The Construction of Truth and the Silence of Responsibility

-A discourse analysis on the idea of justice and a Sami Truth Commission

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Abstract

Throughout history the Sami community have been excluded from Swedish society. They were submitted to discrimination, abuse and the denial of rights. Although the political movement of Sami people is long, we have in recent years seen how a demand for truth and justice is taking more space within the official Sami political movement. The aim of this thesis is to gain a wider understanding of Sami political demands and the idea of justice in Sweden through a Truth Commission. Applying a post-colonial theory and Bacchi’s “What’s the problem?”-methodology I have set out to analyse how the discourse of the idea of justice and a Sami Truth Commission (STC) is being constructed by the Sami political movement, non-affiliated Sami and the Swedish government. The secondary material I have used is earlier research and pre-existing interviews with Sami people. My primary material is documents made by Sami political movement and the Swedish government regarding a STC. The conclusion is that the Sami political movement are constructing the discourse on a STC with a homogenous view of accountability. The non-affiliated Sami is constructing the discourse with a diversity of notion such as accountability, moving on and internal responsibility. The government’s discourse on STC is constructed with non-accountability and silence. However, there is a discourse on the idea of justice and it is constructed with notions of increased participation and to combat racism.

Keywords: Sami political movement, Discourse analysis, Truth Commission, Reconciliation.
Abstract


Nyckelord: Samisk politisk rörelse, diskursanalys, sanningskommission, försoning.
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1. Introduction and Problem definition
The Sami people are the indigenous people of Sweden that have lived and still lives in Sápmi, which is the land where the Sami people first inhabited. Sápmi is divided between the northern part of Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of Russia. The Swedish state has controlled and limited Sami’s access to land, language, culture, and human rights. Race biology, forced nomad schools, prohibition of speaking Sami language, and racial discrimination is part of Swedish history. Large parts of Sami policies have not been inclusive or representational of the Sami people. After the Second World War Sami people became more politically organized, and in 1977 the Swedish state formally acknowledged the Sami people as an indigenous people. This recognition brought international responsibility to the state through international conventions and declarations. Nonetheless, discrimination based on ethnicity is still a problem in contemporary society. The Equality Ombudsman made a report on discriminations against Sami in 2008. The report concludes that the interviewed Sami people experienced discrimination within media, the education system, working life and in contacts with authorities. With this said, Sami people experience human rights problems in contemporary Sweden.

No official investigation has been made to scrutinize the human rights violations inflicted on the Sami people by the state. However, the political movement of the Sami has in recent years been shifting towards a demand for a truth commission. The Sami community is disappointed by the small resources that are spent on proactive policies to preserve, or better yet, save the Sami language and culture from extinction. Another pressing issue is time. There are thousands of people in Sweden that carry stories and experiences of human right violations that are not being documented. The Sami political organizations are working on a demand for a truth commission on the responsibility of the State towards human rights violation towards the Sami people. Could a truth commission be a path towards reconciliation of the wrongdoing made towards this community? Could it give Swedish history a more

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2 Pikkarainen Heidi, Brodin Björn: *Diskriminering av samer – samers rättigheter ur ett diskrimineringsperspektiv*, Ombudsmannen mot etnisk diskriminering, DO:s rapportserie 2008:1
3 Pikkarainen, Björn, 2008, p. 24
4 Sametinget, *Sametingets skuggrapport – Europeiska stadgan om landsdels- eller minoritetsspråk*, the 7th monitoring cycle, 2016, p. 3
authentic reflection? Could it give a voice to those that have been silenced or would it do more harm and bring up old wounds? In general terms, the Swedish state has an international reputation for protecting human rights. This year Sweden was elected as a temporary member of the UN Security Council. This combined with the government’s feminist foreign policy gives Sweden a particular role within the human rights community. With that said, we are living in an ambivalent time where human rights are at the centre of Swedish policy and Sami political movements are mobilizing and demanding justice. This brings us to the next chapter called Purpose where I will describe the primary purpose of the thesis.

1.2 Purpose
The purpose of this master’s thesis is to gain a better understanding of Sami political demands and the idea of justice in Sweden through a truth commission. By focusing on both political and non-political Sami people and the government’s policy, I wish to come closer to a human rights research on Sami rights. The purpose is to uncover an area that have not always been recognized as a human rights problem in Sweden. Uncover not because Sami people have been silent but because research has many times not included them and only spoken of them and not with them. With more perspective and more critical studies within in the field of Sami’s human rights it will become wider and more representative of different realities in Sweden. To understand discourse and how they are related to our realities we can have a better understanding of our time.

The choice of research problem within critical discourse analysis is called explanatory critique. This problem can be used to identify for example a group ideology and this goes hand in hand with the purpose of the thesis which aims to understand how the Sami community identify the need for a truth commission and the perspective on justice. In order to gain that perspective I will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse how language can paint a certain perspective on justice. In order to reach this perspective I will first, analyse documents and statements made by Sami politicians and the political parties on the subject of a truth commission. This will hopefully set a base for a political or ideological idea of why a truth commission is important. I will also include other voices of people whom are not tied to the official Sami political movement. This is to bring in other perspective within the Sami community in order to complement and give the Sami political discourse a more dynamic analysis. Later on, I will also look at how the Swedish state frame their discourse regarding a

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6 Jorgensen & Philips, 2002, p. 77
Sami truth commission. I will analyse the response from the Swedish state on a possible Truth Commission and ideas of justice. By using CDA it is possible to reconstruct social identities. Without the “other” it is difficult to state what you are and what you are not. To make visible social identities. Identities and politics are created in the friction and interaction of others; they cannot live on their own. I have summarised my three approaches in order to make my questions at issue more clear and relatable.

1.3 Research question
Keeping in mind the issues presented above, I will use a post-colonial theory, departing form Bacchi’s “What’s the Problem?”-approach, which is based on Critical Discourse Analysis. My planned research question will be:

- How is the idea of justice and a Sami Truth Commission (STC) constructed by the Sami politicians, Non-affiliated Sami and the State?

The aim of the following text will be to present the material used and the delimitation made in this thesis. Further on, I will also present my chosen methodology and my theoretical approach.

1.4 Material and Delimitations
As Bacchi points out it is important to be aware and recognize that in the selection of material you are at the same time making an analysis of the problem. The choice of material will be a reflection of the purpose of your work.

The majority of the material used is secondary material. It is previous research within the rights of Sami, postcolonial theories and discourse analysis. The material contributes to the basic understanding of the research area and provides theoretical and methodological tools for the scientific execution of my thesis. I have also included perspectives of Sami people that does not belong to the official Sami movement. My first option was to conduct interviews with Sami people, in order to have first-hand and unique material. Unfortunately, I could not make the interviews and instead I have chosen to use pre-existing interviews and other material. One newspaper interview, one radio interview and one chronicle has been chosen to include non-affiliated Sami.

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7 Bergström & Boréus, 2012, p. 380
8 Bacchi, 2009, p. 20
The primary material used in this thesis consists of statements and documents made by Sami political movements regarding justice and a possible STC. The material is from the years 2007-2017 and the delamination is made in order to include the official start of the political work on a STC. In the analysis of the Swedish government I have used documents made by the government on Sami policy and justice. This material has been selected in order to reflect the contemporary Sami policy made by the government during 2016-2017. The delamination was made in order to give an up-to-date reflection of the governments work on the issue. To include documents from 2007 would be too much and would not fit into the scope of this thesis. As you will see in the empirical chapter, the government has no official position on a STC so I have instead chosen Sami policy documents that are close to concepts of justice.

The selection of all of the material used in this thesis is based on the relevance for the construction of justice and a STC discourse. In cases where there was a lack of material on STC I have chosen the closest thing to justice. In each section of the investigation I present why I have chosen each document.

1.4.2 Source critique
There are a few fundamental premises that will make this thesis scientifically transparent. Firstly, it is important to be transparent regarding the different steps I have taken in the process of this investigation. This will be shown in the way the research question is described, the choice of method, theory and material. This is particularly important in the selection of materials for the discourse regarding documents. For this reason it will be explained in each chapter. An important aspect of source criticism is to have distance from the theory. I will use post-colonial theory and in doing so I must have in mind that one can never replace the voice of the “voiceless”. Being a researcher is a privileged position and one must therefore deconstruct this power by recognizing that “other’s knowledge and narrative can only be ‘brought in’ through the mechanism of (re)presentation, with all the problems this necessarily entails”.

1.4.3 Delimitation
The demand for a Sami Truth Commission (STC) is a contemporary and prioritized demand from the broad Sami movement. In November 2016 the first organized joint talk about a STC was organized by Vaartoe center for Sami research at Umeå University, the discrimination
ombudsman, and the Sametinget. The joint talk gathered knowledge and experience from other TC, indigenous movements and research. The organizer held a presentation about a possible STC at the Human Rights Convention in Malmö in November of 2016. During the spring of 2017 there has been further discussion about a possible Sami TC from different Sami movements. It is clear that it is an important issue at different Sami movements in Sweden and that is why I have chosen to narrow down the focus of this thesis to this area.
2. Theoretical framework
In order to frame the problem mentioned at the beginning of this paper, I will use a post-colonial theory. The theory will help me understand the Sami people as indigenous people and their relation to the colonising power. Post-colonial theory has a wide range of perspectives and authors, therefore I will use key authors within the field. I introduce this chapter with the social constructivist theory, and then present the key work within post-colonialism, and then focusing on an indigenous theory in order to present the importance of identity. Lastly I will narrow it down to a Sami perspective in the field.

2.1 From social construction theory to the construction of race and nation
The basic premises of social construction theory are that our thoughts and actions are not only bound by some natural order. Instead, the concept of social construction includes theories based on culture and social norms.\(^\text{11}\) Things and events that exists outside, what is known as natural within philosophy. Jorgensen and Philips are central authors, they describe the discourse analysis by the following premises: the starting point is that there is no objective truth that everyone can relate to and therefore agree upon. By categorizing certain “facts” we are producing our realities and these realities only exist through our categories.\(^\text{12}\) Thus, the material world as we know it exists, but it is only through the social interaction that material is given importance and meaning.\(^\text{13}\)

The other premise is that we are bound to cultural and historical experiences that affect our worldview. The worldview one possesses is not fixed, on the contrary, it can be changed with time and experience and depending on that experience, the understanding of the world can be different.\(^\text{14}\) The authors also explain the way in which knowledge affects social actions. Our actions are dependent on the understanding of what is correct and what is not a correct way to act.\(^\text{15}\) I have presented some key notions on social constructivism and will now present post-colonialism.

Edward Said’s work have had a great influence on post-colonialism within western academia.\(^\text{16}\) He used discourse analysis as a method to enable us to see the connections between power and the powerless, the visible and the invisible, through

\(^{11}\) Jorgensen & Philips, 2012, p. 4
\(^{12}\) Ibid, p. 5
\(^{13}\) Ibid, p. 9
\(^{14}\) Ibid, p. 5
\(^{15}\) Ibid, p. 6
\(^{16}\) Loomba, Ania, *Kolonialism/postkolonialism*, Tankekraft förlag, Stockholm, 2005 p. 59
mechanisms such as culture, communication and language. This meant that he could see beyond the colonial power as merely a technical and formal power. With his work he exposed the structural mechanism that rules over institutions and human relations.\textsuperscript{17}

In the work of Ania Loomba she presents three notions that were used in the construction of race during the colonial context. Firstly, the race theory contributed to more confusion between the contrasting idea of different human races and on the other hand, the idea of that God created all humans the same way. This led to confusion and an obsession with understanding how non-whites where created and changed depending on climate, interracial sex and religion.\textsuperscript{18} Secondly, instead of questioning the race theories, the scientific field tried to prove racial differences by making racial research. Practices such as measuring body parts was common within the field. They were also concerned with connecting these physical results to social and cultural behaviour. The third and the last notion presented by Loomba is that the racial theory constructed the idea that racial belonging was essential for the belonging to a social group such as family, community, home etc. This idea constructed the notion of imagined solidarity or imagined community between people of the same “race”.\textsuperscript{19}

Racial theory came to be a corner stone for the nation building in Europe and western countries. With the creation of the “other”, western people could identify themselves as the opposite: white, civil, rational and law-abiding. Societies were created with the idea of one homogenous people with rights and privileges that other people could not enjoy.\textsuperscript{20} This is a construction of the “Other” and when that was normalised it was easy to conquer other aspects such as bodies and territories. The colonial powers on the African continent came to colonise land that was considered deserted, inhabited and unused. Land was taken through the colonial powers by the idea of empty lands. This was often untrue since nomads used the land in different periods. A colonial power could for instance see an empty territory, take it thinking it belonged to nobody and indigenous people lost their nomadic land. The consequences of these ideas came to be devastating for the people living on and using these lands.\textsuperscript{21} This aspect has come to be of great importance for the Sami people in Sweden. In the \textit{Earlier research} chapter, this will be developed further.

