



The Faculty of Arts and Education

MASTER THESIS

Study program: MLIMAS – Master in Literacy Studies	Spring semester, 2019 Open
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Title of master thesis: Visual Representations of Norwegian Language Learners in Norwegian Second Language Textbooks.	
Keywords: Norwegian second language textbooks, image analysis, critical visual literacy, social actor theory, theory of recognition,	Pages: 102 + attachment/other: 15 Stavanger, 6 th of May 2019 date/year

Abstract

This thesis presents a study of how Norwegian language learners are visually represented in three Norwegian second language (NSL) textbooks produced for adult learners of Norwegian language. Using social actor analysis and critical visual literacy, the study investigates whether images presenting Norwegian language learners portray them as potential members of a culturally diverse Norway, or as “exotic” and “other”. The study focuses on aspects of otherizing, stereotyping and power relations between groups of people expressed through visual discourse in the NSL textbooks.

The purpose of the study is to examine whether there are any patterns in the visual representation of Norwegian language learners in the textbooks. Drawing on the assumptions of critical discourse analysis that social processes influence the modes and content of visual representations, the study connects these patterns to the socio-political situation in present Norway. The Theory of Recognition is drawn upon to further the analysis with regard to whether the images represent Norwegian language learners with recognition of their agency and potential for Norwegian society. The study also investigates to what degree the images of the Norwegian language learners promote or contradict the primary aims of the Norwegian language program for adults stipulated in The Introduction Law.

The results of the study indicate that there is a tendency in the three NSL textbooks examined to show Norwegian language learners and representatives of Norwegian society as social, cultural and biological strangers. Notably, the strategy of otherizing is apparent in the visual images of the representatives of Norwegian society, who are portrayed as separate from the Norwegian language learners viewing the textbook. Additionally, the comparative analysis between the image corpora of Norwegian language learners versus representatives of Norwegian society reveals a tendency to portray Norwegian language learners in less powerful positions than representatives of Norwegian society. Consequently, the study shows that images in the selected NSL textbooks may be indicative of social ideologies and can potentially transfer an unintended hidden curriculum to Norwegian language learners that they hold lower social status and are separate from the Norwegian mainstream.

List of abbreviations

NSL = Norwegian Second Language textbooks

NLLs = Norwegian Language Learners

RNS = Representatives of Norwegian Society

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1. Introduction

This thesis presents a study of how adult learners of Norwegian language (hereafter NLLs) are visually represented as social actors in three Norwegian second language textbooks (hereafter, NSL textbooks). Drawing on concepts from social actor theory (van Leeuwen 2008), critical visual literacy (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006), and the theory of recognition (Honneth 1995), the present research in particular explores whether images representing NLLs show them as recognised potential members (with agency) of a multi-cultural Norwegian society, or rather as “exotic”, “other” and disempowered. The study investigates how well these textbooks, as educational materials, through visual representations of the learners, promote the standpoints of The Introduction Law (2003) on advancing the possibilities of immigrants, who are the new members of Norwegian society and Norwegian language learners, to participate in social and working life in Norway and to obtain financial independence.

The following questions are central to this research:

- (1) How are Norwegian language learners as social actors visually represented in NSL textbooks?
- (2) Are there any forms of social injustice in the visual representations of Norwegian language learners? Are they represented with recognition of their potential for Norwegian society?
- (3) To what degree do the images of Norwegian language learners promote or contradict the primary aims of The Introduction Law?

In order to answer the above stated questions, the present study draws on the theoretical principles of critical discourse analysis (hereafter, CDA) (Fairclough 1995; Fairclough & Wodak 1997). The most central assumption in CDA is that representation, regardless of the medium, is not a neutral process, and that the form of a represented idea is not self-organized by the internal rules of the representation medium, instead, more general factors, such as society, politics, culture, economy, come to play a crucial role in shaping the form of the message.

It is a key assumption that visual representations in NSL textbooks are both dependent on and reflect social and political aspects present in the Norwegian society. The study sheds light on aspects of otherizing, power relations and cultural diversity presented in visual discourse in Norwegian language textbooks for adults through the example of visual representations of NLLs. Special attention is paid to the hidden curriculum, a body of unintended knowledge about social norms and attitudes, conveyed to NLLs through negative connotations, which images in NSL textbooks might carry.

Findings reveal that images in NSL textbooks to a certain degree portray social reality located outside the textbooks' context and that they show patterns producing the effect of otherizing and separating. In the present thesis, it is argued that if the depiction of NLLs does not show them as social actors with potential for Norwegian society, this connotes a stable attitude to them as being disempowered and unrecognised. In light of recognition theory, this prevents subjects (social actors) from becoming full members of society. This aspect, then, would contradict the statements of The Introduction Law promoting new members of Norwegian society to become fully-functional subjects who can provide for themselves.

During the last decades, Norway has experienced immigration, unprecedented in extent and geographical origin. The country has rapidly acquired multi-cultural diversity and is in need of adequately adjusting immigration policy and assimilation prospects for the newly arrived immigrants. For adults, acquiring the knowledge of Norwegian language is seen as a crucial part of integration and a beneficial asset for effective employment. Language programs provide training in Norwegian language and an introduction into Norwegian cultural and social studies, all with the aim of providing integration access for adult immigrants.

The NSL textbooks and their content are an essential part of the language training programs, a credible source of information about Norway for NLLs, and a so-called window to their new reality. For this reason, images in the textbooks, especially at the primary stage of language education that is mostly visual, hold extra meaning with the power of leaving strong impression on the learners and constructing stable mental images.

At first sight, images might seem innocent and illustrative. However, whether they are documentary or constructed to serve education purposes, images both denote people, their surroundings and actions, but also serve as a powerful tool to construct reality and make "visual statements" (van Leeuwen, 1996:2) without words. In the framework of the study, the processing

of visual discourse (images in NSL textbooks) in an educational context (language training courses) establishes certain types of beliefs (hidden curriculum) among NLL learners. In an educational context, images are accepted less critically; they have great potential as an instruction medium, but they also shape the social attitudes of the learners and specify social values.

Doing research on visual representations of social actors in NSL textbooks is especially important given the role they play within the culturally dynamic environment of present Norway. The study also has relevance for English literacy studies, with its focus on the visual analysis of images. Images form an integral part of the education curriculum and function as an instruction medium at schools and language courses, assisting with second and foreign language acquisition, whether it be English, Norwegian or another language.

Indeed, visual representations of social actors in English foreign language (EFL) textbooks and software have featured in a number of research studies which focus on gender (Davari & Moini 2016; Sarani & Kord 2018), race (Babaii, Atai & Kafshgarsouteh 2016), and values, norms and roles as culture-bounded (Rashidi & Ghaedsharafi 2015). Similarly, Koller studied collective identity in media through social actor theory (Koller 2009).

Norwegian scholars have studied textbooks and NSL textbooks in terms of representing cultural perspectives (Hvistendahl 2004), in terms of their values and educational functions (Wessel 1998) and with regard to the mediation of culture in NSL textbooks (Wessel 1995). The present research contributes to the studies of visual representations of social actors in NSL textbooks for adults by addressing issues of visual discourse in educational context.

The focus is placed on NLLs within these textbooks partially due to the researcher's own experience with NSL textbooks as a former student and teacher of Norwegian language, having observed that NLLs were often depicted as disempowered, unsettled, unrecognised, and marginalized. Researching this topic was therefore of personal interest. In addition, the research findings have the potential to stimulate the future development of NSL textbooks.

The research draws on critical visual theory and methods from Kress & van Leeuwen (1996), which are used to describe these representational modes and to deconstruct image composition into meaningful segments. Kress & van Leeuwen argue that images, like texts, are governed by grammar; a visual 'grammar' underlies image 'statements' as an articulation of social meaning, thus allowing images to be the subject of analysis and critique. The principles of

CDA (Fairclough 1995; Fairclough & Wodak 1997) and social actor analysis (van Leeuwen 2008) underpin the research in analysing the meaning of images through discourse.

The analysis of representations of social actors in NSL textbooks is the main concern of the study which focuses on the ideological issues behind images in NSL textbooks. Social actor analysis by van Leeuwen (2008) is used to quantify and systemise instances of particular modes of representation of social actors in order to facilitate the comparison between the textbooks and the corpora of images. The findings are analysed with the aim of identifying the leading modes of representing social actors and these findings are then interpreted in light of recognition theory (Honneth, 1995). Honneth argues that identities are socially constructed, not self-determined, and that the acquisition of self-esteem and self-confidence is a matter of social justice. Consequently, assimilation of immigrants as social subjects would be dependent on social conditions of identity formation and in particular, on the recognition of their agency. These assertions underline the research logic: for an immigrant to be effectively assimilated and employed in Norway would immediately mean being recognised and accepted as an “insider”, this being a condition for such realisations. Interpretations through recognition theory form the qualitative part of the analysis, interpreting the results of the quantitative part.

For the purposes of the study, three NSL textbooks were chosen for analysis: *På vei*, *Stein på Stein* and *Norsk Nå!*. The present research is delimited in terms of number of books and subjects of study. Due to the time-limitations of the study, three NSL textbooks were chosen, and other series circulating in the market were not considered. Similarly, the study focuses on the critical analysis of images, but does not include their site of reception. The learners’ opinion about the images is not included in the thesis research.

The thesis consists of 6 integral parts. The introduction is followed by section 2, providing an insight into the research context and theoretical orientations. Here the questions of immigration and cultural diversity in Norway are highlighted as a background for the Norwegian language training programs for adults. Materials and methods are introduced in section 3. This section provides justification for the choice of methods for the study and provides an explanation of how these methods have been applied. Quantitative and qualitative results of the research are presented in section 4. The discussions of the results in relation to the theory and the research questions are provided in section 5. Section 6 concludes the study and provides recommendations for further research.

2. Research context and theoretical orientation

2.1. Cultural diversity in Norway and Norwegian language training programs for adult learners

As a result of intensive immigration into the country since the 1980s, Norway has become a multicultural state with 17,7 % of population composed of immigrants or their descendants, (SSB, March 2019). Norwegian foreign immigration policy is traditionally liberal and positive in supporting victims of war and persecution. It opens access into the country for refugees from the war zone in the Middle East and Africa. Most of immigration (10,4%) comes from Africa, Asia and Latin America (SSB, March 2019). This fact would mean an influx of people with different cultural and racial ancestry with little ability to provide for themselves, thus increasing pressure on public finance (Official Norwegian Report (*Norges offentlige utredninger*), NOU 2017:2).

Among these immigrants, however, are highly qualified individuals, who, together with a flow of labour immigrants, are considered a reinforcement of competence in the work market and contribute to the exchange of knowledge and ideas (NOU 2011:7). However, concerns are expressed about the unfavorable effects of immigration in the cultural sphere for a country with a relatively small population which has been mostly ethnically and culturally homogeneous during its entire history.

The social-economic impact of immigration causes controversy in the society between those who propone cultural diversity and those who stand for ethnic purity and social and economic stability. The Norwegian Government has expressed concerns about threats to the Norwegian welfare model and pressure on public finance, potentially due to the low qualification level of immigrants. Normative ideals like equality might also be challenged by the influence from other cultures where social and gender equality is not a norm (NOU 2017:2). A stable economic framework and reducing cultural differences are seen by the Norwegian Government as guiding lines for maintaining the legitimacy of the Norwegian social model under circumstances caused by immigration. It is not without social tension and heated, polarized political debate that Norway is on the way to develop its own, national standpoints in the matters of integration of immigrants and their descendants in particular. These standpoints are reflected

in the Norwegian minority policy. As a member of the United Nation Convention on the “Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination” (latest version: ethnic (NOU 2002:12)) discrimination), Norway is against any exclusion, distinction and restriction based on gender, skin colour or ethnic origin. The country is seen as encouraging cultural diversity and providing social possibilities for immigrants to integrate. The minority policy aims at the rapid assimilation of immigrants in order to create a culturally homogeneous nation, possibly at the costs of sacrificing Norwegian ethnical purity (Kyllingstad 2017). It is aimed at the integration of immigrants in all social spheres and erasing the division between “us” and “them” (St. meld. nr. 49:2003-2004 *Mangfold gjennom inkludering og deltakelse*). Acquiring a Norwegian way of life, norms and values as a standard norm is of high priority within immigration policy. It is also implied that the participation of immigrants in social and working life should adequately contribute to maintaining the Norwegian social model based on trust and solidarity (NOU 2011:7; NOU 2017:2). A number of governmental documents stipulate guidelines for a multicultural society in Norway. However, it has been argued (Berkaak 2012) that the notion of diversity in all social activities is of a descriptive character and has not become a practice. Berkaak maintains that lack of cultural diversity in practice in all spheres of social life (such as active participation of minority representatives in decision-making in administrative, political and financial spheres) raises questions regarding how diversity is implemented in real life. Currently variety in culture is mostly associated with new cuisine, exotic clothes and dance, foreign language and different behavioural patterns. Cultural diversity is mentioned in the guidelines in the education curriculum and social politics. It is promoted as an attitude or a method without explanations of its possible implementation. This might explain the shortage of adequate material utterances of cultural diversity in verbal and visual media and low representativeness of people with immigrant background in leading and administrative structures, within educational, financial and cultural sectors.

This position is supported by research into representations of cultural diversity in NSL textbooks (Hvistendahl 2004) which found cultural diversity weakly articulated in the visual representations within the textbooks. Hvistendahl finds that the Norwegian society is shown as far too homogeneous in these representations than reality dictates. There is little or no diversity in linguistic or cultural representation and social issues related to different cultures. There is also a lack of folklore instances from other cultures (2004:20). Hvistendahl mentions that little

research has been done on the topic and this can explain the lack of multicultural representations in the textbooks. The scholar underlines the necessity for further research into the subject of representation of cultural diversity in NSL textbooks (2004:201).

It is not a common understanding in Norway that diversity, including cultural and high-scale immigration are always welcomed. Prejudices, negative stereotyping and sceptical attitudes towards others are present and even strong. Though the word “race” is taken out of circulation from public debates and media and substituted by ethnicity and ethnic minority, the connotations of different skin colour and the link to negative stereotypes remains active. Kyllingstad makes a point about such preconceived attitudes, as follows: “This does not imply, however, that Norwegian society is colourblind. Skin-colour and external physical features invoke notions about ancestry, identity and belonging, and it affects the interaction between people” (2017:327). This can affect the interaction between groups of people, between “insiders” and “outsiders”, seem to represent the cultural diversity. When diversity is expressed by traditional food and dance, it is welcomed as exotic extra in the society. The same cannot be said when it comes to diverse administrative, legislative, financial, education sectors by including representatives from other ethnicities. Such perspectives are perceived as discouraging. These areas are traditionally reserved for ethnic Norwegians, due to unofficially expressed fears that ethnic minorities can take power in the country. This point is expressed by Knudsen (2016) who argues that politics in the Scandinavian countries expresses nationalism and is affected exactly by fears that ethnic-racial minorities can take control of the nation (2016:82). The argument is thus made that these attitudes and concerns can seriously prevent the practice of cultural diversity on a big scale, but can still allow for the “safe” level of expressions of exoticism.

A Norwegian scholar and teacher, Anne Margrethe Wessel, in her article on values and educational functions in NSL textbooks (1998:30-3), makes similar observations regarding the instruction medium. She underlines that ethnic Norwegians are represented within the texts as “proper” citizens, as an example of proper behaviour, manners and habits. Norwegian minorities and representatives of other cultures are depicted in the NSL textbooks as fully assimilated within the Norwegian society. She also criticizes the absence of clear positions towards the representation of cultural diversity and argues that the content in NSL textbooks is often prejudiced and subjective. Settings and characters appear stereotyped, idealized and torn apart from the real world outside the classroom. The two studies on NSL textbooks presented in this

section (Hvistendahl 2004; Wessel 1998), despite the time gap, present the same argument, that cultural diversity is not adequately represented in NSL textbooks and is either distorted or weakly communicated. This also aligns with Berkaak's arguments regarding the lack of practice of diversity and its materialisation. Taken together, these assessments counteract the general arguments in Norwegian society for the development of cultural diversity, but also define the state of things in this field and point to directions for further improvements.

Cultural diversity is a long-term social process accorded by conciliated efforts of every single social structure on a macro level and cooperative participation of subjects on a micro level. It is something that emerges over time, having been preconditioned by carefully chosen strategies. The transition of an immigrant into a member of Norwegian society (a Norwegian) is a process determined by substantial time, possibilities, which are both given and taken, through mutual recognition of agency, rights and needs. The focus on expressing the multicultural status of Norwegian society is strong, which urges the constructing of institutions capable of operating within a culturally diverse society. Educative institutions, including for adults, form a principle sector shaping the future, and hold extra authority.

Language training programs for adult immigrants are a crucial part of the integration policy. Mastery of the Norwegian language is emphasised by the latest governmental documents as highly important for providing better chances for employment and perspectives for integration (NOU 2017:2; Introduction Program 2014). They also point to the necessity of improvements in integration policy as a whole and in particular spheres. Recognition of previous qualifications, inclusivity in a fairly paid work market, equal opportunities in welfare distribution are recognised spheres for further development (NOU 2017: 2) and it is expected that these messages are apparent in educational materials, such as NSL textbooks, which bear an ultimate importance for language programs and language learning.

2.2. Official documents outlining Norwegian language training

Increased immigration and the associated tension in Norwegian society highlighted the need for the Norwegian Government to implement measures to regulate the process of effectively integrating immigrants. The language training program is both the core and an instrument of integration and demands special attention. The Introduction Law passed by the Government in

2003 regulates the integration activities and specifies the guidelines and aims of the Norwegian language training for adult immigrants. It states that: “The main aim of the Law is the reinforcement of possibilities for newly arrived immigrants to participate in working and social life and to increase their financial independence” (Lovdata 2003: LOV-2003-07-04-80). The Law is followed by Regulations governing the Curriculum for Norwegian Language and Social Studies for Adult Immigrants (Lovdata 2012: FOR-2012-04-19-358). The Regulations act as a supplement to The Introduction Law issued to regulate the agreement on the introduction program and Norwegian language instruction for the newly arrived immigrants. Both documents were followed by the institution of The Introduction Program (The Introduction Act 2014 [2003]) offering training in Norwegian language to newly arrived refugees and the issuing of The Curriculum for Norwegian Language and Social Studies for Adult Immigrants (VOX 2012). The Curriculum is applied to the instruction of Norwegian language to all immigrants regardless of their status in Norway and by all institutions where instruction takes place. The main objective across the documents, regulations and programs is the above-mentioned aim to strengthen the possibilities of immigrants to participate in social and working life and to provide for themselves.

The focus on financial independence is highlighted as a premise for integration into a society where self-provision is a baseline for welfare and trust. The chief elements of the program are language and social studies, “training and measures that prepare the participants (definition of the Ministry of Education and Research 2014) for further training/education or work” (Ministry of Education and Research 2014). The further aims of the training program are more explicitly expressed in the Introduction Act from 2003: “emphasise the individual’s relationship to the society and interpersonal relations and interaction” and “a) provide basic Norwegian language skills, b) provide basic insight into Norwegian social conditions, c) prepare for participation in working life.” (2003:3). The focus is on the earliest possible integration, with work placed first. The Program aims to ensure an individual approach and to guide the Norwegian language learners in the further advance of their integration, whether they choose work or study. It is stated that Norwegian language skills should enable the learners to use or develop their competence from previous education, work and life experience for rapid assimilation. Notably, it is mentioned that previous working experience possibly loses its value in Norway. The introduction online folder states: “When you come to Norway, you will not necessarily be able to do the same sort of work that you did in your home country” (IMDi Introduction folder 2011:7). This perspective expressed

explicitly here has the potential to demotivate the immigrants possessing solid educational and working experience. It also looks misleading in understanding how to use previous work experience when there are few opportunities for doing so. The image below is taken from the introduction brochure (IMDi 2011:4) and illustrates this point: while the newly arrived immigrant explains his educational background, the response he receives limits his work possibilities to manual labour.

Image 1



For those with a low level of competence and qualification, such a statement would put employment perspectives all together in doubt. Notably, the Ministry of Education and Research has issued an Operational Plan to improve the recognition of the previous competence and education of immigrants. (Handlingsplan 2013-2016, 2013; VOX 2015). It openly admits that even Norwegian-born citizens educated in Norway, with immigrant backgrounds, as well as those immigrants who have acquired education and some working experience in Norway, have challenges with employment as a result of current discrimination and prejudices (2013:4).

This situation is maintained even though it is acknowledged through research (Villund, 2010) that immigrants holding degrees, having education and advanced working experience from outside Norway are overqualified compared to the rest of the population. This fact is overlooked when it comes to employment both in the private and state sectors, and recognition of previous experience is not adequately considered.

Based on arguments presented earlier in this thesis, it can be implied that even though the level of education and experience of a work candidate is obviously sufficient, prejudices would prevent employment, not to mention employment in the spheres of high management. In another

words, exclusion would be an unsurprising outcome when it comes to employment chances, whether immigrants are high or low qualified.

Another key point of the Norwegian language training is the acquaintance of immigrants with social mechanisms in the Norwegian society. It is emphasized as an important premise of integration: “participants should be explained and informed about rights and duties and key values” (Introduction Program 2014). There are no references made about values and norms from the countries of immigrants, which are supposed to contribute to cultural diversity. Nor is there anything about the agency of immigrants in social processes. Such statements encourage one-sided rapid assimilation and position Norwegian life style, values, social and working life as an incontestable standard. It is clear that adult immigrants who are already assimilated in another culture and life are being offered to adapt to the new forms of culture and values. This adaptation ideology has been criticized by Jon Hellesnes (1975). He holds that social frames, often taken for granted, hold subjects inside these frames and make them objects of political control, which does not appear political, thereby reducing the subject’s agency and will. Creation as a form of social existence is the opposite of adaptation. It involves subjects associating with the social conditions. Creation through association “*emancipates* persons to political subjects”, argues Hellesnes (1975:17). The overview of the documents regulating Norwegian language training for adult immigrants suggests that adult immigrants are offered possibilities for adaptation to the system rather than association with it and, according to Hellesnes, are therefore potential object of control rather than associated political subjects.

2.3. Images in NSL textbooks

Education at any level is an authoritative social practice, which shapes the quality and level for national development, of which textbooks with their verbal and visual content are an integral part. Textbooks as an instruction medium are often the core of studying and teaching. The presence of textbooks in language training classrooms is almost a psychological necessity for both teachers and students (Haycroft 1998). They are a kind of agreement between students and teachers about the course of the study. Textbooks are always at hand; they provide anchorage and guidance. Often richly illustrated and printed on glossy paper, they are an esthetical product and more than mere linguistic objects. Often textbooks become personal items with remarks and notes of a learner.

