

Intersectionality - A Theoretical Inspiration in the Analysis of Minority Cultures and Identities in Textbooks

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In recent years the concept of intersectionality has emerged in feminist studies in the Nordic countries. Intersectionality implies more than gender research, more than studying differences between women and men, and more than diversities within women's groups or within men's groups. Intersectionality tries to catch the relationships between socio-cultural categories and identities. Ethnicity is combined with gender to reflect the complexity of intersectionality between national, new national background and womanhood/manhood: What happens when for example the Norwegian, Norwegian-Turkish and female categories and identities intertwine? How do the male category and masculine identities emerge with Iraqi and Norwegian categories and identities? Intersectionality focuses on diverse and marginalized positions. Gender, race, ethnicity, disability, sexuality, class and nationality are categories that may enhance the complexity of intersectionality, and point towards identities in transition.

This article presents approaches to intersectionality in theoretical debates and in using the concepts in the analysis of minority cultures and identities. The debate about additive and transversal intersectionality is presented, and is expanded with the complexity of intersectionality. Connected to the concept of intersectionality is the question of power, inspired by Michel Foucault. Power is introduced as procedures of exclusion and inclusion. The use of intersectionality in textbook analysis is presented in the light of textbooks being special or specialized; and normalization, homogenization and classification are introduced as concepts to encircle the "conditions" of textbooks in handling complexity. To illustrate possible uses of intersectionality in textbook analysis, the Sámi in Norwegian textbooks are drawn attention to. One Norwegian textbook is chosen, because the textbook presents various representations of categories, identities and power in function.

The concept of intersectionality

Intersectionality may be defined as a theory to analyse how social and cultural categories intertwine. The relationships between gender, race, ethnicity, disability, sexuality, class and nationality are examined. The word intersection means that one line cuts through another line, and can be used about streets crossing each other. From the very beginning intersectionality was introduced as intersection in the American sense of the word to denote ways in which people of colour cross gender (Crenshaw, 1989). American researchers criticized the gender-based research for producing diversity in gender but homogenized race. In feminist studies women and

men were analysed as different and heterogeneous across and within the female and male categories. However, when it came to the question of race, the race-based critics argued that women and men were all white and all of the same Western race (Crenshaw, *op.cit.*; McCall, 2005). In the American concept of intersectionality the focus was on race and gender. Since the studies concentrated on the poor and marginalized coloured population, the class dimension was often implied in the theoretical reflections and analysis (Crenshaw, 1995). Disability and sexualities have also been integrated in the theory of intersectionality (Meyer, 2002; Lykke, 2005).

The concept of intersectionality occurred as an interplay between Black Feminism, feminist theory and post-colonial theory in the late 1990ies and the beginning of the third millenium. However, the reflection of interaction between several categories may be followed in feminist theories from the 1970ies like feminism and socialism, post-colonial feminism, queer-feminism (Lykke, *op.cit.*; Yuval-Davis, 2005).¹ These theories concentrate like intersectionality on socio-cultural power orders. The theory of intersection is focusing on how power can be constructed through amalgamation of male/female, black/white, Turkish/Norwegian, hetero-/homosexual etc. For example, the theory inspires to examine, how the intersection of becoming a female single living teacher of colour in Norway may influence the position in the periphery of university power.² Intersectionality is used to analyse the production of power and processes between gender, race, ethnicity etc., and is involved with analysing social and cultural hierarchies within different discourses and institutions (Yuval-Davis, *op.cit.*; Lykke, *op.cit.*). Rather than looking at the majority culture, the theory of intersection reflects the minority culture:

The concept can be a useful analytical tool in tracing how certain people seem to get positioned as not only different but also troublesome and, in some instances, marginalized. (Staunæs, 2003a, 101)

Intersectionality points towards the critical view on becoming “the other” in a normative setting within a general Western culture or more locally within a schoolyard in Copenhagen, Denmark in the year 1999/2000. In her analysis of students in secondary school, Dorthe Staunæs presents Wahid in 9th grade with bright red pants, bracelets and bleached hair. She is introduced to Wahid by other students who look at him as different from them (Staunæs, 2003b). Wahid is the vehicle of “otherness” in a local context and situation where he becomes troublesome to the “normal” students. The concept “troublesome” refers to people who makes it problematic to construct normalization, and who do not fit into the conception of for example a friendly Danish schoolyard or a peaceful nation and society. Such students or people are marginalized by the majority culture.