Another aspect of the race theories is that the definition of colonialism came to have a great focus on the coloniser and not the people being colonised. This is done by

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} Loomba, 2005, p. 62
\item \textsuperscript{18} Ibid, p. 126
\item \textsuperscript{19} Ibid, p. 127
\item \textsuperscript{20} Ibid, p. 128
\item \textsuperscript{21} Ibid, p. 135
\end{itemize}
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describing places as new and inhabited which is incorrect. Focus was on the structure and organisation of the colonising power. This is a construction that Loomba tries to untangle and deconstruct.\textsuperscript{22} It is also important to see and understand the resistance that was exercised against the colonial power.\textsuperscript{23} By using this method, you avoid framing colonized people as subjects and you are recognizing them as agents. Instead of thinking of colonialism and racism of something of the past, Loomba states that the presentation of colonized people should be scrutinized and deconstructed today as well.

In the same line as Loomba, J. Marshall Beier explains his use of post-colonialism as a method of using perspectives of people that have been excluded in the past. It is a recognition that colonial consequences are still present in each society that is has encountered, in other words it is not a perspective that is based on the notion that colonialism is over. The post-colonial theory recognizes that a form of colonialism is still present and executed.\textsuperscript{24} Noteworthy is Beier’s position on changing this problematic representation and knowledge gap. It is crucial to include other voices and experiences and break the constructed perspectives on indigenous people that has been made through colonialism and race theory.\textsuperscript{25}

2.2 Post-colonial theory as indigenous claims

Critiques of research on indigenous people often argue that some researchers are influenced by false ideas and fact about indigenous people.\textsuperscript{26} The colonial and racial theory have constructed facts regarding indigenous people and creating a distance in order to invent differences between people. This difference used hierarchies to sort human beings and dehumanize the ones at the bottom. The indigenous people of the North American continent illustrate an example of the difficulty within research. It was common to gather data and facts from other people observing the indigenous people rather than having the indigenous people as a first hand source, thus creating research that was incorrect and misleading. Among some indigenous groups a great knowledge is preserved in the oral testimony but it is not seen as credible from the perspective of western science.

\textsuperscript{22} Loomba, 2005, p. 23
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, p. 65
\textsuperscript{24} Beier, J. Marshall, ”Beyond Hegemonic State(ment)s of Nature – Indigenous knowledge and non-state possibilities in international relations”, in Geeta, Chowdhry & Nair, Shiela, Power, postcolonialism, and international relations, New York, Routledge, 2002, p. 87
\textsuperscript{25} Bier, 2002, p. 103
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid, p. 88
2.3 Post-colonialism in Sweden

In Sweden, the Sami people’s possibilities to affect policy and secure influence have been limited both by the construction of the system of Sami rights and by dominant conceptions of Sami identity and the Sami as a group.\(^{27}\)

According to the research of Elsa Reimersson this has formed the Sami movement that is present today. As is discussed in the chapter of the history of the Sami political movement, it has been restricted to governmental knowledge and decisions on land and other rights issues regarding Sami people. Sami policy has had racist and colonial aspects in Sweden.\(^{28}\) The research of Reimerson shows how the Sami people have been subjected to paternalistic policies and that their access to political power has been limited in Sweden. The policies have constructed a Sami identity as homogeneous group that undermines them as an agent with political importance.\(^{29}\) The division has been made between 1) Reindeer husbandry Sami 2) Hunters, fishermen, farmer Sami and other occupations. The reindeer husbandry Sami’s has to some extent been recognized as a group that has right to access land but it has not meant land ownership. This has caused a land conflict between different groups that is still present today. The majority of the Sami people do not belong to the reindeer industry and they do not have the limited right to land as the Sami people that belongs to the reindeer husbandry.\(^{30}\)

Another problem is the representation of Sami groups in Sami policies. The Swedish government had experts on Sami issues that spoke about and for the Sami in policy decisions such as the Reindeer Acts without belonging to the group or even having accurate facts. The Sami people uses oral literatures, which is not seen as scientific documentation. This can lead to a knowledge gap where the government has not included Sami documentation in their governmental decisions. Without the proper knowledge there will always be a risk of reproduction of untrue facts of the Sami people.

Coming back to Loomba’s book “Colonialism/post-colonialism”, the Swedish professor Masoud Kamali writes an introduction that reflects the situation on racism in Sweden. By doing so, Kamali explains some of the core notions of the western world. He uses the term *internal colonialism* when he argues that colonialism still exists in our societies,

\(^{27}\) Reimerson, Elsa, *Sami space for agency in the management of the Laponia World Heritage site*, Local Environment, 21:7, 2016, p. 809

\(^{28}\) Reimerson, 2016, p. 810

\(^{29}\) Ibid, p. 812

\(^{30}\) Ibid, p. 810
although they might have different shapes than it had before. An example of the internal colonialism is when people living in postcolonial countries and have to migrate or flee to the former colonial power in order to survive (job, education, security, etc.)\(^{31}\) Although Kamali brings up Carl Von Linné and the race biology in Uppsala, he does not bring up the Sami people or the Roma people being subjected to race biology or colonialism. He does not mention indigenous people in Sweden, nonetheless the *internal colonialism* can be applied to the Sami people that are forced to leave their traditional lives and move to bigger cities or the capital of Sweden in order to survive. Kamali states that colonialism is not an explored subject in the Swedish context. After the research done on Sami history and rights I am left with the same conclusion as Kamali, this subject should be further explored. By using post-colonial theory, I can identify the different colonial and anti-colonial patterns that might exist in the work of the government Sami policy and within the Sami community.

3. Methodology - From Fairclough’s Critical Discourse analysis to Bacchi’s “What’s the problem? - approach”

As I mentioned earlier in this paper my purpose is to gain a better understanding of Sami’s human rights and this research is therefore suited to a qualitative method. In order to understand the position of why a truth commission is important to the Sámi people I will use Bacchi’s “What’s the Problem?”-approach which is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this chapter I will present some of the key notions on which CDA is based.

According to Jorgensen and Philips, among other contributors in the field, discourse analysis is based on the notion that the world is built upon social constructions. There are numerous version of discourse analysis but in this study I will depart from one approach called Critical discourse analysis (CDA) that is founded on the work of Norman Fairclough. One of the most central features of Fairclough, compared to other approaches can be described as the following:

…discourse is an important form of social practice which both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social relations including power relations, and at the same time is also shaped by other social practices and structures.

This is particularly important for my thesis since I wish to identify political discourses, which I believe can be found using this approach. The approach is based on the idea that political discourse can be identified as it reproduces the political power within the given context but it is also shaped by the contemporary events and influences of the given time. This is explained further in the chapter Introduction and in the chapter Problem definition.

According to Fairclough it is not enough to study linguistic or texts which is a central part of discourse analysis. In order to go beyond a superficial text analysis, you have to apply the existing relationship between the text and society, culture and constructions. This is also an acknowledgement that the constructed world has a meaning and impact on our material world, which in this case is linguistics and texts. By departing from this methodology the author is at the same time agreeing to the terms of social construction.

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33 Ibid, p. 65
34 Ibid, p. 66-67
The most interesting approach within CDA, when using relation to discourse is the so-called count noun, which is “…a way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective.” This perspective can be found in different movements, ideas and ideologies that exist in our social world. By identifying one perspective one can differ it from other perspectives. The perspective is manifested through discourse and can, according to Fairclough, construct “social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and meaning”. Hence, the critical discourse analysis can be used as a tool to understand how language affects the social practice, this perspective will be useful for the purpose of my thesis and it will give a rich content to my understanding of the discourse used by the Sami people and the government on Sami Policy. It will be helpful to identify problems, solutions and the framework in which their political struggle is realized. As is indicated in the name CDA, it has a critical approach. But what does that mean in the practical sense? The fundamental point is that there must be a ground for critique, it must have an ideology critique aimed at deconstructing a normative tradition. It is to “underline power by revealing the reality behind ideology”. In this case, the normative ideology is that Sweden and its government is a human rights and peace defender. And specifically that there is a lack of knowledge in the general public that Sweden has human rights problems with its indigenous people. Other norm critiques can be stereotypes of Sami as victims or privileged groups.

Carol Bacchi has influenced theory and methodology within policy and governmental analysis. She is focused on problem method which she describes in contrast with other methods in Women, Policy and Politics: the construction of policy problems from 1999. She changes the focus from issues as given and fixed to questioning how these problem came about. It matters how issues are described and discussed, hence the focus is on the representation of a problem. That is “how problems are described, implied causations and the implications which follow.” She describes a will to uncover the many categories we have chosen to label in our societies. But instead of thinking of these categories as investigated and finished product, she wants us to rethink the categories and find the missing pieces that has not been seen in the past. That way we are not accepting that all is said regarding a certain category. Therefore, we are questioning the construction of these categories.

36 Ibid, p. 67
37 Ibid, p. 69
38 Ibid, p. 179
39 Bacchi, 1999, p. 21
40 Ibid, p. 36
41 Bacchi, 1999, p. 41
Strategic representation of a problem is the focus and not the precise goal of a policy. She is more concerned with analysing the implications for problem representation, rather than analysing the obvious message that is the deliberate goal of the problem.\textsuperscript{42}

\textit{Discourses, as we have seen, are complex and contradictory, and constructions can be challenged. If we accept that our world is socially constructed, then it can be changed by challenging – deconstructing – constructions which have effects we wish to reduce or eliminate. That is, in effect, a description of a What’s the problem? agenda.}\textsuperscript{44}

By using this method we are finding other problems that has not been given attention in the past and space to be something else.\textsuperscript{44} This is why it is important to question the way in which we have constructed discourse. To take a step back and look at the production in order to criticize it and “insisting that indeed social actors can use language in the service of particular goals while recognizing the embeddedness of actors in discourse systems constituted by tradition, religion and political institutions.”\textsuperscript{45} She calls this method “What’s the problem” approach and in her later work it is developed to “What’s the problem represented to be?” (WPR).

Since her initial work, Bacchi has published two updating books on her methodology.\textsuperscript{46} These publications has made the use of WPR more clear and they have also helped to develop discourse analysis and made it a more conventional method within the academia. In the following text I will include these publications.

Within policy analysis and governmental analysis it has been common to see political issues as something external that the powerful has to address and fix. The WPR and Bacchi’s new works from 2009 and 2016 does not accept this point of view. The perspective is that the government creates problems when they are trying to identify them. The focus is thus on the process of problem finding and it is acknowledged that problems are socially constructed at this moment. Bacchi calls this the productive activity.\textsuperscript{47} The process of problem-creating are described as:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{42} Bacchi, 1999, p. 36
  \item \textsuperscript{43} Ibid, p. 62
  \item \textsuperscript{44} Ibid, p. 41
  \item \textsuperscript{45} Ibid, p. 45
  \item \textsuperscript{46} Ibid, p. 39
  \item \textsuperscript{47} Bacchi, 2016, p. 14
\end{itemize}
…we are talking about how the ‘problem’ is made to be a particular kind of problem within a specific policy, with all sorts of effects. The subsequent claim is that we are governed through these constituted ‘problems’, meaning that governing takes place through problematizations.  