The essential importance of textbooks has been underlined in a number of research studies. Among others, Haycroft (1998) highlighted the importance of EFL textbooks in measuring the progress and achievements of the students. Sheldon (1988:238) argues that that students believe that published materials have more credibility than teacher-generated materials. Børhaug (2014:434) argues that textbooks guide teaching context. He states that: “textbooks stand out as convenient indicators of the main tendencies in school subjects” (2014:434).

Art historian and critic James Elkins underlines the importance of images and visual skills in the studying process (2010). Drawing on the ideas of Mitchell & Cartwright about the visual nature of the world, he recommends the development of Visual Literacy Studies as a part of university education (2010:3). Indeed, image reading is a great resource in the studying process. The Norwegian language learners construct the meaning by processing visual and textual information in a combination of both. The meaning can possibly have a persistent effect and influence the learner’s standpoints and motivations. Martinez and Harmon (2012) conducted research on the picture-text function in developing literary elements for younger and for older readers (2012) and found that “in books for older readers, findings indicated that illustrations played a dominant role primarily in setting, mood, and character relationships.” This finding is useful to understand that for adult learners the meaning of images is constructed on the emotional, cognitive level. “Setting, mood, and character relationships” are social entities underlying notions of justice and recognition, certainly valid for the present research in the light of Honneth’s recognition theory.

However, it would be wrong to assume that textbooks only shape teaching and studying, they are also there to represent the social reality, often revealing its uneven, unequal forms. A number of researches demonstrate that textbooks contain gender and racial bias (Sarani & Kord 2018; Davari & Moini 2016; Dyrskog 2017; Tajeddin & Enayat 2010), examples of stereotyping, essentialising and constructing the Other with regard to minorities, such as the Saami (Eriksen 2018) and other indigenous peoples (Brown 2016). Thus, ideology is present in textbooks and is apparent through the rendering of power relations between genders, social and ethnic groups and races without making explicit references to ideology. Van Dijk argues that educational discourse transmitted through the circulation and consumption of textbooks provides an ultimate instrument to shape ideologies and national identity:

The whole education system is among the most complex, elaborate and pervasive ideological institutions, if only because it involves virtually all members of society. Geared mainly towards the reproductions of knowledge and the acquisitions of skills, it obviously also operates as major means for the reproduction of the dominant ideologies of society.

(Van Dijk 1998:173)

The content and production of books are controlled by the state and according to Althusser form part of ISA (ideological state apparatus). He states that educational ISA occupies a dominant position in structuring subjects, determining reproduction of social relations and ensuring its existence (1971). Consequently, textbooks as an instrument of educational ISA would contribute to the reproduction of social formations. NSL textbooks and visual representations exemplify how social formations are transmitted to the learners through their content. For NLLs, NSL textbooks bear great authority, their ability to offer the knowledge about the society and culture in Norway is almost unquestionable. In particular, in the initial stages of language training, which is mostly visual, images in the textbooks provide the essence of the introductory stage, a visit card of the country. Being presented as an instruction medium (both conventional and reliable), in an educational context (significance of the circulation site), images change into objects of belief and transmit their message to NLLs at a vulnerable time, when they are mostly receptive and trustful. Generally, the learners, especially during the initial stage of training, can contemplate over the content of images and engage with studying images more than thinking about the meaning of a text. Some images can impart life-long effects.

Over the past decades, the rhetoric of images has spread over almost every sphere of our lives. We live in a visual culture and use images both as communication and information; images are widely used to facilitate education at any stage. Images are inseparable from textbook content and an always-present part of the multimodal educational narrative. Images seem to provide better evidence, some of their meaning is immediately available to the viewer. Depending on the context, visual representations appeal to associational logic, beliefs and, often, to emotions. In the textbooks images are likely to be taken as given by learners of any age. In addition, the repetition of images with a certain motif as a typical didactical move can reinforce the connotations it might hold and construct the vision of reality and society.

While texts explain things with words, images can provide interpretations of notions with visual clarity. Richard K. Sherwin talks about visual representations on the screen and argues that a visual message “represents complex phenomena with compelling clarity” (2008:186). Malcolm Collier (2001) argues that images, especially good research images, are a reliable source of factual evidence and Collier prefers them over the “deceptive world of words” (2001:59). Stuart Hall, when discussing the objectivity of photographic truth, states that “documentary photography carries a claim to truth, with the meta message of *this is how it really was*” (1997:380). This supports the idea that images and especially photographs are associated with realism.

However, the truth-value of photography has been subject to scepticism. Collier himself in the same article argues that photographs may be both creations and concrete reflections of what is visible. He holds that, “When we use the camera to make a visual record we make choices influenced by our identity and intentions, choices that are also affected by our relationships with the subject” (2001:35). The French theorist Roland Barthes supports this point and argues that a photograph offers a connection between the image now and the subject depicted then, and this connection is built on a myth of photographic truth. He holds that an image, offering distanced evaluation, can hold different “truths” and has limits as evidence. Barthes also regards the value of the photograph to be a myth, as truth is always subject to ideology and cultural expressions (1981).

Indeed, if images are produced within social power and ideologies, it seems reasonable to address questions of ideology and power. Gillian Rose argues that “images visualize (or render invisible) social difference” (2001:10). Similarly, talking about ideological meaning in advertisements, Judith Williamson writes: “Ideology is the meaning made necessary by the conditions of society while helping to perpetuate those conditions” (1978:13). According to Fairclough (2010:30) social institutions as powerful state agencies construct various “ideological-discursive formations” (IDFs), characterized by their capacity to “‘naturalize’ ideologies, i.e., to win acceptance for them as ‘common sense’” (2010:30). In another words, what is represented in powerful contexts and by powerful agencies becomes taken for granted and natural, leaving less alternatives to question the content and the message.

Hodge and Kress express the belief that contemporary capitalist societies show structures of domination in the forms of inequalities of distribution of power, which make the domination so

obvious (1988). They argue that “in order to sustain these structures of domination, the dominant groups attempt to represent the world in forms that reflect their own interests, the interests of their power” (1988:3) and that “they (the dominant groups) represent *knowledge*” (1988:4). Hodge and Kress note that any knowledge that constructs a particular form of organization must be described as ideological. This knowledge comes into effect through principles of social semiotics, which rests, according to Hodge and Kress, on general assumptions about society and meaning. Originating from the Saussurian semiotics - “the science of the life of signs in society” (1972), social semiotics, in its turn, implies that, “the ‘codes’ of language and communication are formed by social processes”. Hodge and Kress accentuate that point and argue that social semiotics “stresses system and product, rather than speakers and writers...as connected and interacting in a variety of ways in concrete social contexts. It attributes power to meaning, instead of meaning to power” (1988:2). Social semiotics, thus, stresses that signs that serve as either visual or verbal communication are motivated by social processes, and that the meaning of signs resides on human power in the processes of interpretation. Visual representations as semiotic modes exist in ‘the semiotic landscape’. They are constructed under certain requirements and conditions and produced for various aims and purposes (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:35). Images from NSL textbooks would then bear “visual codes” relating to social processes in the Norwegian society in such a way that their meaning would acquire power. Ideologies are thus made apparent without explicitly mentioning any ideology.

According to Kress (2012), social semiotics offers concepts and notions for cross-cultural theory. As a science, it can link social interaction and culture as the repository of semiotic resources and semiotic work – a principled relation of the social and the cultural. Kress calls it “motivatedness” (2012:383). He also states that, “the cultural/semiotic resources are made in interaction as communication. The making and re-making of resources also entails a making and re-making of meaning” (2012:384). According to Kress, to belong to the community, it is important to share and understand cultural features and resources. The degree of understanding separates ‘insiders’ from ‘outsiders’ and facilitates otherizing and separating.

Barthes highlights a different dimension in the meaning-making of images. For him meaning resides on two levels: denotative and connotative (1957). The denotative meaning of an image is immediate and explicit; what is less obvious are its connotations. Connotative meanings are shaped by cultural context, ideologies and connected to the personal experiences of the viewer.

Both concepts facilitate the understanding of immediate denotative meaning, but also allow for thinking about cultural and contextual connotations. For Barthes, cultural values and beliefs specific to certain groups are expressed through connotations in such a way that they seem universal and basic. Thus, the connotative meaning appears to be denotative, helping to produce a stereotype. Stereotyping as the generalized belief about a particular person or group of people is the usual outcome of unfair and idealized representations, caused by ideological predispositions.

The stereotyping of culture, identities, race and ethnicities is implemented by certain conceptual representations and by attaching symbolic attributes to the people, places and things depicted. Kress & van Leeuwen provide an analytical set of tools for analysing functions of stereotyping (1996). Specifically, stereotypes can be perpetuated by presenting symbolic attributes attached to carriers as more salient, exaggerated and systematically repeated. Such attributes then would acquire the symbolic values of objects, participants and events represented. The carriers could have a particular skin colour or certain types of clothes that become associated with their symbolic values. Such images create visual concepts and become natural and stereotyped.

In the context of NSL textbooks, the content representing representatives of Norwegian society (RNS) and Norwegian life style might depict this culture as other (“outgroup”) to the learners, while “ingroup” association would be more natural in the representations of Norwegian language learners (NLLs). The NLLs as the main audience could see such representations as “turned upside down”. The “outgroup” would be represented by the Norwegians, their cultural codes would not be immediately clear for the learner and their reproduction would be impossible for NLLs. The “ingroup” would be represented by NLLs, however, it is possible that these representations would not always portray them the way they themselves imagine. It is possible to presume that the learners would not be able to associate themselves with any of the representations. For the Norwegian viewers, however, this aspect would be less evident. In a study on teaching about the other in primary level social studies, Eriksen argues that, “importantly, the existence of power and privilege often appear invisible especially to those who possess it. With regard to the positions of majority, a majoritarian subject might consent to the idea of superiority and be compliant in constructing the other” (2017:60). Regardless, both groups would look at each other as other, unable to understand and share cultural codes and resources.

Viewers interpret images and make sense of things depicted through the process of representations. For the cultural studies theorist Stuart Hall, representation is a set of processes and shared practices. He argues that we attach meaning to things, subjects and events by representing them. Thus, the identity is established within representation and not outside (1997). “That is why the notion of representation is so important” stresses Hall, as “identity can be articulated as a set of representations” (1997:383). The English scholar Dyer states that the contemporary world is a world “of multiple identities, of hybridity, of decentredness and fragmentation” (1997:3). In his article *The Matter of Whiteness*, he focuses on the centrality of non-white representations for the construction of white identity and argues that white as discourse “reduces the non-white subject to being a function of the white subject, not allowing her/him space or autonomy, permitting neither the recognition of similarities nor the acceptance of differences except as a means for knowing the white self”. (1997:13). Said goes further in underlining the role of juxtaposition in constructing identities and, while talking about Orientalism, states that the *Orient* as a political, ideological and imaginative construct was created by European culture (1978). Van Dijk argues that ideologies as a basis of social and cultural constructs are especially prominent in the “polarization between ingroup and outgroup” (2006:115). This means that the self-image of one group with its values, norms and resources exists and is practiced and reproduced only in interaction with the other group.

In the context of the present study, this is a fairly relevant point. Both groups, NLLs and RNS, are portrayed through representations of each other with a different level of polarization. The representations of Norwegians become an instrument for analysing the images of non-Norwegian learners. Such an approach of analysing representations of minorities through representation of majorities in the light of Whiteness studies was drawn upon by Knudsen in the examination of Norwegian history textbooks and demonstrated the potential of analysing intersectionality in the representations of both groups (2016).

In sum, images of NLLs in NSL textbooks are the result of a complex phenomenon. They are not neutral, despite being mediated in an educational context. They render a reality and social construct influenced by ideologies and relations of power and their selection is motivated. By presenting NLLs and RNS separately, the line is still drawn between the groups, between “us” and “them”, which makes these depictions so vivid and illustrative. Certain modes of representations, especially in the case of the repetition of the motif, naturalise the appearance of

the group, as well as crystalizes attitudes to them. It results in the creation of stereotypes and produces durable connotations.

2.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

Having developed in the late 70s as the result of many philosophical and linguistic contributions, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) came to be concerned with how discourse perpetuates certain perspectives, often those of the dominant, at the expense of less powerful ones (Fairclough 1995; Fairclough & Wodak 1997). At first CDA was concerned with how language in particular conveyed and normalized certain beliefs and ideas, but the task was quickly expanded to the field of visual representation, where images and visual representations in general formed the subject of analysis. Similar to linguistic statements, what came to be known as “visual statements” (van Leeuwen, 1996) were seen as meaning carriers. In his article *Critical Discourse Analysis* (2009) van Leeuwen explains that CDA is based on the idea that “text and talk play a key role in maintaining and legitimizing inequality, injustice and oppression in contemporary society” (2009:278).

Visual representations, just like linguistic ones, are a social behaviour and for this reason they do possess political meanings that go beyond their seemingly innocent formal boundaries. They are expressions of sustainable beliefs; they represent social relations. Putting it in Wodak’s terms: “CDA is characterised by the common interests in demystifying ideologies and power through the systematic investigation of semiotic data, be they written, spoken or visual” (1995:185-186). The term CDA employs words “critical” and “discourse”. The meaning of both notions defines the essence of the analysis. Discourse as described by Wodak is a form of knowledge and memory of social practices (1995). Put more precisely:

Discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditional – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effect – they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between social classes, women and men,

and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

(Fairclough and Wodak 1997:186)

This citation accounts for looking at spoken, written and visual communicative interactions as discourses, as the entrances for discussion and analysis. Shared beliefs are mostly expressed and acquired through discourse. When social groups motivate and explain their positions, they usually use discourse as a platform for their argumentations. In the context of a Norwegian language training course, the learners do not always express their opinions, even if they were appropriate and reasonable during the language course. Thus, alternative ideologies are not expressed and are not included into discursive practice. This is when CDA allows for addressing the resistant ideology as a valid part of discourse by contrasting both dominant and resistant ideologies.

The formation of ideologies is a long process, as it concerns subjects or their groups privately, and has a deep impact on their self-esteem and motivation. Van Dijk explains ideologies as a belief system of a social group about its identity, self-image, norms and values, which clearly connects having a certain ideology with a cognitive component: a belief system is acquired gradually and becomes relatively stable. Notably, ideologies are not defined by mental images but only in terms of the discourse practice that enacts them (2006). In the present study framework, the processing of visual discourse (images in NSL textbooks) in an educational context (language training course) establish certain types of beliefs (ideologies) among Norwegian language learners. They can become fundamental and taken for granted; they have great potential in shaping social attitudes of the learners and specifying social values. For example, negative attitudes to immigrants in Norway, especial from outside Europe and them being a threat for Norwegian welfare system, could be an expected acquired ideology of non-Norwegian language learners as an effect of unfair representations.

Ideologies can be analysed on the platform of discourses like the discourse of immigration or cultural diversity and educational discourse. Discourse differs from ideology for the reason that other social practices (discrimination, racism, exclusion) can also inform and reproduce ideology. It empowers discourse to be more potential and wider in the scope of possibilities to influence its shape. As stated by van Dijk, ideologies are acquired through social practices at school, in the family, at the language course, at work and so forth, but “primary sources and the medium of

ideological ‘learning’ are text and talk” (2006:133). This statement can equally be valid for visual representations and even to a greater degree, as a message communicated visually is more likely to be accepted without critical approach.

The effective acquisition of ideologies happens in the case of repetition of the particular motif. For example, representing NLLs chiefly as talking to each other or over the phone, implementing low paid work, can imply that they are idle, unoccupied or are appointed to low social status. Being once acquired such a shared belief can be constantly reproduced by the NNLs in the society by formulating the content in terms of preconditioned knowledge: who we are, where is our place in the community, what we stand for, what we are able for. Thus, ideology of exclusion and discrimination finds its way through ordinary images in the NSL textbooks. As stated by van Dijk, once reflected in educational discourse, ideologies “become expressed in terms of their underlying structures, such as polarization between positive ingroup description and negative outgroup description” (2006:139). For the NNLs polarization between them as outgroup and Norwegians as ingroup is expressed as predetermined less chances to succeed for the reasons of non-Norwegian ancestry and for this reason, connection with lower social status.

CDA is especially applicable to the research subject focusing on relations between non-Norwegians and Norwegian in the context of Norwegian language training acting as a powerful educational practice. Experiencing a great influx of immigrants and growing cultural diversity, Norway faces great changes and challenges and CDA is empowered to reveal ideological patterns and to shape the social and educational agenda for the future, all for better options of facilitating the development of the members of the society. CDA allows for positive critique. The latest trend of CDA maintained by Fairclough, is the shift of its focus “from critique of existing practices to exploration and even advocacy of possible alternatives” (2010:534). It is a reflective work, involving teachers and students, speaker, listeners and viewer and those, representing powerful agencies to develop awareness of important issues and to empower them to act. This is especially actual in today’s Norway, where excessive immigration causes social and financial inequality, which still seem being unrestrained. CDA would seek to provide explanations and identify possible ways to overcome the challenge of assimilating the immigrants by encouraging dialogue between authorities and immigrants and to see their potential to contribute sustainable political strategies for a better, fair society.

Wodak argues that CDA functions for unveiling the reality “to create awareness in agents of their own needs and interests” (1995:187). Truly, ideologies are not known by all members of the society even though some of them speak, write and create images basing on them unconsciously as a result of preconditioned beliefs. The level of ideological competence varies and there might be those who are not concerned about them, like immigrants in Norway, and those who instruct and lead with awareness of the ideological message lying behind education systems. It certainly assumes variations in expertise about the ideology in the group or between the groups. That is why the present research attempts to encourage the group members (be they NNLs, RNS, teachers, representatives of authorities, NSL textbook writers) to be more clearly aware of the ideologies and their effect on representations and to enact a dialogue for alternative opinion.

2.5. Critical Visual Literacy

One of the methods of challenging naturalized ideologies in visual representations is by becoming visually literate, that is being capable of comprehending the meaning of images and taking an active role in their interpretations. Interpretation, as described by Sturken & Cartwright, “is a mental process of acceptance and rejection of the meaning and associations that adhere to a given image through the force of dominant ideologies. In this process, viewers actively struggle with dominant meanings, allowing culturally and personally specific meanings to transform and even override the meaning imposed by producers and broader social forces” (2009:74). Such a complex ability would imply having certain knowledge of conventions in visual art. Once acquired, this ability empowers the viewer to develop an active position towards the interpretation of images. In the field of critical visual literacy, it is argued that visual representations are constructed with purpose and their meaning is ideologically motivated (Janks 2014; Sturken & Cartwright 2009; Kress & van Leeuwen 1996).

In the era of modern visibility, visual literacy emerges as an effective ability for critical reading and an awareness of the conventions of visual representations. This knowledge gives access to placing images in a bigger landscape of meaning making and to realize that modes of visual representations, power, identity formation, exclusion and inclusion are all connected and follow a particular strategy. In particular, it allows for questioning whose benefits are at stake in such representations, or in the words of Janks, “Whose interests are served?” (2014:1). It is clear

that images do not “serve” somebody’s interest explicitly. Only by employing a critical visual approach to images, through “de-constructing” (Janks 2014) images, is it possible to detect any patterns of visual representations. As Janks argues: “Anything that has been constructed can be de-constructed” (2014:2). Choices in image production are emphasised as a chief argument for expressing that images are not neutral (Janks 2014). Here, in accordance with CDA and its principles of criticism, critical visual literacy would allow for analysing elements of visual composition and modes of representation.

Just like words, combining a textual composition on the basis of the grammatical rules of a language, elements of an image produce a visual ‘statement’ which communicates a message. This phenomenon was used by Kress & van Leeuwen when they introduced the study of the grammar of visual design (1996). According to Kress, visual ‘statements’ can potentially be approached critically to discover underlying motivations. Moving away from the psychology of perception or the aesthetical description of images, the scholars focused on the regularities of images, and the meaning these regularities can cause. Similar to Critical Linguistics, which seeks to study grammar in the context of social and ideological matters, Kress & van Leeuwen do not look at visual elements in isolation: visual grammatical forms are a source for encoding matters of social interaction. The social character of visual grammar would then mean that its rules are conventional within a group, where they are recognised and shared, thus being culturally specific. Particularly, the scholars define visual grammar as:

A quite general grammar of contemporary visual design in “Western” cultures, an account of the explicit and implicit knowledge and practices around a resource, consisting of the elements and rules underlying a culture-specific form of visual communication.

(Kress & van Leeuwen 1996:3)

For Kress and van Leeuwen, any visual representation involves two kinds of participants: represented (depicted in the image) and interactive (people communicating through the images, the producers and the viewers) (1996: 114). Both participants are present during the visual act. They state that “the articulation and understanding of social meanings in images derives from the visual articulation of social meanings in face-to-face interaction, the spatial positions allocated of

different kinds of social actors in interaction” (1996: 116). In order to analyse those interactions, the scholars offer an explicit method, and make use of the notions of gaze, frame, social distance and angle – the tools which give material explanations to the invisible boundaries of representations and have a certain degree of regularities. Kress & van Leeuwen describe these regularities formally. They refer to image composition and describe the meaning by modes of realisation. The visual grammar offered by the scholars is drawn upon in the present research as it describes how represented elements “combine in visual ‘statements’ of greater or lesser complexity and extension” (1996:2).

Narrative and conceptual representations design social constructs; the position of the viewer is created through ways of interaction between the viewer and the participants (1996). These matters, however, do not explain why things, people and events are represented the way they are. Visual grammar is descriptive. It allows for making references to ideological positions, which potentially can be a source of critique, but it does not implement any critique. Primarily, visual grammar explains the meaning of regularities in a visual composition. The criteria of visual grammar, such as gaze, distance and angle alone would not enable addressing the research questions connected with social matters, but they are an effective set of notions for the main method of the study, social actor analysis, described in greater detail in the next section.

Kress & van Leeuwen’s visual grammar provides an active research tool for visual analysis in an educational context. Cecilie Waallann Brown analysed visual representations of indigenous cultures in English foreign language textbooks (2016) and found that “the indigenous participants are overall depicted in a lower position of power than the white participants” (2016:93). The images of the indigenous people were studied applying the criteria of gaze, frame and horizontal angle, in combination with social distance and involvement, in order to describe how the indigenous cultures are constructed in the education curriculum.

A number of other studies have been done using the same visual grammar to analyse gender representations in education mediums (Marefat & Marzban 2014; Tajeddin & Enayat 2017; Dyrskog 2017). The results show a consistency in detecting gender bias in English language school textbooks. Dyrskog additionally concluded that gender biased representations contradict the curriculum on gender equality in Norway (2017:110).