¹ The concept of queer refers to theory of sexualities, troubling the heterosexuality. Queer may be translated with awry, strange and suspicious (Knudsen, 2004a).

² The example is given with references to theory and analytical examples by Hooks 2003, Mørck 1998, Søndergaard 1996, Collins *et al.* 2000.

The theory of intersectionality stresses complexity. However, not all categories are necessarily mentioned. Whether gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, disability, nationality or other categories are integrated differ, and what is important and to whom is an ongoing discussion between researchers (Borgström, 2005; Yuval-Davis, *op.cit.*; Mc Call, *op.cit.*). Most of the researchers are aware of gender, race and/or ethnicity. Afro-American feminist researchers stress the race and gender categories and identities, thus using them to emphasize sexism and racism involved in American societies (Crenshaw, *op.cit.*; Mc Call, *op.cit.*). In the Nordic countries gender and ethnicity have been included in the concept of intersectionality (Mørck, 2003; Staunæs, *op.cit.*; Haavind 2003). Especially among feminist researchers in America, the intersection of queer sexuality and disability has been stressed. In the book *Extraordinary Bodies*, the intersection of disability, gender and sexuality is used to focus on the marginalized female disabled bodies (Thomson, 1997). So far intersectionality has been used to reflect the constructions of gender, ethnicity and sexuality in the Nordic countries. Disability is still rare in the theory of intersectionality, and class is an even more invisible category in today's Nordic use of intersection.

Additive and transversal intersectionality

When the concept of intersectionality was introduced as a matter of blindness in feminist theory, the blindness was reflected in theories of race and ethnicity to open up for diverse entrances to race, ethnicity and gender. It was not enough to present a theory to incorporate diversity among people of colour. The theory had to adopt the diversity among women of colour. However, the avant-garde to introduce and use intersectionality were first of all interested in the ways race and racially discrimination interacted with gender:

In an earlier article, I used the concept of intersectionality to denote the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of black women's employment experiences. (Crenshaw, *op.cit.*, 358).

Theories of race, ethnicity and gender gradually added theories of sexuality, disability etc. However, rather than discussing the variations of categories, the ongoing debate is how to use intersectionality in a wider sense than additive:

Additive intersectionality means that both the subject formations based on gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, etc., and the orders of power that create them, are analysed as separated structures and limited units which do interact, but not intra-act. (Lykke, *op.cit.*, 9, my translation).

The additive perspective is turned into a problem, because any category may be considered as the most significant one. Using the metaphor of the cross-road the ethnicity may be chosen in favour of gender as the one road chosen, while the other road is left behind (Lykke, *op.cit.*; Yuval-Davis, *op.cit.*). Another problem is that the categories may be treated as "competing intersectionality", where categories are

valued in a hierarchy as was the case in the 1970ies debate on whether class was more significant than gender (Lykke, *op.cit.*, 10, my translation). Furthermore, categories may be reflected as pearls on a string without taking the mutual processes in of the construction of categories and identities seriously.

The word “inter-action” may be associated with assembling separated categories (Lykke, *op.cit.* with reference to Barad, 2003). The categories could be seen as overlapping but they did not create “transversal perspective” (Yuval-Davis, 1997, 130). Instead “intra-section” has been suggested as a catchword to be aware of how the categories intertwine, pervade and transform each other (Lykke, *op.cit.*). With transversal perspective the theory of intersectionality inspires to raise questions like these: “How is ethnicity gendered and how are masculinity and femininity ethnicized and racialized?” (Mørch and Staunæs, 2003).

