

THE SAMI AND THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN

Results from a White Paper Project

Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.)



GIDLUNDS FÖRLAG

The Sami and the Church of Sweden

The Sami and the Church of Sweden

RESULTS FROM A WHITE PAPER PROJECT

Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.)

GIDLUNDS FÖRLAG

GIDLUNDS FÖRLAG

Örlinge 111, S E -733 99 Möklinta, Sweden
info@gidlunds.se, www.gidlunds.se

Cover: "Vinden" ('The Wind'), embroidery, © Britta Marakatt-Labba / Bild-
upphovsrätt 2018, photo: Hans-Olof Utsi.

RELIGION I NORRLAND 4

© The authors and the editors, 2018

ISBN 978 91 7844 397 0

Printed by Bulls Graphics, Halmstad 2018

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	7
1. The Church of Sweden and the Sami — a White Paper Project	9
DANIEL LINDMARK & OLLE SUNDSTRÖM	

PART I. A SUMMARY OF THE SCHOLARLY ANTHOLOGY

2. The Scholarly Anthology and White Papers as a Contemporary Phenomenon	23
BJÖRN NORLIN & DAVID SJÖGREN	
3. The Church, Mission and School	29
BJÖRN NORLIN	
4. The Church and Sami Cultural Expressions	45
BJÖRN NORLIN	
5. The Sami and the Church as an Authority	59
DAVID SJÖGREN	
6. The Church and Sami People Outside the Church of Sweden	77
DAVID SJÖGREN	
7. Final Reflections	85
BJÖRN NORLIN & DAVID SJÖGREN	

PART II. PERSPECTIVES ON RECONCILIATION

8. Acknowledged History and Renewed Relationships 97
TORE JOHNSEN
9. The Barrier Torn Down 125
CARL REINHOLD BRÅKENHIELM
10. Ways Forward 149
SYLVIA SPARROCK

PART III. CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

11. The Reception of the White Paper Project
and Its Publications 181
DANIEL LINDMARK & OLLE SUNDSTRÖM
12. The Overall Results of the White Paper Project 205
DANIEL LINDMARK & OLLE SUNDSTRÖM
- Notes 214
- References 237
- Authors and Editors 253

Acknowledgements

This book presents results from a white paper project on the historical relations between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people. Starting in November 2012, the project was concluded in February 2017 when the final report was released, on which the current book is based. In addition to the original nine chapters, the English version contains a concluding section comprising two new chapters. The introductory chapter is also a new contribution, in which the background, assignment and organisation of the White Paper Project is presented in more detail. Some of the original texts have not been included in the English version, namely the Archbishop's preface and the Sami-language chapter summaries.

We would like to express our gratitude to the Church of Sweden Research Department for granting us permission to publish an extended English version of the official final report. This edition is financed by the research project "Sami Voices and Sorry Churches: Use of History in Church-Sami Reconciliation Processes", funded by the Swedish Research Council Formas, and is included in the academic book series *Religion i Norrland*.

Finally, we would like to thank all the authors and translators for their various contributions to the production of this book. Lars HübINETTE translated Chapters 1 and 12, and Siân Marlow translated Chapters 2–11. We hope that this English version will make it possible for an international audience to inform themselves about the historical relations between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people as well as the ongoing reconciliation process, of which the White Paper Project is an integrated part.

Umeå University, 18 June, 2018

The Editors

DANIEL LINDMARK & OLLE SUNDSTRÖM

1. The Church of Sweden and the Sami — a White Paper Project

Background, Assignment and Organisation

This book deals with the historical relations between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people, from the Middle Ages up to contemporary times. Geographically, the area is restricted to the part of Sápmi ('the Sami land') that can be found within the borders of present-day Sweden. The traditional area of Sami presence includes major parts of northern Fenno-Scandia and the Kola Peninsula. Today the total number of Sami is approximately 100,000, the largest group being Norwegian citizens. In Sweden, the Sami are between 20,000 and 40,000. Since there are no ethnic censuses in Sweden, estimations vary depending on the sources and methods used.

Traditionally, the Sami were a nomadic population of hunters, fishers and reindeer herders that migrated in small groups following their reindeer. Starting in the late 16th century, the intensive breeding of small herds was gradually abandoned in Sweden in favour of extensive stock raising with larger herds moving from their summer pastures in the mountains to their winter habitats closer to the coast. Many Sami people continued to make their living in the forest areas, where they supplemented their small-scale herding with fishing and hunting. When abandoning their traditional trades, the Sami were no longer recognised as Sami in the population registers. Today

there are close to 4,700 reindeer owners in Sweden, ninety percent of whom can be found in Norrbotten County, the northernmost region in the country. For centuries reindeer herders have been organised in pastoralistic districts, *siidas* ('Sami villages', Sw. *samebyar*, formerly *lappbyar*).

In 1977, the Sami minority population in Sweden was recognised as an indigenous people by the Swedish Parliament. The Swedish government has never ratified the ILO Convention no. 169 on the rights of indigenous peoples. However, in the 2011 Swedish Constitution, the Sami occupy a unique position among the country's minorities, being the only ones referred to as a people. Since the year 2000, the Sami language is one of five acknowledged national minority languages. This gives the Sami speakers the right to use their language in contacts with authorities in certain municipalities. The Sami language belongs to the Finno-Ugric group of languages. The language is divided into a dozen varieties. North Sami, Lule Sami and South Sami have the largest number of speakers, in Sweden as well as in Sápmi in its entirety. Among the Sami varieties, only the most closely related varieties are mutually intelligible. Since the Scandinavian languages belong to the Germanic language family, they do not share any characteristics with Sami. The Church has long been engaged in the creation of a Sami written language, from the 18th century efforts to create a standard written language to more recent work involving the major Sami varieties.

The indigenous religion of the Sami was tightly connected to their way of living — to their lands and livelihood, to their homes and families. Religious practices and conceptions varied depending on region, main occupation, sex, age etc. The religion of the nomadic reindeer herders in the mountains differed somewhat from that of the semi-nomadic hunters in the taiga or the settled fishers on the coast. Women of a certain age had their own rituals — mostly performed at home and dedicated to female invisible beings presumed to foster and protect procreation and security. Men's rituals were mainly performed outdoors, in the vicinity of the dwelling or at sacred places in the landscape. Such places typically hosted sacred objects (*sieidis*) of stone or wood, to which sacrifices of slaughtered reindeer were made in order to secure good luck in hunting, fishing or reindeer breeding. The noaidi was the foremost (male) ritual

specialist. He was a mediator between the spiritual powers and humans. During rituals, he contacted these powers through drumming and yoiking — the traditional Sami way of singing — with the aim of securing health and prosperity to his people.

The first Sami contacts with Christianity took place in the Middle Ages, but more systematic Christian mission was not initiated until the 17th century. The establishment of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sweden in Sápmi was closely linked to colonial ambitions, including state-supported settlements by Swedes and Finns. In the decades around the turn of the 18th century, state and church authorities took repressive measures against indigenous Sami religious and other cultural expressions. The noaidi, his ritual drum, yoik and the indigenous gods and other spiritual beings were demonised, and indigenous rituals were condemned as “idolatry”. Christian mission intensified when the educational system developed during the 18th century. Throughout history, the Church was deeply involved in Sami education, including the nomad school system of 1913, which represented a segregating policy with links to cultural-hierarchical ideology. Clergymen also supported racial-biological investigations by giving researchers access to Sami human remains and helping to organise the taking of measurements and photographs of living Sami people. As an established state church, the Church of Sweden was responsible for keeping the population registers, which affected Sami naming policy and the definition of Saminess. Well into the 20th century, local ministers organised the care of elderly Sami. Consequently, the historical relations between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people have included many aspects of Sami life and in many cases the relations have been problematic.

This book presents the results from a research and documentation project entitled “The Church of Sweden and the Sami — a White Paper Project”. The aim of the project was to shed light upon the various aspects of the encounters between the Sami and the Church throughout history. The project was carried out from late 2012 to early 2017 as part of an ongoing reconciliation process. After an initial account of the background, assignment and organisation of the project (Chapter 1), the first section of this book summarises and discusses the historical research results produced by the project (Chapters 2–7). The second section takes the discussion further by provid-

ing perspectives of reconciliation theology, reconciliation ethics and reconciliation politics (Chapters 8–10), while the third section comprises updating and concluding aspects (Chapters 11–12).