Visual grammar shows growing potential and value, reflected in the ability to describe regularities of visual communications. According to Kress & van Leeuwen, an image is the

expression of an ideological position in a subtle way (1996). Thus, visual grammar positions an image in an ideological context, however, it does not explain the reasons of particular representations. In the present study however, visual grammar is used as a theoretical approach to the analysis of images and a useful supplement in the analysis of social actors in NSL textbooks.

2.6. Social Actor Theory

Social Actor Theory applied to visual representations is an analytical and critical approach to analysing the depiction of social actors (participants) in visual discourse. It is embedded in CDA and links the description of visual features of images to the social context and allows for the critique of social issues revealed through these representations.

The theoretical explanation of the method is provided by van Leeuwen (2008) as a logical extension of his visual grammar study. In the light of CDA, texts and images are realisations of relations between the producer and the recipient (the reader/viewer), where a social actor (participant) is an essential part of these realisations and becomes a central analytical category. The potential capacity of images to reveal power relations and to explain these relations through socio-political discourse provided the basis for van Leeuwen's Social Actor Analysis (2008). Van Leeuwen draws on Foucault's concept of discourses as a semantic construct to serve the interests of the dominant and on the Halliday's "register" of the semantic variety of language, which is able to analyse social features on the basis of linguistic forms, and develops an instrumental, functional approach to analyse and interpret visual representations.

Van Leeuwen's concern is with representations of participants as social actors in the framework of social discourse. The agency of a subject takes a central role in social actor theory. This concept is crucial in order to understand who is "in charge" by choosing to represent a participant in a certain way. A social actor in the framework of social actor theory would define a person with complex characteristics and is applied to any human character regardless of race, age, gender or marital status, but with the focus on the modes of representations of this character. The analysis of such structures within the principles of CDA would be more concerned with the question why actors are represented differently rather than trying to conclude about the correctness of the representation.

In the process of representations of social actors, choices are made by the producer as to which features to accentuate, and which to exclude from the representation. The manner of representation is also a subject of choice; whether to portray a social actor as an individual or a part of a group, alone or in the context. Choosing between the options is a motivated process which can be analysed critically.

To implementing this theory in practice, van Leeuwen introduced social actor analysis (2008), an analytical tool to describe these modes and to link them to social discourse. After introducing social actor analysis as a socio-semantic framework for analysing grammatical structures of language, representing social actors (participants) in a text, van Leeuwen made the point that, in fact, any representations are subject to critical questions and, given the increasing importance of visuals, representational modes of social actors in images were subjects for critical analysis (2008:25). He maintains that “in many domains of science and technology, visualizations are seen as the most complete and explicit way of explaining things, and words become supplements, comments, footnotes, labels”, advertisements sell dreams through images, newspapers visualize “the fleeting moment” (2008:136).

Drawing on the concept that images as texts are a social practice and a result of semiotic work, van Leeuwen adapted the principles of CDA and social actor theory to visual representations and offered a framework for analysing social actors applicable to images (2008:136). Van Leeuwen’s framework is applied in the present study for analysing NLLs as social actors in NSL textbooks from “ideologically coloured angles” (van Leeuwen, 2008:8).

Similar to text, images are seen as a site of ideological considerations. Visually communicated issues like the imposition of power, discrimination, social injustice, stereotyping patterns and objects of dominant knowledge are likely to be more easily dismissed, overseen and accepted, as these issues are not stated explicitly, but are implied and referred to indirectly. Social actor analysis provides the criteria for detecting such implied references and explains them through discourse. Three dimensions of the positioning of depicted people (social actors) in relation to the viewer, such as (1) social distance, (2) social relation and (3) social interaction act as instruments in the study to analyse how social actors are related to the viewer and how they are presented. Van Leeuwen calls this part ‘Representation and viewer network’ (2008:141). At this stage, social “actor – viewer relations” are analysed through the notions of distance, social relation and social interaction.

Distance symbolically communicates interpersonal relations between the social actor and the viewer. Far shots distance social actors and position them as “strangers”, whereas close shots imply that a social actor is “one of us”. The closer the shot is, the more the viewer perceives personal characteristics of the actor represented, and the higher the level of interrelation. A shot angle defines the nature of social relations between the represented social actor and the viewer and symbolically communicates detachment, involvement and power imposition. Social relations are carried out by shot angle and reflect power and involvement. This term of angle is imported from Kress & van Leeuwen’s visual grammar (1996). The scholars interpret a vertical angle as having three variants: an eye-level angle as a symbol of equality, a high vertical angle indicating symbolic power over the represented person (social actor) and a low vertical angle in which the represented person imposes imaginary power over the viewer. Involvement or detachment is implemented by a horizontal angle in the variants of “face to face” or “sideline” positions. (2008:139). The decisive factor in determining social interaction would be if a social actor looks at a viewer or not. By looking at the viewer, the social actor puts a direct address, demand or appeal to the viewer, enhancing the act of interaction. A social actor looking away from the viewer is offered to the viewer’s gaze and represents an object to look at.

These above described parameters can be used to imply either positive connotations of equality (in case of an eye-level shot) and involvement, in case of a front vertical angle of the shot. On the contrary, negative connotations of otherizing emerge from compositions where social actors are portrayed at a distance, thus too remote to perceive personal characteristics, at a high angle, symbolically disempowered and finally at an oblique angle, thus being objectivated. In terms of van Leeuwen (2008: 136-141), the strategies distanciation, rendering the social actors as “strangers”, disempowering, in the case of choosing a high angle over the social actor and objectivation, by offering social actors to the viewer’s gaze and scrutiny, connote otherizing and represent social actors as “strangers”.

As underlined by van Leeuwen (2008:138), it is important to mention that the above given relations are imaginary. They allow seeing the depicted people symbolically, as though they are close or far, as though they are in interaction with the viewer or not, and as though they hold low status or impose power on the viewer. Various combinations and degrees of each parameter do not provide explicit interpretations and would be subject to the experience, background and competence of the viewer.

Co-present and co-functional to the first approach is the analysis of the depicting people in light of representational strategies. These strategies are similar to verbal discourse, presented by van Leeuwen (2008:23-55), but have been adapted for visual representations (van Leeuwen 2008:141-148). In this framework van Leeuwen distinguishes the strategies of exclusion, modes of representing social actors in “patient” and “agent” roles, specific or generic representations of social actors, as individuals or in groups and finally, as culturally and biologically categorised (2008;147).

- Exclusion is the strategy of avoiding representing certain kinds of people or groups of people in the contexts where they in fact are present. Systematic exclusions are problematic as they create distorted, unrealistic pictures, preventing the viewer from being aware of the real situation.
- Social actors involved in action in an image can be depicted in two roles: as “agents”, the doers of the action, or as “patients” the actors to whom the action is done. The crucial detail is defining what kind of action “an action actor” does and what is done to “a patient actor”.
- Specific and generic modes of representation distinguish between representations focusing on uniqueness of social actors (specific) or on features of social actors making them into a certain type (generic). When actors are depicted with the focus on their attributes, like skin color, face lines, hairdo or type of clothes, the personality of the actor disappears behind the attributes, which categorize them. The line, nevertheless, is not easy to draw, and this fact will always allow for the possibility of making the stereotype natural and circulating in the society (van Leeuwen 2008:143).
- The criterion of generic categorization is divided between cultural and biological types of representations. The presence of standard attributes like items of dress or hairdo is enough to construct cultural categorization. Standard attributes work through positive or negative connotations, conveying the negative or positive associations attached to this cultural group by the other cultural group for which the representation is produced. Biological categorization concentrates on physical features of the social actor, connoting either positive or negative associations for the sociocultural group for which images are produced. This strategy would imply that such characteristics are born into; they are biological and hence, unchangeable.

- Social actors can be portrayed as individuals or as groups. The members of groups can be represented as similar to each other, thus implying that “they are all the same”. In terms of van Leeuwen, this would categorize social actors as homogenised. Social actors while represented in groups and portrayed as separate individuals categorise them as differentiated (van Leeuwen 2008:147). In combination with exclusion, persistently presenting social actors as belonging to a certain group (homogenised) has a great potential to produce the effect of otherizing and stereotyping a certain class of people.

In order to enhance the analysis of the social actors in the visual representations in the NSL textbooks, the present study introduces three additional criteria of analysis.

- Appointed social agency is a criterion for analysing representations of social actors in low-esteem or high-esteem work. This characteristic acquires significance for the analysis especially in regard to the repetition of the motif. Symbolically it might imply confining social actors implementing work of low-esteem to a lower social position or attaching connotations of belonging to a higher social class to the actors portrayed doing a high-esteem work.
- Similar to appointed social agency, the occupation of social actors looks at the activity social actors are engaged in. The sort of occupation is a powerful instrument for characterising social actors by what they do in visual representation. Portraying social actors reading, attending to children, training or enjoying recreational activities in nature would signal an active, advanced social position. Social actors being depicted as inactive or idle would indicate them as being passive and socially deactivated.
- Context is an important criterion for analysing the level of social involvement of social actors and their accomplishment in the social and private spheres. The context with family and friends, at home or in the nature empowers social actors socially and privately. In contrast, images with limited context, symbolically reduce the social and private significance of a social actor.

The fusion and combination of criteria for analysing visual representations of social actors is beneficial. In reality, the most complete analysis emerges through the combination of the analytical criteria of social actor analysis. Cultural categorization works in combination with appointed social agency by creating a general “cultural categorization” of a certain group of people who look the same and do the same type of work. The criterion of context adds power to

the representation of social actors by combining the analysis of their agency and occupation. Active recreational activities in nature with family and friends would empower social actors in visual representations socially and privately. Criteria of agency, occupation and context provide efficient descriptions of socially active people by the means of combinations of analytical criteria.

Visual analysis of social actors has gained popularity among researchers seeking to find reasons for certain types of visual representations in a wider socio-political context. Rashidi and Ghaedsharafi studied representations of social actors in Summit EFL textbooks using the full range of criteria of social actor analysis and found a dominance of certain strategies of representation over the other. In particular, an impartiality towards the representations of social actors was detected, “which eases language learning by keeping learners away from misunderstandings and incomprehensibility” (Rashidi & Ghaedsharafi 2015). Sarani & Kord studied visual and textual representations of social actors in Touchstone EFL textbooks from the perspective of CDA and revealed the difference between representing genders in visual and textual discourses. They found that linguistic representations were female oriented, while visuals emphasize the idealised role of males (Sarani & Kord 2018). Similar to that, Babai, Atai and Kafshgarsouteh studied the depiction of social actors in EL software in terms of rendering races and found the tendency in texts towards an unbiased position, while visual representations contained traces of stereotyping and discrimination (Babai, Atai & Kafshgarsouteh 2016). Finally, Koller (2009) and Elarkoubi Rida (2018) studied textual representations of social actors in media.

The investigation into visual representations of social actors in NSL textbooks locates the study in a new area of research, offering the potential to analyse subjects through the discourse of socio-political formations in Norway, the discourse of immigration and attitudes to minorities. It is assumed that the representation of social actors has an immediate connection with the modes of recognition of their authority and agency in the society, with respect to their potential and their contribution to establishing practical diversity across all socio-political spheres in Norway. In order to implement this, Axel Honneth’s Theory of Recognition has a certain importance for the interpretation of the findings.

2.7. The Theory of Recognition

“Due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need.”

(Charles Taylor 1992:26).

Axel Honneth's Theory of Recognition by (1995 [1992]) is embedded in modern social theory. Following earlier works in social psychology, the philosophy of Hegel and Mead, and Habermas' communicative ethic, Honneth focuses in his theory on the importance of social relations for the establishment of a subject's identity. He argues that social mutual recognition of values and authority of subjects is a prerequisite for self-realisation.

In the present research, this theory is drawn upon to explain the process of acceptance of subjects and how crucial it is to be recognised by others in order to succeed socially and privately. Honneth spells out that a fully recognised subject should enjoy mutual recognition in (1) private relations of love and friendship, (2) being legally acknowledged as a subject of dignity and autonomous agency and (3) to be accepted within the solidarity network, representing their moral right to be a valid member of the community sharing the same values. Consequently, the theory represents a normative content accounting for self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem.

Honneth (1995) specifies that love as a basis for self-confidence represents basic relation-to-self attitude. Harmonious relations between children and parent, lovers and friends based on mutual recognition provide subjects fundamental faith in the environment and a sense of trust in themselves and signals of the body as a reliable source of own needs, without fear of being denied. Because it is so important, violation on this private level in the form of physical abuse seriously damages fundamental individual integrity and prevents the subject from trusting their own needs.

The importance of recognition of rights for self-respect presupposes that a subject is a capable agent in structuring and maintaining moral and political laws, a legal person, a morally responsible agent. When a subject or groups of subjects are excluded from decision making in political and social matters, they lose legitimacy and moral value, which at worst causes in subjects a feeling of irresponsibility and immorality. The failure to appreciate the legal rights of certain subjects violates the indispensable condition of democracy, which grants authorship in

society formation to every member (entitlement to the same status and treatment as every other person).

Self-esteem, experienced on a solidarity level, connects a subject with their own individuality so as to be recognised as valuable and unique. In the case of the generalisation of certain groups, where the uniqueness of each member is de-evaluated and individual potential is not recognised, the agency of the subject is marginalised and stigmatised. Honneth calls it a cultural climate, which can be beneficial or unfavourable for the acquisition of self-esteem. Notably, a type of work contributes to self-esteem. The range of work tasks hang together with particular cultural factors. Certain jobs (clearly, like washing, lifting goods) would lack a feeling of self-accomplishment for the subject performing such jobs and questions to what degree the subject contributes to the society, causing low self-esteem. Authoritative jobs would provide subjects with a “sense of superiority” and individual accomplishments building self-esteem. Honneth underlines the importance of a pluralistic social framework in the society where every subject can progress. “To the extent to which every member of a society is in a position to esteem himself or herself, one can speak of a state of social solidarity” (Honneth 1995: 129). Honneth states that the elimination of demanding cultural images would then be a contribution to providing self-esteem. Each form of recognition is a condition for the other form as well as all three recognition forms are conditions for the integrated community. This type of dependency makes a subject vulnerable to any forms of injustice at any of the three levels of recognition. Therefore, Honneth underlines injustice as a form of oppression and domination and states that social justice should be concerned with the social conditions of identity formations in order to establish self-confidence and self-esteem.

The approaches of recognition theory were used by Austad (2016) in her MA thesis. She studied recognition of cultural diversity in lower secondary school textbooks. As a result, it was concluded in the study that diversity in those textbooks is recognised in visual representations of characters with different appearance. In textual accounts, the diversity was recognised by introducing foreign names and instances of foreign languages.

Honneth’s critical recognition theory is relevant for the present study which seeks to investigate if the NLLs are represented as recognised potential members of the Norwegian society, as “insiders” or as “exotic others”.

3. Materials and Methodology

As presented earlier, the study concentrates on Norwegian second language textbooks, targeting adult language learners. Among others, the present research aims to address the questions:

- (1) How are Norwegian language learners as social actors visually represented in Norwegian second language textbooks?
- (2) Are there any forms of social injustice in the visual representations of Norwegian language learners? Are they represented with recognition of their potential for Norwegian society?
- (3) To what degree do the images of Norwegian language learners promote or contradict the primary aims of The Introduction Law?

In order to address these questions, the visual representations from these books have been analysed and conclusions have been drawn as to the level of relevance of these images with regard to the general aims of The Introduction Law. The present section introduces the materials and methods used in the research. The choice of the textbooks as the research material will be explained and the choice of corpora with images will be presented. Not all images from the chosen textbooks are chosen for the analysis. Consequently, the criteria of selection will be provided, and the corpora will be identified. Finally, the analytical methods for analysing visual representations in NSL textbooks will be presented.

3.1. Materials

The present study looks at the NSL textbooks for adult learners, used in Norwegian language training in Norway. For the research on visual representations of social actors, the following three NSL textbooks were chosen:

På vei (Cappelen Damm, 2018, 256 pages)

Norsk Nå! (Fagbokforlaget, 2016, 320 pages)

Stein på stein (Cappelen Damm, 2014, 200 pages)



The textbooks *På Vei*, *Stein på Stein* and *Norsk Nå!*, represent the two leading publishers in Norway: Cappelen Damm (earlier Cappelens Forlag) and Fagbokforlaget. Each NSL textbook is the last edition of the series under the same name, which were published earlier. The last editions of the textbooks were chosen with the aim of providing the updated information from the field of visual representations in NSL textbooks. Each textbook comes with a workbook for students and a teacher's instruction guide. However, these materials are not included in the research as they contain few images. The series *På Vei*, *Stein på Stein* and *Norsk Nå!* are approved by the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research. They are produced for those studying Norwegian language and social studies in connection with their asylum applications and/or obtaining work and residence permits in Norway.

The researcher of the present project made use of the series *På vei* and *Stein på stein* in her teaching at the Norwegian language course for females at KIA (Kristent Interkulturelt Arbeid). The textbooks *Norsk Nå!* are currently being used by the researcher as teaching material at the Norwegian language course for Brazilian students at Ukirke in Stavanger. Personal experience with the before mentioned textbooks as a teacher and previously as a student additionally influenced the choice of the samples for the analysis.

The NSL textbook *På vei* is an introduction book for new beginners, covering the initial study level (language levels A1, A2 of the CEFR). Visual representations in this book bear crucial importance for the learners at this stage in the learning process, which is mostly visual. The content of the images bears great authority for the students and acts like a presentation into their new life and reality. It is possible that for some learners these images might be a source of revelation, especially for those whose culture of visual expression differs from the European/Scandinavian model. Due to the great value of images at this stage of learning, the textbook *På vei* is seen as a relevant choice of material for the present research.

The textbook *Stein på stein* is aimed at advanced learners of Norwegian language (nivå B1) and contains more texts. However, the *Stein på stein* textbook is also a good source for studying images because it continues the traditions of the textbook *På vei*. Here images and text supplement each other on a more advanced level. As texts become more sophisticated, images bear even greater importance in illustrating more elaborate matters. Thus, the interplay between image and text acquires a greater importance. At this stage, learners get more involved in the Norwegian context and advance in “image reading”, meaning that they adjust to the Norwegian representational models, and possibly make more effective connections between the images and the text in the studying process. The textbook *Stein på stein* is a good example of teaching material for intermediary and advanced levels of language studying.

The textbook *Norsk Nå!* is for lower and intermediary study levels (nivå A1, A2) and is aimed at providing immediate functional competence for Norwegian language learners. Unlike the previously mentioned textbooks, it is structured differently. Although it includes the same relevant topics, the range of characters is more personalized. The narrative pattern chiefly follows one character, a Norwegian language learner, by depicting this character in various settings. This strategy might allow other learners to identify with the represented character and become familiar with the daily tasks and challenges this character meets. Due to such arrangements, quite a number of images is repeated. Similar images appearing in different settings assists the learners in making the connections between the chapters and topics, supporting the continuity of the study process. Due to these replications and also due to the overall bigger volume of this textbook, the total number of images is more substantial. The textbook *Norsk Nå!* also represents relevant material for the research on ways or representing NLLs.

Choosing these three NSL textbooks provides a good selection of the most frequently used NSL textbooks for adults in Norway.

3.1.1. Corpora

In the following subsection, a description of criteria for the selection of images for the analysis will be provided. The collection of data comprises images from all the three textbooks: *Stein på stein*, *På vei* and *Norsk Nå!*. The present study focuses on the representations of adult learners of

Norwegian language (NLLs) within the textbooks. As such, images chosen for the analysis portray the adults, studying Norwegian language, henceforth referred to as NLLs. This corpus of images will be compared to the corpus of images of representatives of Norwegian society, be they of Norwegian origin or of non-Norwegian origin, henceforth referred to as RNS. The corpus of NLL images is a valuable source of information, but it is believed that analysing visual representations of NLLs is more productive in relation to, and in comparison with, the collection of images portraying RNS. Both corpora reveal, enlighten and define each other either in combination or in opposition. As argued earlier in Section 2.3., and maintained by Dyer (1997), Said (1978) and Van Dijk (2006), the self-image of one groups of people exists and is reproduced only in interaction with the images of the other groups. These ideas support the present research logic of providing an analysis of both corpora: describing the ways of representing NLLs by referring to representations of RNS. Additionally, in order to understand whether both corpora work in collaboration, it was necessary to include data for images representing NLLs and RNS represented together in one image and to collect a separate corpus of such instances.

In order to reveal the proportion between corpora, a total of images with NLLs, RNS and NLLs and RNS represented together in all three textbooks was counted. The study focuses on the images of people presented as social actors, as long as they are clearly portrayed in visual representations. For this reason, criteria were chosen to further refine each corpus. The following types of images were included in the count of each corpus:

- Inhabited images. The image clearly portrays one person or more
- Framed and complete images. The image is framed and represents a complete visual composition of the depicted participants

By complete visual composition, it is meant an image portraying one or several persons, clearly identified in terms of representation of bodies, action or pose. Both inhabited and framed and complete images make up the total of the image count for each NSL textbook. In order to reveal the proportion of images portraying NLLs, RNS and NLLs and RNS together, a total of images for each corpus was counted. The caption, titles and supplementing text were drawn upon, if needed, in order to categorise the image as belonging to either of corpora under analysis.

In particular, NLLs are the social actors who are explicitly introduced within the textbooks by the caption, titles and supplementing text as Norwegian language learners. It is

assumed in the study that the rest of images portraying adults within the textbooks are images of RNS as social actors, whether they appear to be of Norwegian or Non-Norwegian origin.

Notably, the notion of ethnicity is not used to identify the corpora for analysis. In modern Norwegian society, the notion of ethnicity is under transformation and presents a highly disputable topic. Indeed, immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents are seen as members of Norwegian society, regardless of their origin and race. Kyllingstad calls them *compatriots* (2017:324). Kyllingstad argues that: “It is becoming increasingly common to use the neologism “ethnic Norwegian” to describe people with old family roots in Norway, to distinguish them from Norwegians with non-Norwegian ancestry” (2017:326). However, ethnicity is a socio-cultural concept and given that its nature is subjective, ambiguous and possibly transformable over time for a particular “ethnic group”, often referring to notions of biological ancestry, it cannot be applied in the present research as a criterion to accurately define the corpus. Instead, as explained earlier in this section, the criteria of being portrayed as learners of Norwegian language and being portrayed as representatives of Norwegian society are applied to form the corpus. The corpus for the analysis consists of three corpora as introduced in the table below:

Table 1

Corpora

	Corpora	Criteria	Active abbreviation
1.	Norwegian Language Learners	Adult learners of Norwegian language, presented within the textbooks	NLLs
2.	Representatives of Norwegian Society	Adult representatives of Norwegian society both of Norwegian and non-Norwegian origin, presented within the textbooks	RNS
3	Norwegian Language Learners and Representatives of Norwegian Society presented together	Adult learners of Norwegian language and Adult representatives of Norwegian society, both of Norwegian and non-Norwegian origin, presented together within the textbooks	NLLs + RNS

Having defined this, it is important to outline what images were not included into the count and into the analysis. As the study looks at the images of adult people, images not meeting this criterion are excluded from the count. In particular, these images are:

- Images representing children and teenagers or images where children are the main participants and the main focus. This means that a child takes a central focus in the visual composition and looks at the viewer. These images were considered outside the scope of the study, which focuses on the representations of adults
- Images of animals
- Images showing body parts, incomplete compositions
- Art reproductions, cinema and theatre advertisements, posters, book covers, historical black and white photographs, drawings.
- Symbols, icons.