When the problem is identified it is possible to “work backwards” from the proposal of the issue to what the issue is represented to be. In the following text I present the different steps in WPR:

“**Question 1:** What’s the problem…represented to be in a specific policy or policies?

**Question 2:** What deep-seated presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’ (problem representation)

**Question 3:** How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?

**Question 4:** What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the problem be conceptualized differently?

**Question 5:** What effects (discursive subjectification, lived) are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?

**Question 6:** How and where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced disseminated and defended? How has it been and/or how can it be disrupted and replaced?

**Step 7:** Apply this list of questions to your own problem representations.”

Regarding question 1 the problem can be a specific policy or technique. In this case, the first question is represented through the purpose chapter and the material chapter. The problem I have identified and wish to study is the discourse around justice and a Sami Truth Commission (STC) which is presented by Sametinget.  

The purpose of the second question tries to develop this hidden problem by finding meanings within the specific policy, that need to exist in order to understand the policy. And then it is necessary to find concepts that the policy needs for other to understand it. Concepts in this case could be Sami/Swedish, justice/injustice, Reindeer Husbandry Sami/Other Sami. This method will be used in the three different sections of my work.
Question 3 seeks to find the many different alternative development of how the problem was emerged.\textsuperscript{53} This part of the methodology will be eliminated in my work. The reasons why I will not include it is that most of this is explained in the previous historical research and there is not enough space in this work to present the path towards a STC. Also the first two questions are enough to give a good idea of the problem.

The fourth question is in my regard the most interesting one. It seeks to identify the issues that are not being mentioned. While analysing what is said I will also be looking for what is not being said. This will be useful since I am comparing three different perspective of the issue of STC. Hence the contrast will be even more visible to me and the readers.\textsuperscript{54}

Question 5 seeks to find the effects that the problem might create, “to see where and how they function to benefit some and harm others.”\textsuperscript{55}

Question 6 focuses on the process in which the problem is produced, and how this might create a norm or dominate the subject. I will not include this question since it would be too broad and there is not enough space to include the answers properly.\textsuperscript{56} Instead of following these steps, I will use a modified version of the WPR approach which looks like this:

1. \textit{What’s the problem and the deep-seated assumptions represented in this policy?}
2. \textit{What effects and silences are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?}
3. \textit{What solutions are presented to the problems and what is produced?}

What is studied within the WPR can be various versions of policy texts. It can include research reports, political speeches, legislation, interviews and media statements.\textsuperscript{57} This will be more detailed in the material chapter. In chapter 5 I will present the three categories I have chosen to look at.

\textsuperscript{53} Bacchi, 2016, p. 22
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, p. 22
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, p. 15
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, p. 19
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, p. 18
4. Previous research and literature review

The previous Swedish research on Sami rights is not a long tradition. The first research on Sami people were based on race biology. This will be presented here but my scientific departure comes from research that has a more critical approach than the race biologists do. Ulf Mörkenstam is an influential researcher in Sweden, and his PhD thesis “Om ‘Lapparnes’ privilegier” influenced Swedish Sami politics, researcher in the field of indigenous as well as researcher within discourse analysis. Other important Swedish researchers within the field are Patrik Lantto and Rebecca Lawrence, and the very recent and topical work of Mardoeke Boekraad who writes on the Church's role of truth telling. As Bacchi puts it “You also need to see how specific issues fit into wider debates. To assist with this task it is important to consider the web of policies; both historical and contemporary, surrounding an issue.”

In order to study my research area it is necessary to give a brief historical background of the political history of the Swedish Sami. I want to emphasize brief historical background since one would need to read several books on the matter in order to get a wider understanding.

4.1 Before the Second World War

The people of Sweden have always been seen as a homogeneous people. Throughout history Sami people, Romani people, Jews and Finns have stood outside of this homogeneous group and were not treated as equal members of the Swedish society. The state power excluded people that didn’t fit in to this homogenised group and made special regulation regarding their lives. The 1900-century was characterized by state deciding upon different political and territorial acts regarding farming and herding for the Sami people. In 1886 the Reindeer Grazing Act was adopted and it established a heavily focus on the reindeer farmers. This official act has affected the view of the identification and role of the Sami people. This act divided the Sami People into the farming community and the reindeer nomads. The act affected the view of an authentic Sami, which were supposed to be a nomad and working with reindeers. A reindeer herder and nomad became the norm and were called the “Real Sami”. It is estimated that in 1920 roughly one third of the Sami population belonged to the reindeer industry. The assumption that a “real Sami” works with reindeer came to have long lasting consequences such as internal conflicts and the division of resources.

58 Bacchi, 2009, p. 20-21
59 Hagerman, Maja, Det rena landet- om konsten att uppfinna sina förfäder, Prisma, Stockholm, 2006, p.15
60 Lantto & Mörkenstam, 2008, p. 29
61 Lantto & Mörkenstam, 2008, p. 30
The political Sami movement has, like other movements, been marked by its influential leaders. Elsa Laula was the leader of the Sami movement in the early 1900’s. She criticized the Reindeer Act for excluding Sami people from their land when they stopped working within the reindeer industry. Land rights where tied to the reindeer industry. Laula’s argument was based on ethnic rights and not reindeer work unlike the Swedish official point of view.62

Samihood became a definition of the Sami people that couldn’t live in permanent households. This started a movement at the 1918 National meeting of the Sami in Sweden and the newspaper *Samefolkets Egen Tidning* was founded. A bilateral agreement was made between Sweden and Norway in 1918 in the form of the Reindeer Grazing Convention 1919 “which involved a closure of vast tracts of pasturelands in Norway used by Swedish herders in northern Norrbotten. The solution to this problem was a forced relocation of herders from the affected areas, thus increasing the pressure on other grazing lands.63 Some Sami’s where affected by these policies and other had to quit the herding life for other reasons. The change from herding to residential life meant great difficulty for many, they were described as an economic burden and not assimilated to the majority society. Another problem was that a reindeer Sami rights was bound to the father’s occupation as a reindeer herder. It was tied to the man. If a woman married a man with another occupation she lost the rights she had had from her herding father. This made the role of Sami women invisible.

The time before Second World War was influenced by the creation of Sami policies, political response from the Sami movement at the same time as the development of Swedish nationalism and race biology ideas. The Swedish race biology "science” was built upon the idea of the germanic race as the strongest and most advanced ”race” in all humanity. According to this ideology the germanic race migrated from the North and conquered most of Europe and beyond. The most intact branch of the ”race” is preserved in Scandinavian lands and in Sweden. According to the nationalist researcher Maja Hagerman this idea influenced the ideology of the German Nazis and the Holocaust. Nowadays, the notion of the germanic race has totally disappeared from the Swedish history books.64 The race biology grew from the mindset of the late 19 and early 20 century in Sweden. It was a time when researchers in different fields where obsessed with finding and exposing difference between different

62 Lantto & Mörkenstam, 2008, p. 30
63 Ibid, p. 31
64 Hagerman, 2006, p. 13
Valentina Barrios

people.\textsuperscript{65} Swedish researchers came to create the race biology studies. Their work influenced the state power and the public opinion for decades to come. They were researchers within sociology, anthropology, anatomy and psychology, and they created a society for race hygiene in 1909 composed by a hundred researchers. Although the society was a sub division of a German led international organization, they did not want to go in the same direction as the Germans due to their extreme and sectarian ideology.\textsuperscript{66} However, the Germans came to have cooperation with the Swedish researchers and used their research in the creation of the Nazi ideology.

This was a time when a new ideology was being created in Sweden. A photo exhibition called \textit{Folktyputställning} (People type exhibition) in Stockholm 1919 presented the ideal Swede and compared it to “inferior races” such as Sami. An important message from this exhibition was the danger of mixing people from different “races” among others Sami.\textsuperscript{67} The same year professor Lundborg published a compendium called \textit{Vad kan göras för att höja den svenska folkhälsan och förhindra urartning?} (What can be done to improve the Swedish public health and prevent degeneration?). In this compendium it was discouraged to mix the Swedish race with foreign people, especially not Finns and Sami.\textsuperscript{68} The photo exhibition, the compendium and the Race Hygienic Society all had influence on politicians and in 1922 the world’s first Race Biology Institute opened its doors.\textsuperscript{69}

Lundborg was the leading professor of the institute, according to Hagerman there would not be such an institute if it were not for him and his will to investigate race. Once the institute was in place, Lundborg had grand plans for his race studies. He was particularly interested in the research on Sami people and wanted to investigate them throughout the whole of Sápmi. He believed that they were unique due to their isolation in the northern parts and also because he believe that they would go “extinct” due to mixed marriages. He also believed that the increase in settler life would eliminate the reindeer herding life. He wanted to study the Sami people’s downfall. Every summer he spent months travelling and investigating Sami people in the north of Sweden.\textsuperscript{70} Much of this investigation was forced, or without consent from the people; many of them children. The institute came to produce publications such as \textit{The racial Characters of Sweden} from 1926, that came to

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{65} Hagerman, 2006, p. 352
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid, p. 358
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid, p. 353
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid, p. 362
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid, p. 379
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid, p. 374
\end{footnotesize}
influence education, politics and medicine in Sweden. With this book, Swedish school pupils where thought to do racial measurement on each other and the idea of a pure race also came to influence a criticised forced sterilisation policy in Sweden.\(^{71}\) This affected the public opinion of the “inferior Sami” and came to influence paternalistic policy on Sami policy.\(^{72}\)

A few years later, in 1928 a new Reindeer Act was adopted that abolished the ban on cultivation of a homestead or settlement. Two categories of a recognized Sami where now developing: reindeer herder and non-reindeer herder.\(^{73}\) This is an important separation that has come to influence the contemporary human rights problems for the Sami community.

According to Hagerman it is important to shed light on Sweden’s racist history in order to understand the context of today. Without this understanding it is difficult the move forward and continue to have a multicultural society.\(^{74}\)

4.2 After the Second World War
The time after the Second World War brought a more active resistance within the Sami movement. At first it was described as reactive, the Sami people reacted to events sometimes spontaneous and sometimes they made passive resistance. In the second part of the 20\(^{th}\) century the movement made well-formulated political claims.\(^{75}\) The Sami movement became more formally organized and has since this time continued to mobilize Sami people in different cultural and political movements. In the 1940’s the reindeer industry became favourable to the Sami reindeer industry and it was not destroyed as many feared. In the 1950’s the National Union of the Swedish Sami (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund, SSR) started.\(^{76}\) According to the Lantto and Mörkenstam, the Sami’s were described as uncivilized because they live a nomadic life and therefore were not capable of handling their own affairs. The authors described a change of discrimination of the Sami people. Before the 1940’s the majority community in Sweden used a cultural hierarchy and race-biological argument for not giving Sami people rights. And after the 1940 they had an economical perspective, that their reindeer industry was insufficient and even damaging the lands of other Swedes.\(^{77}\) Critics emerged towards the Sami reindeer industry and said that it should be treated like other

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\(^{71}\) Hagerman, 2006, p. 371
\(^{72}\) Ibid, p. 396
\(^{73}\) Lantto & Mörkenstam, 2008, p. 32
\(^{74}\) Hagerman, 2006, p.16
\(^{75}\) Lantto & Mörkenstam, 2008, p. 28
\(^{76}\) Ibid, p. 33
\(^{77}\) Ibid, p. 34
industries. An idea existed that the Sami where given special privileges and that it was unfair to other industries.\textsuperscript{78}

Later in 1960 Israel Ruong became the chairman of the SSR. He made some political changes in order to include Sami’s that had other occupation outside the reindeer industry. Roung stated that the RGA had divided the Sami people. This division called for a different type of organization.

In 1960 the SSR developed Sami rights to be expanded beyond land rights. As mentioned earlier the Sami were the first people to settle on the land of Sápmi. The SSR now argued that Sami people also had right to their land out of an indigenous rights perspective.\textsuperscript{79} A starting point for the demand of self-determination was the 1966 UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: all people have right to self-determination. Sweden adopted the Blue water thesis, which restricts the self-determination rights to overseas colonies.\textsuperscript{80}

In the 1980’s Landsförbundet Svenska Samer, LSS (The Swedish Saami National Union) was created. This union challenged the hegemonic SSR because they represented the non-reindeer herding community. The 1993 establishment of Swedish Sami Parliament called Sametinget was a way to give the Sami people cultural autonomy. This parliament was important for the movement, especially for the non-herding community.\textsuperscript{81} The parliament where given administrative rights, but no practical power.