Background to the White Paper Project

The White Paper Project on the Church of Sweden and the Sami should be seen against the background of the reconciliation work between the Church and the Sami undertaken during the past quarter century. Inspired by international ecumenical efforts, this work was initiated in the Church of Sweden in the early 1990s. In both the northern dioceses and in the central organisation of the Church of Sweden, work was begun to provide better opportunities for integrating Sami people and Sami experiences into parish and church service activities. A national Sami council in the Church of Sweden was created in 1996 and Sami work groups were formed at diocesan level. Conferences were arranged, reconciliation services were held and a cooperation was established with the Church of Norway. In his article in the project's scholarly anthology, former bishop Karl-Johan Tyrberg describes in detail how this work developed.¹

A commission appointed by the Church Assembly in April 2005 marked an important milestone in the Church's work on Sami issues. The commission's terms of reference took as a starting point the position that the Church had committed wrongs against the Sami:

The Sami are an indigenous people. Starting back in the days of colonisation and far into the 20th century, injustices have been committed against the Sami population. The Church of Sweden was complicit in these injustices.²

The commission's report *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* ('Sami issues in the Church of Sweden'), published in November 2006, concluded that the Church bears an historical responsibility:

Like other churches, the Church of Sweden was part of a colonising power in areas where there was an indigenous population. One aspect of the oppression was the wish to prevent the expression of Sami historical characteristics, special traditions and culture. Sami identity could not be reflected in church services and other areas of church life.³

The report concluded with a number of proposals, one of which was that the Theological Committee of the Church of Sweden should arrange a hearing on Sami identity in relation to the creed of the Church of Sweden. The hearing, entitled *Ságastallamat* ('dialogue', 'listening'), was held in Kiruna on 11–13 October, 2011. Among the participants were representatives of the political parties of *Sametinget* (the Sami Parliament) and the Sami work groups in the Härnösand and Luleå dioceses.

During the hearing, demands were made that the Church of Sweden should assume responsibility for the wrongs that the Church had inflicted on the Sami at various times in the past. A deeper knowledge of the Church's injustices against the Sami was seen as a prerequisite for a continued reconciliation process. Following the hearing, a plan of action was drawn up by the Theological Committee, in close cooperation with the Church's Sami Council. One of the proposals in the action plan was to draft an "historical documentation of injustices against the Sami". The need for such an account was motivated as follows:

A basic prerequisite for a continued reconciliation process between the Church of Sweden and the Sami is that the wrongs inflicted by the Church be acknowledged by the Church. This, in its turn, requires that the past actions of the Church vis-à-vis the Sami be elucidated.⁴

The action plan also contained proposals for additional efforts, for example the setting up of a theological discussion group on Sami spirituality and a project aimed at documenting Sami people's experiences of the nomad school system. In the spring of 2012, the Central Board of the Church of Sweden decided that the action plan should be implemented, and in November 2012 the White Paper Project "The Church of Sweden and the Sami" was embarked on.

Assignment and Aims

The Church of Sweden set the White Paper Project a task that was both relatively open and fairly limited. The introductory section of a memorandum prepared by the Church stressed the importance that "the actions of the Church of Sweden vis-à-vis the Sami be elu-

culated” and referred to the demands in this respect presented at the Ságstallamat hearing. With regard to the aim and focus of the White Paper, the memorandum advanced the views of an expert scholar concerning areas on which it was particularly important to shed light. One such area was the religious trials that took place from 1680–1730, when harsh measures were taken against Sami religious expressions. The second area concerned the segregating educational policy pursued in the decades around the turn of the 20th century whereby Sami children were placed in special schools of inferior quality compared to municipal schools. Following an account of these two areas, the memorandum laid down that

a summary should be made of what is known about these injustices. In addition, the project should identify any areas where there may be a need for further clarifying research into these periods or other times in history.

It was also stated in the memorandum that “positive efforts on the part of the Church should be identified in the historical documentation”. As examples of such efforts, the memorandum mentioned the Church’s work to create written languages and literature for the different Sami language varieties.

The steering committee for the White Paper Project adopted a fairly broad interpretation of the assignment. In the project plan, the aim was formulated as follows: “To acquire a deeper knowledge of the relations between the Church of Sweden and the Sami throughout history”. The aim was specified further in the following manner:

The project is to document, present and discuss the impact — good or bad — of the Church’s activities on the Sami. Special attention will be paid to problematic elements, i.e. decisions, actions, activities and structures that have resulted in the Sami having been subjected to various kinds of degrading treatment, irrespective of whether these come under the heading of coercion, oppression, discrimination or racism. At the same time, the project should strive to provide a fair picture of positive efforts made by the Church and its representatives on behalf of the Sami and their culture throughout history.⁵

Thus, the aim, as formulated in the project plan, is in line with the wish expressed in the memorandum for the presentation of a balanced picture, even though the main focus would be on problematic aspects. The religious trials from 1680–1730 and the educational policy around the turn of the 20th century were not expressly prioritised in the plan, even though several of the articles deal with these periods. Instead, the White Paper Project, both in the project plan and its practical implementation, aimed to provide a broad and comprehensive picture of the relations between the Church and the Sami throughout history.

In connection with the presentation of the project's aims, the plan also stressed the need for Sami participation in the project, as it was considered important that the project per se signalled an attitude compatible with the reconciliation work.

This means that Sami representatives will have great influence over the design of the project, from the planning stage to the implementation and reporting stages. They will be active participants and be substantially represented in the project steering committee. Research ethical considerations will also be given high priority so that the individual integrity and cultural identity of the Sami are duly respected.⁶

This aim resulted in a majority of the members of the steering committee being people from a Sami background. While consideration of research ethics is not explicitly addressed in the individual texts, all authors were informed about the aim of the project, and the peer review of the articles in the scholarly anthology included ethical aspects.

The Project's Self-Understanding

What, then, is a white paper project? The term *white paper* is often used about document collections compiled by authorities and organisations with a view to clarifying controversial matters. It might be objected that the use of this term in connection with the current project is questionable, as white papers are often criticised for being one-sided and wanting to remove a troublesome matter from the agenda once and for all. However, this definition

does not always reflect the genuine ambition behind the production of a white paper, especially not in this case. It is true that the term *white paper* can be said to signal more limited ambitions as regards concrete measures to rectify a situation and less independence than is afforded to so-called truth and reconciliation commissions. However, the White Paper Project concerning the historical relations between the Church of Sweden and the Sami had the advantage of a very loosely formulated mandate. In fact, it was the project steering committee that drew up the project plan and discussed and arrived at a reasonable level of ambition. In these discussions, the focus was not on terminological considerations but rather on theological considerations of reconciliation.

It was primarily Tore Johnsen's theological reasoning on reconciliation that influenced the project's understanding of the assignment and its delimitation.⁷ The model advocated by Johnsen comprises four phases. The first phase in a reconciliation process is *acknowledgement*. The truth must be told about what has happened. The victim's story must be heard and the offender must listen. It is also essential that the person responsible for the injustices suffered by the victim starts to tell the truth about the past events. In Christian terms, it is a matter of confessing one's sins. *Repentance* is the second phase in Johnsen's reconciliation model. This phase, too, is deeply rooted in theological tradition. The offender becomes concerned about the way in which his actions have affected the victim. Johnsen sees this as a more subjective phase than the acknowledgement phase, which involves admission of past events in a more objective sense. The change of mind that this second phase results in leads to a need to ask forgiveness and set things right. The third phase in this process is *restoration*. While the acknowledgement phase concerns the past, the restoration phase is focused on the future. It is about providing a basis for a common future by rehabilitating the victim and restoring the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim. Johnsen points out that the problem is that restoration is expensive and that the offending party frequently tries to get off cheaply. However, restoration is an absolute requirement for true reconciliation to take place. The fourth phase in Johnsen's understanding of a reconciliation process is *forgiveness*. While repentance results in the offender seeing the human face of

the victim, forgiveness is about the victim seeing the human face of the party that abused him. Only when the victim's dignity has been restored can forgiveness be granted, as forgiveness cannot be forced. The timing must be right so that it is not seen as a demand but as something that can be given freely.

Seen against Tore Johnsen's reconciliation theology, the White Paper Project "The Church of Sweden and the Sami" has an obvious limitation: it is focused only on the first phase of the reconciliation process, i.e. the acknowledgement phase, as the aim was to expose the truth about the past history. It is of course to be hoped that the White Paper will create conditions for the parties to proceed to further phases in the process, but the steering committee deliberately refrained from proposing an action plan or road map for a continuing process. In this respect, too, the committee was influenced by Johnsen's reasoning, which emphasises that reconciliation is a relational concept. It is about re-establishing a relationship between parties that have been separated as a result of a conflict. A painful past must be overcome so that a new attitude towards the other party, and the requisite conditions for future relations, can be established. It was important for the project steering committee to bear in mind that reconciliation is a process involving two or more parties. It is essential to recognise that it is the parties themselves that jointly own the problem and that it is their decision whether, how and when they wish to engage in a common reconciliation process.