Finally, in instances when a similar image was repeated within a textbook more than once, it was only counted once.

3.2. Methodology

In the following subsection, the methods applied in the present study will be described. Considering that the study focuses on visual representations of social actors, the analytical method is chosen in accordance with the research inquiry and nature of the research questions. The research questions concern a broader spectrum than just describing how the Norwegian language learners are represented visually, consequently a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods is required.

Dornyei distinguishes the methods by defining a quantitative method as collecting numerical data, whereas a qualitative method collects non-numerical, open-ended data, which is non-statistically analysed (2007:24). The benefits of quantitative research are found in its system, reliability and generalisability to other contexts. It is characterised by deductive logic and an objective point of view. Despite these benefits, the downside of this method is reflected in its simplified and decontextualized terms. These drawbacks can be compensated by the additional use of qualitative methods, which can be drawn upon to explain complex matters, and answer “*why*” questions.

Dornyei cites Duff who emphasizes “that instead of seeking generalizable ‘correct interpretations’, qualitative research aims to broaden the repertoire of *possible interpretations* of human experience” (2007:40). Qualitative methods are inductive and subjective. The underlying difference is seen in paradigms: the positivism of quantitative methods versus the constructivism of qualitative methods (Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998:23). Despite these explicit differences, in practice both methodologies can overlap and borrow analytical instruments (numerical and non-numerical characteristics) from each other. Due to such overlap and the relevance of each method for addressing the research questions, the combined use of quantitative and qualitative methods was chosen.

The aim of the present study is to analyse visual representations of NLLs in NSL textbooks in order to examine how and why certain types of people or groups are represented the way they are. The focus of the analysis is placed on detecting patterns used in the visual representations of NLLs and considering the reasons and effects of such representations. As presented above, the research questions are:

- (1) How are Norwegian language learners as social actors visually represented in NSL textbooks?
- (2) Are there any forms of social injustice in the visual representations of Norwegian language learners? Are they represented with recognition of their potential for Norwegian society?
- (3) To what degree do the images of Norwegian language learners promote or contradict the primary aims of The Introduction Law?

The first research question reveals the descriptive nature of its inquiry and is therefore addressed with quantitative methods. The principles of social actor analysis and visual grammar are used to look at the compositional elements and analyse them quantitatively. Thus, the results of social actor analysis expressed in numbers contributes to the quantitative part of the research. The principles of CDA are then used to critically assess the image and discuss its meaning, drawing on qualitative methods. Both interweave with each other to provide a complex analysis of the visual representation of the social actors in the selected NSL textbooks.

The data collected quantitatively can be systemized and allows for comparison between the corpora of the selected textbooks. It is also aimed at detecting the most frequently occurring patterns in the visual representations of social actors. The interpretations of the findings from the

quantitative part of the analysis are made through discourse analysis and the theory of recognition, representing in the present study a qualitative part of the analysis. This is done to address the complex matters expressed in the research questions. The detailed descriptions of the principles of CDA, visual grammar, social actor theory and theory of recognition were provided in section 2 and will not be repeated here. What is presented in this section is how these methods and principles are applied to the visual representations of this study.

3.2.1. Social actor analysis

The social actor analysis applied in the study consists of two parts. The first part is concerned with analysing “viewer network” (van Leeuwen 2008:141), whereas the second part focuses on the “visual social actor network” (van Leeuwen 2008:141).

The first part of the analysis is carried out to answer the research questions: (1) How are NLLs as social actors visually represented in NSL textbooks? and (2) Are there any forms of social injustice in the visual representations of NLLs? Are they represented with recognition of their potential for Norwegian society? The selected corpora of images with NLLs and RNS and both groups represented together are analysed separately in each textbook and in comparison, with the regards to how their representations are related to the viewer.

Images depicting NLLs and RNS separately and with both groups combined were analysed in terms of social distance, social relation and social interaction. Both corpora of NLLs and RNS were analysed individually and the results compared in order to trace patterns of representing NLLs or RNS, which would make them appear in a particular way to the viewer. For example, if NLLs are chiefly portrayed at a far distance, this would result in less involvement with the social actors offered to the viewer, presenting them as objects for observation, as “strangers”, instead of showing individual characteristics and engagement with the viewer (as in instances with close distance) (van Leeuwen 2008:138). Results from the analysis of social distance provide the basis for looking at the interpersonal relations between the viewer and social actors. In this part of analysis, whether social actors are portrayed at a far or close distance is analysed. Close distance implies that people are depicted at with a close shot, showing their figures in details and personalised, whereas, far shots are those depicting whole figures of people in an extended frame (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996). The analysis of distance in

images portraying NLLs, RNS and both groups represented together, reveals the strategy of distanciation, positioning social actors as “strangers”, when the distance is far. Close distance represents social actors as “us” or “close to us” (van Leeuwen 2008:141).

Angle communicates power and level of detachment or involvement (van Leeuwen 2008, Kress & van Leeuwen 1996). Consequently if an image portrays a social actor at a high angle, it signifies power over the social actor. The horizontal angle symbolically realizes involvement (van Leeuwen 2008:139). As such, the angle realizes social relations between social actors and the viewer. The results of analysing the angle in images reveals the level of detachment or involvement, which the represented participants project. It also allows detecting the presence or absence of the strategy of disempowerment (van Leeuwen 2008:141). The corpora under analysis at this stage are examined in terms of showing the strategy of disempowerment of represented social actors.

Social interaction is communicated by the direct and indirect address of the represented participant. Van Leeuwen adapted the notion of gaze from his visual grammar (1996) into the definition of direct and indirect address. Images from the three corpora are analysed at this stage with regard to whether social actors look at the viewer, thus establishing social interaction, or in contrast, with regard to whether they do not look at the viewer, thus appearing to the viewer as objects for scrutiny. Indirect address realizes the strategy of objectivation of social actors.

The images visualising NLLs and RNS together are analysed as a whole image. This means that the study does not analyse every participant in the images. When looking at distance, the group of NLLs and RNS is analysed only as being far or close. When looking at angle, the group of NLLs and RNS is analysed as being portrayed from high or low angle or from an oblique or front angle. When analysing the criteria of address, it is taken into account whether most of the participants in the group look at the viewer or not, in order to conclude if the *total* address of all the social actors in an image is direct or indirect.

In the first part of social actor analysis, the results were collected showing how social actors are depicted, which provides the material for testing the hypothesis if images portray NLLs as “exotic” and “other”. Far distance, oblique angle and indirect address produce strategies of distanciation, detachment and objectivation, which in their turn, and especially in the case of their simultaneous presence in the image, represent social actors as “other”.

The second part of the social actor analysis looks at the representational strategies, which are mostly used to visually represent social actors within the NLL or RNS corpora. This is considered in terms of van Leeuwen's "Visual Social Actor Network" (van Leeuwen 2008:141) and deals with "pictorial references to people" (van Leeuwen 2008:141). As described in section 2.6., this part of analysis contributes to the first part, aiming at analysing how people are depicted. However, here the attention is directed to the strategies of representing social actors and the roles they are given and in visual representations. Partially borrowed from verbal discourse, these representational strategies are applied to visual social actor analysis through the framework of van Leeuwen (2008:136). Images of social actors from both corpora were analysed in terms of exclusion and inclusion, agency, representation as individuals and groups, specific and generic categorization, where generic categorization is divided into biological and cultural characteristics. As introduced in section 2.6., in order to strengthen the social characteristics of represented participants and to better address the research questions, the criteria of occupation and context were added to the present research and applied in the analysis. The images from all three corpora of NLLs, RNS and NLLs and RNS represented together were analysed in terms of these criteria, and instances of each were counted for each corpus. The results of the analysis were expressed in numbers and presented in tables to systemise the collected data for the further analysis. The compiled data from both parts of the analysis were then studied to identify the most frequent patterns and strategies of representations of the social actors depicted.

In occasions when an image does not meet an analytical criterion, or criteria, it is not included in the count of these criteria or criterion. Images depicting social actors do not always provide clear-cut cases in terms of applying the criterion of roles (patient or agent), as it is not always the case that the image portrays one social actor doing something to the other social actors (the criterion of roles is described in more detail in section 2.6.). The same concerns criteria of high-esteem work or low-esteem work, context and occupation. Additionally, biological and cultural categorizations often mix, which prevents detecting exactly how the social actor is presented. Here the criterion of generic categorisations, covering both biological and generic categorisations of the social actors, serves as a leading pattern for analysis.

For the reasons explained above, the numbers in the tables, specifying occurrences of certain criteria, do not always correspond to the total number of images in this corpus. Criteria of angle, high esteem, low esteem work, roles, context, are not always applicable to every image. In

these criteria, the total result does not match the total of images for the corpus. However, the criteria of distance, address, individuals and groups, specific and generic categorizations provide more clear-cut cases than those presented above and correspond to the total number of images in this corpus.

Both parts of the analysis focus on the leading patterns in these representations. The results from this part of the study provide material for answering the first and second research questions as they (the results) address aspects of otherizing (in case of far distance, indirect address and oblique angle), empowering or disempowering (level of angle), presenting as “strangers” or “one of us” (distance).

3.2.2. CDA and the recognition theory

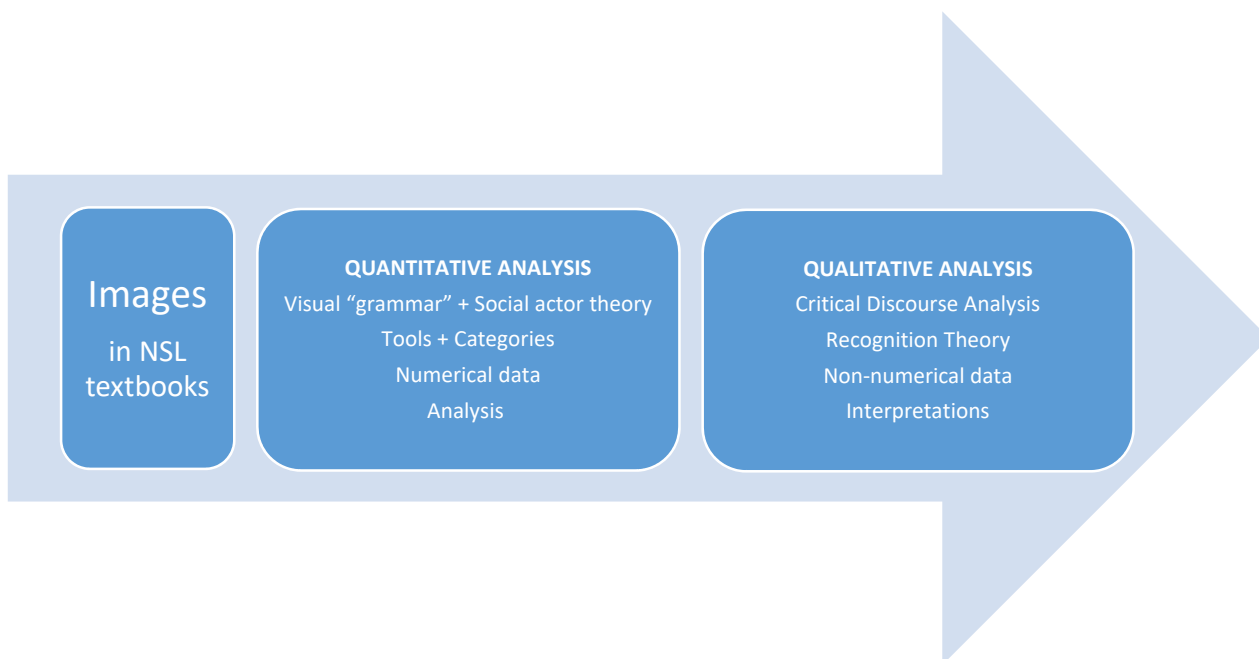
However, there are limitations to providing a complete answer to the second and the third question of the research by using social actor analysis alone: (2) Are there any forms of social injustice in the visual representations of NLLs? Are they represented with recognition of their potential for Norwegian society? and (3) To what degree do the images of NLLs promote or contradict the primary aims of The Introduction Law? For this reason, it deemed necessary in the study to reinforce qualitative part of the analysis with a quantitative analysis, represented by the principles of CDA and by the framework of Honneth’s theory of recognition enabling to provide wider interpretations of the results and approach them critically by addressing socio-political aspects in visuals representation of social actors. Here a more holistic approach to images is applied by analysing findings for each criterion from social actor analysis in a combination, in order to provide a more detailed social portrait of the represented participant. An image meeting a combination of criteria, like far distance, oblique angle, indirect address, low-esteem work, as a generic individual, biologically categorized, provides a social portrait of a person being represented as object for scrutiny, as “other”, distanced, not offering involvement to the viewer, and as unimportant, to a degree, as unrecognised. In contrast, an image of a social actor, visualised being in an active role, at high esteem work, shown as a specific individual, provides a different portrait of social actor than those given as an example above. Such profile would characterise a social actor as an active, recognised agent.

The theory of recognition provides a framework to look at different levels of recognition of social actors. These levels were discussed in section 2.7. and therefore, would not be repeated now. The results from the social actors analysis of images from each corpus, portraying NLLs, RNS and both groups of social actors together are looked through the three levels of recognition, presented by Honneth (1995).

With regard to the level of self-confidence, the results from analysing images through criteria of appointed social agency, context and social relations serve as the basis for analysing manifestations of expression of love as acceptance of social actors on the private level. The images portraying social actors with their family, attending to children, in a home setting represent them as privately recognised. Self-respect is analysed through the interpretations of the results from the analysis of the images of NLLs with regard to the analysis of social interaction, generic and specific representations, individual and groups representations and strategies of exclusion. On the solidarity level, self-esteem is analysed based on the findings from the analysis of images in terms of exclusion, appointed social agency and occupations, with the aim of detecting if NLLs are recognised as potential members of Norwegian society and if such representation supports the belief that they would take an active part in social and working life, and be able to provide for themselves. The most effective interpretations are made in a combination of criteria social actor analysis, critical approach of CDA and the recognition theory. In the following table, the analytical logic of the research for using mixed methods is presented.

Image 2

Analytical Framework for Thesis



The above table illustrates the methodological approach of the study: an image as a medium of communication is analysed by a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. Analytical tools of visual grammar and criteria from social actor analysis are applied to collect numerical data, which, in its turn are interpreted through discourse and recognition theory and are presented in non-numerical data.

3.2.3. Reliability and validity

Validity and reliability in terms of choice of materials and methods are important issues in every study. Therefore, it is relevant to discuss validity and reliability of the present study. Validity is related to the extent to which the study can address the research question. In particular here, to what extent social actor analysis, CDA and recognition theory can be reliable methods to answer the research questions

One challenge that was faced by this thesis is linking the data to the broader socio-political context in order to interpret them, while at the same time remaining neutral and avoiding the over interpretation of data. In order to face this challenge, it was necessary to employ a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis. The quantitative analysis was chosen in order to achieve a scientific level of data description and processing, and in order to

avoid subjective arguments based on cherry picking data. However, the quantitative analysis itself does not provide more than a description of the data, as it fails to explain the phenomenon or link it to broader socio-political contexts. Here, it was necessary to include CDA based qualitative analysis and recognition theory that links the described data to the wider social, cultural and political contexts in which it emerged.

Reliability can be defined as the ability of a research method to generate the same results when applied by other researchers in similar conditions. This has to do with the notion of objectivity. A method is reliable if it can yield the same results regardless of who is conducting the research; when the results of the method differ depending on the researcher, it means that the method is not objective, and that it is inclined to subjective influence. In order to avoid low levels of reliability, a research method has to be selected and to respond to the nature of the research questions and the nature of data analysed.

To meet these concerns, this study has confined itself to using methods similar to the one employed in other similar research, with three consecutive steps. First, the study proposes a hypothesis that is consonant with the theory of CDA, the hypothesis relates to the nature and organization of the data that is to be analysed. Second, data gathering and quantification, where the data from the corpora is quantified and presented for research. The last step is hypothesis verification, where the initial hypothesis is matched against the quantified data, for either validation or falsification. In the present research, it is expected that the data will show certain patterns in representing the social actors, mainly a pattern of “othering” when representing the Norwegian language learners, in an attempt to depict them as “exotic and “other” as opposed to depicting them as potential (with agency) members of Norwegian society. The method selected for this study has been employed by other researchers on similar topics (Babaii, Atai & Kafshgarsoutch 2016; Sarani & Kord 2018; Rashidi & Ghaedsharafi 2015). These studies, and many others, have followed similar methodical paths, often resulting in high levels of consistency in terms of the results achieved. The fact that the proposed method has achieved consistent results repeatedly in other studies is seen as a good indication of its reliability.

In terms of reliability, it was important to consider that criteria for choosing the images for analysis do not influence the results. As outlined in section 3.1.1. each corpus was defined by clear description of who are representatives of NLLs and representatives of RNS. However, in the restriction about what images are not included into analysis, it was indicated that images

representing children as main participants, especially in instances when children look at the viewer, do not contribute to any of corpora. Some of images where children were not main participants and were featured as a part of context for social actors under analysis, were counted into the corpora. The same concerns images where angle of shots was to be identified. As discussed earlier there are different degree of highness and obliqueness of angle, which does not provide clear cut cases. Therefore, there is always a part of subjectivity in categorising the level and position of angle in images.

As it was discussed in section 3.2.2. not all images meet criteria indicated by social actor analysis. Such images were not defined by these criteria. In other cases, an image can meet several analytical criteria and consequently, can be attached to several criteria. This aspect influences the total number of images for each criterion, presented in tables, in terms that it might not provide correspondence with the total number of images for each corpus. In the present research the final results are not influenced by this aspect, as the study looks at the leading patterns of visual representations of social actors. Additionally, as it was indicated before, the results of the present research are valid for the three NSL textbooks chosen and cannot be applied to other NSL textbooks.

It is also assumed in the research that images produce an impression on the viewer/learner, and as discussed earlier, has a potential to transfer hidden curriculum. However, the present study does not focus on the audience, as it would go completely beyond the scope of the current research to seek to understand how viewers actually react to the images in question, it would require a completely independent research. However, the viewer's reaction towards images is only touched upon in the study, it is not one of the key questions of the research, nor does it provide a basis for any larger results in the discussion section. In others, the viewer's receptions of the images are not covered by the study without affecting the overall results of the research.

4. Presentation of findings

This section presents the findings of the analysis described previously. The data is expressed in figures and represented in tables to allow for clarity and comparison of the criteria, corpora, and textbooks. The section starts with the total image count and distribution of image corpora between the textbooks. Further on, the findings from the analysis of the representation of social actors and viewer network and the analysis of the visual social actor network are presented. Finally, the section presents the findings from the qualitative analysis of the selected images.

4.1. Distribution of images within the NSL textbooks

The aim of this section is to present the distribution of image corpora between the textbooks under analysis. As discussed previously, the corpora of NLLs includes all images depicting Norwegian language learners. The RNS corpus is comprised by the rest of the images representing human participants. The images defined with the textbook as showing the traditions from other cultures are not considered in the analysis. A separate corpus is provided for the images showing NLLs and RNS together in various contexts and settings. Table 1 presents the total count of images from each NSL textbooks under analysis.

Table 1

Total image count representing NLLs, RNS separately and together

	Number of pages	Total, all images	NLLs	RNS	NLLs+RNS	Total, NLLs, RNS, NLLs+RNS
<i>På vei</i> , 2018	256	317	14	160	11	185
<i>Stein på Stein</i> , 2014	200	161	2	66	3	71
<i>Norsk Nå!</i> , 2016	320	944	125	160	66	351
TOTAL	776	1422	141	386	80	607

It is clear from the table that the distribution of images is uneven. NLLs are mostly represented in the textbook *Norsk Nå* as a clear-cut corpus in various settings and situations. They are depicted as individuals or groups and often mixed with RNS. Seven members of the Norwegian language course presented in *Norsk Nå* in images, which comprises the corpus of NLLs. The

main character is NLL Daniela from Brazil, however, other NLLs are also regularly represented within the textbook, however with less depth.

Notably, the textbooks *På vei* and *Stein på stein* do not offer such a generous representation of NLLs. *På vei* features two NLLs, Karim and Samira from Syria. Neither visual nor verbal narratives specifically identify other NLLs, other than in a generalized classroom setting. The textbook *På vei* offers quite a good number of instances showing NLLs and RNS featured together in one setting. In the textbook *Stein på Stein*, there are 3 images with NLLs. The profiles of the NLLs in *Stein på Stein* lack depth and any detailed personal characteristics. Each NLL is mentioned once in connection with the topic under discussion. The corpus of images with RNS, on the other hand, is richly represented, thus portraying the diverse Norwegian society.

4.2. Positioning of social actors

The first part of the analysis focuses on how NLLs and RNS as social actors are positioned to the viewer. As described in section 3.2.1, this type of analysis is three-dimensional and deals with social distance, social relations and social interaction between the depicted people and the viewer. These relations are, nevertheless, imaginary (van Leeuwen 2008:138), but can still be identified for analysis. All three dimensions must be present in a visual representation to establish a certain type of relation between the represented social actors and the viewer.

Table 2A and 2B indicate the results of the analysis of viewer network from the three textbooks under analysis. The results from each edition are assembled in tables. Table 2A shows separate results for the NLL and the RNS corpora found in the three textbooks. Table 2B displays the results for the corpus of NLLs and RNS represented together. Tables with the complete findings from each textbook are provided in Appendix A (A1 – A3).

Table 2A

Representation of social actors and viewer network. Adapted from van Leeuwen (2008:141).