In 1992 the Sami Parliament Act stated that herding was no longer the identification for being a Sami. The Sami language now became the identity marker.

The development of the Sami movement and Sweden’s role within human rights institutions has not given Sami people political or legislative power. It has developed a discursive change about the rights of the Sami people.\textsuperscript{82} Lantto and Mörkenstam conclude their article with stating that the Swedish should ratify the ILO 169 as a first step. Self-determination is a necessity.\textsuperscript{83}

Indigenous groups often define self-determination as an internal right within the state. It can be a tool that gives space for power and political influence on the issue that affects the specific group. Self-determination is normally not a demand for autonomy or the

\textsuperscript{78} Lantto & Mörkenstam, 2008, p. 35
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, p. 36
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid, p. 37
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid, p. 38
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid, p. 40
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid, p. 41
creation of a new state. The same is stated in the preparatory work for the UN declaration on indigenous people.\textsuperscript{84}

*Sametinget* is today the most important formal political structure for the Swedish Sami people. Sametinget has two important roles; on one hand it is a political representation; which aims at giving the Sami people self-determination. This was recognized in the preparatory work for the *Sametinget* (Prop. 1992/93:32: 35). On the other hand, it is a governmental authority that must follow directions from the government. *Sametinget* receives cultural funding. Thus, the *Sametinget* has a dual role. They have to balance the demands and representation from the Sami community and at the same time work as a government authority. This has led to conflicts regarding issues that has to do with balancing Sami rights and the state’s responsibility. One example of this balance is property damage regarding reindeers where *Sametinget* had to deny payment of damage and follow regulation set by the Swedish state.\textsuperscript{85} This particular conflict of interest has, according to interviews, had a negative effect on the credibility of *Sametinget* as a representative body.\textsuperscript{86} The critique comes from inside Sametinget and from other Sami organizations.\textsuperscript{87}

4.4 Contemporary research
Sweden has been criticized for not protecting the rights of Sami people as indigenous people on several international levels\textsuperscript{88} for example, the International Labour Organization’s Conventions No. 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal People in Independent Countries from 1989 and the UN draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous people.\textsuperscript{89}

Elsa Reimerson has in her article *Sami space for agency in the management of the Laponia World Heritage site* analysed Sami politics and environmental protection in Sweden. She has interviewed Sami people and analysed the policy documents.\textsuperscript{90} She has a focus on the discursive discussions and uses a post-colonial lens to look at these events.\textsuperscript{91} Reimerson’s concluding remarks is that the plan for Laponia and Laponiatjuottjudus marked an important change in the history of Swedish policy. The planning document “speaks about

\textsuperscript{84} Mörkenstam, Ulf & Lawrence, Rebecca, *Självbestämmande genom myndighetsutövning? Sametingets dubbbla roller*, Statvetenskaplig tidskrift, ISSN: 0039-0747, 2012, p. 211-212
\textsuperscript{85} Mörkenstam & Lawrence, 2012, p. 222-227
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid, p. 226-227
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid, p. 208
\textsuperscript{89} Lantto & Mörkenstam, 2008, p. 28
\textsuperscript{90} Reimerson, 2016, p. 808
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid, p. 815
Sami rights and Sami self-determination in a way that differs markedly from other Swedish policy documents, and this might signify a discursive shift in Swedish Sami discourse.” The plan included Sami knowledge on ecology and organisation. It was the first time these issues on self-determination was used in a model of protected area and they brought up the connection between Indigenous rights law with the influence of Sami people. According to Reimerson this is a sign of an increased influence of Sami and an opening of increased agency, which is a significant success for the Sami political struggle. These conclusions are of great importance to my research area both in the change of discourse but also in the achievements made within the field of the Sami political struggle. My work will be similar to Reimerson in the sense that I will also use post-colonial theory to look at political discourses within the Swedish context of Sami people. The difference is that I will investigate the political discourse of the idea of justice and a Truth commission and not environmental protection, as Reimerson has done.

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92 Reimerson, 2016, p. 822
93 Ibid, p. 822
5. The investigation
5.1 Discourse analysis of Sami political movement
In the previous chapter Earlier Research the political history of the Sami people was presented. There are many organisations and political parties to consider in this chapter but due to the limited space in this study I have chosen three agents 1) Sametinget 2) Political parties 3) Sáminuorra. In this chapter I have chosen to include statements, election programs and documents made by these agents.

Political system and Sametinget
Sametinget is a governmental authority that works to preserve and develop Sami language and culture. Since it is the popular elected entity, their work should represent the Sami people through the political parties. To be able to vote in the election you have to be part of the electoral register. Röstlängd (electoral register) is the name for the people who are allowed to vote in the Sametingsvalet. In order to be part of the electoral register you have to meet two criteria 1) You identify as a Sami 2) You must prove that your family has spoken or speak Sami in their household. Alternatively, you must have a family member that already is registered in the electoral register.  

In May 2017 nine political parties ran for election seats in Sametinget: Ålbmut – Folket (The People), Guovssonásti, Jakt- och fiskesamerna (Hunting and fishing Sami), Min Geaidnu/Mijjen Geajnoe, Partiet Samerna (The Sami Party), Samelandspartiet (The Sami Land Party), Vuovdega Skogssamerna (Forrest Sami), Landspartiet svenska samerna (The Land Party Swedish Sami) and Samiska folkomrösningspartiet (The Sami Referendum Party). The parties represents different groups of Sami and focus on different agendas for Sami people in Sápmi. In the election debate held in Stockholm on the 5th of May 2017 all parties except for two, participated in the debate: Landspartiet svenska samerna and Samiska folkomrösningspartiet. Only one party mentioned and supported a Sami Truth Comission during the debate, it was the Jakt- och fiskesamerna.

Sáminuorra is the oldest and largest youth organisation for Sami people. Their politics have had great influence on the Sami political movement.

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94 Sametinget, Sameröslängd, 2017, [https://www.sametinget.se/samerostlangden](https://www.sametinget.se/samerostlangden) (seen 170413)
5.1.2 The Material

_Sametinget_

I have used _Sametinget’s_ bill made by 4 different political parties claiming the need for a Sami Truth Commission in 2012. It is called _M 417 Bill – En samisk sanningskommission_ (A Sami Truth Commission),\(^95\) the political parties that wrote it was _Mijjen Geajnoe, Partiet Albmut-Folket, Landspartiet Svenska Samer_ and _Vuovdega-Skogssamerna_. This bill is relatively short in comparison to the other documents presented in this chapter. In addition, this is a political bill so the political message and language will be more compact than reports or articles. I have also included a document where _Sametinget_ approves the M 417 bill on a STC and an interview with one of the politician that wrote the M 417 bill.\(^96\) Lastly, I have used two articles written by _Samiskt informationscentrum_ (Sami information centre) on the possibility of a STC and their first steps towards a STC.\(^97\)

_Sami political parties_

I have used each political party’s election program for 2017 in search on their stand on a STC. I have chosen to not include the problems presentation nor effects. As political problems you will find too much material that would not fit the scope of this thesis. Also, the point of view of the political parties was well represented in the material I have of _Sametinget_. In the cases where there was no mention of STC in the election programs I have contacted the parties and gotten statements.

_Sáminuorra’s demand for a truth commission_

The Swedish state radio made an interview with _Sáminuorra’s_ president Lars-Miguel Utsi and a report on _Sáminuorra’s_ decision to work with a STC. The radio report was made in September of 2008.\(^98\)

What’s the problem and the deep-seated assumptions represented in this policy?

There are several problems presented within the Sami political movement. The most basic issue is the abuse, crimes and injustice that the state has inflicted on the Sami people. The president of _Sáminuorra’s_ Lars-Miguel Utsi brings these issues up and that the state has not

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\(^95\) Motion _Sametinget_, 2012/02, M 417, _En samisk Sanningskommission_  
\(^96\) Ibid  
\(^97\) Andersson, Camilla. Ska en sanningskommission inrättas om den svenska statens övergrepp på samer? _Samiskt informationscenter_. Samer.se/5447, 2017-03-03 (seen 2017-04-02)  
\(^98\) Sveriges radio. Kräver sanningskommission, 2008,  
dealt with the problem and therefore it has not reconciled with the history. Some of the worst abuse is described by Sametinget, such as the burning of people, scientific abuse and discriminatory legislation.\textsuperscript{99} Also structural problems that comes with this violent history; the oppression of the use of Sami language and the exploitation of their land. These can be described as deep-seated problems.\textsuperscript{100} Sáminuorra think it is time for Sweden to deal with the problems that are described like an open wound within the Sami and Swedish community. Here the problems are described as passivity and the negative effects that comes with ignoring recompensing measurements.\textsuperscript{101}

Another problem present in the discourse is the fear of an inadequate reconciliation process. They have seen work done by the Romani people in Sweden and how they are not satisfied with the process nor the result. Statliga delegationen för romska frågor (The state delegation for Romani questions) wanted an investigation into the Swedish state regarding the abuse of Romani people by the state. Instead, the government approved another form of reconciliation: Vitbok (white book), which was a book that tried to gain truth on the actions of the Swedish Church towards the Romani people. After this, the delegation renewed their demands to demanding an independent truth commission.\textsuperscript{102} The problem was that this book only described the crimes made by the Swedish Church towards the Romani people in Sweden. No practical change was made to improve their situation, said the chairperson of Sametinget Håkan Jonsson.\textsuperscript{103} It is important to say that neither Sametinget nor any other official agent has presented a demand for a STC. This year the Swedish Church finished their work of a Vitbok on the abuse on Sami people. More on this work will be discussed in chapter 5.2.

Some of the problems described by the political movement has indigenous and anti post-colonial perspective. For instance, Sáminuorra blames the state for not compensating nor recognizing the Sami people as an indigenous people. As indigenous people you have special protection and right according to international law.\textsuperscript{104} A internal critique of Sametinget is that it has a non-Sami structure. Sametinget is a government authority and therefor

\textsuperscript{99} Sametinget, 2014/04, 2014:7 Sammanträdesprotokoll, p. 18-19
\textsuperscript{100} Andersson, Camilla, Ska en sanningskommission inrättas om den svenska statens övergrepp på samer? Samiskt informationscenter, Samer.se/5447, 2017-03-03 (seen 2017-04-02).
\textsuperscript{102} Sametinget, 2014/04, 2014:7 Sammanträdesprotokoll, p. 18-19
\textsuperscript{103} Andersson, Camilla, Ska en sanningskommission inrättas om den svenska statens övergrepp på samer? Samiskt informationscenter, Samer.se/5447, 2017-03-03 (seen 2017-04-02)
structured accordingly. This is not always compatible with Sami way of working and cooperating.\textsuperscript{105} There is an anti-colonial critique of how power and knowledge is structured by the colonizing power. The lack of indigenous, in this case Sami, knowledge is an indication of a post-colonial Sweden.