Organisation

The White Paper Project was financed by the Research Unit of the Church of Sweden, with additional resources provided by Umeå University, where the project was led by Professor Daniel Lindmark. The official starting point was the first meeting of the steering committee in November 2012. The committee was set up at the very beginning of the project and comprised representatives of Umeå University, the Church of Sweden and the Sami community. The members of the steering committee were Ellacarin Blind, Carl Reinhold Bråkenhielm, Urban Claesson, Lisbeth Hotti, Kaisa Huuva, Peter Sköld, Sylvia Sparrock, Krister Stoor, Sagka Stångberg and Kaisa Syrjänen Schaal. In addition, Olle Sundström and Daniel

Lindmark took part in the committee work as secretary and chair, respectively.

The steering committee met on twelve occasions. In addition to drawing up the project plan, which was adopted in October 2013, the committee's tasks included discussions about the content and form of the project's two publications — a scholarly anthology and a more popular scientific summary. The members contributed to identifying relevant themes and possible authors. Their networks within both the research community and the Sami community proved extremely useful to the project.

The steering committee also read and commented on texts of key importance to the project, in particular those included in the project's popular scientific book (see below). Various experts were also invited to attend committee meetings to speak on their areas of specialisation. These invitations were intended to provide the steering committee with a basis for the continuing work on the project. Other guests also attended the meetings, specifically holders of central positions at the Central Church Office in Uppsala. Their presence helped to establish a closer link between the project and key functions at the Central Church Office, which facilitated communication and coordination.

Publications

From the very outset of the White Paper Project, the aim was to produce two different publications, an anthology of scholarly articles written by experts and a popular scientific summary intended to explain the scientific results in a brief and comprehensible way to the general public. The anthology *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* ('The historical relations between the Church of Sweden and the Sami: A scholarly anthology') was published in two volumes in April 2016 and consists of 33 articles and introductory and concluding texts, a total of 1,135 pages. The popular scientific *Samerna och Svenska kyrkan: Underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete* ('The Sami and the Church of Sweden: A basis for church reconciliation work') was released at a seminar held in Stockholm on 23 February, 2017 attended by Archbishop Antje Jackelén.

Research integrity was safeguarded in various ways. The scholars invited to submit articles to the scholarly anthology were free to choose their own issues and perspectives. While they were informed about the project and its ambitions, they were given a free hand to design their investigations as they thought fit and to draw any conclusions they considered scientifically motivated. Prior to publication, the articles were also peer-reviewed by expert scholars. Thus, the individual scholars did not have to address the reconciliation process to which the project as a whole was intended to contribute. Similarly, the authors of the chapters in the popular scientific summary were free to present their own reflections and perspectives on the Church's relations with the Sami and the Sami's position in the Church. Unlike the articles in the scholarly anthology, however, the texts in the summary are more directly focused on matters of responsibility and reconciliation.

Since all the authors were given a great degree of freedom, their contributions differ not only in choice of perspectives and degree of attention to present-day issues but also to a certain extent in length and style. A guiding principle in the editorial work, however, was that all articles should be relevant both to those directly concerned with the subject matter and to an interested public. This ambition applies particularly to the texts in the summary, which were written to function as a gateway to an in-depth reading of the scholarly articles. In order to make the text in the two publications freely available, they were published online as a free download, courtesy of the authors and the publishers.⁸

The historical picture presented in the project publications is far from complete or definitive. In fact, it is somewhat fragmented. However, it is hoped that the White Paper Project and its publications will inspire further research based on other sources and perspectives that in time might result in a more comprehensive and detailed picture.

The Current Publication

The current book, *The Sami and the Church of Sweden: Results from a White Paper Project*, is a translation of *Samerna och Svenska kyrkan: Underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete*, published in Feb-

ruary 2017. The English version has a longer introduction than the Swedish one, and a concluding section with two chapters has been added. The book thus comprises three sections.

In the first section, “A Summary of the Scholarly Anthology”, historians Björn Norlin and David Sjögren sum up the conclusions of the various articles in the anthology. Each of the first five chapters in this section correspond in turn to the five thematic sections of the scholarly anthology. In Chapter 7, the authors discuss what knowledge can be derived from the anthology. In their capacity as both authors of articles in the anthology and expert reviewers, Norlin and Sjögren have a good insight into the work on both the anthology and the White Paper Project as a whole.

The second section, “Perspectives on Reconciliation”, comprises three chapters which deal with the prerequisites for a continued reconciliation process between the Church and the Sami. In Chapter 8, Tore Johnsen, theologian and previous chair of the Sami Council of the Church of Norway, presents his interpersonal reconciliation model, which is rooted both in Sami contextual theology and international experiences. The then chair of the Theological Committee of the Church of Sweden, Carl Reinhold Bråkenhielm, took active part in the setting up of the White Paper Project. In Chapter 9, he discusses the prospects of a rapprochement between the Church of Sweden and the Sami, drawing on perspectives from reconciliation theology, reconciliation ethics and theology of religion. Chapter 10 was authored by Sylvia Sparrock, then Chair of the Sami Council of the Church of Sweden, who demonstrates how the Sami are still suffering from the consequences of colonisation, and highlights areas that require particular effort. The chapter concludes with a list of measures she believes the Church of Sweden should take in order to make reconciliation possible.

The third section, “Concluding Reflections”, contains two chapters written by the editors Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström. In Chapter 11, they give an account of how the White Paper Project and its publications have been received in the media and in ecclesial, Sami and scholarly circles, and in Chapter 12 they discuss the most important results of the project and conclude by reflecting on the distribution of responsibility for a continued reconciliation between the Church of Sweden and the Sami.

PART I

A SUMMARY OF THE SCHOLARLY
ANTHOLOGY

BJÖRN NORLIN & DAVID SJÖGREN

2. The Scholarly Anthology and White Papers as a Contemporary Phenomenon

The scholarly anthology that constitutes the primary knowledge base for the White Paper Project, helping us to understand the historical relationship between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people, covers more than 1,100 pages of text. The anthology is divided into two volumes and five parts: Perspectives on Reconciliation, Mission Work and School, The Church and Sami Cultural Expressions, The Sami and the Church as an Authority, and The Church and the Sami outside the Church of Sweden. In turn, these parts include some thirty contributions from researchers who are experts in the fields discussed. It goes without saying that not all parts of such a work are readily accessible or easy to comprehend, even for readers in academia or in Sami and church contexts who are interested in the topics discussed on a more or less day-to-day basis. The purpose of this summary, therefore, is to summarise the two volumes of the anthology in as clear a manner as possible and to bring these individual contributions into a collective interpretative framework and chronology. We hope that this will allow the text to work as an introduction to the anthology as a whole and provide support to readers who seek a more in-depth understanding by reading the individual contributions.

As our ambition is to summarise the anthology rather than providing new interpretations or new information on what has already

been written, we will adhere as closely as possible to its existing structure and themes, and also to the accounts of the individual articles. Reasoning based on further research has only been added in instances in which we have felt that further subject-related contextualisation is necessary to assist with understanding what is being discussed. This summary is organised in accordance with the five thematic parts of the anthology. To conclude, we present a few reflections on the White Paper Project as a whole in our capacity as historians.

Initially, we will link to the first part of the scholarly anthology, *Perspectives on Reconciliation*. This discusses white papers and reconciliation processes as contemporary international phenomena, and more specifically the creation of the Church of Sweden's White Paper Project in relation to the Sami people.

Perspectives on Reconciliation

"It is not possible to achieve redress and reconciliation without highlighting and reviewing previous wrongs," writes Archbishop Antje Jackelén in her preface to the scholarly anthology. She adds that previous injustices cannot be undone, but that it is possible to learn from the mistakes made by previous generations. Moreover, she is at pains to emphasise the fact that knowledge is necessary, but not sufficient, for reconciliation.¹ With these thoughts, Jackelén links to a number of cornerstones in a range of reconciliation and compensation projects all over the world. Finding out the *truth*, providing *acknowledgement*, *calling attention to* and *communicating* injustices that have taken place, *learning* from them and providing *compensation* are intertwined key concepts in more or less all reconciliation and compensation projects.

