consequently, these organizations have become necessary components for the expansion of duodji into the regional, national and global market places as well as developing a role determining political and cultural identity.

3.4.3 Artistic Duodji

As well as being transformed into a marketable commodity for the souvenir trade, duodji has also become a recognized art form. Modern duodji products are works of art (Guttorm, 1995). They have become increasingly prized for their artistic value rather than their traditional practical uses. Wooden cups (*guksit*), knives (*niibbit*) and other traditional duodji forms are now making their way to the shelves of display cases never to be used according to their traditional function (Gaski, 1997). They have now been given new value as a symbolic representation of Sámi identity. This value is reflected in the high prices that are being garnered for high-quality duodji products on the global art market. One such knife can cost over FIM 4000.00 (P. Laiti, 2001).

The following figure describes the interconnectedness and diversity among areas of duodji knowledge used to produce modern forms. As earlier illustrated in section 3.2, there is a fundamental cultural knowledge of duodji that feeds all modern forms of duodji (Guttorm, 2001a). The maintenance of this fundamental core knowledge of duodji is essential for the development of Sami culture and is represented in figure 4 as the darkest central area titled *core duodji knowledge*. The specialized areas, displayed as white in figure 4, are pushing the limits of modern duodji while at the same time remaining connected to the core of Sámi cultural knowledge. The three lighter shaded sections, titled shared knowledge, represent knowledge of duodji that may be shared between either two of the three specialized areas of duodji – traditional, commercial and artistic. These intermediate sections have been included to recognize that each form of duodji is evolving and influencing each other.

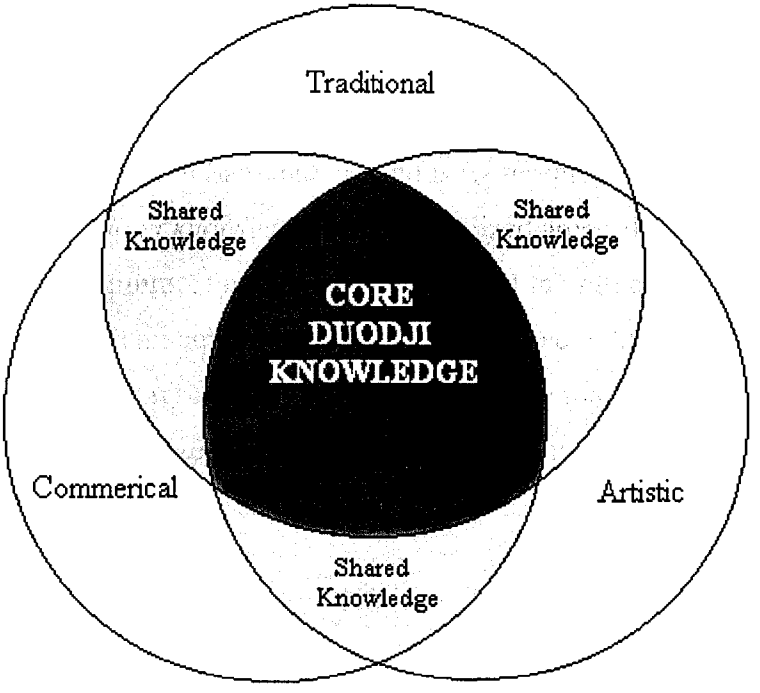

Figure 4: Areas of Modern Sámi Duodji Knowledge (by author)

Today, duodji has developed into an increasingly wide range of forms influenced by its evolution in the modern context. Duodji has become art and commodity, however these new forms still draw upon the Sámi tradition. The fundamental knowledge of duodji that is deeply based in the Sámi culture feeds all modern forms of duodji (Guttorm, 2001a). Because of this strong connection to Sámi culture, duodji represents an affirmation of identity: both the objects and their use make a cultural statement (Sámi instituhtta et al, 1990). It is this fundamental role of duodji as an affirmation of Sámi identity and how it is present in duodji education that will be explored in the following three chapters.

Chapter 4: Evolution of Sámi Education

The following chapter will provide a broad overview of Sámi education as it has developed in Norway and Finland. This overview will be based on the perspective that education can be viewed as a system of cultural transmission. Education as cultural transmission includes both the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next and the transmission of new knowledge or cultural patterns (Spindler, 1974). This chapter will, firstly, trace the traditional roots of Sámi education focusing on the role of duodji as it was grounded in the oral traditions and livelihoods of Sámi society. Secondly, the period in which colonial nations introduced schools will be described with reference to their effect in changing the culture transmitted through education. And lastly, the significant components of the modern education systems in Finland and Norway will be outlined by introducing the major developments in formal schooling in those countries.

4.1 Traditional Forms of Sami Education

Sámi knowledge and skills were traditionally taught orally and practically to young people from someone older who possessed the knowledge or skill. Learning took place when children were together with parents in work situations or at home as they followed along and heard adult conversations (Jernsletten, 1997). Traditionally, girls learned requisite skills and knowledge through women's work and boys learned through men's work (Somby, 1998) with children making smaller versions of practical items to practice their skills. For example, girls would make dolls and sew clothing for those dolls that emulated adult traditional clothing.

Traditional knowledge and skills taught in this way were firmly rooted in the environment with the guiding cultural principle as [goal-orientated] task (Lipka et al, 1998). Children would learn skills and knowledge associated with practical tasks necessary in Sámi society by learning corresponding forms of duodji. This lead the traditional society to create a common base in a cultural and social context (J.H.

Keskitalo, 1997) in which the teaching of duodji forms would not only allow individuals to subsist, but would also strengthen a child's cultural identity and strengthen their connection to family (Somby, 1998).

Since Sámi traditional life was based in the oral traditions, Sámi language was naturally an integral part of this traditional process of learning. Therefore, a strong connection between Sámi language and the knowledge of duodji exists (Guttorm, 2001b) leading to duodji being specific to the Sámi language. Not only the specific terminology found in duodji makes this so, but also because the entire knowledge base of duodji remains intimately connected to the language.

As an example of this connection, a single word could be used to begin the process of learning (Guttorm, 2001b). For instance, examining the roots and meaning of the North Sámi word *avnnaseapmi* can demonstrate the complexity inherent in the connection between language and duodji. This term comes from the Sámi root word *avnnas* (material) and can mean the gathering of material, but can also mean the creating of a product or the looking for a design in the natural shape of a material (Guttorm, 2001b). As demonstrated with this word, complexity of language is interconnected with the complexity of knowledge in this system.

Traditionally, the teaching of duodji for subsistence maintained a complex system of various kinds of traditions and skills developed through hundreds of years of practice (J.H. Keskitalo, 1997). This system was fundamentally based on Sámi indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge, or traditional environmental knowledge as Johnson (1992) describes it, can be defined as "a body of knowledge built up by a group of people through generations of living in close contact with nature. It includes a system of classification, a set of empirical observations about the local environment, and a system of self-management that governs resource use....With its roots firmly in the past, [indigenous] knowledge is both cumulative and dynamic, building upon the experience of earlier generations and adapting to the new technological and socio-economic changes of the present" (Johnson, 1992, p.4).

In theory, an educational system constitutes a set of institutions that are fundamental to the distribution and production of knowledge (Apple, 1995). Therefore, the teaching of indigenous knowledge can be considered a traditional system of Sámi education since the community as a whole represented the institution of education. Seen in this way, a traditional educational system had been in place maintaining Sámi society centuries before the colonial powers advanced into Sápmi.

4.2 Colonial Period of Sámi Education

At different times throughout history, various northern European kingdoms have claimed ownership over Sápmi. Regardless of the specific interests of these kingdoms, a similar process of colonization and christianization was initiated by each kingdom which lead to common consequences for the Sami people across the entire region of Sápmi. One common consequence was the introduction of formal education in the early 17th century. Christian missionaries, who were representatives of the monarchies of northern Europe moving into Sápmi, carried out this early formal education. This symbiotic relationship between church and state resulted in monarchies gaining agents in the form of missionaries to represent their title over the Sámi population while the church gained access in the fight to Christianize the population.

4.2.1 Early Finnish Sámi Education

Beginning in 1523 and not ending until 1809, the Kingdom of Sweden claimed the region of Sápmi now known as Finland. As a result, the development of formal education in Finland during that time was significantly related to concurrent developments in the Swedish region of Sápmi all of which was controlled through the Swedish crown. By 1603, the Swedish King decided that churches were to be established in Sápmi with six being built in the first half of the century. Since schooling at this time was taught through the churches, as Christianity moved into Sápmi, missionary schooling soon followed.

Schooling through the church attempted to bring about an education based on the Christian religion and European culture. This missionary effort continued sporadically until the 18th century when, as government exploitation of mineral resources in Sápmi motivated an influx of Swedes to settle in the north, the government began to take more control over the methods of education. This shift of control lead, in 1723, to the establishment of a government school at each of the seven main churches in Sápmi. With the spread of this type of formal schooling, a form of cultural replacement, first attempted by the Christian church, was taken on in earnest by the emerging state of Sweden. During these periods of church and government control, the indigenous culture had no role in defining the role of the school (Darnell & Hoem, 1996). Instead, a new culture was being forced upon the Sámi population through the development of schools.

"Schools act as agents in the economic and cultural reproduction of an unequal society" (Apple, 1995, p.87).

In 1809, Sweden relinquished what is now Finland including the northern regions of Sápmi within Finland to the Russian Empire. However, even though the early Sámi education was largely inadequate with regards to its cultural replacement goals (Darnell & Hoem, 1996), this process of cultural replacement did not end with new state control; it merely changed hands. Therefore, by the late 1800's many Sámi children were in attendance at either government or mission schools in Swedish Sápmi with a similar educational development occurring in Finland as well under the hand of the Russian Czar. Finland remained a region of the Russian Empire from 1809 until 1917 when Finland gained independence as a republic. The effect of Finland's independence on Sámi education will be discussed later in this chapter.