	Social distance (Distanciation)	Social relation (Disempowering)	Social interaction (Objectivation)
Dimension	Shot	Angle	Address
Social actors	NLLs vs RNS	NLLs vs RNS	NLLs vs RNS

<i>Stein på stein</i> Total images of social actors 71	Far		34	High		14	Direct		23
	Close	3	31	Low	2	16	Indirect	3	43
				Vertical	1	26			
				Oblique		11			
<i>Norsk Nå!</i> Total images of social actors 351	Far	59	103	High	43	77	Direct	44	61
	Close	58	64	Low	15	22	Indirect	68	109
				Vertical	16	27			
				Oblique	20	27			
<i>På vei</i> Total images of social actors 185	Far	4	122	High	6	83	Direct	4	33
	Close	11	36	Low	1	32	Indirect	17	120
				Vertical	1	14			
				Oblique	2	30			

Table 2B

Representation of NLLs and RNS together and viewer network. Adapted from van Leeuwen (2008:141).

	Social distance (Distanciation)		Social relation (Disempowering)		Social interaction (Objectivation)	
Dimension	Shot		Angle		Address	
Social actors	NLLs + RNS		NLLs + RNS		NLLs + RNS	
<i>Stein på stein</i> Total images of social actors 3	Far	2	High		Direct	
	Close	1	Low	1	Indirect	3
			Vertical			
			Oblique	1		
<i>Norsk Nå!</i> Total images of social actors 66	Far	51	High	7	Direct	4
	Close	15	Low	5	Indirect	56
			Vertical	23		
			Oblique	29		
<i>På vei</i> Total images of social actors 11	Far	10	High	3	Direct	1
	Close	1	Low	1	Indirect	10
			Vertical	4		
			Oblique	2		

4.2.1. Social distance

“In pictures, as in real life, distance

communicates interpersonal relationships”
(van Leeuwen 2008:138).

In visual representations, distance symbolically communicates relational attitude between the represented participant and the viewer: either close and familiar (close shots) or distanced and reserved (far shots). In *Stein på stein*, NLLs are portrayed at a close distance in the three cases available in the textbook (Table 2A). The textbook *På vei* also mostly represents NLLs at a close distance, thus emphasizing the personal characteristics of them as social actors (Table 2A, Image 3). The most numerous corpus of NLLs, found in *Norsk Nå*, shows their positioning evenly at a far and close distance, offering a neutral approach to either look at them as strangers or as “one of us” (Table 2A). Overall, NLLs as social actors are portrayed as being close to the viewer (in *Norsk Nå* more neutrally so). They are symbolically drawn near and represented as “one of us” (van Leeuwen 2008:138).

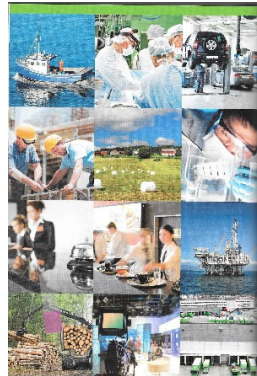
Image 3
På vei 2018:19



RNS are rendered almost equally from far and close distance in the *Stein på stein* textbook, showing a neutrality of distancing. There is a clear tendency in *På vei* and *Norsk Nå!* towards presenting RNS at a far distance (Table 2B, Image 4,5). Distanciation makes it difficult to perceive the personal characteristics of RNS and represents them as strangers to the viewer.

Image 4
Norsk Nå! 2016:128

Image 5
Norsk Nå! 2016:138



The corpus of images portraying representatives of both groups together signals the possibility of an interaction between NLLs and RNS (Table 2B). The textbook *Norsk Nå!* shows a number of such examples and a consistency in portraying this combined group as distanced and detached (far shots, indirect address) (Table 2B, Image 6-8). *Stein på stein* and *På vei* include fewer instances of NLLs and RNS together, but a large majority of these images are portrayed at far distance, indicating distancing from the members of this group.

Image 6
På vei 2018:143

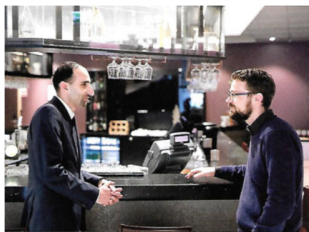


Image 7
Norsk Nå! 2016:157



Image 8
Norsk Nå! 2016:148



4.2.2. Social relations

Social relations are expressed by the shot level and positioning of angle. In terms of van Leeuwen (2008:139), vertical front eye level symbolically denotes involvement and equality, whereas horizontal oblique angle symbolically detaches the represented subject from the viewer. High angle connotes power of the viewer, low angle stands for attaching power to the represented subject. The relations are symbolical and imaginary, and the shot angle has various degrees of the level. Nevertheless, the analysis of the angle in the images from the three NSL textbooks shows certain dominant trends.

NLLs as social actors are most frequently shown from a high vertical angle in *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei* (Table 2A, Image 9,10). As described earlier, high and vertical angles produce certain imaginary power relations. NLLs as social actors are seen from the position of power. In combination with the oblique angle of their shots, especially visible in *Norsk Nå!* (Table 2A), NLLs are perceived as detached. The level of involvement decreases as the angle becomes more oblique; that is when detachment increases. The maximum level of obliqueness can create a sense of ignoring each other. Van Leeuwen gives an example of an oblique angle when people sit together at a lecture or in a train (2008:139), which gives a context of experiencing things together but “ignoring each other”.

Image 9

Norsk Nå! 2016:38



Image 10

Norsk Nå! 2016:174



In contrast, *Stein på stein* offers a low vertical angle for representing NLLs, showing them as having imaginary power over the viewer (Table 2A, Image 11).

Image 11

Stein på stein 2014:13



På vei prefers a high and oblique angle to represent NLLs, which generally supports the dominant strategy of power imposition over NLLs as well as detachment from them as social actors (Table 2A, Image 12).

Image 12

På vei 2018:24



With regard to shot level and angle positioning, RNS are visualized from a high angle (less neutrally in *Stein på stein*), thus offering a sense of power to the viewer. However, it is worth mentioning that RNS are chiefly portrayed in a context with other people or in an extended environment. This could explain the choice of this shot level as the best level to take a picture from in order to capture the best image. In this case, the effect is opposite. A group of people with a solid background context, portrayed from a high angle, would give an impression of them being powerful. The oblique angle is mainly used in representations of RNS in *På vei*, showing them as detached and placing the viewer on the sidelines of interaction. *Norsk Nå!* shows neutrality with regards to involvement and detachment. *Stein på stein* portrays RNS at a vertical, rather than at a high level. In combination with the oblique positioning, the RNS become to a degree powerful and detached from the viewer.

The third corpus, representing both groups of social actors together, reveals different trends across the three NSL textbooks (Table 2B). This combined group is portrayed as detached strangers in the textbook *Norsk Nå!* (far distance). The limited examples of this group in *På vei*

show them instead from a high vertical angle symbolically disempowering this group. Again, this point can be nuanced, as the combined group is featured in a sophisticated context (classroom and work environment) and this aspect does not deprive social actors from having power, on the contrary, presenting them as important. *Stein på stein* portrays NLLs as a part of the group from a low oblique angle, symbolically empowering the group but detaching them as strangers.

4.2.3. Social interaction

The crucial factor with regard to social interaction is gaze: whether the social actor looks at the viewer (direct address) or does not look at the viewer (indirect address). Direct address establishes contact with the represented subject, whereas, indirect address would offer the subject as an object of “dispassionate scrutiny” (van Leeuwen, 2008:140).

In the textbook *Stein på stein*, NLLs look away from the viewer (Table 2A, Image 13,14). The three NLL representatives do not address the viewer directly. Still, the indirect address is a kind of appeal to the viewer, signified by other elements, like facial expressions as well as angle. Here the low, somewhat oblique, angle of the social actors looking away with peaceful facial expressions, idealizes them as dreamers or thinkers. They address the viewer from the side indirectly.

Image 13

Stein på stein 2014:13



Image 14

Stein på stein 2014:99



Similarly, indirect address prevails in the representations of NLLs in *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei* (Table 2A, Image 15,16). NLLs as social actors are offered as objects of scrutiny and consequently, are objectivated.

Image 15
Norsk Nå! 2016:100



Image 16
På vei 2018:181



The dominance of indirect address in the representations of RNS in *Stein på stein* offers no interaction and portrays this group as “other” to the viewer. Indirect address is found in the textbooks *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*. RNS as social actors do not address the viewer directly, they are objectivated. The viewer is allowed to scrutinize the group of RNS in all their varied representations (Image 17).

Image 17
På vei 2018:163



The images where NLLs and RNS appear together social actors are also objectivated. The depicted participants in the images do not look directly at the viewer and again, this renders this group as an object for observation.

Image 12

På vei 2018:139



To sum up, the three aspects of positioning the viewer with regard to the represented social actor – distance, angle and gaze – are always there in every representation. As noted by van Leeuwen, “one cannot portray someone in a two-dimensional picture without making choices in all three of these respects” (2008:141). These choices, however, produce certain effects. To portray a social actor as “other” and “not like us” can be carried out by particular representational strategies and their combination. Distanciation is obtained through shots at a distance, disempowerment is provided by a high angle, often in a combination with an oblique angle, objectivation is produced by the indirect address of the participant and the side gaze (van Leeuwen 2008:141).

The analysis of images with regard to distance in *Stein på stein* and *På vei* shows that NLLs are portrayed with a close shot, as “one of us” (Table 2A). The distance with regard to NLLs is expressed equally in far and close shots in *Norsk Nå!* (Table 2A). However, the impression remains that images of NLLs often promote the perception of their personal characteristics, their profiles are drawn nearer to the viewer, they are not distanced.

In terms of angle, NLLs are shown as empowered in *Stein på stein*. The images of the three NLLs are taken from a low frontal angle. The high angle of shots in images of NLLs is in contrast present in *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*. This is enabling the strategy of disempowerment of NLLs in these textbooks. What is also equal for these two textbooks is the presence of an oblique angle in the portrayal of NLLs. The use of such an angle in images, as argued earlier, detaches the represented participants from the viewer and does not invite viewers to identify with them (van Leeuwen, 1996:138). NLLs as social actors are symbolically disempowered in the analysed textbooks. As for angle, the issue is always present with regard to the exactness of the identification of the level. There are several degrees of obliqueness. For this reason, detachment, which obliqueness signifies, is better revealed in the interaction with direct and indirect address.

In all the three NSL textbooks under analysis, NLLs as social actors chiefly address the viewer indirectly. They do not look at the viewer. In terms of van Leeuwen, this aspect creates a real imaginary barrier (1996:120) between the counterparts. Indirect address in combination with an oblique angle, which is evenly present in such shots, show NLLs as objects of scrutiny. They are objectivated. This strategy is especially observed in *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei* (Table 2A).

The largest corpus of social actors is represented by the images of RNS. *Stein på stein* offers an almost neutral attitude to the distancing of RNS. The social distance within these images varies from close to far to almost equal in some instances. It shows a flexibility with regard to distancing as applied to this group of social actors in *Stein på stein*. *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei* show unanimity in featuring RNS mainly in far shots, which reveals a pattern of distancing from the viewer. They are seen as “other” and as abstract objects to the viewer. They are preferably visualized from a high angle in *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*. This is less explicit in *Stein på stein*, where they are visualized as empowered or disempowered in almost equal proportion. The oblique angle is strongly present in the representations of RNS. Together with a dominant indirect address in images representing RNS across all three NSL textbooks, this group is depicted as detached and “other”.

The strategies of distancing, disempowerment and objectivation are detected in the representations of NLLs and RNS placed together in one image (Table 2B). Images from this corpus are unanimously taken from a far distance, with a high and oblique angle and offering no eye contact with the viewer. This group is offered as an object of scrutiny and contemplation with regard to the affinity between the actors.

Similarly, for the separate presentations of both corpora, NLLs and RNS, the depiction of them as detached (oblique angle) and objectivated (indirect address) is evenly present. Images where both groups are featured together are also classified as distanced and objectivated. Such images do not communicate with the viewer directly and the represented participants do not offer involvement with their characters or the activities they carry out. However, there is a tendency to show the group from a vertical angle, signifying a certain focus on the matter of affinity that such images represent. Indirect address, however, decreases the level of social interaction and makes these group images to objects for scrutiny.

The analysis of angle and distance and their combination provides further classification of the social actors. NLLs communicate with the viewer from a short distance. They offer

interpersonal relations to the viewers, who are also learners, belonging in reality to this same group of people. RNS, depicted from a far distance, are rendered as “other”. The social relations of RNS with the viewer are shown variously from being powerful (low angle in *Stein på stein*) to giving power over them to the viewer (low angle in *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*). In the context of the NSL textbooks this makes sense: empowered or not (angle), but objectivated (indirect address) and detached (oblique angle), RNS are rendered as “other”, “not like us”, the NLLs viewing the textbook. The viewer can associate with the representations of NLLs as images of themselves from a short distance. However, the strategies of detachment (oblique angle) and objectivation (indirect address) in combination with disempowerment marginalise this group and show the powerless position of the NLLs within the represented society or group.

The NLL corpus is particularly small in the textbook *Stein på Stein*, but distinct representation strategies are still present. The number of images featuring NLLs is also limited in *På vei*. However, all instances portraying NLLs solo or in groups contribute to detecting the main patterns in their representations. The main corpus of RNS and NLLs is comprised by the images from *Norsk Nå*. The findings reveal general patterns in representation across the three NSL textbooks, discussed earlier in this section. Similar within all three textbooks is the unequal proportion between the NLL and the RNS corpora. The RNS corpus is the largest across these textbooks, which signals an issue of general dominance and power over NLLs. The prevailing presence of RNS in the representations of social actor and viewer networks shows their inclusion in these categories and excludes NLLs from this type of interaction.

4.3. Representation of social actors

This part of the analysis focuses on how NLLs and RNS as social actors are depicted in the NSL textbooks under analysis. Van Leeuwen commented that this approach is not an alternative to the first one. The two dimensions are always co-present, realizing both “How are the people in the picture presented?” and “How is the viewer’s relation to the people in the picture represented?” (2008:142). Here representations of social actors in the textbooks are analysed in terms of their categorization into the criteria of roles, specific and generic categorizations, individuals and groups, strategies of exclusion and inclusion. It is notable that when particular social actors are included into contexts and activities and the others are not, it suggests exclusion of those from

the depicted activities and contexts. An analysis of the instances of exclusion, therefore, is carried out after all instances of inclusion are detected.

Additionally, the criteria of appointed agency, occupation and contextualization were introduced to reinforce the analysis of the social profiles of the represented participants. The meaning of each criteria is described in greater details in subsection 2.6. and will not be repeated here.

Certain criteria applied to the visual representation, or the combination of criteria mentioned above, can produce the effect of “otherizing” social actors (van Leeuwen 2008:142). Van Leeuwen indicates exclusion, agency in actions held in low esteem, homogeneity of the group, strategies of cultural connotations and racial stereotyping (van Leeuwen 2008:142.). The most exhaustive interpretations, however, are obtained by analysing the various criteria in combination. This approach is used actively in this part of analysis.

Table 3A shows the findings from the analysis of the visual social actor network. Similar to above, the results are presented in two tables: Table 3A shows the results for NLLs and RNS separately from each textbook. Table 3B shows the results from the analysis of images showing NLLs and RNS together. Tables 3A and 3B show the results with the dominant modes or representations, found in the analysis. Due to the large amount of data this comprises, the tables containing the results of each textbook and for each corpus are placed in Appendix B (B1-B3) and are referred to when relevant. Not all data is included in Table 3. Criteria showing low frequency are not represented in Table 3, however they are commented on when relevant. The complete table of findings from each textbook can be found in Appendix B (B1 – B3). Interpretations of findings at this stage of analysis are first made for each textbook, then analysed in comparison.

Table 3

Analysis of visual social actor network. Adapted from van Leeuwen (2008:147)

<i>Social actors</i>	Stein på stein			Norsk Nå			På vei		
	NLLs	RNS	NLLs+RNS	NLLs	RNS	NLLs+RNS	NLLs	RNS	NLLs+RNS
<i>Number of images</i>	68		3	285		66	174		11
<i>Roles</i>									
-Patient		16		2	12	8		8	
-Agent	2	38	3	60	113	42	2	92	11

<i>Appointed agency</i>									
-Work of high esteem	1	10	1	41	5	4	37	4	
-Work of low esteem		11	1	8	18	1	12		
<i>Occupation</i>									
-Work	1	20		8	55	1	4	49	
-Housework		1		3	15			5	
-Socializing		6	1	9	12	17	1	15	
-Recreating		5	1	6	22	2		19	
-Studying	1			7		12		2	
-Attending to children		1		1	3			6	
-Posing for picture		19		20	30	5	7	27	
-Training		1			10			4	
-Eating, drinking		1			6	5		9	
-Hiking		1			2				
-Singing			1			2			
-Reading/Writing		1		4	5	2	1	1	
-Medical treatment				3	11	1		4	
-Shopping/paying				12	4	4		4	
-Making/serving food				2	3	2		6	
-Bicycling				4	2				
-Getting married					6			2	
-Being in a meeting					3			3	
-Teaching					6	2		3	
<i>Categorization</i>									
-Specific	1	34	2	87	117	48	4	132	
-Generic: -Cultural	1	22	1	10	38	4	6	27	
-Biological		10		27	5	8	1	4	
-Individual	1	46		90	98		14	83	
Group: -									
Homogenization	1	15	1	9	55	9		42	
-Differentiation	1	4	2	26	7	57		35	
<i>Contextualization</i>									
-No context		17		17	16		6	13	
-In context:									
Family and friends		14		26	21	26	1	26	
Nature		5		1	13			12	
Work environment	1	20	1	7	34	1	5	46	
Home		1		15	20	3		23	
In the classroom				14	4	13		3	
Shopping mall/grocery				10	4	6		7	
Health institution				1		2		3	
Sport setting		2			13			8	
In the church					3			1	
Cinema/concert					2				

The following subsections 4.3.1. – 4.3.4. present the findings related to representation strategies used to portray RNS and NLLs as social actors in each textbook under analysis. The findings reflect the data presented in Table 3.

4.3.1. Presentation of social actors in the textbook *Stein på stein*

In the textbook *Stein på stein*, NLLs as social actors are shown as active agents in contexts of socializing, working and singing in a choir. In one instance NLLs are shown doing work of high esteem. Although the image is obviously set up for the textbook, the implication that such a

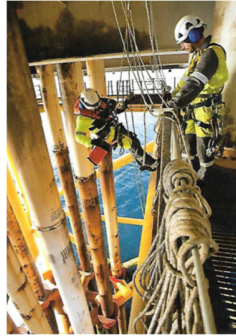
possibility exists is there. In the case of singing in a choir, the NLLs are viewed in a context with other singing members of the choir. Images portraying NLLs talking to other people show them being involved and active. Such representations portray NLLs as accepted and recognised socially. They are also shown as individuals, highlighting their personal features. This supports the findings from the analysis of the positioning of the viewer in the previous section. NLLs in these images are portrayed from a short distance, with a focus on their personal characteristics, and they are represented with respect to their individuality.

The limited number of images of NLLs in *Stein på stein* prevents further interpretations from this corpus alone. However, as argued earlier, the corpus of NLLs can also be viewed and interpreted through the analysis of the corpus of RNS with regard to exclusion and connotation strategies. RNS as social actors are portrayed as confident in a rich variety of contexts such as with family and friends, in work situations and social networks or enjoying recreational activities in nature. This indicates the exclusion of NLLs from the settings where RNS are actively present. The instance of representing both types of actors together (singing in a choir, socializing) assumes that such a possibility exists, but this is not confirmed with more examples.

RNS are mostly portrayed as active specific individuals, often posing for the photoshoot, emanating confidence and pride or enjoying recreational activities in nature. They are also shown as physically active. Group images of RNS show them as culturally homogenized to enhance impression of a nation united by traditions and folklore. Images of RNS in work situations, show cooperation between the members of the group. Taken with the fact that they are shown wearing the same type of protective outfits or same style of clothes and acting in cooperation, it illustrates the power of collaboration and accord among the RNS (Image 13, 14). Such a representation aligns with the findings related to the positioning the viewer and place the RNS as “other” and culturally different from the NLLs.

Image 13
Stein på stein 2014:120

Image 14
Stein på stein 2014:125



NLLs are not offered to associate with the RNS but are to become acquainted with the social and cultural matters presented in the textbook, in which RNS play active role. The representations of RNS as a homogenous, culturally detached group alone do not connote cultural prejudice, but in comparison with a scanty and isolated presentations of NLLs in the textbook *Stein på stein*, they are important in signifying detachment and separation from the NLLs.

Additional findings from analysing the images in the textbook *Stein på stein* show the dominant presence of instances depicting Norwegian folklore and legends. Along with several examples of famous paintings and references to famous literature pieces, it creates a Norwegian climate across the book and does not include examples from other cultures into the narrative, which would be natural in a culturally diverse society.

Other findings reveal a focus on presenting Norwegian society as female-oriented. Images showing women in empowering positions are more frequent than those representing NLLs or a combination of NLLs and RNS in one context. It can be assumed that the author of the textbook considered emphasizing one topic over the other as more important, instead of providing more examples illustrating cultural diversity.

4.3.2. Presentation of social actors in the textbook *Norsk Nå!*

The narrative of the textbook *Norsk Nå!* is constructed around a Norwegian language learner Daniela and her daily activities. In addition, other language course participants are actively represented within the textbook. The total of images showing NLLs in this textbook provides a sufficiently large corpus of NLLs for analysis. A large number of images where NLLs and RNS are presented together show that the idea of integration is recognised. The strategy of active

inclusion of NLLs into one context with RNS, especially in family settings, shows the NLLs as accomplished and included privately (Table 3, Image 15-16).

Image 15
På vei 2018:38



Image 16
Norsk Nå! 2016:290



Image 17
Norsk Nå! 2016:290



However, further analysis reveals a strategy of exclusion of NLLs in other social spheres. They are actively excluded from the whole range of activities and settings where RNS play active roles (Table 3, Appendix B2). RNS are frequently shown as having active agency and doing work of high esteem. Generally, the tendency of RNS holding higher positions in work situations and a greater number of images with settings where RNS are shown at work, in meetings, teaching and instructing underlines the dominant position of RNS over NLLs with regard to the work market. Although it is recognised in the study that NLLs learn Norwegian language precisely in order to obtain employment, images where they are depicted at work demonstrate the strategy of showing them as agents in activities of low esteem (van Leeuwen, 2008:147) and as subservient. There are no instances showing NLLs doing work of high esteem. Low esteem work (cleaning, assisting, serving) are the types of work NLLs are represented doing. The absence of a work environment and colleagues in the images does not provide a working context that the NLLs deserve. There are no visual accounts or textual descriptions of decent employment of NLLs after completing the language course either. They are represented as holding lower social positions within the textbook and are excluded from better work perspectives. These representations do not provide an optimistic perspective for NLLs and communicate a hidden curriculum regarding their lower social status in Norwegian society. The qualitative analysis of images differently portraying NLLs and RNS at work is provided in section 4.5.2.