The Church of Sweden's probe into its historical relationships with the Sami people is, in other words, not the only one of its kind. Quite the opposite. Truth commissions, white papers, official apologies and reconciliation initiatives have more or less become a global trend over the past few decades. These reconciliatory and compensatory activities may take many forms and be communicated in different ways, but fundamentally these practices always express a desire to attempt to put right harms done in the past. In

Sweden, addressing and compensating for the enforced sterilisation and mistreatment of children in social child welfare services can be cited as one example. This also includes the government's white paper on state abuses of the Romani minority in the 20th century. In turn, the Church of Sweden has also published a white paper on its relationships with the Romani minority in Sweden.² In brief, over the past few decades it seems to have become more and more important for states or major organisations to discuss how historical experiences have influenced contemporary relationships between different groups of people. By highlighting and compensating injustices and inequality in the past the aim is to solve contemporary conflicts, as these conflicts are viewed as closely linked with the same historical injustices. We do not know as yet what the endpoint for addressing historical wrongs will be. That is to say, this does not simply involve stating in public that various transgressions have actually taken place, but also involves analysing what compensation and corrections will be required in the future.³

On an international level, a wave of reconciliation initiatives and probes into past abuses can also be noted. In general, these have come about since the end of the Cold War as a consequence of events such as the fall of the dictatorships in Eastern Europe and the collapse of apartheid. At the same time, the new world order itself has led to states in Western Europe and North America also starting to review and question their historical relationships with underprivileged groups within state boundaries. The creation of the Church's White Paper on historical relationships between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people should be understood as part of this tradition.⁴

While this White Paper Project bears similarities with other rehabilitation and reconciliation initiatives, it ought to be pointed out that the Church of Sweden's hopes for reconciliation have a special theological meaning. The criteria for such reconciliation, the funds for achieving it and the meaning of the reconciliation are placed within a Christian interpretive framework by the Church. We do not need to look in great detail at these components here as Tore Johnsen deals with them in the second part of this book. However, in general terms, we can state that church reconciliation practices have existed for a very long time. They have been developing

in penitential practices since the early Middle Ages and later came to form the basis for society's judicial policy as well. Historically, restoring relationships — either between God and mankind, or between people — has come to the fore in collective and individual acts of reconciliation. These were linked to shrift early on; and later, when shrift in Sweden was discontinued after the Reformation, to communion, confession (*skriftermål*, an earlier form of confirmation), and church discipline. The latter phenomena were certainly tools for discipline and compulsion, but they also offered opportunities for repentance, confession and penance. In other words, some of the Archbishop's key concepts were *kyrkotukt* ('church discipline') and *kyrkoplikt* ('church penalty'). However, soul-searching elements of the Church's own actions and reconciliation processes with a view to restoring relations between the Church and social groups are not part of this tradition. Although reconciliation practices within the Church are deeply rooted, it is only over the last three or four decades that a social reconciliation approach, involving the Church itself, has emerged in earnest.⁵

The new reconciliation approach came to the fore when the position of the Sami people in the Church of Sweden became a topic for discussion in the early 1990s. This originated directly from a recommendation from the Lutheran World Congress held in Brazil in 1990 and the World Council of Churches' General Assembly that was held in Australia in 1991. This recommendation related to the reviewing of the role of churches during the era of colonialism, which also included their past and present relationships with the indigenous peoples of the world. In Sweden, this resulted in issues relating to Sami representation within the Church being brought to the fore, along with issues on the importance of accommodating Sami cultural heritage in services and parish life. Certainly, efforts so far included support for the Sami culture and the traditional Sami trades, but there was no reflection at all on matters such as guilt issues and possible ways of helping to bring about reconciliation in more specific terms. To link with the key concepts presented by the Archbishop in her preface, this involved certain compensatory measures as proof of acknowledgement, but it did not involve obtaining more knowledge, calling attention to or openly discussing the injustices that the Church had helped to bring about.⁶

A change came about when a reconciliatory service was held at Undersåker's parish church in 2001 where the acknowledgement of injustices formed a more central element.⁷ However, what the Church was actually acknowledging was not highlighted in detail, for the simple reason that very little was known about it. The need for finding out more about the field was brought to the fore during the Ságstallamat ('dialogue', 'listening') conference, which was organised by the Church of Sweden's theological committee and the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden in Kiruna in 2011. The necessity of more in-depth knowledge and research was emphasised repeatedly throughout the conference, and this was also perceived as a prerequisite for the potential initiation of reconciliation work. Therefore, Ságstallamat can be viewed as the start of the Church of Sweden's White Paper Project on the historical relationships between the Sami people and the Church. Consequently, the necessary link between the key concepts *in-depth knowledge*, *acknowledgement* and *reconciliation* was emphasised during Ságstallamat in a way that had not been previously encountered in the Church's reconciliation work.⁸

Providing an in-depth knowledge of Sami conditions is not without its complications. Racial-biological researchers travelled around Sápmi throughout the first three decades of the 20th century and carried out surveys of all kinds, precisely with a view to finding out about Sami life. To link with another of the Archbishop's key concepts, *knowledge*, this fact should perhaps tell us that research into the Sami may in some cases constitute a significant element in the historical injustices. However, the lesson to be learned is not to refrain from examining Sami conditions either now or in the past, but instead to evaluate the research purposes and methods with care. Here, carefully prepared ethical guidelines with Sami participation in discussions on research issues and Sami representation in research processes may provide ways of preventing new injustices being committed in the name of knowledge acquisition.⁹

Having said all this about the origins and contemporary history of the reconciliation process and the White Paper Project, we will now look at the scholarly anthology's more historically orientated articles and content.

BJÖRN NORLIN

3. The Church, Mission and School

Sending out missionaries, founding permanent churches and benefices, establishing a local parish practice and setting up schools to provide education on the Scriptures have historically been the Church's most important ways of making Sami people abandon their indigenous religion and become Christians. Hence, such activities have provided the most prominent points of contact between the Church and the Sami people. However, incorporating Sami people as a group into church communities, and by this also into the construction of the Swedish state, was a very protracted process extending over several centuries. The earliest attempts to send missionaries to Sami areas were made back in the 11th century, but it was not until the 18th century that Christianity became a firmly established part of Sami culture. Church mission work in Sápmi continued in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, albeit in new forms.

With such an extensive period of time to consider, it is difficult in retrospect to really grasp the extent of the general historical events touched upon in various ways in the articles in the White Paper, namely the conversion process for which the Church has borne primary responsibility for centuries. However, it is clear that this process had profound social and cultural consequences. It was not simply a matter of persuading the Sami people to embrace a new faith, but also to prevail upon the group to distance themselves from their indigenous forms of religious expression. These in turn were

linked to specific ways of regarding the world, nature and human life, as well as a range of other everyday practices. Essentially, this involved forcing a group of people to turn their backs on their indigenous religion, culture and history; in other words, to abandon things that we now perceive as fundamental to both individual and collective identity.

In fact, this is not all that strange. Historically, the Church of Sweden has had a social mandate to establish and create consensus in the Christian faith, whether this relates to the Sami people specifically or the population in general. The state churches did this for a long time, usually in unison with other state interests. Creating consensus in religious matters was the actual foundation for their very *raison d'être*, and the churches were poorly equipped to tolerate religious or cultural differences. However, it may be claimed that the difference between the influence of the Church on the Swedish peasantry, for example, and the Sami people is that in the latter case, this involved intervention against a population that was considerably further away from Swedish society in geographical, linguistic, social, cultural and economic terms than the peasantry was.

The historical emergence and formation of this conversion process provides the theme for the second part of this white paper, entitled *Mission and School*. This discusses its infrastructure and agents, along with the consequences of exercising church authority over Sami religion and Sami culture.

Creation of the Christian Mission's Infrastructure — the Middle Ages and the Catholic Church

Mission activities are known to have taken place in Sami areas in what would later become Norway and Sweden from the 11th century onwards. At that time national borders were by no means fixed, but the establishment of more coherent state formations with the aid of a new, shared faith was one of the fundamental driving forces behind the expansion of Christianity in the Middle Ages. The mediaeval sources are fragmentary, so we know very little about the spread of Christianity in the various Sami areas. In the Middle Ages, knowledge of Christianity was to be spread via the Catholic Church by sending out missionaries from the continent, and — slightly later —

by constructing permanent churches in coastal areas as well. There is information from the Swedish part of Sápmi stating that missionaries Adalvard the Elder and Stenfi (Stephanus) worked among the Sami people as early as the mid-11th century. Both worked under Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen's tenure (1043–1072), a time when efforts to convert the Nordic areas to Christianity and improve the situation of the Nordic dioceses were also undergoing reinforcement on a more general level. Churches had been established in a number of places along the Gulf of Bothnia by the early 13th century. However, these churches were not intended primarily for preaching to the Sami people, but for the resident coastal population.¹

The 1340 decree of Magnus IV of Sweden (Magnus Eriksson) is a slightly clearer example of the ambition to convert the Sami people to Christianity. This decree was part of the Swedish state's attempts to exert control over the northern land areas and, among other things, stated that Sami people who converted to Christianity would have the right of the Crown to permanently take possession of land in *Lappmarken* (the Lapp or Sami territory), as the nation's rulers called the area. Bishops now also began to inspect the coastal parishes. Church activities inland were still limited, and as yet there was no fixed administrative organisation in the form of benefices, for example, that could support any such organisation.²

In Norway, the first known missionary activity aimed at the Sami people took place during the reigns of Olav Tryggvasson (995–1000) and Olav Haraldsson (1015–1028). Both worked actively to establish Christianity in Norway. Churches began to be established further and further north, in places such as Vågan, Trondenes, Lenvik, Tromsø and Vardø, from the 12th century onwards. This created fixed points for the spread of Christianity in Sami areas as well.³