4.2.2 Early Norwegian Sámi Education

The period of missionary-controlled education lasted in the Danish controlled Norwegian regions of Sápmi from 1716 to 1809. During this period, the church in Norway, similar to the church in Sweden, attempted to provide Sámi with an 'enlightened' education based on their own cultural and religious design. Toward this end, instruction was given in the Sámi language and a written form of the language began to be used focusing on studies of the translated Bible. The first Sámi language primer for beginning students, for instance, was published in 1767.

A post-secondary Sámi education was introduced for the first time during the 1750's when the missionary Thomas von Westen established the *Seminarium Lapponicum*. This institution worked to train young males to speak Sámi language in the fight to consolidate and expand Christianity among the Sámi population (J.H. Keskitalo, 1997). Few Sámi, however, took part. Later in the next century, other post-secondary institutions followed with courses in Sámi studies such as those arranged at the University of Oslo beginning in 1848 (Sámi instituhtta et al, 1990).

In 1814, Norway entered into a union with Sweden as a result of Danish defeat at the hands of Sweden. This union lasted until 1905 when Norway gained independence as a constitutional democracy. Under this union and at the beginning of the 19th century, government sponsored state schools were emerging as the major institutions through which education was to be taught. In 1824, the government established a teacher training college with special responsibilities to educate Sámi teachers at Trondenes. However, government schools, similar to earlier mission schools, were still in conflict with Sámi educational needs since the schools supported replacing traditional Sámi culture with Norwegian culture. Language instruction at these schools was in Norwegian as part of broad assimilation efforts. In general, all schools could be described as supporting a process of 'Norwegianization'.

"Sámi schools are Sámi in name only and are European in content" (Jernsletten, 1999, p.99).

Policy directed at cultural replacement formed the basis for government practices from the mid-1800's until 1960. During this period, textbooks in Sámi schools were only provided in the Norwegian language. In 1902, the northern Norwegian region of Finnmark was established as a separate school district. On the surface, this development could be construed as a movement towards more regional representation, however, at its core, it signified one further step towards Norwegian acculturation in Sámi schools since this district adopted the national policy and uniform curriculum used throughout the rest of Norway (Darnell and Hoem, 1996).

Furthermore, boarding schools were established under this policy requiring Sámi students to be taken from their communities for the purposes of formal education. The goal of these boarding schools was to assimilate minority children by placing them in the environment of the dominant language and culture (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). These policy developments were administered through the church department of the government that held jurisdiction over Sámi affairs. From a Sámi perspective, however, formal education during this colonial period could be characterized as completely incompatible with Sámi culture. This incompatibility is fundamentally related to politics and power over the education system itself (Fox, 1996).

4.3 Modern Sami Education

With this history in mind, it is only during the past 25 years that marked educational progress can be identified in Finland and Norway that strengthens Sámi culture in schools (Hoem and Darnell, 1996). This progress has resulted from pressure exerted at the national level; pressure that forced an examination of Sámi education on a cultural, linguistic, administrative and economic level. Modern educational progress that favours

Sámi culture is exemplified in the history of educational reform in Finland and Norway over the last century.

When Finland became an independent nation in 1917 taking control of the region of Sápmi within its borders, a national program of universal instruction was developed for all students in Finland that was based on either the Finnish (majority) or Swedish (minority) language and culture. Finnish culture became the dominant culture of the schools and Sámi students were taught as if they were Finnish. This policy shifted when the Finnish Basic School Act took effect in 1991 providing the foundation for purely Sámi schools. The act implied that Sámi-speaking students from several school districts would be gathered in the same educational establishment (Aikio et al, 1994). This shift developed further in 1996 when the Council for Sámi Educational Affairs, originally created in 1986 as an advisory body to the Finnish Ministry of Education, was phased out and Sámi school affairs came under the jurisdiction of the Sámi parliament in Finland (*Samediggi*) (Seurujärvi-Kari, 1996).

A similar process in Norway first lead to the Sámi Education Council being created in 1975 to advise Norwegian Ministry of Education on questions related to training and education for the Sámi population in Norway. This council worked for the development of new curriculum guidelines that came into effect in 1987 allowing for local school authorities to design relevant plans for the classroom. The financial commitments for Sámi education as they are provided for by the Finnish and Norwegian governments differ quite widely with respect to teaching in the Sámi language. Lack of financial support of Sámi language education, while generally widespread, is most significantly seen in the shortage of available Sámi textbooks and related instructional materials (Lewis, 1998).

Funding issues aside, these recent developments to make Sámi education more culturally and linguistically relevant for Sámi are moving towards greater support of the conclusions outlined in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This declaration states that " indigenous peoples have the right of self-

determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (Henriksen, 1999, p.59).

Based in part on this modern shift of policy at the national level to recognize indigenous peoples' rights to self-determination, educational institutions that serve Sámi interests are being established and are slowly growing. Yet, the struggle for cultural control of Sámi education continues even after the establishment of institutions. In many instances, these institutions are advancing a process of ethnic revival, confrontation, and resistance to acculturation that is often viewed unfavourably by members of the dominant society (Paulston, 1980). The following chapter will describe two such institutions in an attempt to provide further insight into this educational struggle and the factors that act upon cultural self-determination at the curriculum and school level.

Chapter 5: Sámi College Handicraft Programs

Chapter five will firstly outline the history, contexts and duodji programming of the Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu and Anár. Specific analyses of the duodji programming at these two colleges will also be provided based on the qualitative research conducted at each college. Results of this analysis will be provided in the latter sections focusing on the factors affecting the teaching of indigenous knowledge in these programs.

5.1 Diversity of Sámi Colleges

Throughout Norway, Sweden and Finland there are institutions at the post-secondary level that provide Sámi studies. The universities in Oulu and Rovaniemi, Finland, Umeå, Sweden, Oslo and Tromsø, Norway each have established departments in Sámi studies. However, there are three colleges in Sápmi that are specifically mandated to serve Sámi people and also teach Sámi duodji. One college is the Sámiid oahpahanguovddaš in Jokkmokk, Sweden, with the second in Anár, Finland and the third in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. Even though these colleges have been set up to serve Sámi educational needs, each college has its own unique history, context and challenges.

The following two chapters will examine some of the educational and political characteristics of and processes within the duodji education at two of these colleges:

1. Sámi allaskuvla / Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu, Norway and,
2. Sámi oahpahanguovddaš / Educational Centre for the Sámi Region in Anár, Finland.

Before any statement can be made, however, about the duodji education offered at the above colleges, fundamental differences in their contexts and programs must first be noted. Both colleges in Guovdageaidnu and Anár have an emphasis on Sámi culture. As a result, programs have been created to serve the Sámi community in their respective regions. However, as institutions, they offer programs at a different level of education.

The college in Guovdageaidnu is a state college/university in the Norwegian system offering an education for students that have already graduated from secondary school. Faculty at this college undertake research and provide programming previously only available at other Norwegian universities. Whereas, the college in Anár is a vocational training school at the upper secondary level based in the Finnish vocational system. Courses vary between secondary level and college level courses at this Finnish college. These institutional differences have a significant effect on what type of duodji education they can provide.

The cultural make-up of the population around each college must also be taken into account since it has a significant impact on the structure and viability of the programming for duodji education. Sámi people make up a large majority of the population in and around the Guovdageaidnu area of Norway (Finnmark) (+80%), whereas Sámi are a much smaller minority (29%) in the large geographic region of the Province of Lappi in northern Finland in which Anár can be found (Samediggi, 1999). This difference has significant implications on factors such as language used for instruction and availability of Sámi students and staff.

It is also important to note that this examination is being done not to judge the relative success of these two colleges, but to analyze the educational and political processes at work in the colleges' curriculum and suggest a theoretical framework for understanding the development of indigenous curriculum. This chapter will provide the analysis of each college's curriculum for that result. Chapter six will theoretically frame the results of this analysis under the heading of modern indigenous curriculum to introduce factors that affect control of indigenous education.

5.2 Sámi allaskuvla/ Sámi University College, Guovdageaidnu, Norway

5.2.1 Background

The early 1970's brought about new changes to the Sámi educational scene in Norway. In 1973, the Sámi Institute was established as a Nordic institution to further the studies of Sámi education and research. Two years later in 1975, the Sámi Education Council was created to advise the Norwegian Ministry of Education on questions related to training and education for the Sámi population of Norway. The establishment of these institutions directly aided in the development of new curriculum guidelines that came into effect in 1987. These new guidelines allowed for local school authorities to design plans for the classroom relevant to Sámi. However, a significant internal process was already in motion in Norway before the creation of the Sámi Education Council that laid the path for these and later Sámi educational reforms.

A modern Sámi political movement gained momentum throughout the 1960's and 1970's in Norway. The influence of this Sámi movement culminated during protests in the late 1970's and early 1980's against the hydroelectric development planned and later built near Alta, Norway. These protests have been widely acknowledged as a great step forward for Sámi self-reflection as a people and for the recognition of the modern Sámi political movement in Norway (Gaski, 1997). This political movement also spurred the Norwegian government into positive action towards Sámi interests. The creation of the college in Guovdageaidnu represents one tangible result of the influence exerted by this political movement (Hirvonen, 2001).

> *"We, the Sámi have to get control over our own education and school politics and thus uphold and widen cultural self government"*
> *(Nordic Sámi Conference 1989 document in Keskitalo, 1997).*

As a result of actions based on the political determination voiced in the previous quotation, on January 1, 1989, the Sámi Department of the Regional Teacher Training College in Alta, Norway was re-established as the Sámi University College (Sámi

allaskuvla) in Guovdageaidnu. It became an independent and fully funded state college under the Norwegian Ministry of Education principally to train teachers (Keskitalo, 1997). However, more importantly, this college immediately set out to become the primary 'source for Sámi education' (Balto, 1993) since it remains the only university or college out of 37 in Norway sanctioned to base its programming on Sámi culture. In general, its content was to be based on the Sámi language and culture and provide courses and programs in higher education relevant to Sámi people. From the beginning, the principal language of instruction was the North Sámi language (Hirvonen, 2001).