**What effects and silences are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?**

In the previous text, the problem with the passive state was presented. A consequence of the non-action is the lack of knowledge on the abuse committed in the past and present and there is a need to shed light on these events. There is a major knowledge gap on the situation of the Sami people within the educational system. This knowledge gap starts from the time of the colonisation of Sápmi to the situation today. This in turn affects the Swedish society and the knowledge on Sami people continues to be inadequate. The deep-seated assumption is that Sweden is a postcolonial society where racism and discrimination towards Sami people is still present.\textsuperscript{106} Helena Dådring from *Landspartiet svenska samer* was one of the drafters of the bill on *Sametinget’s* decision to work with a STC. She describes how the abuse and discrimination made by the state still is unknown for the majority of society and decision-makers.\textsuperscript{107} The low level of knowledge of Sami history among the decision-makers is also described as a negative effect by the president of Sametinget Håkan Jonsson. By not having adequate knowledge policymaking is not going to include the right perspective and cannot include the rights and needs of Sami people.\textsuperscript{108}

Several agents express their concern regarding a more internal effect of the colonisation and the division of different Sami groups. Different policies have created a division between reindeer husbandry and other Sami people which has caused political conflicts on policies such as education, right to land and hunting among different Sami groups. There is also different taxing that has affected the division. Because of this, some groups feel that they have been under-prioritized.\textsuperscript{109} This division still exist today. Most of the political parties have a connection to a specific group such as forest or hunting or reindeer

\textsuperscript{105} Andersson, Camilla, *Arbetet med en samisk sanningskommission*, *Samiskt informationscentrum*, 2017-03-13, \url{www.samer.se/5450} (seen 2017-04-01)

\textsuperscript{106} Motion Sametinget, 2012/02, M 417, *En samisk Sanningskommission*

\textsuperscript{107} Rydenfalk, David, *Sáminuorra sex år före Sametinget*, *Sveriges radio*, 080526, \url{http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=5872467} (seen 170503)

\textsuperscript{108} Andersson, Camilla, *Ska en sanningskommission inrättas om den svenska statens övergrepp på samer?* *Samiskt informationscenter*, Samer.se/5447, 2017-03-03 (seen 2017-04-02)

\textsuperscript{109} Andersson, Camilla, *Arbetet med en samisk sanningskommission*, *Samiskt informationscentrum*, 2017-03-13, \url{www.samer.se/5450} (seen 2017-04-01)
husbandry Sami. Today most of these parties encourage all Sami people to join their party, regardless of group belonging.\textsuperscript{110}

A future effect of this is that the bad situation for Sami people will continue. As well as a continued open wound and lack of knowledge. Or that a lighter version of a STC will be implemented with no recompensing measures, as in the case of the Romani people in Sweden.\textsuperscript{111}

In this part I have brought up several effects of the problems and I will now look at the silences of these documents. All of these documents have a red thread of accountability towards the government and the state throughout history. What is missing is the governmental power on the local level, many of the problems facing the Sami community lies in the hands of local officials and local government. Looking at minority laws, international law and the Sami policy that the government is working with, it seems like they are working with the right tools. As we will see in chapter 5.3 there is a problem with rights and protection implementation at a local level. My hypothesis is that it is implied that criticising the state power is the same as criticising local government. However, I would argue that the discourse is constructed upon accountability towards the state because that is usually the method to gain a truth commission. By focusing on a higher level of authority there is a hope to gain higher goals regarding reconciliation. This is how the construction of a discourse is being crafted within the Sami political movement.

\textsuperscript{110} Andersson, Camilla. Arbetet med en samisk sanningskommission, Samiskt informationscentrum, 2017-03-13, \url{www.samer.se/5450} (seen 2017-04-01)
\textsuperscript{111} Motion Sametinget, 2012/02, M 417, En samisk Sanningskommission
What solutions are presented to the problems and what is produced?

A truth commission can compile and describe the abuse and wrongs made and give recommendations and proposals on actions so that the work has some impact on Sweden’s Sami politics. It should investigate the Swedish state abuse on Sami and Sami human rights and present proposals for adequate actions so that we can come to terms with this historical trauma. Without a careful scrutiny where issues are brought to the light, Sweden cannot break free from old ideas of Sami.\(^{112}\)

It is clear that the STC is the solution among the political movement. This result is no surprise since I have chosen documents that involves the STC and a STC is a common political solution. According to Helena Dåring from the *Landspartiet svenska samer*, the STC can be a method for Sami to move forward but also to gain recognition of their common history. By striving forward they can avoid being put in a victim role once again. “In that case, we will not move forward. It [the STC] will break the chain, so that we have something positive to pass over to our children”. Without some reconciliation the chain of victim role will continue and the effect of the problem will continue to create problems.\(^{113}\) The breaking of silence is also brought up in the M 417 Bill, where a clear anit-postcolonial perspective is used.\(^{114}\) *Sametinget* has the responsibility to work with a STC because they are the popular elected power. They believe that knowledge and consciousness is part of the solution to stop discrimination and bad legislation. There seems to exist a faith in STC and the positive effect it might bring. They argue that it can have a healing force and might contribute to the survival of their culture.\(^{115}\) This is evident when looking at *Sametinget’s* meeting protocol on the approval of the bill to work with a STC:

> An independent truth commission with the directive to investigate the abuse made by the Swedish state against the Sami would improve the lives considerably and the societal development for Sami in Sweden. It

\(^{112}\) Andersson, Camilla, Ska en sanningskommission inrättas om den svenska statens övergrepp på samer? *Samiskt informationscenter*, Samer.se/5447, 2017-03-03 (seen 2017-04-02).


\(^{114}\) Motion *Sametinget*, 2012/02, M 417, *En samisk Sanningskommission*

\(^{115}\) Motion *Sametinget*, 2012/02, M 417, *En samisk Sanningskommission*
would also contribute to reduce the prejudice and the ignorance that exist on Sami and Sami history in Sweden. Sametinget should in their dialogue with the government demand that the government appoint an independent truth commission in order to investigate the abuse that the Sami people has been submitted to.\textsuperscript{116}

This is closely tied to the ideas presented in the chapter 2.2 Post-colonial theory as indigenous claim. The fundamental idea is to change the colonial research in order to have qualitative research on indigenous groups, for example having indigenous people as a first hand source.

Dåring also argues that a STC could be a solution. There is a great importance in including the rest of the society and through a STC other Swedes should gain the knowledge of the history and the negative impact it has had. She also argues that the youth organisation Sáminuorra is at the forefront of Sami politics. It was positive that they were first to present an organized demand for a STC and their progressive politics on LGBT rights are a positive priority that the rest of the Sami political movement can learn from. Finally she adds that it is important that the work with the STC becomes a practical reality now that the board has approved it. It should not become an action-less decision.\textsuperscript{117}

The implementation of a STC could be sign of will to change the way the government has treated the issue in the past. Examples of other countries such as New Zealand are brought up. New Zealand’s government has apologized, made compensating measures and concrete change after the injustice made to their indigenous people.\textsuperscript{118} This demand is also much wider reconciliation than the existing apology made by the government. In 1988 the minister of Agriculture made an official apology for the abuse that was made towards the Sami community.\textsuperscript{119}

All the political parties do to some extent believe that a STC is positive. None of the parties is against the STC. Four out of nine parties have the STC as a political goal in their election program: Landpartiet svenska samerna, Min Geaidnu/Mijjen Geajnoe, Jakt- och fiskesamerna and Guovssonásti.\textsuperscript{120} These four parties can be viewed as more in favour or strongly in favour of the STC. In Guovssonásti’s election program they state that the STC

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{116} Sametinget, 2014/04, 2014:7 Sammanträdesprotokoll, p. 19
\item \textsuperscript{117} Rydenfalk, David, Sáminuorra sex år före Sametinget, Sveriges radio, 080526, http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=5872467 (seen 170503)
\item \textsuperscript{118} Sveriges radio, Kräver sanningskommission, 2008, http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=2327599 (seen 170320)
\item \textsuperscript{119} Sveriges radio, Kräver sanningskommission, 2008,
\end{itemize}
work should be given state resources. The state should receive written and oral documentation from Sami people, they should interrogate the responsible officials within the public sector. They should condemn the committed abuse and crime and implement compensating efforts.\textsuperscript{121} Jakt- och fiskesamer is the party that received the biggest mandate in the past term. In their election program they mention the STC as their second point for the future political work.

“The work on establishing a truth commission will continue. The truth commission will once and for all make up the wrongs done to the Sami people. All the Sami’s that are willing to tell their story and their family’s story should be able to do so and they should gain reparation.”\textsuperscript{122}

In Min Geaidnu/Mijjen Geajnoe’s election program they mention STC in the introduction:

\textit{“Mijjan Geäijdnuo has demanded a Sami Truth Commission, a process to shed light on the injustice and wrongs that we have been submitted to. We believe that this is part of creating consciousness and knowledge, both within our group and in the surrounding majority society. When the level of knowledge increases, understanding can be created. We need that understanding in order to break the colonisation. We need that understanding in order to build a society where participation and consensus constitutes the foundation for a sustainable societal development.”}\textsuperscript{123}

\textit{Landpartiet svenska Såmerna} also has a strong stance on this issue and they are using an anti post-colonial discourses:

\textit{We the Sami, has through out the history endured abuse, race biology and a protracted colonial policies. This has affected us as a people and also affects our health and our life conditions today. Sweden must make up with its history, improve the situation for Sami people and respect our indigenous rights, human rights and the right of the child. We believe that a commission for the whole Sami people would increase the understanding within as well as outside of Säpmi. We have been, and we will continue to be a strong voice for a truth commission. We believe that it is one of the most important questions for us to}

\begin{footnotes}
\end{footnotes}
work with. We want to work towards: a truth commission shall be realized for the whole Sami people.\textsuperscript{124}

Even the Samiska Folkomröstningspartiet which core goal is to make a referendum to vote for change within the Sami villages, answered that they are positive towards a STC.\textsuperscript{125}

The majority of political parties are using anti post-colonial perspective and language. They all mention some responsibility although the focus was on different issues and on different livelihoods. This result can be analysed in different ways. From a post-colonial perspective a STC could be essential in order to make up with the past and highlight how colonialism still is present today. On the other hand, since the work with STC is already an existing political work within Sametinget, some parties might think that it is not a political stand they have to make in their election program. Others might not think it should be prioritized over the parties’ specific issues. Some issues is of great importance for the contemporary politics, such as the right to access language education. This was clear during the election debate held in Stockholm. Both the politicians representing the parties and the audience insisted on the big problem of no language education for their children. However, since no party said they were against a STC it is reasonable to think that this reason is the most accurate for not focusing more on a demand for a STC. Even though not all parties included the STC in their election programs the majority had a strong rhetoric on the colonial past and gave importance to the responsibility that the state has towards the Sami people and their land such as the Álbmut party\textsuperscript{126} and Partiet Samerna,\textsuperscript{127} Other parties like Samelandspartiet\textsuperscript{128} and Vuovdega Skogssamerna\textsuperscript{129} does not have a blaming language and does not demand responsibility from the state on these problems. However, on the issue on land rights, Samelandspartiet does hold the state responsible for not giving Sami right to their land.\textsuperscript{130} Therefore, the most important feature seems to be the demand for better responsibility

\textsuperscript{124} Landspartiet svenska samer, Same stolt och stark, 2017, \url{http://www.landsparietsvenskasaamer.com/Val_2017_Landspartiet_Svenska_Samer.pdf} (seen 170507), p.5
\textsuperscript{125} Lars Svonni, Samiska folkomröstningspartiet politician, Mail 170517
\textsuperscript{126} Álbmut, Valbroschyr 2017, 2017, \url{http://www.albmut.se/13/10/valprogram-2017/} (seen 170513)
\textsuperscript{129} Vuovdega Skogssamerna, Election brochure, 2017, \url{http://vuovdega.se/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Valbroschyr.pdf} (seen 170510)
over all and STCs significance. It is reasonable to believe that the strong accountability is an indicator of how the political parties are constructing the discourse on justice and a STC.

The first step towards a STC was the conference in Umeå during 2016. An international round table conference was held, which is an inclusive meeting method aspiring to work without hierarchies. In this conference 20 political Sami parties and organisations joined in a talk on how they thought a STC should be. During these days open seminars were also arranged on what a Truth Commission could look like.\textsuperscript{131} The conference was seen as the first step towards diminishing the gap between different Sami groups. There is a consensus on that there should be careful planning of the STC. It will not be rushed and it should be a strong and including process. “We have gained a common ground to stand on” said the president of Sáminuorra Isak Utsi.\textsuperscript{132} The solution to the non-Sami structure of the Sametinget is to begin a decolonisation process where Sami can use their own structures and working methods. Josefina Skerk, vice-president of Sametinget and Isak Utsi hope that this process can lead to a unified Sàpmi, whether the STC becomes a reality or not. They are also both open to the possibility that the work and planning can lead to another kind of reconciliation process. They do want a STC but are open to the possibility that other methods might suit Sàpmi better.\textsuperscript{133} This shows that the idea of justice as a solution is not fixed. The idea is to have a process of truth and justice and that it is more important in order to have an including and truth telling process. The journey is as important as the goal.