The additive and transversal perspectives on intersectionality may also be interpreted as the taken point of view. In my view the additive perspective stresses the socio-cultural categories and thus emphasizes the repression of black women, Turkish women in Norway etc. as different from white women, white Norwegian women etc. The socio-cultural category of gender is added to the socio-cultural categories of race and ethnicity. The categories are connected to something “out there” in the society or in the nation. But when it comes to identities, they are connected to individuals, groups and collective narratives telling how we represent and construct our selves. Identities deal with positions that the individuals may be placed inside, interpreted as belonging to and negotiated with (Hall, 1990; Gergen 1991; Søndergaard, *op.cit.*). For example, a Turkish woman in the capital of Norway may negotiate transverse ways of making “turkishness”, “mothering”, “citizenness” and “nationality”. The different use of additive and transversal intersectionality may be seen as a matter of operating with categories or identities as analytical tools, or connected to the disciplinary and academic background of the researchers. Mainly, the focus on social and cultural categories is adduced by sociologists, whereas the awareness of identities is presented by psychologists and anthropologists (Mc Call, *op.cit.*). In order to make the field of the different uses of intersectionality a bit more complex, many researchers inspired by intersectionality are working interdisciplinary.

The interdisciplinarity in using the concept of intersectionality may be read in most of the theoretical reflections and the feminist research done in the Nordic countries. Furthermore, the influence of the post-structuralism of the 1990ies is remarkable among the adoption of the concept of intersectionality in the Nordic countries. The influence of post-structuralism in reflecting transversal perspectives on intersectionality is approached in different ways. First of all the theory of intersectionality is introduced to deconstruct and destabilize the universalism of gender and ethnicity. Gender and ethnicity may be interpreted as constructed categories and positions, but they may never be taken for granted as categories (Knudsen, 2005; Stormhøj, 2006). In post-structuralism categories and binaries like woman/man, black/white, Turkish/Norwegian etc. are to be deconstructed and

destabilized. Secondly post-structuralism does not operate with manifest and immanent levels. This is a theory that belongs to structuralism, where the theory operates with analysing in-depth and reducing meaning to a-historical concepts like nature versus culture, and femininity versus masculinity (Knudsen, 2002). In the theory of intersectionality it is difficult to distinguish the levels of analyses. Categories, subject formations, positions and identities are mixed together in most of the theory presented.

In my view the relationships between socio-cultural categories and identities open up to a transversal perspective. Rather than making hierarchies of categories and identities, intersectionality, as the concept is being used in the Nordic countries, takes the different perspectives connected to power in discourses into consideration, power in specific contexts and situations, and power in processes (Søndergaard, 2005; Staunæs 2003b, *op.cit.*). Thirdly the concept of intersectionality has turned towards the transversal perspective as a matter of troubling gender, sexuality, ethnicity, disability, nationality etc. The great influence from Judith Butler's concept "gender trouble" in the Nordic countries should not be underestimated (Butler, 1990). When gender makes trouble, the heterosexuality is problematised, and vice versa. Similarly it may be claimed with ethnicity: When ethnicity makes trouble, gender and heterosexuality are problematised.

The complexity of intersectionality

To catch the complexity implied in intersectionality, the American sociologist Leslie Mc Call operates with three approaches: the anticategorical complexity, the intracategorical complexity and the intercategory complexity (Mc Call, *op.cit.*). She defines intersectionality as "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations" (*op.cit.*, 1771). The anticategorical complexity is connected to feminist post-structuralism and deconstruction. This complexity "rejects" or destabilizes race, class, sexuality and gender.³ Constructions and deconstructions of categories is a matter of language:

The primary philosophical consequence of this approach has been to render the use of categories suspect because they have no foundation in reality: language (in the broader social or discursive sense) creates categorical reality rather than the other way around. (*op.cit.*, 1777).