In its first academic year 1989/90, approximately 50 students were enrolled. Two years later, there were 160 full-time and part-time students. Most of the present students come from the surrounding Norwegian regions of Sápmi, such as the Kautokeino commune with a population of 3121 (1999 data) that is primarily Sámi (Kautokeino Commune, 2001), although some come from Finland, Sweden and Russia. All students and staff must be fluent in the Sámi language since the principal language of instruction is Sámi. No permanent appointments are made to the faculty until the language fluency in Sámi is proven (Hirvonen, 2001).
The college also has links with the Nordic Sámi Institute. Through this connection, the college staff is actively engaged in research and development related to Sámi society. Two of the central foci for research at the college are working with Sámi terminology in different subjects and working with the contents and form of the Sámi education system (Balto, 1993).

The core courses and programs offered at Sámi allaskuvla are: a four-year classroom teacher-training program; a three-year preschool teacher-training program; a one-year pre-program for students of journalism; courses in Sámi language; and courses in duodji. The college also hopes to have separate programs in resource management, duodji and drama in the future as well (Henriksen, 2001).

5.2.2 Sámi allaskuvla Handicraft Programs

Duodji is taught separately as an individual program or as part of the teacher-training programs at Sámi allaskuvla. The individual program in duodji is made up of the above two courses at Sámi allaskuvla. Having completed these courses, a student can continue with studies in duodji through a joint program established between the college and the University of Oslo. A student can eventually continue their studies up to the PhD level in duodji through this program (Hirvonen, 2001).

Duodji is also an integral part of the four-year classroom teacher-training program. The program includes compulsory and chosen courses and requires 20 credits / year for graduation with one credit representing approximately 2 course / study weeks. The number of credits for each course is included in parentheses in the following lists of courses. The compulsory courses include - Sámi language (20), Norwegian/ Swedish/ Finnish language (10) including 5 credits on multi-lingualism and second language learning, pedagogical theories (10), nature, society and environment (10), mathematics (5), religious studies (5), and practical and aesthetic Subjects (10) with 10 credits in Sami duodji or 5 credits in duodji and 5 in music. All the compulsory courses include practice teaching in a local school twice a year. The last ten credits can be chosen among either physical education (5/10), music (5/10) or Sámi duodji (5 supplementary) (Sámi allaskuvla, 2000).

Duodji is also taught in the three-year preschool teacher-training program for those who want to work with children from birth to the start of school. The program requires 60 credits for graduation with 3 credits from duodji training. Other courses include pedagogical theory (25), Sámi language (10), Norwegian language (4), social studies (3), music (3), religious studies and ethics, natural studies (3) and physical education (3). There were 33 students in both the classroom and preschool teacher training programs in the academic 2000/2001 year (Sámi allaskuvla, 2000).

In each program, there are two different levels of courses offered in duodji. The first level course being a general introduction to duodji with students spending a large proportion of their time in the workshop aided by the instructor and learning how to use the machinery and tools now used to produce duodji. With a greater emphasis on technical work, students are given general instruction on all forms of duodji in this course. The second level courses allow the student to specialize in various forms of duodji. A broader perspective and knowledge set is taught for the form chosen in this course. In this way, students are encouraged to concentrate on one type of work in the advanced courses. Therefore, as a general rule, they begin to master one form before they move on to advanced work in other forms (Triumf, 2001). Other non-traditional topics taught in the duodji courses include principles of design, drawing and the teaching of duodji.

5.2.3 Specific Program Analysis

Today, the Norwegian national curriculum for primary and secondary schooling ensures that duodji is taught in Sámi schools. And schools in predominately Sámi areas are now required to include local variants as well (Sámi instituhtta et al, 1990). However, the organization of primary school curriculum provides more flexibility and opportunity for integration of Sámi culture and values than do later grades (Balto, 1993).

National guidelines are strict for teacher training (Henriksen, 2001). The college in Guovdageaidnu includes duodji as an integral part of its teacher-training program, however, this inclusion is in addition to the national curriculum structural requirements. Duodji is taught instead of handicraft as prescribed in the Norwegian national curriculum (Hirvonen, 2001), but the addition of duodji studies puts time constraints on the program itself since there is a rigorous amount of cultural material within duodji courses.

Teacher-training students often complain about the amount of extra time studies in duodji add to their workload (Anonymous students, 2001). Many Sámi teacher-training students

feel cheated because they do not have a choice in their studies, like Norwegian students have in the Norwegian national teacher training program (Henriksen, 2001). This situation occurs because, by adding the extra Sámi programming, optional credits are no longer available as they are in the national curriculum.

One way this situation could be remedied is the development of a separate national curriculum for Sámi teacher training. There is, at present, a movement to develop such a curriculum through discussions with the Norwegian department of education. If completed, this development would allow much more flexibility to Sámi allaskuvla to structure and instruct teacher training according to Sámi culture and language.

Similar to these movements at the national level to restructure curriculum are processes of school level curriculum restructuring. One such process is in place at Sámi allaskuvla now to increase the presence of Sami culture in the college programming. This project, called *Varracohka,* has been initiated at Sámi allaskuvla to transform the way teaching and learning is done at the college (Guttorm, 2001b). The *Varracohka* project is an on-going process being directed by the school staff to integrate more traditional knowledge within the academic subjects at the college. The eventual goal of this project is to restructure the entire programming of the college to be more in accordance with the natural Sámi cycle, rather than with more conventional, European-influenced teaching practices (Guttorm, 2001). If these goals are reached, then this project should offer an ideal balance between academic and traditional knowledge in teaching (Henriksen, 2001) resulting in the college being better able to not only provide more Sámi content, but also develop programming more structurally based on Sámi language and culture.

While the *Varracohka* project represents a process to develop the future programming at the college, there already exists a component of education at the college that allows for the primacy of Sámi culture. This component is the use of Sámi language as the main language of instruction at the college. Staff understand that they are in a unique teaching and political position (Henriksen, 2001). The political understanding of teachers is strongly connected to the agreement among staff for Sámi to be used as the language of

instruction. This language requirement effectively restricts the students and staff to Sámi speakers only. In this respect, language of instruction can be seen as a political mechanism in which access to the college is limited to only those that can speak Sámi language.

The use of the local language in this way provides support for the effort to build the Sámi content at the college and ensure that Sámi cultural knowledge, especially that knowledge based in duodji, is being promoted and passed on to Sámi people. Through the use of Sámi language and specific programming aimed at serving Sámi people, the college represents an 'island' of Sámi higher education (Hirvonen, 2001) and has used its position as the only Sámi state college in Norway to offer a increasing range of post-secondary programming.

5.3 Sámi oahpahanguovddaš / Educational Centre of the Sámi Region, Anár, Finland

5.3.1 Background

In northern Finland, during the late 1960's and early 1970's, there was a growing concern among older generations within Sámi communities that duodji was not being taught enough in the homes (Somby, 2001). It was believed that the skills were in danger of being lost. Young people as well as middle-aged people were no longer learning duodji traditionally in the home. This was due in part to a growing loss of language and decreasing interest in Sámi culture (Somby, 1998), but the main reason for this lack of cultural knowledge was the residential school system (Lehtola, 2001). Since Sámi children would live the entire winter away from home while in this schooling system, the traditional skills including language and knowledge of duodji began to be forgotten. The residential school system occurred in the Sámi areas of both Finland and Norway.

As a result of the concern in northern Finland to protect cultural knowledge, a movement developed to create informal courses that would teach duodji to whomever wanted it. The first of these courses began in late 1970's (Somby, 1998). Adults attended and also brought their children. An older *duojar* would often have been the main teacher, but these classes were not formal schooling classes. Instead, they were based on learning that was closer to traditional ways of duodji teaching reflected in the informal and flexible structure of the classes (Somby, 2001).

In the late 1970's, the Sámi Vocational Education Centre, or Saamelaisalueen ammatillinen koulutuskeskus in Finnish, was established in Anár as a reaction to recommendations made by the Committee on Sámi Affairs in 1973. Its main task was to teach Sámi duodji (Somby, 1998). At this time, there had been a significant interest among the community for training in duodji (Valkeapää, 2001). In 1994, this centre was merged with the Sámi Folk High School (Anár sámi albmotallaskuvla) into its present form as the Sámi oahpahanguovddaš, or Educational Centre of the Sámi Region. Today, this centre, of which the site in Anár is just one, serves not only the northern region of the Finnish province of Lappi but also draws students from across Finland. Training Sámi handicraft workers at the upper-secondary school level (ammatiopilaitos in Finnish) is just one of the many programs offered at the centre. It also organizes intensive courses in Sámi language and handicrafts (Aikio et al, 1994) along side gold and silversmithing programs, woodworking, wilderness guiding programs and other vocational training programs offered as part of the larger Finnish national vocational training system.

Since the mandate of this institution is to serve not only Sámi people, but the Finnish population as well, the student body reflects the cultural make-up of the region's population. The total population of the municipality of Anár is approximately 7700 (1999 data) with 2200 (roughly 29%) being Sámi (Municipality of Inari (Anár), 2001). Approximately 15% of the student body at Sámi oahpahanguovddaš is Sámi, while 50% are Finnish from the Lappi region. The rest are Finnish from areas outside the Lappi region (Pentti, 2001). Since the majority of students and staff at the college are Finnish

speakers, the language of instruction is Finnish. Approximately, 15 out of the 55 staff are Sámi as well. The level of Sámi staff has grown recently as a result of preferential hiring policies aimed at drawing Sámi speakers (Valkeapää, 2001).