Consequently, how Christianity came to the fore in various parts of Sápmi in more specific terms is unclear. However, what is clear is the fact that this was not a rapid process, but a long and protracted one. Although this process was initiated by the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, it was only after the Reformation — in the 17th century — that more extensive and systematic mission work came about in Sweden (in Norway such a systematic mission did not take place until the 18th century). By the end of the 18th century it can be stated that Christianity was firmly established in Sami areas in

both Norway and Sweden. The mission work done by Norwegian missionary Thomas von Westen (1682–1727) was of major significance in this regard. Churches and benefices had now been founded in Sami areas as well, and more organised teaching had begun in schools.⁴

It is difficult to say how the spread of Christianity and the early attempts at mission work impacted directly on Sami culture. Crucifixes have been found at Sami sacrificial sites dating back to the 12th and 13th centuries in both Sweden and Norway. However, this type of practice ceased in the 14th century for reasons that are unclear. A clearer example of early Christian influence on Sami culture and worship is the Catholic veneration of the Virgin Mary, which later made its mark on Sami clothing ornamentation and in yoiking. Moreover, there are few mediaeval written sources describing the roles of Sami people in the early process of conversion to Christianity. One exception to this is the sources that describe Margareta (born c. 1360) who actively worked to establish Christianity in Sami areas in the late 14th and early 15th century by visiting Union Queen Margrete I (1353–1412) and a number of church leaders.⁵

Colonialism of the Church and the State in the Early Modern Period — the 17th and 18th Centuries

Mission work in Sami areas was reinforced after the Reformation. The Reformation resulted in a transition to an Evangelical Lutheran state church that was subordinate to the power of the Crown, but also an administrative expansion of the activities of the state. A desire to extend and consolidate the geographical territory of the state also formed part of this. This expansion rapidly affected Sami areas; areas that several actors had begun to claim by this time. The conflicts between the kingdoms of Denmark-Norway, Sweden-Finland and Novgorod (later the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Russia) were particularly significant. Swedish expansion towards the north was based on religious considerations — that is, the desire to create unity of faith — but was also governed by economic motives and motives relating to defence policy.⁶

A new and expansive Arctic Ocean policy was initiated by Charles IX (1550–1611) in the early 17th century. There was a clear

economic motive to attempts to take a firmer hold of the area. It was necessary to control trade in Nordkalotten — the Arctic area of the Scandinavian countries and the Kola Peninsula — and tax the population in the area. Economic interests went hand-in-hand with defence policy interests. Orderly taxation and strategic debt collection activities would also allow the Swedish state to exert more control over the actual territory and the people who lived there.⁷

The discovery of ore deposits in Nasafjäll around 1630 helped to increase expectations of the economic value of the area. It was also around this time that permanent benefices began to be founded in Sami areas. Until the early 17th century, clergymen in the coastal parishes had been obliged to stand responsible for church activities in what was known as the *lappmark*, the specific Sami territory and administrative unit to which each coastal parish was adjacent. Hence, the vicar in Umeå was responsible for the Ume lappmark, the vicar in Torneå was responsible for the Torne lappmark, and so on. However, 1640 saw the creation of the four more permanent *lappmark* benefices of Arvidsjaur, Arjeplog, Silbojokk and Nasafjäll. The division of Sápmi into benefices had taken on a fixed basic structure by the end of the 17th century, and this was further reinforced in the 18th century.⁸

The 1670s saw the onset of a new element in the state's *lappmark* policy. Swedes and Finns were encouraged to move to Sami areas and create settlements. They were tempted by promises of exemption from tax, seed for sowing, and cattle. Certainly, it was not until the 18th century that there was any major influx of people to the area, but nevertheless the foundation for a more strategic colonisation policy had now been laid. The Lappmark Bill (*Lappmarksplakatet*) of 1673 and the renewed bill of 1695, together with forest ordinances and tax changes in 1683 and 1695, were important elements in this policy. The objective was to encourage people to settle in the area and cultivate the land so as to further strengthen power over Sami areas.⁹

So what was the role of the Church in all this? It is clear that state colonial claims rapidly became dependent on the expansion of the Church in the area. It is in fact quite difficult to define clear boundaries between state and Church actions at this time.¹⁰ Religious and social motives can be discerned in the expansion policy alongside

the economic and defence policy motives. Sami people were to be turned into obedient Christian subjects by means of legislation, mission and teaching, and the representatives of the Church had important parts to play in the latter areas in particular. It could be stated that the Church supplied the state with the primary channel that led right down to the people who were to be subordinated, and whose world view, faith and behaviour were to be reshaped in line with those communicated by the state and the Church. Tellingly, the marketplaces became central locations for mission work, as well as for trade and tax collection.¹¹

Ministers and missionaries were important in other respects as well. Mission work was based on close contact with and “knowledge” of Sami people. In this respect, representatives of the Church played key roles as conveyors of information on Sami people and Sami conditions to the state’s rulers and the general public. This gave them the power to define and construct Sami culture. This was very much based on their own interests and premises, frequently with a view to justifying the state’s and the Church’s own claims. Highly stereotypical preconceptions about Sami people and Sami culture were often conveyed in the descriptions and travel accounts written by ministers and missionaries that have been preserved mainly since the late 17th century and later. These various accounts contributed to dividing Sami people into different groups, differentiating between mountain Sami and forest Sami, and linking Sami culture with one primary occupation — reindeer husbandry. This eventually laid the foundation for later legislation.¹²

The Church’s establishment of Christianity and parish practice in Sami areas also had more direct consequences for the day-to-day lives of the Sami people. This included requirements stating that Sami people should participate in all kinds of church activities such as taking part in parish catechetical meetings, attending church services, taking communion, having their children baptised, entering into marriage according to Christian rules and having their dead buried at church. Thus unlike the state’s activities, the activities of the Church did not focus on economic aspects but adopted a considerably broader approach to cultural and social practices among the Sami population. However, in its work the Church had the help of the repressive mandate of the secular law enforcement apparatus,

with its right to punish apostates. The close relationship between Church representatives and the secular law enforcement was particularly clear in the prosecution of putative adultery among Sami people. That is to say, some Sami premarital relationships collided harshly with the Christian perception of the sanctity of marriage. For example, young Sami people could live together for a long time before formalising their marriage.¹³

Despite the reinforced presence of the state and the Church in the Sami area, preserved reports show that towards the end of the 17th century, men of the Church were fairly resigned with regard to Sami conversion to Christianity. Instead, these reports describe continued use of the indigenous Sami religion and tradition and various kinds of acts of resistance in defence of their own culture. Such acts of resistance included, for example, Sami people withholding information from the clergy, refusing to take their children to schools or marketplaces to be taught, or continuing to bury their dead in places other than churchyards. In brief, the aim of bringing Christianity to the Sami population according to the orthodoxy norms of the age was not all that easy to achieve.¹⁴

The Church, Sami Clergymen and Theological Education

One basic element in mission work was to get Sami people involved in efforts to spread the Christian faith and Church customs. Rather than regarding encounters between the Church and Sami people in terms of one-way communication, the Church dictating all the terms, it is more fruitful to view this as gradual integration of Church activities in Sami culture. Sami people ended up adopting important roles in the service of the Church, becoming clergymen, catechists (non-ordained teachers and missionaries), schoolteachers or engaged parish members. In the long term, this created such things as Sami “clergy families”. On the one hand, it has subsequently become clear that these people became colonial power ambassadors and agents; but on the other hand, they also helped to establish a separate Church-Sami tradition.¹⁵

Not many Sami people became clergymen; at least, this is true of people whose parents were both Sami. Only ten ministers with Sami mothers and fathers were known over a period of almost 300 years,

from 1584 to 1876. These included Gerhardus Jonae, Andreas Petri Lundius, Jacob and Paulus Matthiae Backius, Olaus Stephani Graan and Olaus Matthiae Sirma.¹⁶

Although a small number of chapels were already in existence, it was not until the 17th century that churches were established to any great extent in Sami areas. Prior to this, there were no specific training pathways for Sami men who wished to become ministers. The first Sami minister that we know of, Gerhardus Jonae (vicar of the parish of Skellefteå, 1584–1616), subsequently received training from a clergyman in Piteå for then being sent to Uppsala University for further study. However, as churches and benefices were established in the first half of the 17th century, it became more common for ministers to take in Sami boys in order to bring them up. The first permanent Sami schools in Piteå (1617–1632) and Lycksele (1632–) were important in this regard. It was common for Sami boys to begin their studies at one of these schools, or with the ministers in the coastal parishes, before then going on to the *trivialsolor* (junior secondary schools) in Piteå, Frösön or Härnösand (where there was also an upper secondary school). Theology studies in Uppsala then awaited. This created a training pathway for prospective Sami ministers. Efforts were made in particular to train young Sami men as clergymen over an 80-year period from the 1630s to the 1710s. Lycksele and Sorsele were the benefices in which the majority of Sami clergymen were active, very much due to the Skyttean School in Lycksele. Sami catechists and sextons were also educated at the school. It was only in 1723 that an ordinance emerged stating that schools should be created at every main church in Sami areas. However, the embryo of a training pathway for Sami clergymen was thus established prior to this.¹⁷

Sami Women in the Service of Mission Work

Research into mission history and church history looking at Sami people and church activities have tended to assign a passive role to Sami people in this encounter. The picture of mission work has been painted solely by the representatives of the Church and the majority society, creating a one-sided perspective. Furthermore, the few Sami representatives paid attention to in previous research have

mainly been male. If we start to search the sources more thoroughly, however, it is possible to find a number of examples of Sami women who have worked actively and strategically on church issues in both Sweden and Norway.