According to Mc Call this approach analyses power and knowledge with mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. The anticategorical complexity may operate

³ Mc Call writes that the anticategorical complexity "rejects categories" (Mc Call, *op.cit.*, 1773). I understand post-structuralism with deconstruction as a matter of destabilizing categories.

with several genders, sexes, sexualities and multiracialism to avoid fixed and normative structures and subjects.⁴

The intracategorical complexity is connected to feminists of colour, and Mc Call places this approach between the anticategorical and intercategory approaches. The intracategorical approach is adopted to examine crossing categories and identities, and may focus “on particular social groups at neglected points of intersection” (*op.cit.*, 1774 with reference to Dill, 2002, 5). The researchers are critical to the general use of categories, but use categories in-depth studies: “... critical of broad and sweeping acts of categorization rather than as critical of categorization per se.” (*op.cit.*, 1779). This approach is connected to the very beginning of using the concept of intersectionality, and Kimberlé Crenshaw is in a note positioned as one of the spokeswomen:

Crenshaw writes for example, “Recognizing that identity politics takes place at the site of where categories intersect thus seems more fruitful than challenging the possibility of talking about categories at all” (*op.cit.*, 1779, note 12 with references to Crenshaw, 1991, 337).

Crenshaw uses for example violence towards women of colour as an intersection of racism and sexism. According to Mc Call, the approach is oriented towards qualitative analysis of social location.⁵

Mc Call places her own research in the intercategory complexity. This approach builds on quantitative rather than qualitative methods, where the two other approaches are qualitatively oriented. The intercategory complexity uses categories “strategically”, and may be named “the categorical approach” (*op.cit.*, 1773, 1784). The approach studies structural relationships in many social groups, and not within single groups or single categories:

The categorical approach focuses on the complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories and not on complexities within single social groups, single categories, or both. The subject is multi-group, and the method is systematically comparative. (*op.cit.*, 1786).

With the intracategorical or categorical complexity Mc Call seems to open for a closer connection between quantitative and qualitative analyses. As she points out: If gender is analysed, one can compare two groups only. If the categories of working, middle and upper classes are connected to gender, there will be six groups to analyse. With race another two groups are incorporated, and twelve groups are to be compared. If ethnicity is added with “Cubans, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans”, the

⁴ Researchers come from sociology, psychology, anthropology, pedagogy, literature and media. Many of the researchers are working interdisciplinary.

⁵ According to Mc Call the researchers mainly come from social science and anthropology, but as I see it, the researchers may also have their background in cultural studies, social psychology and pedagogy.

comparison would rise to multi-group studies, and would be of such dimensions that the analysis has to exclude other categories “such as gender or class” (*op.cit.*, 1786).

Power: exclusion and inclusion

The focus on power in theory of intersectionality may be connected to mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion in the Foucauldian sense of power (McCall, *op.cit.*; Lykke, *op.cit.*). Power is not only a matter of suppression. Rather power may be defined as productive and positive (Flyvbjerg, 1992/2003; Heede, 2000). Closely related to power is the commitment to knowledge and truth. In every discourse there are arguments and negotiations about knowledge and truth. However, in Michel Foucault’s use of the concept ‘discourse’, the orders of power are in the foreground rather than the subjects. Power functions in discourses and in networks between discourses, as well as power and power relations are always in progress (Foucault, 1980). The Foucauldian use of the concept of power and power relations involves both exclusion and inclusion. With the concepts of exclusion and inclusion power may be analysed as continually moving. Rather than viewing exclusion barely as a matter of suppression, exclusion involves discourses of opposition and productive power with negotiations about the meaning of gender, race, ethnicity etc. In the educational discourse the negotiation about for instance definitions of knowledge is an ongoing process with procedures of ex- and including gender, race, ethnicity etc. However, rather than concentrating on what power may contain, the inspirations from Foucault turns towards how power procedures function in the educational discourse.

In his inaugural lecture “L’ordre du Discours” (The order of discourses), Foucault presents procedures of exclusion, internal procedures and a “third group of procedures” (Foucault, 1999, 22, my translation). The procedures of exclusion classify and arrange the production of discourses. Foucault finds the most obvious procedure of exclusion in prohibition. Prohibition is an interaction of things that should be and should not be talked about. In his study of the History of sexuality for example, Foucault shows the ways other sexualities than the heterosexuality are excluded from the language, marginalized in writings and brought into language (Foucault, 1978). Foucault’s study of exclusion of sexualities may for example lead to an analysis of how homosexuality is treated in a Danish schoolyard with Wahid as mentioned earlier, or it may inspire discussions on how textbooks exclude other family forms and sexualities than the nuclear family in a heterosexual discourse (Knudsen, 2006, in print). Other procedures of exclusion mentioned by Foucault are the contrasts between sense and madness, and true versus false. The exclusion of madness in the educational discourse and textbooks may be questioned: In what ways are the educational discourse and textbooks oriented towards the healthy, unproblematic and sensible life rather than towards the problems of living? When it comes to the aspect of truth, the textbooks may be seen in the light of stressing “the will to pursue knowledge” intertwined with “the will to pursue truth” (Foucault, *op.cit.*, 11-12, my translation). Without doubt, the truth is in the foreground of what