Funding of this institution is provided through the Finnish national Ministry of Education. It received FIM 1.7 Million in 1992. These funds account for 80% of the school's annual revenues; the remaining 20% is derived from student fees (Lewis, 1998). The school is governed by its own board of trustees which is first nominated by the Sámi Parliament in Finland for subsequent appointment by the government.

5.3.2 Sami oahpahanguovddaš Handicraft Program

The handicraft vocational training program for Sámi design is a three-year program. Enrolment in this program for the academic year 2000/2001 was 26. The program is structured according to the Finnish national handicraft vocational school system, schedule and structure with a total of 120 study weeks to complete the basic degree. Each year consists of 40 study weeks (equalling 40 credit points) with a study week representing 40 hours of work. The first 20 study weeks is a compulsory component set by national guidelines that all Finnish vocational school students must take, except for those students that have received a high school diploma. This component includes course time learning Finnish, Swedish, or Sámi languages, math, social studies, physical education, health, humanities, and sciences.

Vocational training for Sámi craft and design has a basic studies component of 30 weeks. This basic component is broken down into 20 study weeks on Sámi basic knowledge of craft technique, 5 weeks of cultural knowledge with 1 week each of general cultural history, European and foreign cultural history, Sámi culture, art history, and history of the craft profession, and 5 weeks of creative design and aesthetics. This basic component is based on the Finnish national curriculum.

The program then consists of 60 study weeks of specialized training. This specialized training is broken down into three areas: 1) Sámi craft product and presentation, 2) Sámi craft product and culture and 3) Sámi craft product and economy.

The first section of product and presentation is made up of 10 study weeks. This section includes studies in design, presentation of images, sketching, bone and antler work, work with burl and wood and selection of wood in the environment including permit procedures (I. Laiti, 2001). This section focuses on the production of commercial products with respect to traditional design. Other areas of Sámi knowledge are also taught in order to illustrate how commercial duodji is integrated with other craft areas. The use of appropriate materials is also an important component of this section (Saamelaisalueen koulutuskeskus, 1999).

The section on product and culture includes 15 weeks based on 1 week of cultural knowledge classes, 11 of bone and antler and 3 weeks of special techniques on roots, bark, harnesses, leather, tools and knives. The emphasis of this section is to learn how to make connections between the craft, Sámi traditions and also on the importance of the Sámi language and craft to the sustainability of Sámi culture.

The product and economy section is made up of 15 study weeks on business management, bone and antler or burl and wood specializing, metal work, design, preparing and fixing of tools, and a final 5 week project. Topics emphasized in this section include production as part of sustainable development, learning about running a business, marketing, pricing, mass production, teamwork and evaluation. Included at the end of the program are also 15 study weeks of learning in work placements and 10 study weeks students can choose for studies at other vocational schools.

The college mandates the following: "that when a student completes this program, they will be called artisans and will produce high quality craft work based on Sámi cultural knowledge. They will be able to work as either a part of a team or running their own business. Sámi artisan workers have work based on Sámi culture, way of living,

environmental conditions and old Sámi craft tradition. An artisan is able to use both traditional and modern methods of working and their work emphasizes hand skills, good sense of shape, colour and design. Artisans will work by the knowledge of sustainable development and high professional ethics. A Sámi craft artisan is able to find all the material and handle the materials the right way and plan and design and repair craft products. This training has an emphasis on a variety of skills and responsibility for work and also training students in communication and skills to network for small businesses and support of other workers" (translated from Saamelaisalueen koulutuskeskus, 1999).

The above quotation outlines the importance of the Sámi culture in the handicraft program. However, this mandate also emphasizes the commercial aspects of duodji production along side Sámi culture. The second sentence describes the commercial emphasis of the mandate with reference to students running their own business. The commercial training that students obtain includes an accompanying set of knowledge separate from traditional knowledge. The knowledge inherent in this commercial training reflects more the fundamental goals within the Finnish vocational training guidelines than Sámi traditional knowledge. The lasting influence of this commercial emphasis on the teaching of duodji will be outlined in the following sections.

5.3.3 Specific Program Analysis

The Finnish Basic School Act took effect in 1991 admitting the foundation for purely Sámi schools, implying that Sámi-speaking students from several school districts would be gathered in the same educational establishment (Aikio et al, 1994). In 1996, the Council for Sámi Educational Affairs, originally created in 1986 as an advisory body to the Finnish Ministry of Education, was phased out and Sami school affairs came under the jurisdiction of the Sámi Parliament in Finland (*Samediggi*) (Seurujärvi-Kari, 1996). As a result of these reforms, the teaching of duodji is now to a limited extent part of the school curriculum in the lower grades.

However, as seen in the example of the Norwegian teacher training guidelines, it is also more difficult to integrate Sámi culture within the Finnish upper-secondary curriculum guidelines. The 1994 guidelines of the Finnish national curriculum for vocational training at the upper-secondary level were literally translated into Sámi in 1997. Yet, a translation of the curriculum to Sámi language only implies a reworking of the words. It does not imply a restructuring of curriculum according to Sámi culture. The objectives for teaching handicraft outlined in these guidelines are: the learning of handicraft tradition; learning and practice of ethical and ecological values; and learning to appreciate, sustain and develop local, national and international culture of handicraft pieces and work (Sámi oahpahanguovddaš curriculum, 1999). In the translation of that document for example, the term handicraft is literally replaced by duodji without mention of specific attributes of Sámi culture or knowledge. As a result, the handicraft curriculum still reflects the overall structure and cultural values of the Finnish national guidelines.

Another example of the challenge to include specific Sámi values within the curriculum can be seen by the fact that non-Sámi are learning Sámi handicrafts within the duodji programs at Sámi oahpahanguovddaš. This challenge stems from the term, *duojar*, and whether graduates are being trained to be a *duojar*. Due to the fact that many of the students in the program are Finnish, referring to a graduate as a *duojar* would not be appropriate since the term *duojar* is a Sámi word with specific cultural connotations. A student graduating from the Sámi handicraft program in Anár is considered to be a Sámi artisan worker rather than a *duojar*. The use of the term, Sami artisan worker and not the Sámi term *duojar* speaks to the Finnish majority of students in the program. It also speaks to the multi-cultural nature of the program.

This multi-cultural context is a reality for the duodji program in Anár. The college in Anár is not solely made up of Sámi students and thus demands a unique curriculum design. By using the Finnish national guidelines as they stand, the college in Anár is accommodating the majority of the students in the program – the Finnish students. Even though these guidelines are directed towards the Finnish majority at the school, it does allow staff to apply Sámi content to their programming when deemed necessary. The

Finnish national vocational curriculum is considered to be flexible enough to allow modification in class delivery to accommodate the individual pedagogical needs of Sámi students (Valkeapää, 2001).

The teaching of duodji to non-Sámi, however, brings up fundamental issues concerning the cultural and intellectual property rights of Sámi. Who should be learning Sami handicraft? Assessing the validity of this question and other issues concerning access to cultural knowledge, instead of more pedagogically-based issues, represent the largest challenge for delivery of Sámi programming at Sámi oahpahanguovddaš.

Colouring this challenge is the fact that the issue of cultural property rights is highly volatile in relation to trends that have been developing for decades within the tourism industry in northern Finland. Over the last two decades, international tourism has become an increasingly important industry in the northern Finnish province of Lappi (Aikio et al, 1994). Tourists are drawn to northern Finland to experience the unique environment and culture. In many cases, the culture they are drawn to is the Sámi culture.

To accommodate this demand, the Finnish tourism industry has begun to use and appropriate the Sámi cultural symbols (M.S. Aikio, 1998, Kitti, 2001). In the eyes of tourists, the cultural lines between Sámi and Finnish are blurred. This cultural appropriation has opened a political debate focusing on the necessity for institutionalized Sámi cultural symbols. This debate concerning control over symbols of Sámi cultural identity is intimately connected with the production of duodji since duodji is one of the most visible components of Sámi identity and is considered to play a major role in the affirmation of that identity (Aikio et al, 1994). Conflicting interpretations surrounding control over Sámi cultural identity are inherent in the multi-cultural context of Sámi oahpahanguovddaš in Anár. The sensitive nature of these interpretations also makes it difficult to separate the political issues of education from the pedagogical issues. In this context, they are one and the same.

5.4 Specific Factors Affecting Handicraft Knowledge in Duodji Education

By analyzing the curriculum and contexts of Sámi allaskuvla in Guovdageaidnu and Sámi oahpahanguovddaš in Anár, the following sections have been arranged to provide a list of the most significant factors affecting how Sámi traditional knowledge of handicraft is taught in duodji education.

5.4.1 Language of Instruction

The decision to teach in the Sámi language or not has a profound effect on how much cultural knowledge is transmitted in a duodji educational program. When one learns duodji in the Sámi language, a whole world is opened in relation to the broad base of cultural knowledge associated with duodji (Guttorm, 2001b). This perspective is reflected in the language policy of Sámi allaskuvla in which the language of instruction is North Sámi. The decision to have Sámi the primary language at this college has been consciously made to encourage Sámi culture and supports the fact that Sámi make up the vast majority of students and teachers. Furthermore, there is a large enough population of Sámi speakers in the community and region to support the programs in that language.

At Sámi oahpahanguovddaš in Anár, the principal language of instruction is Finnish with duodji being taught to both Sámi and non-Sámi students. Sámi are a minority at this institution and within the regional population. Even though duodji is taught in a different cultural environment compared to that surrounding Sámi allaskuvla, the importance of Sámi language to duodji is also recognized. This recognition takes the form of Sámi language classes for Finnish students at Sámi oahpahguovddaš. However, this language training is only introductory. Therefore, with only a rudimentary understanding of the Sámi language, Finnish students have limited access to the broader cultural knowledge of duodji inherent through the use of the language.