One early example is Margareta (c. 1360–?), mentioned above, who became a prominent figure in Sami mission work and the conversion of Sami people to Christianity. Other such women appeared in the 18th century. Karen Arnesdatter (?–c. 1730), Anna Olofsdotter (1721–c. 1770) and Ingri Månsdotter (1756–1798) worked for the mission and in close proximity with church representatives, acting as a kind of interpreters for Sami culture and Sami approaches. This allowed them to help link together Sami and Christian worship in ways that benefited Sami culture, while also underpinning more tolerant approaches to Sami worship. For example, 23-year-old Ingri Månsdotter worked as the first catechist in Arjeplog from 1779, taking responsibility as the leader for the other catechists in the parish.¹⁸

In the 19th century, we see further examples of how women were actively involved in mission work. They took on roles as guides and interpreters of spiritual issues at this time as well. These included Milla Clementsdotter (1813–?), who was of crucial importance to Lars Levi Laestadius and Laestadianism's interpretation of Christianity, Karen Nilsdatter Nirpi (1830–1886), who spread Laestadianism to Norway and the Ofoten area, Maria Magdalena Mathsdotter (1835–1873), who worked actively to establish schools for Sami children in the 1860s, and Sara Brita Mattson Åhrén (1867–?), who became a pioneer thanks to her role as a Sami officer in the Salvation Army. These women lived at different times, but the fact that they all worked actively for Christianity binds them together. Moreover, together with others they have had major importance in creating Sami church traditions.¹⁹

School as a Mission Instrument — the Church's Teaching Initiatives in the 17th and 18th Centuries

The conversion process had direct spatial significance. As church activities became more widespread, the epicentres of spirituality and dissemination of knowledge moved from Sami settlements and

Sami everyday life to the Church, church grounds and then schools as well. Earlier teaching practices in the relationship between Sami children and adults faced competition here from new practices where ministers and teachers took on increasingly prominent roles as educators. Schools in particular — and hence the emphasis on children and young people — ended up becoming an increasingly important instrument.

The presence of the Church in Sami areas had increased throughout the first half of the 17th century as a result of the establishment of churches and benefices and the founding of the Skyttean School in Lycksele. Towards the end of the 17th century, Sami people were also officially viewed as part of the Christian community. Most of them were baptised, they married in compliance with church rituals and buried their dead in church. However, indigenous Sami religion and worship were still a parallel and living part of everyday Sami life, and the Church and state began to consider this a growing problem. The 1680s, therefore, saw the beginning of a period of intensive attempts to come to terms with indigenous Sami religious expressions, or what Lutheran orthodoxy considered to be “idolatry”. A number of trials took place involving Sami people who were suspected of using drums or owning wooden figures depicting Sami gods, for example. Fines or corporal punishment were potential penalties. Sacrificial sites were destroyed, and it is known that one Sami, Lars Nilsson, was executed and burned with his wooden sculptures in 1693 (see below). This hard line against “idolatry” was superseded by more pragmatic approaches in the 18th century, where the Sami people’s continued pursuit of their indigenous religion was viewed as an expression of “superstition” rather than “idolatry”.²⁰

In other words, the Church’s mission work still presented many problems. During an inventory of conditions in Sami areas compiled by the chapter in Härnösand in 1686, a number of obstacles were specified to the final establishment of Christianity among the Sami people. It was pointed out here that the mission was still poorly organised and that the Sami people did not always make the work easy. Many Sami people continued to practice indigenous Sami religion to facilitate everyday tasks such as fishing and hunting, and the nomadic lifestyle in itself was difficult to reconcile with

an active church life. Sami people clearly found it difficult to turn up for church services and could reside in the borderlands between Sweden, Norway and Russia if they wished to avoid the influence of Swedish clergy. The chapter also stated that Sami people neglected their reading at home and that it was difficult to persuade them to report one another for idolatry due to fear of reprisals from their own group. Therefore, the chapter felt it needed greater assistance from secular authorities to force the Sami people to turn up to church.²¹

Besides adopting a harder line towards ongoing Sami worship, the perceived unsatisfactory states of affairs also brought to the fore new, more orderly solutions for organising the mission work itself. Here, extended teaching activities in the form of services, sermons and examinations, demands to demonstrate a knowledge of Christianity in order to marry and — not least — more teaching instruction for young Sami people became important. This mission focus would be made more permanent in 1723, when the Swedish Diet (*riksdagen*) decided that a special school system for Sami people would be created. A decision was made for every *lappmark* parish to have a boarding school that could accommodate six Sami pupils. The first of these schools opened in Åsele and Jokkmokk in 1732, and by the middle of the century there were schools in eight parishes: Lycksele (that is, the Skyttean School, founded in 1632), Åsele (1732), Jokkmokk (1732), Arjeplog (1743), Utsjoki (1743), Jukkasjärvi (1744), Föllinge (1748) and Gällivare (1756). In 1738, the parliament decided to create a special department with particular responsibility for Sami church and school systems, the Board of Ecclesiastical Affairs in Lappmarken (*Direktionen över Lappmarkens ecklesiastikverk*). This authority was superior to both the county administrative board and the chapter, and representatives of both the state and the Church were members. Hence a separate school system for Sami people had been created and placed under the supervision of a state body.²²

The new schools were significant in that they enhanced the reading abilities and knowledge of Christianity among Sami people. One early notion was to use these schools to train Sami ministers. However, this policy was abandoned fairly promptly. As stated, other training pathways were available for prospective Sami min-

isters, such as the *trivialsolor* (junior secondary schools) in Piteå, Härnösand and Frösön. Instead, from around 1740 the schools began training Sami catechists to carry out ambulatory mission work among Sami people, and they also began to accept female pupils. The boarding schools of the 18th century were also more influenced by Pietism than the school types in the previous century, and individual conversion had an important part to play. While the schools helped to establish reading ability among Sami people, it appears they were also effective conversion establishments that were based in practice on pupil isolation and separation from the Sami culture.²³

The Church, Mission and Teaching in the 19th Century

The church mission and teaching in the 19th century was characterised by constant testing of new forms of approach. Arrangement of teaching for Sami people had already been channelled into two main issues by the start of the century: should teaching take place at stationary schools or be provided by itinerant catechists, and what skills should teachers have? Uncertainty on these issues gave rise to a number of different reforms. The Board of Ecclesiastical Affairs was discontinued in 1801, and a number of the stationary so-called Lapp schools (*lappsolor*) were also phased out due to a decision made in 1818/1819. However, the schools in Lycksele, Gällivare and Jokkmokk continued to operate. The decision to discontinue these schools was based on the fact that more of the mission work would be done by itinerant catechists instead (often of Sami descent), who would travel among the Sami people and teach the Word of God. However, this solution came in for criticism as early as the 1830s, primarily as a result of missionary Petrus Laestadius' widespread and critical descriptions of the prevailing state of Christianity in Sami areas. Therefore, a royal decree in 1846 resulted in stationary schools once again being recommended for Sami mission work, but now with longer periods of education and more places for pupils. The school in Arjeplog was also reopened around this time.²⁴

Further reviews of activities took place in 1877, when a decision was made to provide teaching through the medium of Swedish wherever possible, and via a renewed charter in 1896. At this time,

the “Lapp schools” were renamed “Lapp elementary schools” (*lapp-folkskolor*) and a closer relationship was forged between them and the elementary schools (*folkskolor*) of the majority society. A decision was also made in this regard for the vicar and school board in the parish to stand responsible for supervision of these schools.²⁵

The 19th century also saw the creation of association-based missions in Sami areas in parallel with the activities of the Church. The primary actor was Svenska Missionsällskapet (SMS, ‘the Swedish Missionary Society’), which ran a number of permanent schools and children’s homes, mainly in the southern parts of Sápmi, from the late 1830s onwards, and later with the assistance of support associations such as Femöresföreningen (‘The Five Penny Association’) (1864) and Lapska Missionens Vänner (‘Friends of the Lapp Mission’) (1880). However, these activities came under the umbrella of the Church as well. They were pursued with the permission of the chapter and inspected by local vicars, who also helped to train teachers. SMS was absorbed by the newly established Svenska kyrkans missionsstyrelse (‘Church of Sweden Mission’) in 1876. Alongside the SMS schools, the mid-19th century also saw the establishment of Laestadian mission schools for Sami children in Torne lappmark. Unlike SMS schools, these were primarily ambulatory schools, which in practice meant that pupils travelled with their schools from place to place. These regular relocations came about due to a desire to ensure that the financial burden for accommodating school activities was distributed throughout a variety of locations. However, the language situation presented particular problems for schools in these northerly areas. The ambition was for teaching to take place through the medium of the Sami language, but as most textbooks were written in the Southern Sami language — which the majority of Northern Sami people found impossible to understand — Finnish became the general language for teaching instead. Although these schools only existed for ten or so years, they acted as a kind of generator for the Laestadian revival movement and so took on long-term importance.²⁶