the educational discourses in textbooks and other educational settings make available for the students. But how is the truth made available? How does the truth exclude for example awareness of gender, race, ethnicity etc.?

The internal procedures and Foucault's third groups may be regarded as procedures of inclusion. Among the many principles mentioned under these procedures, the thinning seems to be useful in the perspective of the theory of intersectionality. Thinning concentrates on how internal procedures include narratives that are told over and over again, and in the process of telling thin out information similar to trees in a wood that are cut down to strengthen the remaining trees. Similarly, in textbooks the information is reduced to strengthen the message to the students. In History textbooks for example the same story about kings and wars strengthen the inclusion of fighting males, while motherhood, weak masculinity and anti-militarism are excluded. It is also important to have the principle of control through the disciplines in mind while analysing textbooks and intersectionality – whether defined as curriculum subjects in a school-context or as branches related to professions. The disciplines as curriculum subjects define core topics, methods used, argumentations, definitions and techniques. In for example mother-tongue, the national category may be seen as included to control or to avoid the awareness of class, race and disability.

So far the approaches to intersectionality have mostly been used in qualitative field studies. The theoretical inspiration has developed the complexity of analyses from observations, interviews and questionnaires. Violence against women of colour has been observed in battered women's shelters (Crenshaw, *op.cit.*). Marginalized masculinities and ethnicities have been examined in classrooms and schoolyards (Mørch, *op.cit.*; Staunæs, *op.cit.*). However, I believe these approaches will be useful in textbook research. Although there will be a focus on the qualitative textbook analyses in the following, I think the quantitative comparative approach may be a valuable inspiration to an increasing awareness of textbooks' marginalization of minority cultures. With the qualitative approaches I am inspired to use as well additive as transversal intersectionality, and to take inspirations from both the anticategorical and intracategorical complexity as defined by Mc Call.

Textbooks and intersectionality

Textbooks contain special and specialized texts. They are special because of the educational discourse in which they are weaved. Researchers in the field of textbooks have labelled texts in textbooks as "primary educational" if they were written with the purpose of teaching and learning in school; whereas "secondary educational texts" have other purposes than teaching and learning, but contribute to textbooks in order to be used in schools (Skyum-Nielsen, 1995, 172). However, both the primary and secondary educational texts have been exposed to selection, and the secondary texts have changed contexts. The processes of selections and changing contexts result in specialized texts; texts that are transformed into a special sort of school language, often closely connected to the National Curriculum and adapted to

different age groups. Furthermore, the textbooks are divided into curriculum subjects, thus being specialized in mother-tongue, foreign languages, natural science and environmental studies, social studies etc.

Inscribed in textbooks are the model-student or the “pupilness” category (Staunæs, 2003a, 104). Pupilness may be characterized by a rather neutral presentation with a third person narrator. The neutral presentation concentrates on creating the educational texts with “techniques of normalization, homogenization and classification” (Nassem, 2006, 2). I see normalization as a case of intertwining for example nationality and pupilness, and may be followed by inclusion of the middle class, white race and healthy child. On the other hand this kind of presentation excludes other classes but one, other races but the white and disabled children. When normalization incorporates a showing of enlightenment and truth telling, they are often unspoken or written between the lines. However, the power of enlightenment and truth are constructions that imply hierarchies where nationality and pupilness may be at stake at the expense of gender, race, ethnicity etc. The categories may also be told in an implicit hierarchy with nationality in the first row, then pupilness, followed by gender etc. Also in the case of homogenization the pupilness is inscribed in the textbooks. The pupilness may be told as a matter of for example neutrality of race, ethnicity and nationality. However, as feminist researchers have pointed out, the gender neutrality points towards the male gender as the genderless gender, whereas mentioning gender is similar to stress the female gender (Ronkainen, 2001; Knudsen, 2004b). The same awareness may be raised to race, ethnicity, sexuality and nationality. For example the raceless race means white people, and the sexless sexuality implies heterosexuality.