As a result, Sámi language courses at these two colleges have different roles. The language courses at Sámi allaskuvla are available for Sámi wishing to improve their already present language skills, whereas the courses in Anár are for Finnish students as beginners in the Sámi language. This difference emphasizes the relative depth of Sámi language comprehension and consequently of duodji cultural knowledge between the students in each college.

5.4.2 Mechanization of Duodji Education

Another issue affecting the transfer of duodji knowledge is that the production of Sámi wood handicraft, *muorra* duodji, is becoming increasingly mechanized. Duodji students are regularly using power tools to produce their duodji products. A student may create more technically precise work, however an over-emphasis on machine use may discourage the teaching of certain forms of traditional knowledge (Juuso, 2001). Further, this mechanization of the process may not be conducive to teaching the holistic vision of duodji (Guttorm, 2001b). Some forms of cultural knowledge may not necessarily be compatible or even necessary with the use of modern power tools in the production of duodji.

Efforts can be made, however, in the teaching of duodji to ensure that students are learning the subtleties of their materials and techniques. Students can begin the process of learning duodji skills with traditional hand tools when producing a *guksi* (wooden cup), for example. By doing this, students learn about properties of wood at a slower pace (Juuso, 2001). Consequently, traditional ways of producing duodji are emphasized at the beginning and then studies move to include power tools and their uses. Pedagogical techniques such as the examples above are one way of minimizing the effect of mechanization on the transmission of duodji knowledge.

5.4.3 Generalization of Duodji Education

In schools, there are inherent restrictions on the way duodji can be taught. This results from the systemic constraints resulting from the structure of learning around teachers and instruction materials in the classroom. With regards to constraints resulting from the teacher, a student in the modern classroom learns the duodji styles and techniques of their teacher rather than of their family as was the case traditionally. This shift results in regional or family styles of duodji not being accommodated in a class in favour of the style being taught by the teacher. In this system, students must go independently to their home or community in order to find out about the specific techniques and designs that their family or community use. The teaching of specific duodji designs is one of the challenges of teaching duodji in an institutional setting.

Developing individualized teaching approaches is one way to face this challenge. An individualized program for Sámi students at the University of Oulu has been developed so that students spend time learning in the home with a *duojar*. This one-on-one instruction better accommodates traditional learning styles compared to work in a classroom because the student is instructed to not only learn about technique, but to observe as much as she/he can in the cultural context. Observations include asking questions about all aspects of duodji such as stories and Sámi language vocabulary (Somby, 2001). The emphasis on regional variation in this program is important when types of duodji are relearned since when a family loses its ability to make a type of duodji the unique styles associated with it are also lost. If the technique is learned again in the formal school setting, the individual style of the family has been lost in favour of a generalized form (Somby, 2001).

The gender of duodji teachers is another influence on duodji education since there are large differences in what is emphasized by men and women as a *duojar* (Somby, 2001). Gender roles in the production of duodji are changing, especially since more and more women are doing work that was men's work in traditional Sámi society (Somby, 2001). This change includes wood handicraft production and teaching and is important to

recognize as it effects on how duodji is taught. Variation in teaching styles and methods of duodji, not only depends on differences between an individual *duojar*, but also on whether that teacher is a man or woman.

The use of instruction materials also is a constraint to duodji education. Today, the majority of what Sámi youth learn is from the classroom with the help of instruction materials (Jernsletten, 1997). However, there is a shortage of materials based in the Sámi language and Sámi culture. This shortage leads to the added pressure on individual duodji teachers to have to create their own materials.

5.4.4 Commercialization of Duodji Education

Training in duodji in the home used to be oriented towards community self-sufficiency, but today, with commercialization involving the sale of larger numbers of objects, a different type of training is required (Sámi instituhtta et al, 1990). Traditional occupations are now being developed into economically viable professions (Seurujärvi-Kari, 1996). The teaching of duodji is reflecting this change in Sámi society. With a move towards greater commercialization, duodji education at the college level is increasingly geared toward people that want to produce duodji commercially. The curriculum offered at Anár is evidence of this change.

However, having more Sámi working as full-time commercial artisans may not be fully feasible. An emphasis on full-time commercial production may be unrealistic for most graduates of duodji programs since most Sámi depend on more than one occupation for their livelihood (Aikio et al, 1994). Making a living off duodji alone is difficult. This situation occurs in part as a result of restrictive government tax policies for handicraft (P. Laiti, 1998) and the large number of hours needed to prepare for duodji work (Somby, 2001). Also, it is very rare for an individual Sámi to produce every duodji form. A *duojar* needs to rely on the capacity of an entire community where many people share

duties to have the materials necessary for duodji. Therefore, duodji production can be seen as a community effort (Somby, 2001).

5.4.5 Stereotyping of Duodji

Due to the increasing generalization, mechanization and commercialization of duodji teaching as considered above, the fundamental question of whether a duodji student is becoming a commercial artisan or a *duojar* can be posed. When asked what they consider themselves during interviews, the majority of Sámi that have for years worked with duodji consider themselves to be a *duojar*, rather than an artist or craftsperson. This conscious distinction underscores the continuing importance of the Sámi cultural heritage in the developing role of modern duodji.

However, as seen in the curriculum documents of duodji college programs, present Sámi handicraft students are not necessarily being trained as a *duojar*, but rather as a commercial artisan or teacher with knowledge of duodji. As evidence, many recent students in duodji do not consider themselves to be a *duojar* (Anonymous students, 2001). The traditional Sámi knowledge that is recognized as a foundation for duodji production has a limited role in modern duodji programs. In terms of vocational programming, it can be stated that the more a duodji teaching program is geared towards commercial production of duodji, the less room there is for the teaching of traditional cultural knowledge. This shift in teaching from traditional to commercial risks the loss of cultural knowledge in the long run. In this respect, Sámi culture would be seen as only one component of the duodji teaching process and not a foundation for programming in general.

Accordingly, a generalization and commercialization of duodji education encourages a fragmenting of cultural knowledge. When that happens the chances for the culture to be passed on is considerably reduced (Somby, 2001) since the influence of minority cultures decreases when the culture is cut into fragments (Somby, 1998). Consequently, the self-

identity of the indigenous student is at risk when cultural knowledge is limited to just artefacts and objects; the culture is at risk of becoming stereotyped.

> *"It is the values, symbols, interpretations and perspectives that distinguish one people from another in modernized societies, and not artefacts, materials, objects, and other tangible aspects of human societies" (Banks, 1994, p.54).*

Therefore, building on the perspective of the above quotation, if Sámi education is limited just to the production of stereotyped handicraft objects such as one particular style of duodji, then the more intangible values and perspectives of Sámi culture will not be accommodated in Sámi education programming. With this in mind, Sámi culture and handicraft must be taught in ways that recognize the dynamic and interconnected nature of Sámi cultural knowledge within Sámi handicraft.

Chapter 6: Modern Indigenous Curriculum

In the previous chapter, the duodji programs at two colleges were described and analyzed. Through this analysis, factors were uncovered that influence the ability of formal duodji teaching to effectively develop Sámi culture. In order to broaden the scope of the discussion of the pedagogical and political factors influencing duodji education, chapter six will provide a theoretical framework that focuses on the fundamental issue of Sámi control over duodji education in minimizing the influence of the factors affecting duodji knowledge discussed above.

> *"A theoretical articulation [of Indian (indigenous) education] would serve to organize research, guide practice, and serve as an explicit aid to discussion and clarification" (Hampton, 1995, p.11).*

To serve as a theoretical articulation on duodji education, this chapter will specifically address whether duodji curriculum can act as a positive agent in developing Sámi culture. A framework will be provided describing components of education at the school, community and national level that influence the cultural control of education. This framework will be described in its most general and theoretical form as the process of developing modern indigenous curriculum.

6.1 Theoretical Background

A culture represents the way of life or outlook adopted by a community (Alasuutari, 1995). An indigenous culture is one that has its roots in a local environment. The Sámi indigenous culture has its roots in traditional knowledge and a way of life founded in the environment of Sápmi. However, cultures are not static, they are dynamic, complex and changing (Banks, 1994). Today, Sámi schools have become one of the most important sources of cultural knowledge because the educational system constitutes a set of institutions that are fundamental to the distribution and production of [cultural]

knowledge (Apple, 1995). From this perspective, Sámi education can be seen as a significant instrument for directing cultural change in modern Sámi society.

With the expansion of missionary schools in Sápmi beginning in the early 18th century (Sámi instituhtta et al, 1990), Sámi teaching began to drastically change from its traditional roots in the home. The teaching of duodji has changed as well so that today duodji is now expected to be taught in the schools (Somby, 2001). However, schooling has tended to be controlled by and serve the interests of the most powerful classes in society (Apple, 1995) – in the case of the Sámi it is the colonial powers. Therefore, as the centre for teaching shifted from the home to the school, the system of teaching moved from a purely Sámi process to a colonial process.

Modern Sámi schooling has been a colonial process because schools, and subsequently the curriculum, have been and continue to be controlled by the nation-states where Sámi live. As a result, the school is isolated from the cultural system it is intended to serve (Spindler, 1974). In a related fashion, the curriculum has reflected the comprehensive [national] cultural heritage of those nations (Darnell and Hoem, 1996) without respecting the Sámi culture. And since the schooling process includes college curriculum, the basic contradictions between the cultures confront each other inside the vocational school system as well (Mjelde, 1987).

Based on a lack of respect for Sámi culture, formal schooling has been essentially about the business of assimilation and social control (Paulston , 1980). As a result of this perspective, Sámi schools must now be seen as the arena for cross-cultural conflict between representatives of different cultural systems (Singleton, 1974). This cultural conflict raises specific concerns about how well Sámi and indigenous peoples in general can control their own education. The focus of these concerns are cultural and linguistic as well as administrative and economic (Seurujärvi-Kari, 1996), all of which are highly political in Sápmi society today.