\textsuperscript{131} Andersson, Camilla, Ska en sanningskommission inrättas om den svenska statens övergrepp på samer? Samiskt informationscenter, Samer.se/5447, 2017-03-03 (seen 2017-04-02)
\textsuperscript{132} Andersson, Camilla, Arbetet med en samisk sanningskommission, Samiskt informationscentrum, 2017-03-13, www.samer.se/5450 (seen 2017-04-01)
\textsuperscript{133} Ibid
5.2 Discourse analysis of Non-Affiliated Sami—It is not black and white
I have made an analysis on the discourse made by the Sami political movement. Now I would like to supplement this discourse with the perspective of unaffiliated Sami. From people on the outside of the official political movement. The persons in this chapter does not belong to Sametinget, Sáminuorra nor political parties. I use the word supplement, because this is in no way a generalisation of the Sami discourse. It is a supplement to the political discourse that can be helpful in the comparison and let the reader have a wider understanding of the discourse. I have chosen to use already made narratives of Sami. The selection was made out of two criteria: they identify as a Sami and expressed some opinion on the STC.

5.2.1 The material

A Christian Sami perspective
In 2012 the Swedish Church started reconciliation investigation on the Church abuse made towards Sami people named Vitbok (White Book). The last chapter of the report was published in February 2017. This book might be the closest document that resembles a reconciliation process at the moment. The White book has been a work of many investigators and Sami testimonies on life, discrimination and abuse.134 The material used is interviews with three Christian Sami people made by the newspaper Dagen.135

Student Lisa Marainen
The psychology student Lisa Marainen writes a chronicle on the situation and future of the Sami community in Sweden.136

Truth Commission through theatre
The Sami theatre company Girontetern created a play called Colonial Nation in 2017. During a one year they travelled through Sweden recording testimonies and experiences from Sami people. These testimonies has been processed and became the foundation of a Truth Commission through theatre. The material is previously conducted interviews of the actors and directors of the play made by the Swedish state radio.137

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134 Svenska Kyrkan, Vitboken, 170322, https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/vitboken (seen 170817)

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What’s the problem and the deep-seated assumptions represented in this policy?

"It is an abuse that today still affects many Sami people."\(^{138}\)

The problem definition is more or less the same among these persons; the history of the state abuse towards the Sami community. Mariann Lörrstrand is a project manager for Sami Church days and for her the reconciliation between Sami people and Sweden is important. The Swedish Church has made progress in this matter with the making of the “White book”. It is important to acknowledge the actions of the past. According to Lörrstrand, the events of 1700-century was in fact colonialism since the state took over land in Sápmi. It was called wasteland, when in fact Sami people inhabited Sápmi. The start of the colonisation is thus the starting point of the deep-seated problems. In the same line as Lörrstrand, Lars Thomsson, one of the author of the White book, believes that the Church was part of the discrimination of Sami people, they were very much part of the abuses. The Church segregated Sami people from the assemblies and made special Sami assemblies separate from the Swedish ones. For Thomsson the question of discrimination and separation is represented as the problem.\(^{139}\)

For the student Marianen the problems presented in the chronicle has its roots in the control of Sami land and culture by the superior men from the south. For the Sami community this time became a new chapter, characterized with humiliation, abuse and prohibition on their culture.\(^{140}\)

Among the actors and directors from the Grion Theatre, there is no doubt that the problem presented in these stories is the colonisation of Sápmi. The visual problems with colonisation is the physical process. The drawing of state borders in the middle of Sápmi and calling it Sweden or Finland. It is the taking of land and water resources. It is the Race Biology studies on Sami people. It is the prohibition of using their languages and exercising their culture and religion.\(^{141}\)

What effects and silences are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?

Another effect of the colonisation was the categorization of people. The state decided that a true Sami worked with reindeer husbandry. Moreover, if you did not belong to this type of occupation or if you changed occupation you were no longer considered a Sami. By these


\(^{141}\) Wall, 2017
measurements, the State decided who was Sami and who was not. Lörstand thinks that this type of division was one of the worst type of abuse. "It is an abuse that still today effects many Sami people."142 Another effect is the lack of Sami history in the Swedish educational system. The children of today do still not learn enough about the indigenous people of their own country. Lörstrand believes that the lack of knowledge might lead to racism against Sami people in Sweden. The state, as well as the school and Church are responsible for increasing the knowledge and in that way decrease racism. Due to these consequences, Sami culture and language is threatened. At the same time, she is optimistic on the new consciousness on Sami culture and the pride of the cultural heritage among Sami people.

Thomsson does not have the same perspective on the effects on the colonisation. He has not experienced racism as a child but he did encounter bullying because of his ethnicity. In Church and school he was robbed of this name, the teachers gave him a Swedish name instead of using his real Sami name. It was also through the Church and school that some of the worst abuse happened. The photographing and body measurements on Sami people. The scientists photographed adults and even children naked. The Priests were the ones initiating the process and people listen to them because they had much trust in the Priests. Thomasson describes the abuse as a horrible dark history.143

According to Marianen the problem has several effects. She expresses difficulties that she has encounter as a Sami living outside of Sápmi but also problems with the Sami community on identity and group affiliation. Common problems of Sami people that lives in diaspora from their homes. On one hand, it is problematic for an individual such as herself to represent the Sami community outside of Sápmi. In the Capital, people want to understand the Sami situation through her experience. For her, many thoughts on identity and heritage has left her with the conclusion that the “Sami culture is living, complex and in constant change”. On the other hand, there is a growing concern in Sápmi for the preservation of identity in a developing and changing society.144 The fear of losing more of their culture can lead to a “fall into a defensive role that want to preserve all like it once where”. Marianen believes that this perspective can limit the development of her culture. All cultures must develop together, but the world must also change together with Sami culture and nature must be respected.145

143 Ibid
144 Marianen, 2016
145 Ibid
The question of identity is also found among the members of the Giron Theatre. The consequence of the physical colonisation is the division of the Sami community between reindeer husbandry Sami and other Sami. Paulina Feodoroff is the director of the play and was the one that came up with the idea of a Truth Commission for the play. She explains the effect of the colonisation through her experience:

Colonisation splits your identity, you become two persons, a hidden Sami identity and then you have a Swedish or Finish or Norwegian or Russian identity. These identities can coexist but for the most part they can’t. And the one that has to take more space is the Sami identity, if not we will be deleted and lost. Our culture will be deleted.¹⁴⁶

Fjordoff points out that the situation for Sami has become better due to Sami political parties, art and media. But the core issue is still the same: they are not equal to other members of the northern community. Nonetheless, the question of identity and pride has changed throughout the years. Before many felt shame in being Sami and the ideal was to have as little percentage as possible of them being Sami, if you were a child of mixed marriage, you were considered better than a child with two Sami parents was. Nowadays it is the opposite, you can hear schoolchildren bragging about who has the most percentage of Sami in their blood. Sarakka Gaup, one of the actresses, thinks that this has led to a division among Sami and a racist perception of being Sami. But she believes that the Sami community has a lot of positive things that are strong and living. Also, there is a lot of positive change in Sápmi. “I am positive that we will survive and that we will continue to exist.”¹⁴⁷

Another important consequence is the culture of silence. There is a distrust towards authorities and as a consequence people don’t seek help from police or the health care system. The situation for many, especially young Sami, entails mental illness and suicide.

What solutions are presented to the problems and what is produced?

“The Swedish state has tried to apologize for the abuse made in the past” But now we want to see action. Concrete action.”¹⁴⁸ Lörstrand believes that a STC is the solution. She want a report that investigates and demands liability of the abuse and that Sami perspective should be at the centre of such a report.¹⁴⁹ Archbishop Antje Jackelén and

¹⁴⁶ Wall, 2017
¹⁴⁷ Wall, 2017
¹⁴⁹ Ibid
President of the *Samiska rådet Svenska kyrkan* (Sami council Swedish Church) Sylvia Sparrock also admits the colonial heritage left by the Swedish Church and the State. The effects of the heritage is still present among individuals and the Sami community. They see the Church work of reconciliation as a start of a healing process but now that the work is done, the State must take responsibility. They believe in concrete action of the historical events.\(^\text{150}\)

The members of Giron Theatre also strongly believe in a STC. The Canadian example of Truth Commission served as an inspiration for them and the idea of a similar process in Sweden. It was a question of when this will happen in Sweden. “And then we thought to ourselves, if the state won’t make a commission then we will make one through theatre, we will start the process.” Åsa Simma, the theatre director, explains. They came to use the exact same methods as in the Canadian process, which was something called *village hearings*. It entails travelling to different villages and listen to testimonies and experiences of colonisation. They chose five places where they knew had been strongly effected by colonisation. Many of these stories tells of abuse and discrimination. Heavy personal stories but also the stories that they carry from their parents and grandparents. Mental illness is a problem that is present in all the places they visited. Simma believes that their work is going to have positive effects on the future of the Sami community:

> We are exposing the truth. The deep truth within ourselves and its colonial effects. And I feel that the time is right, it is time! In my time in North America I spoke with an indigenous healer that often said to me ’Before the healing can take place, all the wounds must be exposed’.\(^\text{151}\)

The play is not only helpful as a truth telling goal, says Feodoroff but the path towards that goal is also of great importance for the people involved in the play. By being part of this project and working with other Sami artist, we are strengthening ourselves. It is a method of feeling a togetherness and not always feeling divided among different Sami groups. To be united.\(^\text{152}\)

However, the solutions for the problems are not black and white. Thomsson is

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151 Wall, 2017

152 Wall, 2017
doubtful on that the STC is a solution. He, on the other hand believes that the best solution is to move on. The Church was responsible for the abuse and have now reconciled with the past, and the Church must continue their work.\textsuperscript{153} His perspective differs from the other persons in the chapter and the Sami political movement. Another type of discourse is being constructed with other solutions. For Thomsson the future of the Sami community is to move on and carry on with their lives. His perspective is an indicator of what an alternative discourse can look like.

Marianen’s perspective does also stand out. She emphasize the importance of diversity. One Sami cannot represent the whole Sami community and can therefore not have the solutions for these complex problems. She mention a STC and how it can be a method of visualizing the history. However, her focus is not on whether STC is the solution to the problems or not. Rather she emphasize the importance for more people to get involved and help each other. “A Truth Commission or not, one should not wait for the approval of the state. More people should raise their voices and help each other to work together to process the oppression.” What can be analysed from this text is that the solution begins with the change and action of each individual. In that sense, the community can help each other and change the situation.\textsuperscript{154}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{153} Alestig, Inger, Samer kräver upprättelse från Svenska kyrkan, \textit{Dagen}, 170616, \url{http://www.dagen.se/dokument/samer-kraver- upprattelse-fran-svenska-kyrkan-1.982497} (seen 170816)
\item \textsuperscript{154} Marianen, 2016
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
5.3 Discourse Analysis of the Government’s Sami policy

Following Bacchi’s post-structural path in describing policy and governmental analysis, the concept of government is a broad concept which includes different agents, places and understanding that works together and shapes the social world.155 Accepting this departure, I will look at different documents in order to include the broad concept of the Swedish government. In this thesis I have used the term state when discussing the Swedish state power over time and I have used the term government when discussing the current government. In the 2014 parliamentary election, Socialdemokraterna (The Swedish Social Democratic Party) gain most votes and formed a coalition with Miljöpartiet (The Green Party).