If gender is mentioned as an issue, the classification comes into focus as a matter of two genders; male and female. This classification means that the two genders are considered opposite. The textbooks would then typically operate with “girlness” and femininity in contrast to “boyness” and masculinity.⁶ When equality between female and male, Turkish-Norwegian and Norwegian is stressed, the textbooks choose to connect classification with either homogenization – we are all the same – or heterogenization – we are different, but the differences are the natural way of joining the friendly Nordic welfare states. The critical point is that both homo- and heterogenization exclude the diversities within and across for example gender and ethnicity, and fail to catch the socio-cultural changes of today post-modern societies. Nationality, pupilness, gender, race, ethnicity and sexuality are categories in transition, and identity may not be spoken of in singular. In the post-modern societies, the concept of identity is unsteady, inconsistent and seems to live in the plural as identities (Hall, *op.cit.*; Gergen, *op.cit.*). As Nina Lykke writes, the raise of intersectionality belongs to today's development of social and cultural changes, and incorporates changing identities:

⁶ The words “girlness” and “boyness” are my constructions in gendering “pupilness”.

More precisely I am of the opinion that the concept of intersectionality belongs to how people of today identify and negotiate their positions in relation to categories as gender, ethnicity, race etc. What does this mean? As a part of the actual intra-playing global and local, social, economical, technological and cultural changes, the discursive and institutional foundations of forming identities and the creation of subjects, once seen as quite stable, are falling apart. (Lykke, *op.cit*, 14, my translation).

Textbooks may of course have difficulties in handling the complexity of intersectionality and the constant changes within categories and identities. Firstly textbooks are too “small” in the sense that they have to reduce the narratives into a few stories. But with the awareness of power and power relations according to the Foucauldian definitions, we may be aware of procedures of ex- and inclusion. Secondly textbooks are a-historical when it comes to cover the present time.

The Sámi in Norwegian textbooks

Historically the Sámi are nomads and considered an ethnic minority in the Northern part of Norway, Sweden, Finland; and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. They are accepted as the aboriginals in the Nordic countries. In Norway they are included in political economy and general politics. They also have their own regional parliament (“sameting”) which handles administration and political questions of Sámi importance. In the Norwegian textbooks the Sámi are explicitly mentioned as Sámi education constitutes a specific chapter in the Norwegian National Curriculum of 1997.

In *Samfunnskunnskap 9* (Social studies, 9th grade), the Sámi are presented in one chapter out of five as “The Sámi – a people of four countries” (Blom *et al.*, 1998). In another Social studies textbook, also 9th grade, the Sámi are described as an ethnic group crossing countries, and the Norwegian ambivalence towards the Sámi is discussed (Mikkelsen *et al.*, 1998). The Sámi are present in textbooks for the subject curriculum Social studies and nature and environmental studies in 4th grade and the curriculum subject Social studies in 6th grade (Hebæk *et al.*, 1999; Båslund *et al.*, 1998). The History of the Sámi is told in textbooks 8th and 10th grades (Lund, 1997; Lund and Indresøvd, 1999). In religion and life philosophies, the Sámi are discussed in relation to Christianity, animism and racism (Gilje and Gjefsen, 1997; Holth *et al.*, 1998). To move a little deeper into the use of intersectionality in analysing the Sámi in a Norwegian textbook, I have chosen *Fra Saga til CD* (From Saga to CD, Jensen and Lien, 1998).