Since the educational and cultural system is an exceptionally important element in the maintenance of existing relations of domination and exploitation in [Sami] society (Apple, 1995), then by examining the control of duodji education insight can be reached concerning its role within the Sámi political and cultural process. If Sámi education is to be directed to strengthen the subsistence of the indigenous people (Seurujärvi-Kari, 1996), then the education system can provide a significant terrain over which serious action can evolve (Apple, 1995). The term, modern indigenous curriculum, is used to describe an educational and political process under which this action can take place. The following section will place modern indigenous curriculum within the context of this movement for reform with specific reference to approaches to curriculum reform at Sami colleges and internationally.

6.2 Approaches to Curriculum Reform

Recently, Sámi have obtained more control over their own education system in the form of a modified national curriculum. However, measures taken to reform curriculum so that it is more suited to Sámi culture, have often taken the form of additions rather than a complete transformation of the national curriculum development process. Unfortunately, the addition of Sámi cultural content to the present national curriculum is not enough, since ethnic content can be added to the curriculum without transforming it or changing its basic assumptions, perspectives and goals (Banks, 1999). In other words, the core culture reflected in the curriculum still stays the same.

"The will to change is not the same as the capacity to change" (Hamilton, p.151, 1989).

In Figure 5, Banks (1993) provides a graphic representation of approaches to curriculum reform that attempt to better incorporate the culture of students. Bank's description of reform focuses on the development of multi-cultural curriculum, however, the following representation can also be used to describe approaches to curriculum reform that work to give better representation to indigenous cultures in European dominated curriculum.

Approaches to curriculum reform are arranged into four levels in Figure 5 and rated from 1 to 4 according to the extent of culturally relevant change brought about by each approach.

Level 1 in Fig. 5 represents the lowest level of reform in which superficial contributions of a culture such as objects or holidays are placed into the curriculum in order to provide a broader cultural perspective. The second level describes reform in which there is an increase in the amount of cultural content to include topics such as cultural themes and perspectives. Both of these levels of reform, however, are made without any fundamental structural changes to the curriculum. Reforms at these levels may mention indigenous culture in the curriculum, but the overall structure of the curriculum remains firmly imbedded within the dominant (national) culture. Reforms to the Finnish and Norwegian national curriculum have often been at this level.

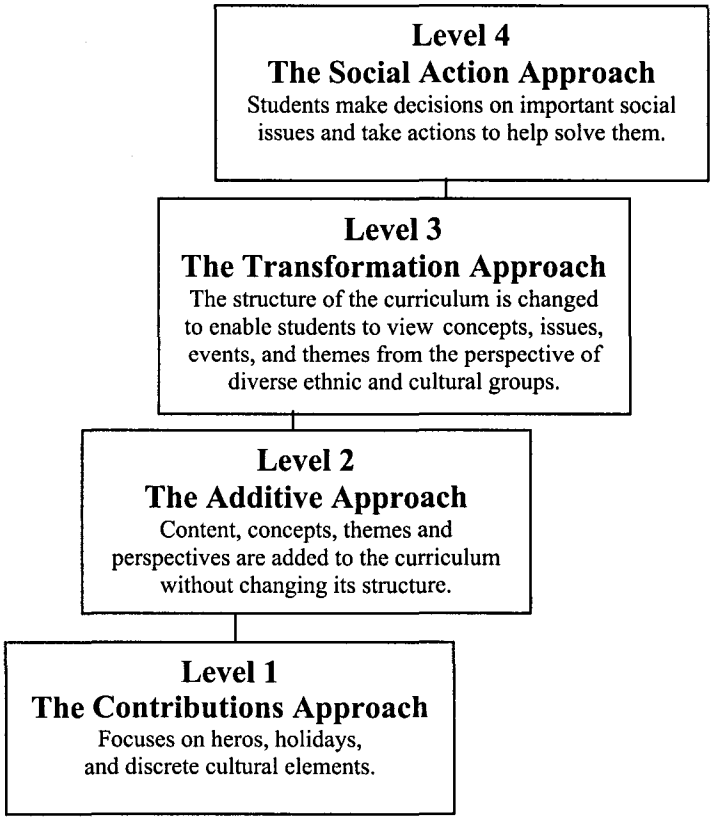

Figure 5: Approaches to Curriculum Reform from Banks (1993).

Corson (1990) describes similar attempts at reform in New Zealand during the 1980's in which Maori culture programs were incorporated within the mainstream curriculum of schools. This curriculum initiative brought about varying results with regards to the goals of improved Maori education and ultimately was seen by many Maori as tinkering with the system. This tinkering represented a continuation of tokenism, condescension and paternalism (Corson, 1990).

> *"Perhaps attempts to tinker with the curriculum, by providing multicultural features, disguise the more pervasive impact on minority educational opportunities of culturally incompatible features that manifest themselves throughout the organization of European forms of schooling" (Corson, 1990, p.217).*

The transformation approach to curriculum reform described as level 3 in Fig. 5 may provide a better alternative than curriculum 'tinkering' well illustrated in the Maori example. In this reform approach, the entire structure of the curriculum is transformed. Curriculum transformation would represent a complete reconstruction of the cultural assumptions and structures that make up the foundation of any curriculum. In addition to this level of reform, the final stage of reform described by Banks (1993) includes measures for social action along with a curriculum structural transformation. This social-action approach to curriculum reform is highly political, yet would be necessary in order to provide reform that is truly respectful of indigenous culture. By attaining this level of reform, a modern indigenous curriculum can be reached.

6.3 Definition of Modern Indigenous Curriculum

Curriculum is a way of organizing a set of human educational practices. However, curriculum is not a concept; it is a cultural construction (Grundy, 1987). Viewed in this way, curriculum is constructed to not only maintain a culture, but to help it grow. Since Sámi education has been a battlefield between those who consider education an instrument of assimilating the Sámi into Norwegian society and those who consider

education to be an instrument of strengthening and building a Sámi society (Keskitalo, 1997), the underlying question remains – who controls the Sámi curriculum?

With this question in mind, a modern indigenous curriculum is a curriculum that is structured by an indigenous people to reinforce their own culture. With regards to the Sámi college context, the term, modern indigenous curriculum, is being used to specifically describe attempts to develop duodji curricula at the two Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu and Anár. A modern indigenous curriculum implies that the local community, not the national agenda, controls curriculum development.

"The way the curriculum [is] organized, the principles upon which it [is] built and evaluated, and, finally, the very knowledge itself, all of these [are] critically important if we [are] to understand how [cultural] power [is] reproduced" (Apple, 1995, p.19).

Modern indigenous curriculum, however, does not refer to either an original cultural curriculum or a curriculum solely based on tradition. The word 'modern' is used to infer that the development of modern indigenous curriculum is based in the modern context as an indigenous people see fit. This curriculum plays an important role in the establishment of culturally appropriate educational programming in which historically the students of an indigenous community have been taught in a culture that does not reflect their own. Therefore, this term represents contemporary curriculum with a primary concern to best serve an *indigenous people's* current educational and cultural interests.

Based on the description above, there are three main principles to modern indigenous curriculum as it applies to indigenous communities including those of the Sámi.

1. *An indigenous community must be the prime developer of its own curriculum.*
2. *Modern indigenous curriculum reflects the indigenous culture in structure and content.*
3. *The processes of indigenous curriculum development and implementation involve social and political action.*

In order that modern indigenous curriculum provide a transformation and social action approach to reform (levels 3 and 4 in Fig. 5), its development must firstly be controlled by the indigenous community. Any reform will not be sufficient unless the indigenous community has a significant role in the development of the curriculum, since "it is likely that only a local community can decide the shape and direction of its school" (Corson, 1990, p.223). Once a community can take part in the development of the curriculum, transformation can take place.

The second principle discusses the importance of transforming the *entire* curriculum to better reflect the indigenous culture. In order to transform the structure and content of the curriculum, both the official national curriculum and the hidden curriculum associated with it must be addressed. The hidden curriculum refers to the norms and values not openly acknowledged by teachers and school officials (Posner, 1992). These curricula are connected culturally, but it is the hidden curriculum that fundamentally needs to shift from representing the norms and values of the dominant culture to representing those of the indigenous culture.

In order to bring about principles one and two, social and political action must take place. The third principle listed above is included to recognize the necessity for these forms of action. The social action necessary would come in the form of mobilizing communities to become active participants in the process of education.

"When...minority culture values influence the organization of schooling, the minority members of that community become the experts: they are the advisors and real controllers of the education programme; their values shape the educational outcomes. Local political mobilization with real purpose can begin to occur" (Corson, 1990, p.223).

Corresponding political action is also necessary along with social action in order to negotiate more control over education at the national level. This political component is essential since the successful development and implementation of modern indigenous curriculum is fundamentally a question of locally-based control. Each indigenous community or people will have their own unique situations to act upon in order to

implement a modern indigenous curriculum. Gaining greater control of curriculum development for all indigenous communities is a political and social process the description of which is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, educational strategies have been used in Sámi colleges with respect to retaining more relevant and independent education (Keskitalo, 1999). The three principles of modern indigenous curriculum outlined above, which are based on the transformation and social action approaches to curriculum reform, are fundamental to these strategies.

The following sections (6.4 and 6.5) will describe components of education, as determined through researching the Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu and Anár, necessary to control for any reform strategy directed at implementing a modern indigenous curriculum. Other international examples of implementation strategies aimed at curriculum reform are also included in these sections.

6.4 Implementation of Modern Indigenous Curriculum

Modern indigenous curriculum, as described in the previous section, focuses on the issue of indigenous control of indigenous education. However, based on the analysis of the Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu and Anár, two different cultural environments exist that must be noted in any attempt to implement curriculum reform.

Each Sámi college exists within a different cultural environment based on the cultural make-up of the school and surrounding community. In the case of Sámi allaskuvla, the staff and students are almost entirely Sámi. Consequently, modern indigenous curriculum at this institution works to develop a mono-cultural schooling environment in which the student body is a culturally homogeneous group - Sámi. In a similar international example, as described by Corson (1990), cultural and language values are central in Maori mono-cultural schools in New Zealand in which indigenous parents make decisions for their children unimpeded by majority culture 'gatekeeping' devices.