The other important spheres of social activities are recreational activities and training where NLLs are poorly represented or totally excluded. In the instances where NLLs are shown engaging in recreational activities, they chiefly talk to each other over a cup of coffee or tea. There are no examples in the textbook *Norsk Nå!* of sports activity or training with the participation of NLLs. This finding becomes significant in comparison with the representations of RNS at engaging in recreational activities such as being in the nature, visiting an art gallery, going to the cinema, painting and doing sport activities. As a result, NLLs are placed in a passive, almost excluding position with regard to important human activities. In contrast with RNS, NLLs are never visually “mentioned” in hiking, teaching, painting, being at church, visiting an art gallery or theatre and cinema (Appendix B2). They are definitely shown in a limited context in contrast with RNS, who are portrayed empowered by significant surroundings such as extended family and friends, in church and around wedding guests, at the sea and in the mountains, all in colorful pictures.

A notable exception can be seen with regard to one particular activity and context in which NLLs has a leadership in representation. This is shopping at shopping malls and groceries stores. Keeping in mind that the corpora of NLLs is smaller than that of RNS, the instances of NLL shopping activities is disproportionately high in comparison to images showing RNS shopping. This aspect portrays NLLs as active consumers of goods in Norway. However, it appears in contrast with their representations showing them with low esteem work, and consequently a low income. Daniela’s payroll slip from the hairdresser saloon shows her modest income and contrasts with her frequent consumption of goods (*Norsk Nå!*:236).

With reference to categorization, both types of social actors are visually shown individually and specifically, depicting them as persons of certain types. The bias is visible with regard to generic categorizations. NLLs are more frequently portrayed highlighting their biological characteristics with a focus on skin colour, hair colour, style and particular facial traits. Culturally, they are shown as wearing a particular style of clothes and traditional clothes (Mona) (*Norsk Nå!*:174). that are different from the Norwegian style. In groups, NLLs are presented equally as homogenized and differentiated showing neutrality with regards to their representation as a group. The point is that these representations of NLLs qualitatively differ from the representations of RNS. RNS are visually represented chiefly as culturally homogenized. This is shown in the visual presentations of a particular Norwegian type of clothes

(weather protected outfits, work wear, national costumes), as well as focusing on biological traits (whiteness) of RNS, often presented in socially and culturally homogenous groups. Such categorizations produce stereotypes of RNS being unanimous and “all the same” for the viewer.

Even though the Norwegian society is portrayed by representatives of different race and ethnicities, they are shown as completely assimilated. For NLLs, it would be impossible to associate with such a strongly cultural and socially different community. RNS then are represented as “other” to NLLs. This results in an increasing contrast between the representations of both types of actors, enhancing their perceptions of each other as cultural and biological strangers.

The narrative of the textbook *Norsk Nå!* positions family values at the center of the narration. Daniela is married to a Norwegian man and they have two children. Images of her activities at home, attending to children, communicating with her husband Knut show her being recognised on the family level and privately accomplished. Images of Daniela surrounded by her family provide the bulk of the images showing both types of social actors together. The types of activities and settings (at home, socializing, having meals) portray both groups as equally activated and socialized. They are shown specifically as different individuals. The focus is strongly placed on family values and family as a source of private accomplishment. The other family represented in the textbook is the just-married Nielsen from South Africa and Silje from Norway. They are actively shown as different biologically and culturally, which might facilitate the acceptance of such differences on private level.

The other common setting where NLLs and RNS are presented together is the Norwegian language training classroom. The Norwegian language course is where diversity is adequately represented visually. The group is shown as homogenized in terms of study activities (reading, writing and listening), still portraying each social actor individually (differentiated). This is an example when both criteria mix and produce an effect of accord between the group members. Either activated or passivated in accordance with the instruction situation, NLLs are shown as accomplished in studying in *Norsk Nå!* (Image 18).

Image 18
Norsk Nå! 2016:14



4.3.3. Presentation of social actors in the textbook *På vei*

As mentioned before, the narrative of *På vei* focuses on Karim and Samira, the Norwegian language learners, a middle-aged married couple from Syria. Both NLLs as social actors are frequently portrayed as individually specific. In some cases, this is with a focus on the biological traits of their faces and on cultural attributes such as Samira's hijab. Remarkably, they are often portrayed posing for an image with limited or no context. They are never shown together in one image (Image 19).

Image 19

På vei 2018:19



Karim is visually depicted once in connection with a parents' meeting - an advanced idea of a collaborative society and an example of inclusion in the virtual activities of Norwegian parents who have school-age children. However, he is shown without context, sitting and presumably waiting for the meeting to get started. Samira is not represented in this setting, nor in the settings of the classroom. There are no instances of this married couple enjoying recreational activities together, talking to each other, having meals or attending to their children. Such representations

shown them as being separate and disempowered. Notably, there is a number of images where Karim is shown in his work situation. As language practice, he is offered a limited employment at a hotel, which gives rise to his social status in the narrative. He is portrayed as having access to work of high esteem. In addition, there are instances where he is represented with his colleagues, socializing, shaking hands, being recognised as an equal and welcomed. The detail here is that he is shown as quite successfully assimilated, which provides the grounds for this success. At his work place, Karim is shown as active and fits into the hotel environment (suit, smile, neat appearance). Images within the classroom settings show Karim with other students, who are not represented in the narrative. Samira is not depicted in the classroom settings. The focus is on the teacher of Norwegian language Håkon, who is shown as having great authority and power (standing while others are sitting, front vertical angle, low angle). He is instructing and teaching, while students are just listening. There are no images of the group discussing something or being active together with the teacher.

The corpus of RNS is shown as confident and active in all types of activities from high esteemed work to recreational activities, socializing with family and friends, training, shopping and making food. RNS are shown as specific individuals in solo images, while in groups they are portrayed as culturally homogenized. This means that they are represented either in groups showing them as a whole in terms of traditional clothes, big gatherings (17th of May), work situations wearing the same type of clothes, acting in accord, smiling to each other. Often in these cases, the image comprises participants with the same biological appearance (whiteness).

Image 20

På vei 2018:173



Images showing a diverse Norwegian society show variety in age, race, gender. Homosexuals are shown in the narrative as a natural aspect of everyday life: The father of Tobias (a Norwegian

boy from the narrative) has left his mother for a male lover. This is seen by the study as one more case of “otherizing” Norwegian values with regard to those the learners might have, notably in the case of learners with Muslim and Christian Orthodox religious roots, where ideas of homosexuality are not accepted and can be perceived as disturbing and even offensive to the learners. The set of such representations of RNS altogether show them as “other” to the viewers of the textbook *På vei*.

There are no instances showing the domination of females in the society. There are also no instances of folklore heritage either from Norway or Syria (keeping in mind that Karim and Samira are from Syria). Both types of social actors are equally frequent in ratio with regard to being shown in a portrait style without context, which can be explained by the purpose of the language instruction. Such images were not taken as grounds to conclude that the social actors are disempowered and deprived of context.

4.3.4. Inclusion

The following subsection presents findings related to inclusion strategies employed in each textbook under analysis. As argued earlier, inclusion is communicated by showing social actors in particular roles (patient or agent), their appointed agency (work of high esteem and work of low esteem), their contexts and occupations. Depicting social actors in accordance with one of these criteria or a combination of these criteria would attach certain characteristics to them and provide negative or positive connotations. A social actor, visualized as being active in a highly esteemed work position, surrounded by a working environment and colleagues, would increase the agency of the represented participant and communicate inclusion in the working and social life. The inclusion of a social actor in engaging in low esteemed work, with the absence of context and environment signifies the assignment of that social actor to a low social status. Inclusion as a representation strategy also discloses exclusion. Both strategies exclude each other. In cases where a social actor is included in certain roles and contexts, he or she is concurrently excluded from other settings where they might belong. Both strategies can be “innocent”, assuming that certain types of visual representations are experienced by the viewer as common sense. The systematical use of these strategies is problematic. Systematic inclusion creates stereotypes and reinforces negative or positive connotations. Exclusion, when applied

systematically, prevents the viewer from perceiving a complete picture of reality. It also creates stereotypes and underlines connotations. The following subsection demonstrates how inclusion as a representation strategy is used to characterize social actors.

4.3.4.1. Roles, agency and context

As has been argued, NLLs and RNS are visually represented differently. The contrast is particularly obvious with respect to portraying social actors in their roles, agency, occupation and context, which are typical criteria of an inclusion strategy. The combination of these aspects creates more depth to the profiles of social actors with regard to their social activity and their social agency. However, each criterion remains a separate instrument for analysis. Table 4 presents findings from the analysis of the visual representations of the social actors with regard to their agency, roles, occupation and context within the images in the three textbooks *Stein på stein*, *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*.

Table 4
Roles, agency, occupation, context.

<i>Social actors</i>	NLLs	RNS
Total Roles		
-Patient	3	36
-Agent	64	243
Total Appointed agency		
-Work of high esteem	5	88
-Work at low esteem	8	41
Total Occupation		
-Work	13	124
-Housework	3	21
-Socializing	10	33
-Recreating	6	46
-Studying	8	2
-Attending to children	1	9
-Posing for picture	27	76
-Training		15
-Medical treatment	3	15
-Hiking		3
-Shopping/paying	12	8
-Making/serving food	2	9
-Bicycling	4	2
-Getting married		8
-Being in a meeting		6
-Teaching		9
-Reading/writing	5	5

<i>Total</i>		
<i>Contextualization</i>		
Family and friends	27	61
Nature	1	30
Work environment	13	100
Home	15	44
In the classroom	14	7
Shopping mall/grocery	10	11
Health institution	1	5
Sport setting		23

As can be seen from the table, both NLLs and RNS are depicted as involved in some type of action. NLLs and RNS are visually represented as active agents, the people who implement action. An important detail here has to do with what they do and what is not shown. Agency is connected to the criteria of roles, type of work, context and occupation. As can be seen from the table, NLLs are more frequently portrayed in low-esteem types of work than in high-esteem types of work. The situation is different with the RNS. They, as social actors, are represented mostly doing high-esteem work, in a context within a work environment and often at meetings. They are also shown being busy occupied with meaningful activities, like attending to children, socializing with family and friends at home or out in nature, training and enjoying recreational activities. RNS are not shown doing training activities or hiking. A great deal less frequently than RNS, they are shown at recreation. There are a few occasions, low in frequency and for this reason not discussed here, where NLLs are never “mentioned” visually in contrast with RNS. NLLs are not shown at church, the art gallery, knitting or painting, at the cinema or a concert, or at a wedding (see Table 3 or Appendix B for more details).

Not depicting NLLs in these roles symbolically excludes them from certain occupations and contexts and restricts them to others. NLLs are mostly shown as socializing, studying, being at home or at the shopping malls, and employed in low-esteemed work. Such representations can cause associations of them being idle, confined to lower status, and being somewhat “on hold”. This can potentially produce negative connotations about Norwegian language learners and gain actuality as a part of immigration discourse.

4.3.4.2. Types of social actors in visual representations

Social actors can also be depicted specifically or generically. When a person is portrayed specifically, the focus is placed on the individuality of this person. In visual representations of

people, it can be supposed that they are depicted specifically, but it is not always so. For van Leeuwen there is “a difference between concentrating the depiction on what makes a person unique and concentrating the depiction on what makes a person into a certain social type” (2008:143). “Certain social type” is communicated by generic representations, which focus on the characteristic attributes of the person, placing the uniqueness of the person in the shade of the representation. A generically represented person can be biologically categorized by skin colour, hair style and colour, and body form, whereas cultural characteristics are expressed by attributes like clothes style and colour, scarves, hijabs, and traditional jewelry. As mentioned by van Leeuwen, “their presence is enough. They work through connotations; they connote the negative or positive values and associations attached to a particular sociocultural group” (2008:144). However, there is no clear line between specific and generic representations. They can mix and provide more shades to the representation precisely by adding cultural and biological characteristics into it. Exaggerating cultural characteristics or biological traits of people specify certain types of people as “other” and supports stereotyping.

The representation of people either individually or in groups is a powerful strategy, which adds emphasis to specific and generic representations. Representing people in homogenized groups, especially in combination with generic modes of representation, can create a principle that “they’re all the same”, “you can’t tell them apart” (van Leeuwen, 2008:144). Such types of representations contribute even more to reinforcing the stereotyping of certain groups of people.

Table 5 shows the findings from the analysis of visual representations of social actors in the textbooks *Stein på stein Norsk Nå!* and *På vei* in terms of their generic and specific categorization, and as individuals and groups.

Table 5

Representations of social actors specifically and generically, individually and in groups.

<i>Social actors</i>	NLLs	RNS
<i>Categorization</i>		
Total		
-Specific	92	283
-Generic:		
-Cultural	17	87
-Biological	28	19
Total		
-Individual	105	227
-Group:		
-Homogenized	10	112
-Differentiated	27	46

The above table shows that NLLs and RNS are mostly visually represented as individuals, accentuating personal characteristics and the uniqueness of each represented character. The great number of specifically individualized images of social actors can be explained by the purpose of such representations which is dictated by the study process. They are richly present in all three textbooks under analysis. People often pose for picture in such images to illustrate the narrative of the textbook.

Group images reveal an interesting aspect. NLLs are in limited cases represented in groups, and often, as differentiated. Their individual traits are in focus within such representations. When rendered individually, the focus is placed on the cultural and biological traits of the NLLs. This is often expressed by putting an emphasis on the representation of facial traits and skin colour, hair style or head cover. RNS in individual shots are chiefly shown as unique personalities. When in groups, the accent is placed on homogeneity of the group as a whole. The prominent feature of such representations is generalizing the groups of RNS culturally, either through similar outfits (traditional and workwear), appearance, also biological (whiteness) and types of acting. Such a strategy of otherizing results in presenting the group of RNS as detached within the textbooks and the “other”.

To sum up the above, it can be said that both groups of social actors, NLLs and RNS, are visually represented as separate groups. There is a tendency to represent NLLs as social actors individually with a focus on their biological traits, which makes these representations specific. RNS as social actors are also often shown individually but with more depth provided to their profiles. They are more often portrayed in work wear, with a wider framing and context, which gives weight to such representations. NLLs as a group of social actors are represented with the accent on the difference between the members of the groups. This is in contrast to the homogenized groups of RNS, who are shown as being different to NLLs culturally, socially and often, biologically. When all these elements are put together in one message, it might be expressed like this:

For the Norwegian language learners, it is easier to associate with the NLLs visually represented in the textbooks. However, these representations lack depth with regard to the individual and social level, which lessens the importance of NLLs as social actors. Such types of representations have the potential to relegate the agency of NLLs on these levels. This becomes especially obvious in comparison with the individual representations of RNS, who are portrayed with a

focus on their social position and context, reinforcing the importance of RNS as social actors. The group images of RNS feature a detached homogenized community, different culturally, socially and biologically from NLLs, and consequently from actual Norwegian language learners. This strategy of representation produces an impression for Norwegian language learners of decreased possibilities to associate with this community while simultaneously rendering RNS as culturally, socially and biologically “other”.

4.4. Modes of recognition

As argued in subsection 2.7. in order to confirm or negate the initial hypothesis that NLLs are represented as “exotic others” rather than “insiders” in the Norwegian society, findings from social actor analysis are best combined with their interpretation through Honneth’s Theory of Recognition (1995, [1992]). In this section, the results from social actor analysis will be presented in light of the three levels of recognition. Recognition in the private sphere, providing the self-confidence of social actors, is analysed in the visual manifestations of love and friendship. The criteria of role allocation, context and occupation serve to define the level of recognition in the private sphere. Self-respect is communicated through images of social interaction, generic and specific representations as individuals or groups, as well as instances of inclusion and exclusion. Findings with regard to this provide the basis for analysing if NLLs are seen as valid and included members of the society. Recognition on the solidarity level is analysed through images portraying agency, occupation and context. These criteria are used to examine whether NLLs are recognised as potential contributors to the diverse society and if these representations promote the standpoint that NLLs would take an active role in social and working life and be able to provide for themselves.

As seen from Table 4, NLLs are mostly visualized as active agents. However, there is a difference between the NSL textbooks. There are no images in *Stein på stein* showing NLLs with their family, friends, or attending to children; consequently, NLLs are excluded from recognition on this level in this textbook. *På vei* introduces a married couple from Syria, who are never shown together in one image or context, having meals, communicating or attending to their children. They are portrayed separately, somewhat privately disempowered. It can be argued that they are not privately recognised. There are no instances in these two textbooks where NLLs are

appreciated and recognised in the private sphere. There are no examples of NLLs getting married, embracing each other, making presents to each other. In contrast, RNS are shown in these types of settings at least once in each textbook, which creates a strategy of exclusion of NLLs from private recognition.

Norsk Nå!, as described previously, has family values in focus. The main social actor Daniela is shown actively communicating with her family members, often with her husband Knut, in home settings, and attending to children. She is visualized as privately accomplished, which definitely contributes to her self-confidence. Another just-married couple, introduced in *Norsk Nå!*, is Silje from Norway and Nielsen from South Africa. The bulk of images show them together, in communication, enjoying recreational activities, dancing, and reading together. They are portrayed as a happy, privately accomplished couple. Although Nielsen is not represented as an NLL within the textbook, he is portrayed as an immigrant from South Africa, what makes him similar in this respect to Daniela, from Brazil. Recognition on this level, as argued by Honneth, “constitutes the psychological precondition for development of all further attitudes of self-respect” (1995:107). Such a precondition is present in the visual representations of NLLs in *Norsk Nå!*, but not in *På vei* and *Stein på stein*. What is communicated by these examples in *Norsk Nå!* is the successful integration into the Norwegian society through marriages with Norwegians citizens. Although both couples are shown as different culturally and biologically, they are visually connected by being represented as being privately accomplished.

Detecting the degree of recognition on a legal and solidarity level in images is more challenging. Such notions are not communicated explicitly visually and can be detected by applying the analytical criteria of social actor analysis. For this reason, the criteria of social interaction in images showing NLLs and RNS together, specific and generic categorizations, and strategies of exclusion from certain contexts and occupations are drawn on to examine the visual attitude towards the legal recognition of NLLs.

Images showing both groups of social actors together chiefly depict them either in a classroom setting, in work situations or in the family environment (Table 3; Appendix B1-B3). NLLs are most frequently portrayed as patients in these images, whereas RNS take an active role in teaching, instructing and explaining. There are no instances where things are done by NLLs to RNS. NLLs are not featured in leading roles. Images showing both groups of social actors socializing, portray them as equal members of this interaction. Notably, this trend is especially

visible in *Norsk Nå!*, which has the greatest amount of instances of images showing collaboration between NLLs and RNS.

As discussed in the previous subsection, NLLs are chiefly categorized as specific individuals and when in groups, they are shown as differentiated with a focus on their personal traits (Table 5). The implication here is that NLLs are portrayed with respect to their individuality. However, the bias is obvious with regard to the level of exclusion of NLLs as social actors from the whole range of activities where RNS are active (Table 3; Appendix B). Training, hiking, being in the nature, recreational activities and medical treatments are contexts where NLLs are not visually present within the NSL textbooks under analysis. These activities, however, have no direct relation to the recognition of rights, but show a stable trend of excluding NLLs from these and presumably from other social spheres. Although NLLs are visually represented as unique individuals, which shows respect of them as autonomous people, the recognition of their rights, which contribute to self-respect and social honor (Honneth, 1995:123-124) are not or are weakly articulated in the three NSL textbooks.

Recognition on the solidarity level contributes to the self-esteem of a person and depends on the condition of being accepted as a unique, valuable entity (Honneth, 1995:128). The generalization of certain groups of people, as discussed in section 2.2.4., might devalue the individual potential and contribute to the development of a stigmatized attitude to these individuals. “To esteem one another symmetrically means to view one another in light of values that allow the abilities and traits of the other to appear significant for shared praxis” (Honneth, 1995:129). Work as “shared praxis” is supposed to be an area for practicing solidarity. Notably the type of work people are engaged in contributes to self-esteem. Low-esteem types of work have the potential to reduce self-esteem of the doer of this work, while work of authority contributes to the feeling of superiority of the doer (Honneth 1995). It is clear from Table 4 and shown in subsection 4.3.4.1., that NLLs are represented as engaged in low-esteem work across all three textbooks in total, in considerable contrast to RNS, who are shown as doers of high-esteem work. In *Norsk Nå!*, NLLs as social actors are visually portrayed doing low esteem work, such as cleaners, assistants, and night post carrier. Images with such references are repeated several times across this textbook, thus reinforcing the stereotype of the lower social status of immigrants.

There is one instance of presenting NLLs at a high-esteem work in *Stein på stein* and, as discussed previously, it shows this as a possibility, but it is not further supported by other examples within the textbook. *På vei* offers several instances of images showing NLLs doing high esteem work, offered as language practice to one of NLLs, and portraying this character in a work environment surrounded by colleagues. The point here is that the NLL is shown as being instructed and patronized by his Norwegian colleagues, which is not problematic in itself, if only it were not applied to the only example of decent employment of NLLs within three textbooks. As with the previous levels of recognition, NLLs are rarely shown as being self-accomplished in the Norwegian society, and thus their agency as a unique and potential entity is not visually communicated in the textbooks under analysis.

4.5. Qualitative analysis

The following section presents a qualitative image analysis of three sets of images from the textbooks *Stein på stein*, *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*. The images are analysed with a focus on the strategies of otherizing, disempowering and stereotyping, which are the most active strategies in the visual representation of social actors within these textbooks. The sets of images under analysis are provided in Appendix C.

4.5.1. Images from *På vei*: “Being a family”

The sets of images representing “Being a family” have been chosen from the textbook *På vei* to demonstrate how NLLs are presented privately, as a family (Appendix C). The collection of images with NLLs showing them as a family is analysed in comparison with a similar collection of images of RNS. The comparative analysis aims to detect whether the representation strategies are similar or different.

Karim and Samira, a married middle-aged couple from Syria, are currently the Norwegian language learners. The examples of images (Appendix C, Image C 1, C 2) demonstrate the most prevalent pattern of featuring Karim and Samira: from a close distance, with limited framing, front vertical, and at times, a somewhat low angle with no context provided. The indirect address of their images is an additional characteristic feature. In

accordance with the analytical framework of social actor analysis provided by van Leeuwen, these representations show Karim and Samira as individuals, with the focus on their biological traits (in the case of Karim) and cultural attributes (in the case of Samira). Furthermore, the prevailing extent of indirect address renders these characters as objects for scrutiny, thus objectivated, and not offering the opportunity of interaction with the viewer. Close shots, from which the images are taken, draw Karim and Samira closer, offering association, which, however, due to objectivation cannot be satisfied. With regard to categorization, the analysis reveals that both social actors are posing for the picture, as passive patients. Notably, Karim and Samira are never visualized together as a family. Objectivated and unassociated with each other and with the viewer, such representations show Karim and Samira as being separated, isolated and to a degree, disempowered. Images of Karim and Samira do not show them as a family, their marital status can only be identified from the supplementing texts.