Samepolitik (Sami policy) falls under the work of Demokrati och mänskliga rättigheter (Democracy and Human Rights) within the Swedish government. The Democracy and Human Rights section is one of the main areas in which the government work and it contains other subject areas such as The Right of the Child, National Minorities and Policy against Discrimination and Racism. The responsible minister for Sami Policy is the Culture and Democracy Minister Alice Bah Kunke. A brief overview of the content of Sami Policy in Sweden can be described as health issues, combating discrimination and racism towards Sami, promoting Sami cooperation nationally and internationally, and promoting Sami language and culture. Many of the political decision regarding Sami Policy are defined as a path towards strengthening their self-determination.

Sami Policy is also found in the government’s strategic work within Human Rights and Combating Discrimination and Racism. I have also looked at budget proposals and government articles that are published on their web page. These documents have been chosen because they A) include policy that affects Sami people and B) are from 2016 or 2017. I chose the document from 2016-2017 in order to have an updated reflection of the government’s work on the issue. I did not find any specific documents relating to a STC. No document addressed the issue of STC nor did they mention other reconciliation, justice or truth alternative to the STC. Because of this lack of data, I contacted the different departments to get a position on a STC. This is presented in the last part of the chapter. Regardless of these findings, I will use the existing documents in my analysis and use it as the existing governmental departure for justice and a STC. In other words, I will work with the existing

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155 Bacchi, 2016, p. 5
policy that is closest to these ideas. All the documents will be presented throughout a modified version of Bacchi’s WPR approach.

5.3.1 The material

**Budget proposal from 2016-2017**

I have looked at Chapter 6 of the expenditure area 1 that is called *Sametinget och samepolitiken* (Sametinget and Sami Policy). This document is not analysed as a whole. I have selected parts and chapters where Sami policy or Sami people are mentioned.

**Regeringens skrivelse 2016/17:29**

*Regeringens strategi för det nationella arbetet med mänskliga rättigheter* (The government’s strategy for the national policy on Human Rights) henceforth the Strategy for human rights, is a strategy document. This strategy has taken recommendations of the UN and proposals by the budget proposition. It contains a wide and detailed work on human rights in Sweden, therefore it is not analysed as a whole. I have selected parts and chapters where Sami policy or Sami people are mentioned. The parliament presents a new goal for human right policy in the Strategy for human rights: “to secure full respect for Sweden’s international human rights commitments”\(^\text{156}\)

**National plan to combat racism, similar forms of hostility and hate crime, 2016**

The National plan to combat racism, similar forms of hostility and hate crime, henceforth the Plan to combat racism, was written by the government by the recommendations of the UN’s Universal Periodic Review, henceforward the UPR. It does not contain solutions of reconciliation or a STC. The foreword of the Plan to combat racism sets out several political statements, recognitions and responsibility, much more than the previous two documents in this chapter.\(^\text{157}\)

**Nästa steg? Förslag för en stärkt minoritetspolitik**

In 2017 the state requested an investigation into how to improve the situation for the different minority groups in Sweden. It was called *Nästa steg? Förslag för en stärkt minoritetspolitik*.

\(^{156}\) Regeringens skrivelse 2016/17:29, Regeringens strategi för det nationella arbetet med mänskliga rättigheter, 2016, p. 1

\(^{157}\) Kulturdepartementet, 2016, p. 4
(Nest step? Proposals for a fortified minority policy), henceforth the Minority policy proposal.158

What’s the problem and the deep-seated assumptions represented in this policy?
The budget proposal does not contain political discussions on the problems as such. Nonetheless, I have identified some of the core goal and solutions, and by identifying these policies I will “work backwards” to present the problems. The main goal for the Sami policy, the budget and the Sametinget, is to “work for a living Sami culture.”159 The culture shall be built upon an ecological sustainable reindeer husbandry and other Sami näringar (industries). This plan has a central assessment basis 1) Sami influence and participation 2) Development of the use of the Sami language and its position 3) The development of a strong and versified Sami culture life.160 Since these three subject areas are at focus, my analysis is that participation, language and culture are represented as problems for the Swedish government. Examples of participatory work is the Nordic Sami Convention that is being drafted by the cooperation of Sweden, Norway and Finland. Other participatory work is the high number in remissions by Sami people, the consulting Sami people on racial discrimination for the writing of the National Plan against Racial Discrimination and the consulting of Sami people on the psychological health for the writing of a Health report.161 As I have shown in the earlier research many of the policy documents where made without the consent or inside knowledge of the Sami people, the policy have been accused for being paternalistic and excluding. By pushing the importance of participation, it is clear that the government is making a more inclusive policy production. The same can be said on the disappearing of Sami culture and language. The government has in other documents, such as the National plan on Combating Racism, acknowledged the wrongdoing to the Sami people and that it is part of the structural racism that has been used towards the Sami.162 Hence, the deep-seated problem is that the government have made policies in the past that limited and could abolish the Sami culture and language.

Racism is presented as a deep-seated problem in the Swedish society. The strategy for human rights uses the UPR. Sweden received 208 recommendations (Human

159 PROP. 2016/17:1 Utgiftsområde 1, p. 35
160 Ibid, p. 36
161 Ibid, p. 36-37
162 Ibid, p. 38
Rights Council Reports no. A/HRC/15/11 and A/HRC/29/13Add.1\textsuperscript{163} and has accepted to work with 154 recommendations. Among the recommendations the strategy first bring up racism, which is framed as a serious issue, to such an extent that the UN is concerned by the insufficient efforts made by the authorities.\textsuperscript{164} The Strategy for human rights mentions that Sweden received recommendations to improve the respect for human rights and combating stereotypical ideas on ethnic and religious groups. The deep-seated assumptions is that there is a serious problem with racism. This point of view is shared in the National plan to combat racism. Looking at the first subject area: the historical part. On one hand, Sweden’s history is described as an open and solidary country. It is a country:

\ldots in which a multitude of viewpoints, opinions and perspectives have been expressed and coexisted. This means that Swedishness is the sum of wealth of different elements. Sami, Afro-Swedish, Roma, Muslim and Jewish, along with many other components, are all part of what Swedishness is.\textsuperscript{165}

On the other hand, it is recognised that people are experiencing a more hateful environment based on racism. It recognizes that Sweden has had problems with racism during a long time and that the state did sanction the Race Biology Institute.\textsuperscript{166} Other aspect such as evictions, forced ethnic registration and attacks and abuse are brought up. There is a recognized dichotomy between these two realities. The fight against racism and how it affects the Sami population is also brought up by the Plan to combat racism: “combating racism against Sami people helps to increase the Sami people’s opportunities for self-determination.”\textsuperscript{167} The problem represented here is that racism is impeding the Sami people to gain full self-determination. As in the other documents, the Nordic Sami convention is brought up. Here, it is presented as a method of combating racism.\textsuperscript{168} In relation to the racism problem there is signs of anti-post colonialism in the Budget proposal. The use of words as “Sápmi” and “structural racism” are found in the budget proposition. The use of “Sápmi” has come be make a political stand as not using the name Lappland which has been called out as a racist and colonial term of the land and the people lappare. Moreover, by using the term “structural racism” the government acknowledge that this is a socially constructed problem that has to do

\textsuperscript{163} Regerings skrivelse 2016/17:29, 2016, p. 47
\textsuperscript{164} Regerings skrivelse 2016/17:29, 2016, p. 49
\textsuperscript{165} Kulturdepartementet, 2016, p. 4
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid, p. 20
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid, p. 21
with history and context. It is reasonable to say that the government has some anti post-colonial influences in the production of this report.\textsuperscript{169}

Another aspect that is brought up is the Sami language, which is a national minority language and therefore needs special protection. There is a need for local and national authorities to improve their awareness of the Act on National Minorities and National Minority Languages.\textsuperscript{170} In this sense, language is not protected enough and the authorities does not have the adequate knowledge about the minority languages, including the Sami language. The Strategy for human rights also brings up the language problem but also issues such as strengthening of Sami life and culture, Nordic Sami convention and näringar (industries).\textsuperscript{171}

The Minority Policy Proposal presents a different problem. They concluded that the minority policy has almost completely failed\textsuperscript{172} due to the unwillingness from municipalities to follow the law on the protection of minorities rights (2009:724) that came into force in 2010. For example the different municipalities did not follow the laws on minority language education and minority protection. This is in turn because of the lack of language knowledge within municipalities.\textsuperscript{173} So according to the Minority Policy Proposal the structural problems is not only part of the members of society, it is a local governmental problem.

\textbf{What effects and silences are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?}

The Plan to combat racism draw links between the racist history and the lived racism today. The Swedish State Institute for Racial Biology (IRB) was built on the idea that the Sami people where a “less-developed race”. This perspective led to policies of segregation and segregated schools which forced children away from their parents and home for periods of time.\textsuperscript{174} So there is an acknowledgement that the problem with racism has had negative effects. But what is missing is the responsible agent of this structural problem. The responsible agent can be interpreted as the government since it is a governmental document and the fact that the IRB was state sanctioned and the policy of separated education systems funded by the state. Nonetheless, the responsible agent is not mentioned in this text, the government could take on responsibility but has chosen not to. The racist discrimination

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\textsuperscript{169} PROP. 2016/17:1 Utgiftsområde 1, p. 38
\textsuperscript{170} Kulturdepartementet, 2016, p. 20
\textsuperscript{171} Regeringsens skrivelser 2016/17:29, 2016, p. 51
\textsuperscript{172} SOU 2017:60, p. 15
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid, p. 16
\textsuperscript{174} Kulturdepartementet, 2016, p. 45
\end{flushleft}
experienced by the Sami people today is presented as a local problem where “bullying at school and threats of violence and abuse on social media” is present. Hate crime based on racist and xenophobic ideas are presented in a table of statistics. Several ethnic or religious groups are represented in the table but not Sami people. It is unclear why it is this way and a further explanation is needed.

My hypothesis is that by acknowledging and working with policies that is to improve the situation of the Sami we can come to two different but parallel effects. On one hand, I think the efforts made by the government can have positive effects, and on the other hand seeing the demands from the political movement these solutions are not enough. A silence is being kept on responsible agent and accountability cannot be reach.

A deeper look at the racism issue could be that the government has not worked strategically on combating racism, or that they have not worked enough. Therefore, by not working enough or at all with combating racism, it might contribute to the continued problem with racism. Racism is a problem which is caused by several factors such as education, economy, and history. It is not a problem that can be explained by one reason. However, within the analysis of this study it is reasonable to say that the decisions made by the state produces a continued silence on the issue. There is no mention of the history of Sami people in the Strategy for human rights. Political influences and policy such as the Race Biology Institute is not mentioned nor the abuse in minorities and indigenous groups. This is where a continued silence is being reproduced. By not recognizing Sweden’s history it makes it more difficult to solve the problems with racism today.

The lack of knowledge on Sami has made young people feel invisible by the majority society. This can be connected to the poorer mental health of Sami people and be an effect of the problems presented earlier.

What solutions are presented to the problems and what is produced?
As I have explained in the earlier part of this chapter there is no sign of the government presenting a STC as a solution to these problems. Other solution are presented in order to achieve justice, such as a directive for a special investigator that will make an overview and analysis over the law (2009:724) of national minorities and minority language and related

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175 Ibid, p. 46
176 Kulturdepartementet, 2016, p. 30
177 PROP. 2016/17:1 Utgiftsområde 1, p. 38
178 Regeringens skrivelse 2016/17:29, 2016, p. 50
179 Kulturdepartementet, 2016, p. 46
issues. They will also look at how the education of minority language can be improved by investigation, cooperation, evaluations and missions by the responsible authorities.\textsuperscript{180} The government also concluded that they would continue with the cooperation and dialogue with representatives of the Sami people.\textsuperscript{181} The “deep dialog with Sametinget” is one of the recommendations that Sweden received regarding the improvements of Sami rights. Sametinget shall be consulted and be listen to regarding issues such as land rights and the Nordic Sami Convention.\textsuperscript{182} This is similar to what Reimerison’s research, which is presented in chapter 4.4. Reimerson identifies an increased use of participation within the governmental discourse on Sami policy, the same can be said of the current governments discourse.