Fra Saga til CD is written for Norwegian for the 9th grade, and is an introduction to literary History in six chapters. The last chapter is about the Sámi people and culture. The chapter is arranged in sections with the following succession: the settlement, the history, the colonization of the Sámi land, religion and finally the Sámi literature and some Sámi authors. The content of this chapter is presented in similar ways as the contents of Social studies, geography, History and Christian

studies with religion and life philosophies contrasting the subject matter in Norwegian literature. In the textbook the Sámi is created in an interdisciplinary context that opens up for several socio-cultural categories and identities. In the presentation of the Norwegian literature and literary History, the history of independence in building the Norwegian nation is central. The Norwegian authors' political commitment is also mentioned. However, the main focus is on the literary History and the biographies of the authors.

The arrangement of the Sámi seems to create an inclusion in the exclusion. They are included as the last part of the book, and this signals that they are different than the Norwegians. The Sámi are so different that it is necessary that they are discussed from more perspectives than the Norwegians, and in an interdisciplinary concept that excludes them from the canonized literature. The Sámi have 'only' their oral stories, folk tales and "joik" in addition to "some Sámi authors" (*op.cit.*, 226, my translation).

Looking at the students' tasks, the textbook is an enlightening project. The Norwegian students have to figure out, where the Sámi have their territories and what yearly income they may have. The pupilness is constructed as an ignorance of the Sámi, the Sámi land and the Sámi History. This construction points toward the Norwegian pupilness. At the same time there is a project of morals in the pupilness, offering a bad conscience to the Norwegians who for ages have colonized, persecuted and forbidden the traditions of the Sámi people. The bad conscience is in my interpretation underscored by the headings "Colonization of Sámi land", "Compulsive Christianity" and a story about the ways "The missionaries conceived all joik as heathen, banned the joik, and punished those who "joiked". At least two identities are at stake in the pupilness, namely the identity of education in the enlightenment project and the ethnic Norwegian identity in the project of morality.

The story that is told about the Sámi in the textbook is mainly connected to Norway and the Norwegian. Although the textbook shows how the Sámi cross borders from "the North of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Northwest of Russia", they return to the Norwegian position (*op.cit.*, 252, my translation). The story is about the Norwegian Sámi in Norway. The text concentrates on what the Sámi have been called in Norway, the Norwegians meeting the Sámi, the Norwegians colonizing the Sámi land, the Christianity of the Sámi in Norway and the NRK Sámi Radio.⁷ The national perspective makes the "we" and "the other". Although the colonization of the Sámi land is explicitly explained, there is an unobtrusive exclusion of the Sámi with the "we" referring to Norwegians while the story about "the other" refers to the Sámi. The text focuses on Norwegian identity, and the Sámi is presented with an implicit understanding of "Norwegianness" which is intertwined with the school subject Norwegian.⁸

⁷ NRK is Norway's state radio.

⁸ "Norwegianness" is my construction.

The textbook presents three positions of ethnicity.⁹ Firstly and in the beginning of the chapter about the Sámi, the textbook informs about the connection between the Sámi, the people of nature and the indigenous people. The first position makes the Sámi a homogeneous people, where they are all the same and “one people” as the text says (*op.cit.*, 252). The homogeneity is emphasized through narratives about the Sámi having their own life rhythm, their own music and language. The Sámi’s own and special lifestyle is mentioned as a matter of fighting for human rights. According to the textbook, the Sámi insist on their roots as a people of nature and as indigenous people as if they live in “some timeless zone of the primitive, unchanging past”.¹⁰

The second position may be named the Norwegians in the Sámi, and is the construction of the dominant “we” and the oppressed “other” included in the project of morality about the colonization and compulsive Christianity. The Sámi is placed ‘to look upon themselves’ from the position of otherness. In this way, the other and otherness are critically inscribed in the Sámi identity. The “Norwegian authority” started “the colonization of Sámi land” and “disrupted a great part of the Sámi culture and religion” (*op.cit.*, 254, my translation). Several texts in the chapter are constructing how the Sámi were forced to forget their language and culture in the school in such ways that “our tracks were erased.” (*op.cit.*, 255, my translation). The erasure is written in protest and from a critical point of view. At the same time the erasure bears witness about the normalization of the Sámi, and thereby inscribes the Norwegian normalization in the Sámi.