In contrast, images featuring family values as presented by representatives of Norwegian society show close relationships. RNS are portrayed having meals, playing with children, enjoying recreational activities together (Appendix C, Image C 3 – C 5). All images are group images showing the social actors as being active and involved, connected by common family activities, and homogenized. Similar features for all three images are the extended framing that shows family member and the home settings as an empowering context.

The sets of images are obviously different: images with NLLs show them as generic individuals, however without providing context or depth to their profiles. Images portraying RNS show them in an extended context, empowered by the presence of family members. Consequently, the sets of images “Being a family” represents NLLs and RNS differently, with a tendency towards stereotyping RNS as a homogenous united group in contrast with NLLs, who are represented as separate generic individuals. In total, the main strategies in these representations are separation, contrast and unevenness of power between the social actors. While RNS are empowered by the extended context, NLLs are disempowered by being separated.

4.5.2. Images from *Norsk Nå!*: “At work”

Another set of images shows how NLLs and RNS are represented at work in the textbook *Norsk Nå!*. The images are chosen from the chapters “Do you have work?” and “Do you enjoy your work?” (researcher’s translation). The example depicting NLLs, shows a two-page spread where amongst others the viewer sees a small-sized image with Daniela, working as a cleaning assistant in the hairdresser saloon (Appendix C, Images C 6). Images portraying Rashid and Ali, show Rashid as an assistant at a kindergarten and Ali working as a cleaner (Appendix C, Image C 7). It is particularly remarkable that Daniela and Ali are both featured with a floor mop in their hands. The low vertical angle in the image showing Daniela does not provide an effect of empowerment. Since the focus of the shot is on what is she doing, the criteria of context and occupation are more significant than the criteria of angle. Daniela is represented in a subservient role doing work of low esteem.

Rashid and Ali are shown in roles atypical for Muslim males, and similarly to Daniela, in work of low esteem. A floor mop in Rashid’s hands and the playground behind Ali provide a feeling of subjectivity and theatricality of representations. Furthermore, Ali and Rashid are shown alone, without co-workers, which to a certain degree, portray them as remote and unimportant. Daniela’s co-worker is standing with her back turned, thus does not provide a feeling of unity with Daniela. Although, in all three cases, Daniela, Ali and Rashid are shown at work, the type of work and the work settings reduce the importance and power of these social actors at work. Notably, this effect is created by presenting these images on a two-page spread, in one setting, reinforcing the stereotype that immigrants are designated to certain types of work.

Unlike NLLs, RNS are shown as a community united by common work style, conventions and work wear. RNS at work are portrayed in two collages of images, similar in style, settings, accord in actions - all to produce the effect of a whole. RNS are shown in groups, homogenized and objectivated. Both collages are similar in style and colour tone. They are obviously different from the images showing NLLs at work. The layout of the images portraying NLLs and RNS at work shows a difference in the arrangements: images with NLLs are spread over a two-page spread, symbolically separating the represented participants, while RNS are shown as groups, which in their turn, are assembled into dense collages, reinforcing the power of RNS and the stereotype of solidarity within the group. Both types of representations are stylistically and compositionally different. RNS are presented as “other” and different from NLLs.

4.5.3. Images from *Stein på stein*: “Diversity in Norway”

The next set of images, “Diversity in Norway”, is taken from the textbook *Stein på stein* (Appendix C). Image C 10 is a cover page for the chapter “Immigration and emigration”. Image C 11 refers to the chapter “Out at work”. Both images were chosen for the reason of portraying diversity in Norway.

Image C 10 features an audience at a music festival in Oslo. The focus is placed on generic characteristics, similarity and the total absence of social interaction with the participants represented on the front. Obviously, immigrants from India or Pakistan, they are seen from behind, making any social interaction impossible. Drawn closer to the viewer, they “demonstrate” their national dresses and the colours of the shawls. Together with the absence of interaction, these social actors are rendered as objects for scrutiny, their individualities disappear behind their cultural attributes. Objectivated and unassociated with the viewer, they show cultural diversity in the form of exotic clothes and colours, a typical strategy to “naturalize” stereotypes.

Image C 11 shows people of different ethnicities at work. Similar for all the images in this photo collage is the direct address of the represented participants. In combination with the vertical angle and the close to medium distance of the shots, direct address enables social contact and an association with all four social actors depicted. At first sight, it might seem that the images portray specific people, yet the difference is seen when the focus is placed on depicting the uniqueness of each person or on what makes a person into a certain type. However, as mentioned by van Leeuwen, “the specific and generic often mix, with all of the possibilities of “naturalizing” the stereotype which this offers” (2008:143). As in the images under analysis, while portraying each participant specifically, the emphasis remains on their biological characteristics, such as the darker skin colour of the pharmacist contrasting with the white medical coat, and on cultural attributes, like the traditional dress of the waitress. The criteria of work type depict the social actors as holders of lower esteem work. Waitresses, sales assistants and truck drivers traditionally belong to subservient types of work. Showing people of different ethnicities as doers of such work, reinforces the stereotype that minorities in Norway are relegated to lower social positions.

As discussed earlier, an image without a context does not need to be connected with stereotyping. The stereotype can become apparent when used in a certain context, as in the present set of images, which associate people of different ethnicities with low esteem work. This is when this representation becomes significant as a part of the discourse on the occupations of immigrants in Norway.

5. Discussion

As stated in the introduction, the aim of the thesis is to investigate visual representations of Norwegian language learners within NSL textbooks with regard to whether they are visually represented as recognised potential members of multi-cultural Norwegian society, or instead as “other” and disempowered. Do these images communicate an unintended hidden curriculum, which learners might acquire during the course of their study or do they promote the primary aims of the Norwegian Language Study Program for adults “to increase the possibility of newly arrived immigrants participating in working and social life and to increase their financial independence”? (The Introduction Law: 2003). The scope of these tasks can be summarized by the notion of integration and inclusion of immigrants into Norwegian society, a social process grounded in mutual recognition between the newcomers and the majority of the society and the acceptance of the principle of diversity by both parties. As discussed in section 2.3., studies showed that NSL textbooks do not communicate diversity in the Norwegian society appropriately (Hvistendahl, 2004) and represent Norwegians as an example of properness (Wessel, 1995). In order to provide an updated view of NSL textbooks, the current study analyses the latest editions of three NSL textbooks currently actively used in Norwegian language instruction for adults. The empirical part of the study implements social actor analysis in order to reveal particular strategies for representing NLLs as social actors.

In the following section, the findings presented in the previous section will be discussed in relation to the research questions. As presented in subsection 3., the study is comprised by two types of analysis, quantitative and qualitative, and the discussions of findings are organised accordingly. The discussion of the quantitative results addresses the first question of the study (1) and refers to the strategies of otherizing and disempowering. Representations of NLLs are viewed through the analysis of representations of RNS with regards to power relations. The main

patterns in the representation of social actors, detected as the result of the quantitative analysis, provide the core for the qualitative analysis. They are explained in terms of CDA and recognition theory and interpreted in relation to broader socio-political contexts. The discussion at this stage addresses the second (2) and third (3) questions of the study. The discussions here aim at providing more detailed interpretations and checking the initial hypothesis that representations of Norwegian language learners follow the strategy of otherizing and present them as “exotic others”, rather than as active and potential future members of Norwegian society.

5.1. Cultural diversity in visual representations

In terms of the representation of cultural diversity in the NSL textbooks *Stein på stein, Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*, it is relevant to discuss the content of these textbooks. In particular, in this subsection how NLLs are visually presented as showing diversity in Norwegian society is discussed.

As introduced before, the textbooks in question were selected for various reasons. They have been used as teaching material by the researcher in her teaching and previously in her studying of Norwegian language. The textbook series *Stein på stein, Norsk Nå!* and *På vei* are recommended by Kompetanse Norge as being the best teaching materials for A1-B2 levels of Norwegian language for learners with previous education. The latest editions of each series have been chosen for the analysis in order to build on the previous studies of Hvistendahl (2004) and Wessel (1995, 1998) with respect to NSL textbooks for adults. The present study, however, takes on a new direction and investigates visual representations in the chosen NSL textbooks. These textbooks were chosen regardless of the number of images in the textbooks, as long as they were the newest edition.

The texts and titles supplementing the images were used to identify whether an image belongs to the corpus of NLLs or RNS. Once the criteria used to allocate an image either to representatives of Norwegian language learners (NLLs) or to representatives of Norwegian society (RNS) was defined, the majority of the images in each corpus represented clear-cut cases. This means that NLLs were clearly introduced as currently attending a Norwegian course.

As seen in Table 1 (section 4.1.), NSL textbooks vary in volume and, consequently, in the number of images. Similar within all three textbooks is the unevenness of proportion found

between the NLL and RNS corpora. The RNS corpus is the most represented across these textbooks, which signals general dominance and power over NLLs.

Moreover, the construction of the narrative is different in each textbook. *Norsk Nå!* offers a narrative, built around NLLs, which allows the language learners to associate with the character in her daily routines and challenges. Family values are central and represent NLLs and RNS as privately accomplished. Notably, a large number of images in *Norsk Nå!* are replicated across the chapters, providing good visual support to the language learners. NLLs are shown as contributing to cultural diversity, in particular in the private sphere. Some NLLs are shown as assimilated and functioning well in Norwegian society. However, none of the images show NLLs doing high esteem work. The narrative in *Norsk Nå!* positions NLLs in the foreground as a simplified phenomenon: immigration, studying language, and elementary daily routines are shown in a line of idealized representations. Assigned roles and belonging to a lower economic and social class are naturalized through repetition of images which carry such connotations. The private sphere is visually rendered as providing personal accomplishment for some of the NLLs. This is communicated through images showing NLLs with their Norwegian families. Present throughout the textbook, this is the core of narrative and shows the idea of successful assimilation. Norwegian folklore is represented with short examples of children's songs and sayings. There are no instances of folklore from other countries that present Norwegian society as culturally diverse.

The textbook *Stein på stein* introduces three NLLs without providing extended profile characteristics. They are shown visually three times in connection with the attached text that they illustrate. The focus in *Stein på stein* is on the presentation of norms, values and traditions created by Norwegians for Norwegian society. Diversity in the society is shown by portraying people in their national dress, with the focus on their exoticism. Images taken with close shot exaggerate biological facial traits and different skin colour, emphasizing another ethnicity than Norwegian. As mentioned earlier, *Stein på stein* chooses to provide numerous examples of Norwegian folklore, pieces of fine literature, art, and documentary historical photos. Ideas of feminism and homosexuality are visually emphasized in several instances, presumably as important issues to present to the learners. These examples create a Norwegian environment across the textbook *Stein på stein* that shows reality exclusively from a Norwegian point of view.

A married couple from Syria is presented as the NLLs in the textbook *På vei*. As discussed in the previous section, they are presented as unique individuals and never in one context together. Both NLLs are depicted chiefly in portrait images in limited context, isolated and disempowered (away from family, lack of home, friends). Neither are shown in the whole range of activities in which RNS actively take part (Table 3). What is special in *På vei* is the representations of one of the NLLs performing a high esteem work, offered as a language practice. Images depicting this NLL in his work situation portray him as being active and recognised by his coworkers. The aspect lying behind this advancement is the whole appearance of the NLL who looks assimilated and fits into the working environment. A sequence of similar images shows the NLL being intact with the work style and environment of RNS, which connotes the idea that accepting the standards of Norwegian life style and manners opens the possibility to fusion with the Norwegian mainstream. *På vei* chooses not to offer folklore examples from either Norwegian or other cultures. However, all three textbooks show images of Norwegian marriage, confirmation and christening of children. NLLs are not shown in such contexts, even in the traditions of their own religion. What is similar in all NSL books under analysis is the exclusion of NLLs from a variety of activities and contexts where RNS are presented as confident and active agents (Appendix B; Table 3). Work of high esteem, recreational activities, travelling, hiking, and training are the spheres where NLLs are weakly or not visually represented at all. Apart from portraying one NLL as privately accomplished in *Norsk Nå!*, NLLs as social actors are shown as lacking context, power and agency (more detailed discussion on these matters are provided in the following subsections). In contrast, RNS are depicted as powerful, in a context, with family and friends, in active roles and having an active life. Visually represented RNS are a complex phenomenon. They include surroundings, contexts and activities. RNS are the bearers of values and norms that are to be accepted by NLLs; they are various and *normal*. As mentioned by Knudsen, “the normality is often constructed more complexly than the other and otherness” (2016). This is exactly revealed by comparing the representations of NLLs and RNS.

The corpus of images representing both types of social actor together allows for checking how representation strategies show NLLs and RNS in collaboration. Group images featuring NLLs and RNS in one context are distanced, taken at a high, often oblique angle, and position this combined group as an observable object. As mentioned earlier, the majority of group images

with NLLs and RNS show family relations and show no relational or gender bias between the participants. Instances portraying NLLs and RNS together in work situations do not show equality in agency between NLLs and RNS (this is less the case in *På Vei*). NLLs are mostly portrayed as patients, getting instructions and assisting. Considering that *På vei* is the newest edition of the NSL textbooks under analysis and shows more equality in the work situation, it can be argued that this issue has been the subject of positive changes regarding the tendencies of inclusion of NLLs into the Norwegian working mainstream.

NLLs are represented as different from RNS. The Norwegian life style is also shown as the standard. It communicates health, welfare, solidarity – fundamental principles that make this standard indisputable. The representation of NLLs assign them to lower status as they do not present them as equally active and powerful as RNS and do not support (or participate) in this type of lifestyle. This visual pattern shows consistency across the three NSL textbooks under analysis. As it was argued previously in sections 2.3. images are not just pure reflections of objects, events and people. Images render factors outside of the visual context. As a result of semiotic work, they are produced within social power and ideology. Following Barthes's meaning making principle, images "connote" ideological position in such a form that they appear to be common sense. Thus, the imposition of ideology comes into being without mentioning any ideology. In the NSL textbooks *Stein på stein*, *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*, visual representations of NLLs connote "naturalized" stereotypes of immigrants as lacking authority and capacity to act. This stereotype is generalized throughout three NSL textbook and emerges as an outcome of unfair representations of NLLs, hidden behind the application of exclusion strategies and the appointing to lower social status. In terms of Barthes, this "myth" has the potential to be transmitted to the learners as a hidden curriculum and can build sustained beliefs. Following the conclusions of Martines and Harmon (2012) in their study that "illustrations played a dominant role primarily in setting, mood and character relationships", it can be argued that the meaning of images is perceived on an emotional, cognitive level by the learners and for this reason can acquire permanent forms.

Such a powerful institution as education, through images provided in the textbooks, provides patterns of social formations from an authoritative position. Van Dijk defines educational discourse, where textbooks circulate, as an ultimate instrument to shape ideologies (1998). Along with the acquisition of skills and knowledge, education discourse provides and

reflects the dominant ideologies of society (Van Dijk, 1998). Similarly, in accordance with Hodge and Kress, knowledge is represented by the “dominant group” and reflects the interests of their power (1988). As visual representations of NLLs and RNS show them as unequal in power, these representations are ideological in terms of the supremacy of RNS over NLLs, “in order to sustain those structures of domination” (Hodge and Kress, 1988). To sum up the discussion so far, the point is thus made that images portraying NLLs in NSL textbooks portray NLLs from the position of power imposed on them by RNS. Such images reflect the current ideologies in Norwegian society and the Norwegian point of view, imposed by Norwegian authorities.

Thus, answering the question “Whose interests are served?” connects the study to a wider socio-political context. When power is imposed over certain subjects, it often covers underlying skepticism and negative attitudes towards the subject and often, fear, which in its turn, can be an outcome of negative connotations. To exclude subjects from certain contexts then would be an adequate measure of power imposition. To limit and restrict are strategies to maintain control over subjects. Limited agency, revealed in the representations of NLLs is, in this respect, a signifier of a hidden ideology of skepticism towards immigration (Kyllingstad, 2017) as well as fear that ethnic-racial minorities might take control over the country (Knudsen, 2016). Although the Norwegian Government, in order to cope with the high scale immigration, promotes integration and diversity, as well as “erasing the division between ‘us’ and ‘them’” (researcher’s translation) (St. meld. nr. 49 (2003-2004), prejudices and skeptical attitudes towards the “other”, currently present in Norwegian society, seriously prevent these ideas from coming into stable being in everyday reality. As it is argued earlier in this section, NLLs as social agents are not visually represented as contributing to diversity. The diversity as it is presented within the textbooks in question is shown through the visualizing of participants of other ethnicities and race with a focus on the traditional clothes they might wear and their biological traits. That is not the diversity which, in accordance with Honneth, would be an expression of the recognition of rights on a legal and solidarity level, allowing the subjects to be active, potential and responsible members of the society. They instead should be visualized in leading roles, as members of decision-making groups, being in equal positions and in the same contexts as mainstream Norwegians. This is not the case within the textbooks under analysis. Diversity, as promoted by the Norwegian Government, is weakly articulated in *Stein på stein*, *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*, being presented visually in limited forms of variations of people wearing other types of clothes and

having other facial traits. In line with article of Berkaak (2012), mentioned in section 2.1., diversity is not visualized as a *practice* in the textbooks under analysis, but remains on the safe level of visual representations of exoticism. The Norwegian “climate” across the textbooks offers NLLs and other minorities to possibility to adapt into Norwegian society. As described in subsection 2.2, adaptation ideology is opposite to the ideology of association (Hellesnes 1975). Creation, instead, as a form of social existence, would allow the subject to associate with the social conditions and become a full-fledged member of the society, thus contributing to diversity at every level. The textbooks *Stein på stein*, *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei* do not offer such point of view with regard to NLLs and representatives of other minorities in Norwegian society. Such findings are quite similar to the arguments of Wessel (1995) and Hvistendahl (2004). NLLs are not visualized as contributing to cultural diversity in the latest editions of the NSL textbooks *Stein på stein* (2014), *Norsk Nå!* (2016) and *På vei* (2018) and diversity as a phenomenon is not adequately articulated in the visual representations within these textbooks.

5.2. Difference, otherizing and disempowering

Findings from the social actor analysis, presented in section 4.2 - 4.3, will be discussed in the present subsection. The analysis of visual representations depicting social actors in the NSL textbooks *Stein på stein*, *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei* was implemented by means of social actor analysis and concerns two parts: first, the analysis of social relations and social interaction, second, the analysis of modes and strategies of representation of social actors in the textbooks in question. As mentioned earlier, these two types of analysis are co-present and contribute to answering the research question “How are NLLs as social actors represented within NSL textbooks?”. This question was partially answered in the previous subsection, when results of findings were discussed with respect to portraying cultural diversity through images with NLLs. In the present subsection, the discussion focuses on aspects of cultural difference, otherizing and disempowering that are visually communicated through images in NSL textbooks.

As a result of critical visual analysis and applying the criteria of social actor theory to the images in all three textbooks, it was found that NLLs and RNS are visually represented as different types of social actors and, in addition, that each group of social actors is represented in the way that the other group is not. NLLs communicate with the viewer from a short distance.

They offer interpersonal relations to the viewers, who are the learners, and who belong to this group of people in actual fact. RNS, depicted from a far distance, are shown as “other”. Social relations of RNS with the viewer are portrayed variously from being powerful (low angle in *Stein på stein*) to giving power over them to the viewer (high angle in *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei*). In the context of the NSL textbooks this makes sense: empowered or not (angle), but objectivated (indirect address) and detached (oblique angle), RNS are shown as “other”, “not like us”, in this case the NLLs. Unexpectedly, the findings of the study reveal an inclination towards visualizing RNS (representatives of Norwegian society) as “other”, while visualizing NLLs (representatives of Norwegian language learners) as belonging to the category of “us”. This has falsified the initial hypothesis of the study and showed that the selected textbooks did not employ visual representations in order to perpetuate “exoticism” and “otherness” in their representations of NLLs as social actors.

The separation between the groups of social actors emerges from the strategy of otherizing RNS with regard to the NLLs. While NLLs are detached and objectivated, but also close to the viewer, RNS are altogether detached, objectivated and far.

With regard to the modes and strategies of representations, representing social actors from both corpora as specific individuals is the dominant strategy. The accent is placed on the personal features of NLLs and RNS, which communicates recognition of each person’s uniqueness. However, limited framing and context in depicting NLLs symbolically reduces the significance of their representations. Moreover, the focus is often on biological facial features. In contrast, RNS are portrayed in an extended framing providing more of the context. Thus, individual images of RNS yield depth to their profiles and that provide importance to their representations. Here the focus is on the person in context, often wearing work wear, instead of on their biological features. Images with RNS are more about who the RNS are, rather than what the RNS look like.

Group images of NLLs portray them as different from each other in appearance. They are shown in a way as a small, diverse community. In contrast, RNS in groups are shown as a homogenized community, united by either traditional costumes, visually depicted in one style of actions and postures, appearance, and often, when in groups, with a focus on biological appearance (whiteness). They are shown as culturally different from the NLLs. For the viewer, they are portrayed as “all the same”, which in combination with depicting them as “other”, as

discussed earlier, constructs a certain stereotype of Norwegian society as homogenized, united by culture, biological appearance and social conventions. Being systematically represented in connection with symbolic attributes such as similar clothes style (work wear, traditional clothes, weather protective gear), in extended contexts, such as nature, family and friends, and in authoritative positions, RNS, as mentioned by van Leeuwen (1996), become associated with these symbolic attributes which create visual concepts. Stuart Hall named it a “set of representations” (1997:383), which establish the identity of a subject.

The identity of NLLs, then, is established through the representations of the identity of RNS. NLLs, in contrast, are seen as a differentiated group of members, not having common cultural or biological symbolic attributes. This aspect reinforces the strategy of separation between NLLs and RNS, discussed in the previous subsection. Both types of social actors are presented as cultural and biological strangers.

The criterion of context is a point of symbolical divorce between NLLs and RNS. As discussed in the findings section 4.3. (see also Table 3; Appendix B1-B3), there is a strong tendency of exclusion of NLLs from the whole range of activities, contexts and settings in which RNS are presented as active agents. This is especially obvious in the sphere of showing both groups at work. NLLs are visually relegated to lower social positions, with this motif being systematically visually repeated. This, as discussed earlier, does communicate the stereotype of belonging to a lower status and can be conveyed as part of the hidden curriculum, which might be acquired by the learners of the language. The strategy of exclusion of NLLs from contexts where RNS are actively present is a leading pattern for representing NLLs. In images showing NLLs and RNS together, NLLs are mostly shown as included in the private spheres (*Norsk Nå!*). It can be assumed that the idea of integration and inclusion is recognised, but since further examples of inclusion of NLLs into other social spheres are not provided, it can be argued that it is not fully articulated across the analysed textbooks.