The Nomad School Reform and Sami Folk High School in the 20th Century

As presented above, a variety of different school types were available to Sami children at the turn of the 20th century. This included what was known as the Lapp elementary schools, but also stationary mission schools, ambulatory catechism schools and regular elementary schools. It was against the background of criticism of this disorganised (from an authority perspective) variety of schools that the Nomad School Regulation took shape and was adopted in 1913. This reform was a direct response to a desire from the state to reorganise the Sami school system and hence alter the regulation of 1896. Responsibility for this reorganisation was assigned to the then recently established chapter in Luleå and Bishop Olof Bergqvist there. In other words, the Church bore primary responsibility for the reform and this responsibility was spread over many different levels as regards both central policy work and local establishment.²⁷

Essentially, the reform involved closing down older existing school types and creating a new Sami school system. The fundamental principle was that children whose parents were nomadic reindeer herders were taught at special schools, nomad schools, and that the children of settled Sami people were taught together with the rest of the population. This segregating school policy was based on factors such as stereotyping of the Sami lifestyle, which meant that the nomadic mountain Sami people were perceived to be “true” Sami people. This separation of nomadic children from settled children led to a major change in Sami education, as earlier school types had not applied this form of segregation.²⁸

The Nomad School Reform can be regarded as the Church’s final major intervention in Sami education. Later, education issues relating to Sami people gradually transferred to other state domains and newly formed secular bodies. Moreover, the introduction of the Nomad School Reform has captured the most attention in more recent times as a symbol of the oppression and abuse of Sami people by the authorities and Swedish society in general. One of the reasons for this is the fact that above all, the Nomad School Reform resulted in consequences both for the Sami population as individuals — for the Sami people who attended the schools and lived through their culture-preserving education programme — and for Sami people as

a group. At a general level, the nomad schools helped to limit and cement preconceptions about the nomadic group of reindeer-herding Sami people as “true” Sami, which in turn marginalised other Sami groups and had a divisive impact on the group as a whole. Another result of the reform was that nomad schools were isolated from education in the wider community and were deprived of the rise in standards that the rest of the school system underwent in the first half of the century. Finally, the reform led to a widening of the trust gap between the Sami people and the Swedish authorities. Nomad schools were gradually phased out in the 1960s in connection with major school reforms and replaced by Sami schools, a type of school formulated more extensively in line with Sami interests.²⁹

Samernas folkhögskola (‘the Sami Folk High School’), now known as Samernas utbildningscentrum (‘the Sami Educational Centre’), is a less negative example of Church involvement in Sami education in the 20th century. This was started by Svenska Missions-sällskapet in 1942 and has been situated in Jokkmokk since 1945. SMS had phased out its mission schools in Sami areas as a consequence of the Nomad School Reform. However, founding Samernas folkhögskola meant that educational activities could continue, albeit in other forms. Right from the outset, the aim of Samernas folkhögskola was to give young Sami people in-depth knowledge of Sami culture but, unlike nomad schools, to provide this knowledge in a way that also prepared them for life in modern-day Sweden. Christian values had a prominent place in teaching, reflected not least by strict rules of conduct for pupils and a requirement to attend services. Ordained minister Lennart Wallmark was appointed by Bengt Jonzon, bishop of Luleå, as the school’s first headmaster and held this position for almost 30 years. Although general subjects were taught at the school, the emphasis was on Sami and practical subjects (such as Sami handicrafts). Teaching in the Sami language was problematic, partly due to the difficulty of finding competent teachers.³⁰

Although Church representatives at Samernas folkhögskola still decided which elements of Sami culture and what Sami teaching matter would appear on the curriculum, this school is nevertheless a more positive example of church involvement in Sami education than the nomad school that existed at the same time. As a

consequence of decreasing student numbers and financial difficulties in the 1960s, the school was taken over in the 1970s by a foundation that included both Sami organisations and representatives of the municipality of Jokkmokk. This is the structure of the board to this day.³¹

BJÖRN NORLIN

4. The Church and Sami Cultural Expressions

Missionary and educational efforts on the part of the Church to make groups of Sami people embrace the Christian faith have historically gone hand-in-hand with attempts to phase out the Sami people's own cultural forms of expression; or at least, those that were — or could be suspected to be — incompatible with the Christian faith. Such expressions could convey competing world views that threatened the uniformity in the faith that the Church was responsible for defending. Frequently these were forms of expression that were deeply embedded in Sami culture and were practised through the medium of the Sami language, which made them particularly difficult for the Church and other Swedish authorities to control. Cultural expressions of this type are discussed in the third part of the scholarly anthology, *The Church and Sami Cultural Expressions*, along with how they have been influenced and altered by their dealings with the Church. This section also looks at how the Church's general attitudes towards indigenous Sami religion have been expressed through the ages and how the Church has influenced the Sami language and naming custom.

The Church's Approach to Indigenous Sami Religion

Can you spit at Radien, Rananeit, Rariet etc. and say: Away, cursed be you, confounded idol. Do you regret your wicked idolatry, are

you distressed above all hearts, do you reject your sinfulness, turn to the true living and omnipotent God; pray to Him for mercy and forbearance, for forgiveness and the merciful pardon of a sinner?

Henric Forbus, vicar of Torneå, early 18th century¹

The attitude of the Church to the indigenous Sami religion has not remained fixed and unchanging throughout the long period of time discussed in the various articles in this White Paper. Nor is it possible to establish a single uniform church approach to Sami religion, even over a limited period. However, it is possible to create a general picture of both change and continuity in this field by focusing on the attitudes of church representatives engaged in issues relating to Sami religion at various times. One such engaged person was Henric Forbus (1674–1737), vicar of Torneå from 1705 to 1731, from whose interrogation documents the questions quoted above have been taken. The purpose of these questions was to chart, investigate and condemn non-Christian religious worship among Sami people in his geographical area of responsibility. The divine beings referred to, “Radies” (sometimes known as “Vearalden olmai” or “Rararet”) and “Rananeit” (linked with spring and fertility), were key to the Sami faith in the early modern period. With his demonising approach to Sami religious expressions and genuine fear of them, Forbus’ statement is expressive of attitudes held by people at the time.²

The first systematic survey of Sami religion was created by Johannes Schefferus (1621–1679) in his 1673 work *Lapponia*. Commissioned by Swedish Lord High Chancellor Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (leader of Charles XI’s regency 1660–1672), *Lapponia* charted matters such as geography, natural assets, climate and flora and fauna in Sami areas. However, most attention was paid to the Sami people and Sami culture. As with Forbus and his contemporary colleagues in the clergy, the Sami religion was depicted as paganism; a mix of superstition and devilish art, and hence entirely incompatible with the Christian faith.³

The beginning of the early modern period was generally characterised by deep religious conflicts originating during the Reformation. Condemnation of the Sami religion as pagan devil worship was part of a more extensive pattern in which Protestant churches

systematically belittled and demonised competing faiths. This also affected the Catholic Church and Swedish peasantry in general. As of the Reformation and the consolidation of the power of the Crown, the mandate for corporal and financial punishment of people had partly been transferred from the Church to the state, but in parallel with this the ideological power of the Church over people was reinforced. New laws meant an extended catalogue of moral codes of conduct for individuals. The primary work of the clergymen involved investigating and reporting crimes against these laws and rules. The definition of what was to be regarded as superstition and sorcery was also extended, and certain actions became punishable by death. This extension of state and church power — and the religious persecution caused as a result — affected the entire population of the realm, including the Sami people. The witch trials of the late 17th century were an expression of this. These trials were not aimed directly at the Sami people, although the death penalty for religious offences to which Sami people were condemned at the end of the century (see below) should be regarded as part of the same trend.⁴

The enlightened thinking of the 18th century resulted in a change in Swedish Lutheran orthodoxy. This also impacted on church approaches to Sami religion. The unforgiving attitudes and categorical condemnation of Sami religious worship in the 17th and early 18th century were now gradually replaced by more tolerant and tentative approaches. For example, the term *superstition* began to be assigned a different theological import, referring to ignorance rather than the actual practice of devilish arts. Attempts were also made to find similarities between the Sami religion and Christianity. Pehr Högström (1714–1784), missionary and vicar in the 1740s, is an example of a representative of a new approach of this kind. In his *Beskrifning öfwer de til Sweriges Krona lydande Lapmarker* ('Description of the *lappmarks* belonging to the Swedish Crown') (1747), the attitude towards Sami religious worship is considerably more objective. Although there was never any question of allowing Sami religion to gain an influence over Church activities — this would have been entirely inconceivable — the same type of demonisation that could be found among the clergy of previous generations did not exist.⁵