Looking at the first part of the problem representation in the National plan to Combat Racism, there is a sign of responsibility by the part of the state. The state is mentioned, in several places, to be a responsible part of the creation and founding of the IRB. What is left problematic here is that the solutions that is presented in the Plan to Combat Racism is left unclear. The solutions are not broad in the sense of some reconciliation process or a need for more investigation on the human right violations made by the state. This does not exist and by not including these more broad solutions, it is reasonable to say that they are not taking full responsibility for the past. They are taking some responsibility by trying to protect Sami people from racist violations, protecting language and culture and even pushing and increased international cooperation. However, in similar situations other states have taken the responsibility by making an official and broad reconciliation. Like the case in Canada and its indigenous groups.

The effects of this problem representation is that the problem is lifted, wrongs are recognized. It is limited to evaluations, strategies and dialogues on the different issues, which is good. Nevertheless, deeper and further solutions are missing in the studied documents.

As you have seen from the presented documents, there is no official stand on a STC. Since one of my goal is to find the discourse of a STC I made the authorities answer some of my questions by mail. Discrimination Ombudsman (DO) answered that they have been working with Sametinget on a STC since 2015. “...the authorities work together for the establishment of an independent Truth Commission on the historical events and abuse on Sami in Sweden.” The DO has the power to make new legislation and political proposals to

\textsuperscript{180} Regeringens skrivelse 2016/17:29, 2016, p. 50
\textsuperscript{181} Regeringens skrivelse 2016/17:29, 2016, p. 51
\textsuperscript{182} Regeringens skrivelse 2016/17:29, 2016, p. 50
the parliament in order to prevent or stop discrimination. I asked if they were planning to make such a demand for a STC. They answered that a demand for STC must come from the Sami community in order to be relevant and credible and not by them. However, in the case of such a proposal by the Sami community, they could endorse such a proposal due to their role as the Discrimination Ombudsman.

The solution to the problem with local authorities is to improve the laws that protect minority rights and a stronger monitoring. This is to force the municipalities to follow the laws on protection of minority rights and as well as the directives.183 One of the proposals is to implement a new authority dealing with these issues.184

In order to get direct answers from the Culture department, I asked what their position was on the existing work of DO and Sametinget on a STC. The answer I got was that the department could not give their opinion on their work since they have not presented any results or decisions. “The department or the government has due to this, not have reasons to take stand on the question.”185

So, in conclusion the DO would stand behind an independent STC and the Culture Department can not give an answer to their position on the question.

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183 SOU 2017:60, p. 17
184 Ibid, p. 18
185 Vasic, Boris, E-mail, 170508, KU.Brevsvar@regeringskansliet.se
6. Analysis

6.1 Analysis of The political discourse of Sami political movement
In my investigation on the Sami political movement, it has become clear that all the agents that I have analysed have a consensus on the need for a STC. How has this idea of reconciliation been constructed and how did it come about? All of the agents are using an anti post-colonial perspective on the relation between Sami as an indigenous group and the state power of this country. My main result is that the majority of these agents are constructing the discourse on a STC with accountability. I would also say that the discourse is built upon a homogenous idea of the STC as a problem solving method, and a way to achieve justice. This result surprised me, I did not expect to find such a homogenous frame. I expected a variety of ideas from the political parties, my hypothesis was that they would want to present a unique perspective that reflects the ideology of their party. But to my surprise they were unanimous on this.

Indications of accountability is found in several places, for example on the State’s responsibility for taking the land in Sápmi. Their right to claim and take back the land because of their indigenous and historical right to it. Among the political parties, there is of course differences in nuances within the rhetoric. Not all have a demanding claim nor do they blame the State in the same strong way. Some parties have different focus, for example the Referendum Party’s main goal is to gain a referendum of Sametinget. Samelandspartiet did not have a rhetoric of blame in their election program, they had a focus on strengthening the community. Regardless of the difference between the parties, when looking at the issue of justice, all the parties agree upon the need for a STC. Moreover, with this result it is reasonable to believe that there is a consensus on the positive position on the STC and a consensus on justice. A reparation that goes beyond investigations and focuses on political or material compensation for the abuse and colonisation of their land and culture. Although the format of the STC is not decided upon and no real demand to the government is yet presented, many of the same ideas is found among Sametinget, political parties and Sáminuorra. These different agents often bring up the importance of finding the responsible authorities and guilty individuals that will be held accountable and reparation in some form.

The political parties all represent different Sami groups that have all have different experiences in their relation to the state. Nevertheless, the one common experience is that they are or have been seen upon as lower members of society. This point of view is evident when looking at their election programs. It is significant that so many political parties can unite around the idea the Swedish state is in some way responsible for abuse and racism in history. Also, there is a strong belief that the colonial past has a direct influence on the situation of Sami people all over Sweden.
The idea of a STC is being constructed as a discourse among these agents, as an improvement for the future. Aspects such as racism will change with the knowledge that a STC can bring. It is crucial that the Sami history is recognized and that the knowledge on Sami culture becomes part of all Swedes. An STC could also be a contradiction to the idea of Sweden being a one nation state. That there is no Swedish homogeneous people because Sami people have been part of the nation as long as we have known. Therefore, the nationalist ideas that are growing in Sweden can be changed by lifting the Sami history. In this sense, the construction is built on notion that the STC as a problem solving method.

The support for a STC is at the same time a belief that the situation they are in is not fixed. It is a belief that our social contexts are constantly changing, and that their culture can survive and that racism can decrease with knowledge. This is also an important feature of the post-colonial theory; with the acknowledgement of the past one can understand the power relations of today.

Coming back to the indigenous perspective, Sametinget have a belief that different indigenous groups and movements have knowledge and experience that can be applicable to their situation. The round-table conference, which was the first practical step towards a STC, invited researchers on other truth commisions and other indigenous groups that have made reconciliation work in their post-colonial societies. Although these indigenous groups have had different colonial experiences their expertise were used at this conference. Hence, they are using indigenous methods to construct the idea of STC and justice.

The agents I have chosen in this study gives a good reflection on the contemporary Sami political situation and the material I have is wide and close to core issue of a truth commission. Hence, my results are built on relevant material and gives fruit to empirical results on the discourse on justice and a STC.

6.2 Analysis of non-affiliated Sami
These different stories all have a place in the discourse of justice and a STC. Earlier we have seen an unanimous perspective by the Sami political movement. There is a consensus that STC can be an important solution to the problems presented. The stories used in this chapter have been presented to give a wider image of the Sami discourse. It is not a way to generalize. Nor to show how non-affiliated Sami think of a reconciliation process, because that would have to include much more data and interviews. This is to give the already existing discourse a wider meaning. By having other voices and perspective the discourse can be more dynamic.
The persons included in this chapter all had the same perspective on the history of their people. There is a common ground of the problem and how it came about. It is also clear that they hold the different authorities accountable for these wrongdoings, the state, the school and the Church. However, when it comes to the solution of the problem, the discourse is different. In the case of the theatre group, it was no surprise that they believed strongly in a Truth Commission. They use the accountability and methods from other indigenous Truth Commissions. Their perspective is constructed in a way similar to the Sami political movement, at least the most radical ones such as Saminuorras bill. Lörstrand is also strongly in favour of a STC, as a Christian Sami she was grateful that the White Book was written but still believes that a STC was an important path for the future. She felt that more could and should have been done on the reconciliation between the Sami people and the state. Then we had Marianen, whom unlike the previous agents, where not focused on the STC as such. For her it is more important that each Sami raise their voice and support each other. A sort of individual responsibility that comes to help the Sami community. Thomsson has another point of view, for him a STC is not the necessary solution. He believes that the Church is responsible for wrongdoing but that they now have made up with its past. The Church has reconciled with the Sami people through the creation and publishing of the White Book. Now the time has come to move on. Thomsson is not constructing his discourse with accountability. Both Marianen and Thomsson are constructing the discourse with different perspectives. Marianen’s perspective does not have such strong accountability towards the state. She is more focused on the internal responsibility within the Sami groups. Thomsson believes that the Church was responsible but that they can no longer be held accountable for the past.

These agents are in their own way and in their own platform constructing the discourse of a justice. Many ideas are close to the Sami political movement but there are differences in perspectives and solutions. As any other group, they have their own experience that define how they see their situation and future. This gives a more dynamic view of the Sami political movements and might shed light on why the political institutions moves in a certain direction but also the diversity of this question.

6.3 Analysis of the Swedish government
The government does not have an official stand on a Sami Truth Commission, it has been a challenge to find the appropriate material on this category. Nonetheless, I have used material that is closest to the concept of justice on contemporary Sami policy.

The strongest and most coherent positions I have found is the non-recognition of responsibility. Although there are other discourses that can be found in the documents this is the
Valentina Barrios, 171003

clearest one. Several documents contains problems of how Sami people are presented but there is never an official recognition of the state as the responsible agent for injustices. It is for the most part ignored or not mentioned at all. In this sense, the government is making investigations and political statements of issues concerning Sami people, even trying to find solutions to problems but never taking the blame as a responsible agent. Hence, the discourse on responsibility is silenced and the abuse of the past is silenced. To some extent the Minority Policy Proposal is an indication on the lack of accountability by the state, the discourse is being constructed by focusing on the problem with local government. They criticize the unwillingness of the local officials and authorities, in consequence the Sami community have problems to access their rights.

There are two documents that in some way differs when it comes to accountability: Strategy of Human Rights and National Plan on Combating Racism. Beginning with the Strategy of human rights they do bring up the Race Biology Institute as a negative event of the past. By bringing up the importance of the institute, I would say that they are to some extent acknowledging the responsibility. It is the only document where the racist past of the state is mentioned. However, there is no discourse on any type of reconciliation process. The National plan on Combating Racism acknowledges the wrongdoing to the Sami people. The term structural racism is used in the discussion on the treatment of Sami people. I would say that there are some signs of anti post-colonial language in these documents.

The discourse on the government’s official Sami policy is mostly constructed with other aspects than the past. Self-determination, participation and ecological methods are presented as solutions to the problem. They work with Sami policy and other political work aimed at improving the lives and future of the Sami community. They have for example made reports on the health of Sami people and how to stop racism. The discourse on justice is constructed on the idea of self-determination, increased participation and anti-racism work. This work is constructing a positive rhetoric on both indigenous and minorities in Sweden. It is clear that the government’s discourse is constructed in a very different manner than the Sami political movement. The answer I got from the Culture Department regarding a STC, was that they had no reason to comment or position themselves on a STC since there is no report or proposal from DO or Sametinget. A STC has been on the agenda of the official Sami movement for ten years. During this time it is reasonable to think that the former or the current government would have a position on the issue.
6.4 In conclusion

How is the idea of justice and a Sami Truth Commission (STC) constructed by the Sami politicians, non-affiliated Sami and the State?

The Sami political movement is constructing the discourse on justice and a STC by first defining the colonial and racist abuse of the state. The effects are constructed by problems with racism, division among Sami groups and the lack of knowledge on Sami history in Sweden. They are using the idea of accountability as the solution. There is a consensus on the STC as the reconciliation process that is necessary for a better future for Sami people and the whole Swedish society. That this solution will improve the Sami community on issues such as racism, mental illness and loss of land.

The non-affiliated Sami construct the discourse on problem and effects in a similar manner as the Sami political movement. When it comes to the construction of solution there is a variety of perspectives. Although some had the same discourse as the political movement, they had different ideas of the solution. A difference on the definition of accountability was found. Ideas such as “to move on” and internal responsibility was more important than accountability from the State. This shows that an official political discourse does not always reflect the whole community. It shows that other voices exist within the construction of this discourse.

The government is constructing the discourse on justice differently than the Sami political movement and the non-affiliated Sami. They are constructing the problem with racism, lack of language and local governments. The effects of these problems is an increased racism and bad mental health. The solutions are constructed with improvements of Sami policies such as increased participation, analysis of law, and improvement of the educational system. These solutions is a construction of justice. However, they do not mention that these solutions are a process of reconciliation. The government are silencing the accountability that is present among the other two agents. They are constructing their discourse as a problem on the local level and their unwillingness to protect Sami rights. The discourse on STC is also silenced. When it comes to questions on reparation and reconciliation there is an absolute silence.
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