The third position is presented as the nomad. The Sámi negotiate about the creolisation or the intermingling of the Sámi-Norwegian. About Sámi fairy tales the textbook states that “Sámi *fairy tales* are built up around the same pattern as all other fairy tales. What differs from other fairy tales you perhaps have grown up with, is that there are more reindeer, wolves and bears in the Sámi fairy tales.” (*op.cit.*, 258, my translation). The italics of the fairy tales in the first sentence express in my interpretation the amalgamation of ethnicities, and at the same time points to the heterogeneity with a mixture of the Sámi and the Norwegian. In addition the Sámi are moving as nomads between centre and periphery in the Norwegian society, where they have no roots, but routes.

During the three positions ethnicities are explained in ways that shift between descriptive and critical presentations. The three positions show ambivalence towards the Sámi. On one hand the texts show solidarity with the people of nature and the indigenous people, and also with the primitive and the homogenization. The description expresses the solidarity. On the other hand the critical presentations of the colonization of Sámi land, the Sámi religion, language and joik may be read as both a confrontation with the sins of the past and as a description about how the

⁹ In the presentation of three forms of ethnicity I am inspired by Hall, *op.cit.*

¹⁰ Hall, *op.cit.*, 231. The quotation is from his writing about the Africaine in the Carribean cultural identities.

Sámi are integrated in the Norwegian community of today. The ambivalence in commuting between description and critical presentations may point towards a concealed wish to assimilate the Sámi and the Norwegian.

The two-gender model is presented in the texts about the Sámi. The two genders are illustrated by a photo of an adult female in a traditional Sámi costume (“karasjokdrakt”) and an adult male wearing Sámi tunic and trousers (“tanadrakt”). The two genders carry the Sámi flag: he waves the flag, while she holds it. The traditional genders are classified through the texts with the male as the hunter and the warrior, and the female as milking the reindeer, joining weddings and taking care of the children. In the presentation of female and male genders as opposite, the traditional tales of the people of nature and the indigenous people are underscored as heterosexuality.

The presented disability in the textbook’s information of the Sámi is a short walk. There are no fat Sámi, no limping Sámi, no blind Sámi, no Sámi in a wheel chair. The Sámi have no extraordinary bodies. In the normalization of the Sámi, the disabilities are made invisible and excluded. In the texts and illustrations, the Sámi are constructed with a healthy identity, with functional and fit bodies. In that sense they are all the same; and the homogenization is intertwined with the first position of ethnicity. The Sámi are even more normal than the Norwegians in this textbook. The Norwegians are now and then portrayed in caricatures of fatness, as animals and bald-headed. I interpret the lack of disability by the Sámi as connected to the project of morality excusing the colonization and persecution. With the inclusion of the Sámi ability, the story is reduced to the telling of only one identity; the healthy one.

The Sámi make their living by raising reindeer, hunting and fishing. So they did in the past, and still do at the present. They belong to the working class. Although this textbook stresses the working life of the Sámi male and female, the class background is not mentioned as such. The situation is reverse in the five chapters about the Norwegians in literature and culture. Several Norwegian authors are constructed as coming from a hard working background, and the writings and paintings are oriented towards poor people and hard working farmers and fishermen. By comparing the construction of the excluded class background of the Sámi and the included class background of the Norwegian, the Sámi is by nature connected to the working class. The essence of the Sámi is the working class, and this is their class identity, whereas the Norwegians have shown ways of struggling towards positions as authors and artists.

Conclusions

The concept of intersectionality and the analysis of interacting socio-cultural categories, and identities have the aim to increase more democracy and equality without doing them mainstreamed and new-normalizing. Intersectionality may be used to analyse changes, variations and processes. The focus is on the minority cultures or the marginalized, the troublesome and the extraordinary. This focus may,

however, tell us very much about normalization, and what and how the 'normal' is constructed as the seamless centre.

In textbook research, intersectionality may be used to deconstruct normalization, homogenization and classification. Intersectionality may make us aware of the complexity, and the ways textbooks reduce, exclude and include categories and identities: curriculum subject or interdisciplinarity, pupilness, nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, dis/ability and class.

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