These 'gatekeeping' devices refer to educational content and structure determined by the dominant culture which is separate from the school.

On the other hand, Sámi oahpahanguovddaš in Anár serves a multi-cultural community. Both Finnish and Sámi students are enrolled at the school. Even though this institution has evolved to provide for the Sámi community of northern Finland, it also serves the entire region in which Sámi are a minority. This situation better illustrates the development of a multi-cultural curriculum as it is described by Banks (1993) since the main goal of multi-cultural curriculum is to increase educational equality for students from diverse ethnic and cultural groups (Banks, 1993). In a multi-cultural educational environment, school systems may need to develop a range of innovative administrative policies that reflect the many cultures of the region (Corson, 1990). Therefore, Sámi oahpahanguovddaš programming and structure reflects the needs of a multi-cultural educational environment.

By examining the programming at the colleges in Guovdageaidnu and Anár, specific approaches to curriculum reform relevant to either the mono-cultural or multi-cultural environment are necessary. However, based on the analysis of the programming at both of these Sámi colleges, commonalties do exist with respect to components of education that determine control over the culture, or cultures, in the curriculum regardless of the cultural make-up of the school or surrounding environment. The following sections of this chapter will introduce and discuss the common components of education examined in both Sámi colleges' struggles to implement their own modern indigenous curriculum.

6.5 Components of Educational Control

The following eight components shown in Fig. 6 represent the areas affecting the culture of education that were discussed with staff and students at the two Sámi colleges to have the most significant effect on attempts to provide modern indigenous curriculum at the colleges. Each rectangle in the figure represents a separate, but interconnected facet of

education that would need to be addressed towards the goal of implementing a modern indigenous curriculum. Together these eight components represent a framework for educational control of indigenous curriculum that can be used to illustrate similarities not only in the Sámi educational context, but within other indigenous educational contexts as well. The figure's design has been constructed in the form of a web to emphasize the interconnected nature of these eight components.

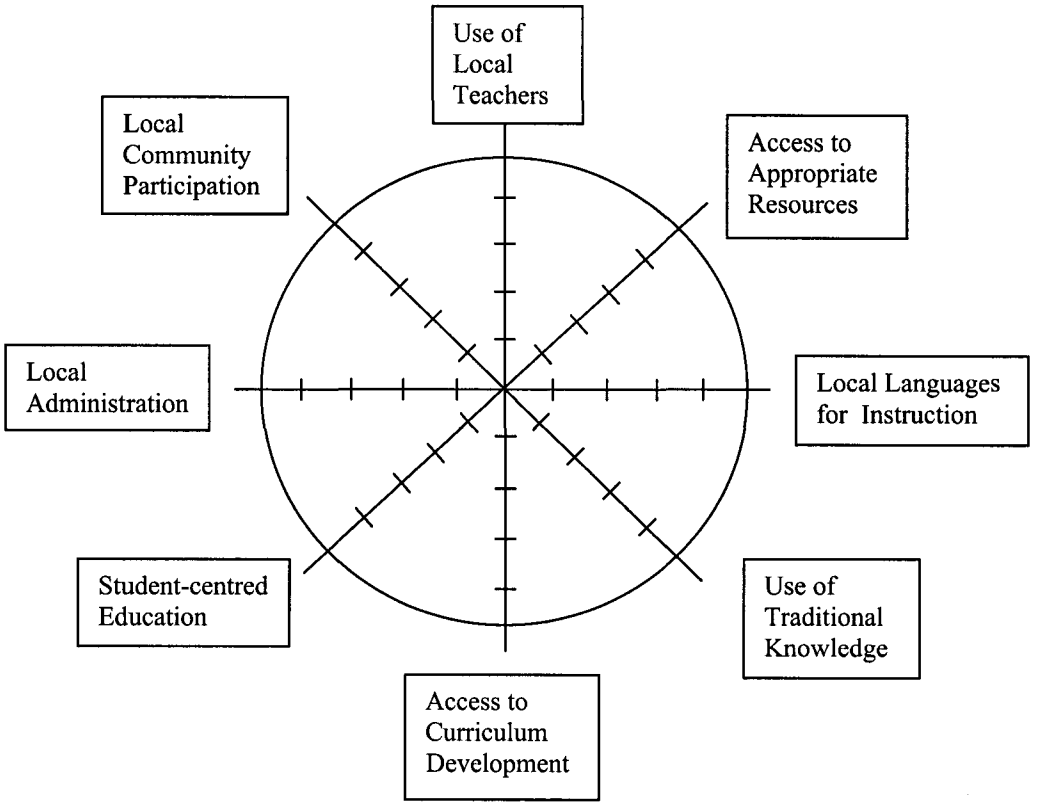

Figure 6: Components of Education for Cultural Control (by the author)

By working towards greater control of these educational components individually or as a whole, an indigenous community and its schools would achieve a modern indigenous curriculum. One single component is not necessarily more important than the other in this process, however ignoring one of the components may significantly affect the ability to achieve others.

The culture of schooling is complex and grounded in local variation. As a result, each indigenous community or school will have its unique path to achieving control of these components. The following sections of this chapter are included to further detail the substance and interrelations behind the components of education for cultural control. These sections are not included as a prescription for communities or schools to achieve control of culture in education. Rather, they are meant to aid in discussions of the developmental process towards modern indigenous curriculum. They have been organized roughly according to the components outlined in Fig.6 with the exception of section 6.5.2 which discusses the four components (use of local teachers, use of indigenous knowledge, access to curriculum development and local community participation) together because of their closely interrelated nature. Reference is also given in each section to specific examples previously discussed in the Sámi context and other international examples of curricular reform in indigenous communities in support of indigenous culture.

6.5.1 Local Languages of Instruction

Language of instruction is a component of education integral to encouraging control over an indigenous educational system. The role of the Sámi language as the language of instruction was often discussed with Sámi educators and was regularly cited in formal and informal discussions as one of the most important aspects to maintaining control over the culture of schooling. The examination of the Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu and Anár shows that in order to bring about cultural control, local languages should be actively used and reflected within the school environment and curriculum.

> *"Language is a shared and sharing part of culture that cares little about formal classifications and much about vitality and connection, for culture itself perishes in purity or isolation" (Fuentes, 1988, p.27)*

As illustrated in the above quotation, the vitality of a culture rests in larger part with the use of its language. Related to the role of language in maintaining culture, the use of an indigenous language as the language of instruction can bring cultural vitality to the educational environment. Having an indigenous language of instruction can also be seen as an attempt to gain greater power over the entire educational process since many minority linguistic groups try to institutionalize and legitimize their languages within the mainstream society in this way (Ovando and Gourd, 1996). Consequently, educational opportunities must be developed to revitalize the local language if it is not the major language of instruction. Sámi allaskuvla in Guovdageaidnu is a good example of an educational institution that has recognized the power to control programming by mandating the use of the local language throughout its programming.

Ovando and Gourd provide other examples of language revitalization programs for indigenous languages in their study of schools in the United States and New Zealand published in 1996. This examination uncovered three common characteristics of positive educational programs: 1) commitment to bilingual instruction, 2) culturally relevant curriculum and 3) strong involvement in and control of education by parents and the local community. These three characteristics lend support to the principles of modern indigenous curriculum and speak to the importance of using local languages in schooling environments and developing strong community involvement.

6.5.2 Collaborative Curriculum Change Based in Indigenous Knowledge of Local Teachers and the Community

In order to affect culturally relevant reform, an indigenous community and its school should not only work to use local languages for instruction, but should also work for curriculum change. Posner (1992) outlines a collaborative approach to curriculum change in which teachers are defined as the key figures in curriculum change through their tacit knowledge and beliefs. In this way, teachers can be viewed as "active shapers of curriculum change to meet local needs" (Posner, 1992, p.218).

However, to meet the local needs of an indigenous community, teachers need a sound knowledge of the indigenous culture in order to successfully integrate that culture into the curriculum (Banks, 1994, Henrikson, 2001). Teachers can best do this if they themselves are from the indigenous culture. Therefore, using local teachers represents another of the most effective components of education at encouraging the presence of the indigenous culture in a school environment. By nature of including more local teachers, a schooling environment will both develop more significant relations with the local community through the existing family relations of local teachers and will benefit from increased access to indigneous knowledge held by the teachers themselves.

Through a collaborative approach to curriculum reform based on the tacit indigenous knowledge and beliefs of local teachers and their connection to the local community, culturally relevant change can be effectively brought to schools. The Ciulistet group, described in Lipka et al (1998), is an example of how collaborative curriculum change can be successful. Begun in 1986, the Ciulistet group of Alaska has grown from its roots as an indigenous teacher support group to one that has transformed Yup'ik education in Alaska. This transformation has taken place by bringing together teachers, administrators, researchers, community members and elders to contribute their knowledge of Yup'ik Eskimo culture and language to local schooling in Alaska. Support from community elders plays an instrumental role in the success of this collaborative process since they are the most significant holders of indigenous knowledge.

As a result of meetings between educators, elders and researchers, significant change has occurred supported by the documentation of indigenous knowledge and analysis drawn from these meetings. This change has led to the development of more positive professional identities for Yup'ik teachers, the creation of new educational and pedagogical possibilities, and the building of new relationships between schools and the community (Lipka et al, 1998).

If successful, indigenous knowledge should become an equal partner with academic and scientific knowledge in this form of collaborative curriculum reform resulting in both forms of knowledge being integrated within the content and structure of the curriculum. However, the success of this reform process also significantly relies on the indigenous community having access to the national curriculum development process since the national curriculum is "a mechanism for the political control of knowledge" (Apple, 1996, p.35). The national guidelines fundamentally define the structure and content of a school.