5.3. Exclusion and recognition of agency of social actors

In the present subsection, the discussion sums up the findings interpreted through Recognition Theory with the aim of answering the second research question regarding whether NLLs are visually presented as recognised active subjects or instead presented as “exotic” and “other”. It

also aims to confirm or negate the hypothesis of the study, that there are patterns of otherizing the NLLs in the visual representations under analysis. In order to address the question and confirm or falsify the hypothesis, it is relevant to address the strategies of exclusion and discuss their presence and function as applied to NLLs in the visual representations. In subsection 4.4., an attempt was made to interpret the findings from the social actor analysis of the images in the NSL textbooks through recognition theory to see whether these representations show NLLs as recognised on a private, legal and solidarity level. The analysis of the social interaction between the NLLs and RNS showed evidence that in *Norsk Nå!* NLLs are visually portrayed as privately recognised. Self-confidence is a crucial aspect for recognition in the other spheres and in *Norsk Nå!* this aspect is visually portrayed: the main character is shown as accomplished privately within the textbook. *Stein på stein* and *På vei*, on the other hand, do not portray NLLs as privately recognised (*Stein på stein* does not show NLLs having families or children). In sum, the basic level of recognition is not there in these two textbooks with regard to scaffolding recognition on the next levels.

As for presenting NLLs and RNS in a working context, RNS are portrayed chiefly as being “in charge”, leading, instructing NLLs, who, in their turn, are featured as being subordinate, assisting, cleaning, and studying. This motif is maintained across the textbooks and especially in *Norsk Nå!*. However, quite a big corpus of images shows both actors together in the family settings, at work and socialising, and signals the inclusion of NLLs into the Norwegian mainstream, if only the content would not show the RNS as the active agents “in charge” of teaching and instructing the NLLs. This theme repeats throughout *Norsk Nå!* and *På vei* (*Stein på stein* does not offer instances of portraying NLLs at work together with RNS). NLLs are not shown in leading roles in any of the textbooks, nor as active agents, doing things to RNS. A stable feature, this pattern points to the strategy of reducing the validity of NLLs as active agents, as decision makers, and marginalizes this group visually. While being represented along with RNS in the images, NLLs are shown as excluded from active roles and assigned to conformity. Here again, this pattern is repeated and gains significance in the representation of NLLs in this particular way. As discussed previously, NLLs are mostly depicted as specific individuals, also in the group images, which communicates respect for their individuality. However, their autonomy as active agents, which strengthens the self-respect of NLLs on the legal level, is not

highlighted visually and presumably, not recognised or practiced in real life. NLLs are visually excluded from active agency on the legal level.

The analysis of recognition of NLLs as social actors on the solidarity level draws upon the representations of NLLs in different contexts, in particular in a working context. As explained by Honneth (1995), recognition on this level contributes to self-esteem and “connects a subject with own individuality as to be recognised as valuable and unique” (1995). Visual representations portraying NLLs in low esteem work (Table 4) have the potential to marginalize this group visually. Maintaining this type of motif (mostly in *Norsk Nå!*) produces an impression that NLLs are not self-accomplished. For the learners and the users of the textbooks, associating with NLLs, such an attitude expressed in images reduces their self-esteem and communicates a hidden curriculum with regard to the low status of immigrants. NLLs, as argued earlier, are also excluded from the whole of range of activities, contexts and occupations. Such exclusion of NLLs and inclusion of RNS shows consistency across the textbooks. In addition, it maintains the divide between these groups, which was indicated in the previous section.

Following this discussion, it can be argued that recognition on the private level is present in *Norsk Nå*, but not in *På vei* and *Stein på stein*. Recognition of NLLs as social subjects on the legal and solidarity levels is not communicated visually, presumably as a result of non-recognition in these spheres in real life. As argued by Honneth, recognition of subjects in each sphere is a condition of recognition in another sphere and an immediate condition for a subject to acquire self-confidence, self-respect, and self-esteem. For this reason, any form of injustice on these levels affects the subject’s feeling of oneself and prevents the sense of accomplishment as an active and potent actor. Stereotypical attitudes towards immigrants in Norway are reflected in stereotyped representations communicating the imposition of power over them and the exclusion from formats in which they are present in real life. Not visually rendering NLLs as recognised social actors on one or several levels of recognition (Honneth, 1995) signifies an injustice towards NLLs, which is exposed in unfair and stereotyped presentations in NSL textbooks

5.4. Realization of Norwegian language training program

In the present subsection, the discussion centers on revealing to what degree visual representations of Norwegian Language learners (NLLs) in the chosen textbooks promote or

contradict the primary aims of the Norwegian language training program for adult immigrants. As presented in subsection 2.2., the aims of the training program were initiated and originally stipulated in the Introduction Law as follows “The main aim of the law is the reinforcement of possibilities for newly arrived immigrants to participate in working and social life and to increase their financial independence” (Lovdata, 2003: LOV-2003-07-04-80).

Participating in social and working life, as well as acquiring financial independence, are thus the touchstones of integration into Norwegian mainstream society, advocated by the Norwegian Government. The complexity of these tasks lies in the issues of acceptance, inclusion and social integration of the learners, where the aspect of belonging to a certain group and community takes a central role. To feel included and recognised appears to be the only possible way for the language learners to obtain good study results and potentially become valid members of Norwegian society. Their mission is seen as successful assimilation and participating in social and working life in Norway as well as acquiring the possibilities to provide for themselves. To recognize the potential of immigrants and their agency, acknowledging the difference in cultures, seems like the important objective for implementing a task of such a complexity. The process, however, concerns both parties: it is equally crucial to be recognised and accepted by members of Norwegian society and to show recognition. In a multi-cultural society, personal effectiveness, motivation and potential is immediately dependent on such factors. Following Honneth (1995) and as argued in section 1., subjects are socially constructed, not self-determined. Self-realizations of subjects depend on social justice in society, providing the possibilities for establishing self-confidence, self-respect and self-esteem for their subjects. Any manifestation of injustice is a form of oppression. For this reason, underlines Honneth, any state should be concerned with creating fair social conditions, profitable for identity formation. Amongst others, social and political integration would depend on a “pluralistic framework” in the society, where every subject is able to develop. The construction of shared values through implementing practical diversity and the elimination of demanding cultural images seem to be a crucial form of contribution for the realization of the self.

As it was revealed in the course of the study, Norwegian language learners and representatives of Norwegian society are visually represented as cultural and social strangers, with a tendency towards othering the Norwegian culture and society with regard to the learners, who are not shown as valid and potential members of society. There were found limited

recognition (in light of Honneth's theory) in the representations of learners' agency. They are shown as conforming to lower and more passive positions than the representatives of Norwegian society. If images render reality and social forms, it is assumed that immigrants, the learners of Norwegian language, are in this position in real life, which in its turn, would seriously complicate the implementation of the Governmental aims stipulated in The Introduction Law to involve and engage them in social and working life. The lack of integration would make it difficult or time- and resource- consuming to find ways for adequate and sufficient financial self-maintenance.

6. Conclusions

The present section provides the conclusions of the actual research and the summary of the main findings. The conclusion section is also linked with answers to the research questions. Furthermore, suggestions for further research are offered as a part of this section.

6.1. Main findings

At this stage it can be pointed out that the study revealed findings in relation to the research questions. In the case of the analysis and interpretations of the results, it was found that images portraying social actors in the chosen NSL textbooks to a certain degree are bearers of ideology and render reality and social aspects located outside the educational context. Simultaneously, it is recognised in the study, that not all images in the NSL textbooks are ideologically influenced. It was taken into consideration that the content and form of certain images are dictated by the needs of language instruction. However, as a result of the applications of social actor analysis by van Leeuwen, the existence of clear and systematic strategies of visual representation of social actors, producing the effect of otherizing one type of social actors and attributing lower social position to the other were quantitatively found. Present within the three NSL textbooks under analysis, these factors show persistency and can potentially be transferred to the learners as a part of a hidden curriculum. By employing Honneth's recognition theory in interpreting the results of the social actor analysis, modes of recognition were detected in the visual representations of

social actors. In the case of the study, the research questions were answered, and the initial hypothesis was tested.

The study tried to find out how Norwegian language learners are visually represented in NSL textbooks and whether there are any forms of social injustice in these visual representations? Are Norwegian language learners represented as recognised and respected? Finally, do these representations promote or contradict the primary aims of the Norwegian language study program stipulated in the Introduction Law? Initially in the study, it was hypothesized that Norwegian language learners would be represented without recognition of their potential for the Norwegian society, often in disempowering positions, and as “exotic” and “other”.

The latest editions of the NSL textbooks in the series *Stein på stein* (2014), *Norsk Nå* (2016) and *På vei* (2018) were selected as the empirical material for the research. Since the study aimed to connect visual content in the selected NSL textbooks with existing socio-political factors, the principle of the newest edition was applied to see if this could be of significance for the form and content of images. The NSL textbooks were chosen regardless of the number of images in each edition with the core aim of analysing the leading trends and patterns in representation across the textbooks. Three corpora of social actors were defined to enable the best interpretations of the findings. The study follows Dyer’s notion that identity is constructed through representations of other identities. Images of Norwegian language learners (NLLs) were analysed in relation to the images of representatives of Norwegian society (RNS). The third corpus was composed by images showing NLLs and RNS together in one context. With regard to the positioning of the viewer, the analysis showed that NLLs are portrayed as “one of us”, while RNS are shown as “other” to the viewer. Both types of social actors are mostly shown as detached, signified by the oblique angle of the shots and objectivated through indirect address. The signs of separation between NLLs and RNS already have been shown on the first level of analysis. The analysis of the strategies of representations in the second part of analysis display a system and application of certain patterns of representations. NLLs, as well as RNS, are portrayed mostly as specified individuals in solo images with the focus on their personal traits and showing recognition of every social actor as individual. The bias is revealed in group images. While NLLs are differentiated in groups, RNS are shown as homogenized culturally, socially, and often biologically, focusing on whiteness. The attitude that “they are all the same”

is obvious in group images of RNS. The stereotype such presentation produces depicts RNS as “other” to the viewer, which coincides with the findings from the first part of analysis. The analysis showed a tendency in the separation of both groups culturally, biologically and socially. Notably, it is RNS (representatives of Norwegian society) who are shown as “other” to the learner. NLLs, on the other hand, are portrayed as “one of us”. This leads the study to conclude that the hypothesis formulated at the beginning of this thesis is falsified. Images showing Norwegian language learners do not present them as “exotic” and “other”. Further analysis, however, reveals that patterns of exclusion of NLLs and unfair representations of NLLs in terms of their agency persist. NLLs are shown as excluded from the wide range of contexts and activities where RNS are portrayed as active agents. They are relegated to lower social positions. This is revealed by the trends of representing the NLLs as “a simplified phenomenon”, whereas in comparison, images with RNS show more complexity in their representations. The analysis of findings in light of recognition theory showed that NLLs are depicted as recognised on the private level in *Norsk Nå*, but not in *Stein på stein* and *På vei*. The recognition of NLLs on the legal and solidarity levels is not communicated visually in any of the three textbooks. NLLs are not portrayed as showing potential and agency, but rather as simplified, subordinate subjects. It is assumed by the study that such representations are unfair. Moreover, the question was raised in the study whether images portraying NLLs promote or contradict the purpose of the Norwegian language study program for adults stipulated in the Introduction Law to “increase the possibility of newly arrived immigrants participating in working and social life and to increase financial independence” (2003). Findings show that NLLs are portrayed as separated from the Norwegian mainstream, that their agency and capacity as autonomous and respected members of the society is not recognised visually. If these representations, as argued in the thesis, provide social construct, this would reveal obstacles in real life for achieving the governmental aims, preventing immigrants from participating successfully in social and working life and adequately providing for themselves.

Having observed the obvious patterns in the representation of social actors, in particular NLLs, the question arises why such types of representations find place? What is the reason for representing NLLs as excluded and lacking agency and RNS as powerful and “in charge”? Here critical discourse analysis provides the possibilities to search for reasons outside the context of the textbooks. It seems important to consider the socio-political situation in present Norway,

influenced by immigration and its consequences in the form of additional demands on the social and financial spheres, seriously threatening the construction of welfare in Norway. Original skepticism and a growing tension in the society, caused by the unsettlements connected with immigrants, project certain negative attitudes in the society. Although the Norwegian Government and legislation system fully work on restraining such social problems, this skepticism and the fears towards immigrants find their way into verbal and visual discourse. Ordinary images in NSL textbooks would not be an exception. Visually portraying the imposition of power, exclusion and relegating representatives of immigrants to lower social status then make sense. As argued earlier, these strategies signify skepticism and even fear towards immigrants. In particular, prejudices towards the “other” through separation and “otherizing” of oneself would reveal a defense mechanism at work. For this very reason, diversity is also not adequately represented within the chosen NSL textbooks. Portrayed at the safe level of exoticism, in the form of focusing on culturally different clothes and biological facial traits, signifies the attempt to present diversity as a superficial phenomenon of the extra and exciting “other”.

Thus, the research was able to quantify and reveal particular leading patterns of representation of social actors in the NSL textbooks and analyse them critically. It also became clear that images, in particular images representing social actors, project social attitudes and power relations. Simultaneously, it is recognised by the study that the forms and content of images in the educational context of NSL textbooks are often the result of instructional demands and are there to illustrate a text or other educational content. However, in the framework of the study and with regard to its purpose, it is found that the visual representations portraying social actors within textbooks have been influenced by ideological aspects from outside educational context.

6.2. Recommendations for further research

In the cause of the study there emerged several avenues for further research in this subject. With regard to the NSL textbook analysis, it would be a matter of interest to study the progression of images in textbooks within each series across the various editions of the series. Similarly, it would be of interest to study the images in connection with the surrounding text as a whole

multimodal text, with the aim of revealing the compatibility between the different modes and modules. Broadening the analysis by including questionnaires and surveys addressed to the users of the NSL textbooks and the teachers of Norwegian language would enable the collection of data from the site of reception.

The presents study reveals that special attention should be paid equally by the learners and by the teachers to the visual representations within NSL textbooks, bearing in mind the advanced potential of images to leave a sustainable impression on learners and to transfer a hidden, unintended curriculum. Special attention should be paid to the discussion of images and more extensive use of these in the instruction as a departure point for new discussions, using elements of visual critical analysis. The research has the potential to open new perspectives for the textbook producers and writers with regards to possible positive changes in visual representation of its social actors.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Analysis of representation and viewer network

A1: Representation of social actors and viewer network in *Stein på Stein* (2014). Adapted from van Leeuwen (2008:141).

Creating position of the viewer	NLLs	RNS	NLLs+ RNS
	Total 68		Total 3
<i>Social distance (Distanciación)</i>			
-Far shots		34	2
-Close shots	3	31	1
<i>Social relation (Disempowering)</i>			
-Vertical angle	1	26	
-High vertical angle		14	
-Low vertical angle	2	16	1
-Oblique angle		11	1
<i>Social interaction (Objectivation)</i>			
-Direct address		23	
-Indirect address	3	43	3

A2: Representation of social actors and viewer network in *Norsk Nå!* (2016). Adapted from van Leeuwen (2008:141).

Creating position of the viewer	NLLs	RNS	NLLs + RNS
	Total 285		Total 66

<i>Social distance (Distancing)</i>			
-Far shots	59	103	51
-Close shots	58	64	15
<i>Social relation (Disempowering)</i>			
-High vertical angle	43	77	7
-Low vertical angle	15	22	5
-Vertical angle	16	27	23
-Oblique angle	20	27	29
<i>Social interaction (Objectivation)</i>			
-Direct address	44	61	4
-Indirect address	68	109	56

A3: Representation of social actors and viewer network in *På vei*. (2018). Adapted from van Leeuwen (2008:141).

Creating position of the viewer	NLLs	RNS	NLLs, RNS
	Total 174		Total 11
<i>Social distance (Distancing)</i>			
-Far shots	4	122	10
-Close shots	11	36	1
<i>Social relation (Disempowering)</i>			
-High angle	6	83	3
-Low angle	1	32	1
-Vertical angle	1	14	4
-Oblique angle	2	30	2

<i>Social interaction (Objectivation)</i>			
-Direct address	4	33	1
-Indirect address	17	120	10

Appendix B: Analysis visual social actor network

B1: Analysis of visual social actor network in *Stein på stein* (2014). Adapted from van Leeuwen (2008:147)

Representation strategies	NLLs	RNS	NLLs+ RNS
	Total 68		Total 3
<i>Inclusion</i>			
<i>Roles</i>			
-Patient		16	
-Agent	2	38	3
<i>Appointed agency</i>			
-Work of high esteem	1	10	1
-Work at low esteem		11	1

<i>Occupation</i>			
-Work	1	20	
-Housework		1	
-Socializing		6	1
-Recreating		5	1
-Studying	1		
-Attending to children		1	
-Being served (cured, haircut etc)		2	
-Posing for picture		19	
-Talking over the phone		2	
-Working on PC		1	
-Waiting for the bus		1	
-Training		1	
-Sport competition		1	
-Eating		1	
-Drinking alcohol		2	
-Embracing each other		1	
-Dancing		1	
-Playing instrument		1	
-Hiking		1	
-Singing		1	1
-Being sick		3	
-Reading		1	
-Begging		1	
-Looking in the morrow		1	
<i>Categorization</i>			
-Specific	1	34	2
-Generic			
-Cultural	1	22	1
-Biological		10	
<i>Individual</i>			
-Group	1	46	
-Homogenization	1	15	1
-Differentiation	1	4	2
<i>Contextualization</i>			
-No context		17	
-In context:			
Family and friends		14	
Nature		5	
Work environment	1	20	1
17 mai		1	
TV program		1	

At the café		1	1
At the hairdresser		1	
Street situation		2	
Training environment		2	
Meal		1	
Home		1	
PC		1	
Newspaper	1		
In taxi		1	

B2: Analysis of visual social actor network in *Norsk Nå!* (2016). Adapted from van Leeuwen (2008:147)

Representation strategies	NLLs	RNS	NLLs+ RNS
	Total 285		Total 66
<i>Inclusion</i>			
<i>Involved in action</i>			
-Patient	2	12	8
-Agent	60	113	42
<i>Appointed agency</i>			
-Work of high esteem		41	5
-Work at low esteem	8	18	1

<i>Occupation</i>			
Work	8	55	1
Housework	3	15	
Socializing	9	12	17
Recreating	6	22	2
Studying	7		12
Attending to children	1	3	
Teaching		6	2
Posing for picture	20	30	5
Talking over the phone	5	2	
Working on PC			
Training		10	
Medical treatment	3	11	1
Eating, drinking		6	5
Playing instrument	1	2	1
Hiking		2	
Shopping/Paying	12	4	4
Reading/Writing	4	5	2
Driving a car		1	
Making/serving food	2	3	2
Getting married		6	
Dancing			
Bicycling	4	2	
Fishing	1	1	
Ceremony of confirmation		1	
Visiting art gallery		1	
Painting		1	
Knitting		1	
Making photos		1	2
Singing			
In a meeting		3	
<i>Categorization</i>			
-Specific	87	117	48
-Generic			
-Cultural	10	38	4
-Biological	27	5	8
<i>-Individual</i>	90	98	
<i>-Group</i>			
-Homogenization	9	55	9
-Differentiation	26	7	57
<i>Contextualization</i>			
-No context	17	16	
-In context:			
Family and friends	26	21	26

Nature	1	13	
Work environment	8	34	1
17 May		1	
Street situation	2	10	
Home	15	20	3
PC	1		
Newspaper	2	1	
In the classroom	14	4	13
Shopping mall	10	4	6
Sport setting		13	
Health institution	1		2
In the church		3	
Restaurant			1
Art gallery		1	
Choir			1
Cinema/Concert		2	
Parents' meeting		1	

B3: Analysis of visual social actor network in *På vei*. (2018). Adapted from van Leeuwen (2008:147)

Representation strategies	NLLs	RNS	NLLs+ RNS
	Total 174		Total 11
<i>Inclusion</i>			
<i>Involved in action</i>			
-Patient		8	
-Agent	2	92	11
<i>Appointed agency</i>			
-Work of high esteem	4	37	4
-Work at low esteem		12	
<i>Occupation</i>			
Work	4	49	4
Housework		5	
Socializing	1	15	7
Recreating		19	
Studying		2	3
Attending to children		6	
Teaching		3	
Posing for picture	7	27	
Talking over the phone		5	
Working on PC	1	2	
Training		4	

Medical treatment		4	
Eating, drinking		9	
Playing instrument			
Hiking			
Shopping/Paying		4	
Reading/Writing	1	1	
Driving a car			
Making/serving food		6	
Getting married		2	
Dancing			
Bicycling			
Fishing			
Ceremony of confirmation, Christ.		1	
Visiting art gallery			
Painting			
Knitting			
Making photos			
Singing			
In a meeting		3	
Lying in bed/sleeping/reading		2	
<i>Categorization</i>			
-Specific	4	132	10
-Generic			
-Cultural	6	27	1
-Biological	1	4	
-Individual	14	83	
-Group			
-Homogenization		42	1
-Differentiation		35	10

Contextualization		
-No context	6	13
-In context:		
Family and friends	1	26
Nature		12
Work environment	5	46
17 May		1
Street situation	2	8
Home		23
Newspaper, PC, book	1	
In the classroom		3
Shopping mall, grocery		7
Sport setting		8
Health institution		3
Parents' meeting	1	
In the church		1
Restaurant		1
Wedding guests		1
At the hairdresser		1
Cinema/Concert		
		4
		5

Appendix C: Images for qualitative analysis

Images “Being a family”. På vei, 2018

Image C 1

På vei, 2018: 208



Image C 2

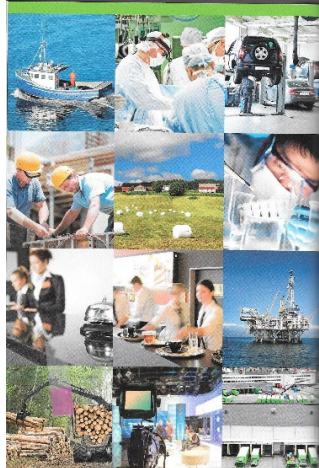
På vei, 2018: 209



På vei 2018: 234



På vei 2018: 138



Images “Diversity in Norway”. *Stein på stein*, 2014

Image C 10

Stein på stein, 2014: 48



Image C 11

Stein på stein, 2014: 88