In the Sámi context, J.H. Keskitalo (1997) points to a vision of educational reform in which indigenous knowledge provides the key. In his vision of reform, J.H. Keskitalo notes that indigenous knowledge, combined with the use of the Sámi language, would be the fundamental support for further improvement of Sámi school products and knowledge at Sámi schools. If integrated at the national level, this vision of reform could allow for a high degree of educational control of the culture of schooling. The Varracohka curriculum project being developed at the Sámi allaskuvla is one of the latest collaborative approaches respecting this vision of curriculum reform (refer back to section 5.2.3 for more on the Varracohka project).

6.5.3 Local Administrative Control

In order to support such dramatic curriculum change, the school administration must have the ability to control its own affairs. The administration of schools in indigenous communities historically has been controlled from sources outside the community. However, efforts are ongoing to develop community-based administrative control in indigenous schools as seen with the Sámi oahpahanguovddaš in Anár, Finland which is administered by a board of trustees made up from the local community. This form of administrative design allows for more local voice in school policies and mandates.

Daigle (1997) also examines the process of implementing locally based, indigenous education. In her study of numerous schools in North American indigenous communities, Daigle outlines a framework of the areas of education which need special reform measures and the directions reform should move in order for indigenous education to be successful. In this framework, the theme of local administrative control is prevalent.

The categories and corresponding directions of reform in Daigle's study support the three principles of modern indigenous curriculum and closely resemble the components of cultural control detailed from the analysis of the Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu and Anár. They are: 1) governance approach structures that are community-based, 2) programmes, methods, goals and structures directed towards transformation, 3) liberating philosophy of education, 4) bi-cultural school culture as opposed to one based on assimilation, 5) revitalization of the minority language, 6) social, economic and political development directed at self-sufficiency, 7) higher retention rates of minority students, 8) inclusion of the community as a resource and 8) organization that is pro-active, bottom-up, informal locality-centred and process-based.

These eight categories, although drawn from North American examples, provide a comprehensive framework for conceptualizing educational change towards community-based and indigenous education that can provide insight into related developments at Sámi colleges. Categories 1, 6 and 8 directly speak to the necessity for local administrative control in the form of locally-centred organization, community-based governance and development directed at local self-sufficiency. By focusing on a movement towards these administrative goals, culturally appropriate schooling reforms can be supported.

6.5.4 Student-Centred Education and Access to Appropriate Materials

While the preceding sections have focused on school and national level reforms, the following section emphasizes reform focusing on the indigenous student. Learning is enhanced when the curriculum demands are accessible to the student (Brooks & Brooks, 1993). Therefore, curriculum guidelines and content for indigenous schools should be adapted to address the unique knowledge base of the indigenous student. This student-centred approach focuses on a constructivist vision of education in which the growth of knowledge is the result of individual constructions through social interactions made by the learner (Piaget, 1971). By applying this vision of knowledge construction, pioneered by the Swiss scholar Jean Piaget, to the indigenous context a foundation for education that takes into account the unique demands of indigenous knowledge can be outlined.

Under a student-centred education that recognizes the culture of students, indigenous culture becomes the foundation for curriculum rather that cultures applied from the outside. Viewing curriculum in this way is useful since the needs of students at the Sámi colleges examined differed as a result of their individualized background and expectations of the programs they were attending. For example, programming at Sámi oahpahanguovddaš in Anár was flexible with respect to incorporating more Sámi content with instruction for Sámi students (Valkeapää, 2001). Instructors were capable of individualizing programming and including Sámi language instruction.

Cultural issues, such as the learning of family handicraft styles or improving Sámi language skills that vary among students, can also be better addressed by developing a student-centred program. The development of duodji programming through the University of Oulu in which students spent course time with a *duojar* from their local region exemplifies a student-centred education recognizing the unique needs of the indigenous student.

In order to support an indigenous student-centred learning process, the staff and students should also have access to appropriate resources for language and cultural instruction.

These resources can take the form of teaching materials, student resource work and even materials from the environment, especially those materials necessary for handicraft. Duodji programs at the Sámi colleges rely on students being able to have access to the materials needed for their course work. Many students obtained wood, bark and other handicraft raw materials on their own or from family members and community members that produced or collected it. However, concern remains whether these materials will continue to be readily available for future students (Anonymous students, 2001).

With respect to the availability of appropriate teaching materials, Cornelius (1999) details one model of developing appropriate teaching materials through a culture-based curriculum. Through a thematic focus on corn, which is an essential feature in the Haudenosaunee culture, a model curriculum was developed to value cultural diversity, present indigneous culture in a holistic manner, and study the living history contained in the contemporary culture of an indigenous people for Haudenosaunee schools (Cornelius, 1999). The development of such materials is closely related to the collaborative approach to curriculum development.

"Developing curricula from this model requires a team approach that includes elders from the culture, identification of the culturally specific paradigm, selecting a thematic focus to be taught in an interdisciplinary manner and an analysis of contemporary world view and current issues" (Cornelius, 1999, p.67).

However, many indigenous schools still have limited access to appropriate materials in their own language and based in their culture. Further development of materials for Sámi educational programming, for instance, depends on favourable funding policies from government and the continued dedication of Sámi educators and administrators.

By looking at the examples evident in this and preceding sections, there is a strong support for the principles of modern indigenous curriculum. The goals embedded in these principles represent goals held by Sámi and have been constructed in general terms to be applied to other educational settings where the maintenance of culture is in question. Specifically, these components have been developed with teachers and school

administrators in mind to facilitate in their own process of reflection concerning to what extent their schools maintain and develop local culture. Implicit within this list are the beliefs that all cultures have value and that individuals and communities rooted in an indigenous culture are the most qualified to direct the development of their own culture. Ultimately, reforming curriculum is just one of many ways in which to build culture. However, modern indigenous curriculum as seen in Sámi duodji programs, when controlled by local communities and based in a process of collaborative reform, can provide a useful educational and political tool in the development of modern indigenous culture.

Chapter 7: Conclusion - Indigenous Knowledge as the Base for Modern Indigenous Curriculum

"Members of indigenous societies responsible for schooling and education in their own countries face some fundamental choices between what is often proffered as knowledge in industrialized systems, and what is understood as knowledge in its local cultural context. The choice is often seen as a contrast between linear, rational, fragmented forms of knowledge and a more spatial approach to knowledge" (Fox, 1996, p.295).

In relation to the above quotation, Sámi colleges are faced with a choice. This choice focuses on whether local indigenous knowledge will be made the guiding principle for Sámi education and the teaching of duodji. If this route is chosen, then there must be dramatic curriculum change rooted in social and political action. This change must take place since the educational system itself has and continues to be an exceptionally important element of continuing cultural domination in Sámi society. Recent political action has begun to change the direction of Sámi education towards a respect for and a reflection of the culture of Sámi students. The teaching of Sámi handicraft (duodji) is an important educational and political tool in this recent change.

Significant action has taken place at the Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu, Norway and Anár, Finland under the auspices of the creation of modern indigenous curriculum. This term is used to describe the educational and political process under which duodji programs have been developed and implemented by Sámi to maintain and enhance Sámi culture.

This thesis has investigated the role of Sámi handicraft (duodji) in two Sámi colleges in Norway and Finland as an indicator of larger struggles for Sámi cultural determination and survival. Based on research at these two colleges and their corresponding communities, it can be seen that the indigenous knowledge of duodji is fundamentally based in the Sámi culture and language and that Sámi handicraft, duodji, has today evolved beyond its traditional roots into both an art form and commodity. And yet, the production of duodji still represents an important affirmation of Sámi identity.

Many Sámi people now expect duodji to be taught in schools and continue in its role developing Sámi identity as well. As a result, Sámi colleges, and their curriculum, in particular are being called upon as significant agents in the process of passing on knowledge of Sámi culture. However, factors exist within the formal duodji education system that threaten the appropriate teaching of this knowledge. Mechanization of teaching, commercialization of duodji production, loss of language and stereotyping of cultural forms each pose a challenge to the teaching of duodji in schools by potentially diminishing the amount of traditional indigenous knowledge taught to students. Questions must be posed - Are Sámi students learning authentic Sámi indigenous knowledge in schools? If not, how can it be taught? If so, will Sámi students continue to learn it?

Another systemic problem complicating this issue is the process of cultural replacement and social control existing within Sámi formal schooling first seen in the missionary period of religious schooling and later in government sponsored education. Throughout the history of Sámi formal schooling, Sámi schools have been sites of cross-cultural conflict resulting in Sámi culture being dominated by the European cultures administering these formal schooling systems. Yet, out of this continuing cultural conflict has grown a recent movement in which Sámi communities are taking control of their own education. This educational movement calls for Sámi culture and handicraft to be taught in ways that recognize the dynamic and interconnected nature of Sámi cultural knowledge.

By examining the duodji programs at the Sámi colleges in Guovdageaidnu and Anár, it can be seen that programming has been developed reflecting the cultural, political and physical environments in which these colleges are situated. Programming at the Sámi allaskuvla in Guovdageaidnu has been developed within a mono-cultural environment in which a Sámi majority population and the use of Sámi language has allowed for a fundamentally Sámi form of education. In Anár, Sámi oahpahanguovddaš has developed duodji programming within a multi-cultural setting in which Sámi and Finnish cultural

and political interests mix. Based on these different contexts, each college has devised unique programming to serve Sámi students.

A sharing of experience and knowledge between these two colleges would prove useful since the implementation of duodji programming at both of these colleges suggest that there are common components within the educational system that can be controlled in order to encourage more culturally relevant and locally-based Sámi education. These components are: use of the local languages for instruction, a student-centred education, access to national and school curriculum development, use of local indigenous knowledge, presence of local teachers, local community participation, local administrative control and access to appropriate resources. When these components are recognized, discussed and acted upon, Sámi handicraft programs will become even stronger tools for positive Sámi cultural development.

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