Sami religion began to be viewed by 19th-century Church representatives as something that belonged to the past. By then, the reli-

gious shift had made so much progress that the indigenous Sami religion was no longer perceived as a genuine threat to Christianity. In Lars Levi Laestadius' manuscript *Fragmenter i lappska mythologien* ('Fragments in Lapp mythology') (1839–1845), for example, the approach to Sami religion and world view is instead subordinate to a scientific interest. In his manuscript, Laestadius attempted from a fairly neutral standpoint to understand and explain the historical emergence and development of the Sami religion, focusing on specific elements. Certainly, the Sami people were considered to still believe in some superstitions, but Laestadius was of the opinion that this was the case among Swedish country folk as well.⁶

The change in how people related to Sami religion — from something that was genuinely present in the everyday practice and problems of the Church to becoming an object of religious history and theological study in scientifically distanced forms — was carried along into the 20th century and underwent further development. Under the influence of ideas of cultural hierarchies in the early part of the 20th century, Sami religion was linked to the common explanatory models at the time, which depicted it as primitive and inferior to Christianity. For instance, in his book *De nordiska lapparnas religion* ('The religion of the Nordic Lapps') (1912), Edgar Reuter-skiöld (1872–1932, theologian and historian of religions in Uppsala, ordained minister and later bishop of Växjö) placed various phenomena in the indigenous Sami religion in separate stages that he thought represented the evolutionary process — the hunter stage, the transition to reindeer nomadism, and reindeer nomadism itself. He also pointed out links between Christianity and Sami religion, along with Christian influences in Sami religion.⁷

Over the last few decades, more affirming attitudes towards certain expressions of traditional Sami religion have started to emerge among representatives of the Church. Among other things, discussions on possible ways to offer greater scope for traditional Sami religious expression within the framework of Church worship have begun on theological grounds. Viewed historically, this involves movement from a fully exclusivist approach to Sami spiritual traditions in Church practice, to a more inclusivistic one; and today a kind of internal inter-faith dialogue between Lutheran theology and Sami spirituality has begun within the Church.⁸

Taking Possession of Space

— Sacred Places, the Drum, the Noaidi and Yoiking

Different religious systems of thought have different ways of representing the world and nature spatially, in terms of both the big, abstract picture and more everyday, concrete aspects. It could be said that they construct different ways of observing the space in which people live. Sami sacred places and how the use of such places was affected by dealings with the Church is one illustrative example of this. What temporary guests to the inland landscape in the 18th or 19th century may have perceived as striking rock formations or almost impassable mountains, lakes, marshes or streams could be loaded with symbolic meanings of a quite different kind for the Sami people living in the area. They could be collectively used sacred areas which people believed were occupied by different gods or spirits and so had to be entered with great caution (and in some cases avoided entirely). They could also be more individually used places where sacrifices were made to the gods for prosperity in life. Such places were not only key to how many Sami people found their bearings in the landscape, they were also the places that physically bound together the living, the dead and the various gods of the indigenous Sami world view.⁹

The most common sacred places included the sacrificial sites near to the homes of individual families in the form of wooden structures or wooden figures where sacrifices were made to the gods. The Sami often prayed for help with everyday things such as ensuring the well-being of their reindeer herds, successful fishing and hunting or favourable weather conditions. This sometimes involved sacrificing reindeer meat or reindeer horns. The use of sacrificial sites also reflects a specific approach to life, nature and spiritual matters. A good person would ensure, through respectful actions and by avoiding sacrilegious actions, that harmony was maintained between people, gods and the essence of nature. This also paved the way for a good life. Thus, indigenous Sami religion was integrated almost organically into the local environment.¹⁰

As mission work intensified in the late 17th and early 18th century, the Church began, increasingly actively, to oppose elements of this type in Sami culture. They were considered incompatible with Christianity. Sacrificial sites began to be destroyed systematically,

wooden figures were confiscated and use of them was punished. One example involved Norwegian clergyman Jens Kildal (1683–1760), who burned down no fewer than 17 Sami wooden structures for sacrifice as he travelled through Pite lappmark in the winter of 1726–1727, before he was forced to cease his activities and return home after receiving death threats from Sami people in Jokkmokk. However, most commonly the use of sacred places was condemned and denounced in sermons.¹¹

Drums — “sorcery drums”, as they were disparagingly referred to previously — also had key parts to play in this symbolic and social landscape. The drums were the medium that linked the spiritual world with the physical world, explained the will of the gods and gave people guidance. Although fairly few trials in the early modern period involved punishing Sami people for using sacred places and sacrifices, for some reason things were different when it came to the drums. This was obviously a direct practical action that was clearly in contravention of Christian norms and that Church representatives considered it particularly important to punish. The drum was essentially made from a wooden frame or a bowl-shaped piece of wood with reindeer skin stretched over it, and this structure came with a drum hammer made of reindeer horn, as well as one or more pointers and objects made of metal, bone or horn that were attached to the drum. The skin used for the drum could be covered with pictures of various human-like figures and animals, along with things that look like lakes, rocks, Sami cots, sacrificial sites and so forth. However, very little is known about the symbolic significance of the various patterns.¹²

Use of drums was common. What is known in the sources as the *våntrumma* was almost to be regarded as a kind of household item used by the head of the household for advice and assistance on everyday practical matters, such as establishing migration routes or making decisions on internal family affairs. The more ceremonial *spåtrumma* — as it was known by the missionaries — was handled mainly by the noaidi, the foremost religious specialist, who could determine the will of the gods with its power. As far as the Church was concerned, these drums rapidly became associated with the practice of idolatry and sorcery, a kind of direct channel to the devil. Such beliefs appear to be expressions of a genuine fear

on the part of the clergy, at least in the 17th and early 18th century. Therefore, the drums could not be dismissed as harmless superstition or ignorance, as would be the case later. There was a lot at stake, in other words. Being in possession of or using Sami drums — that is, engaging in sorcery, from the Church's standpoint — was therefore punishable by death. One tragic example of the fear instilled in Swedish clergy by the drum, but also of the symbolic value in publicly punishing such use, is the death penalty handed down to Lars Nilsson in Silbojokk, to whom previous reference is made. Nilsson had been caught using his drum and wooden figures in an attempt to use sacrifices to bring his grandchild — who had drowned in a well — back to life. Nilsson, who had previously publicly demonstrated support for preservation of Sami religious practice, was initially imprisoned and later executed in late 1692/early 1693. This was apparently a way for the local clergyman, Petrus Noraeus Fjellström, to make an example of him. Nilsson's death penalty had been preceded by escalating conflicts between Sami people and the clergy in Arjeplog and Silbojokk, where both prison sentences and death penalties were handed down to people who refused to abandon traditional Sami rites. During this period the Church banned the use of Sami drums and a large number of them were burnt, smashed up or confiscated.¹³

The noaidi was the person in the Sami religion who possessed expert knowledge in the field of spirituality and had the ability, with the help of the drum or yoik, to ascertain the will of the higher powers and by this give people a basis for various life choices. Thus, he acted as a kind of mediator between the human world and the divine world. The noaidi was able to assist with everything from everyday problems to matters involving sickness and death, and people frequently had a great deal of faith in him with regard to medicine. Moreover, certain sacred places were off-limits to anyone except for the noaidi. Hence, it was not surprising that the clergy in the 17th and 18th centuries considered these people to be the main representatives of idolatry and thus subjected them to persecution. However, the noaidi as a phenomenon was not a uniform institution, and both noaidi status and the way in which the noaidi worked in Sami society could differ from area to area. Views of the noaidi have shifted over the centuries and, like many other things

linked with Sami religious use, the attitude of the Church towards the activities of noadis became less strict in the 19th century. By this time the Church had already been very much instrumental in phasing out this Sami spiritual institution.¹⁴

Another element that was opposed by Church authorities was yoiking, the traditional Sami form of song and storytelling. Like the drum, yoiking could be used to contact gods and spirits, and these phenomena were also closely linked with one another in such a manner that they were frequently used together. Yoiking as a form of song was used on many different occasions and for many different purposes. Not only was this an instrument for establishing contact with spirits, it was also a way of telling stories or describing people, animals, landscapes and various events. Yoiking could be used either collectively or individually for meditative purposes, and hence it was also an important social medium that created a sense of community. As far as the clergy and the Church in the 17th and 18th centuries were concerned, yoiking was considered to be a kind of “sorcery song”, an unequivocally evil and wicked act that should be condemned and punished. However, yoiking was able to survive in more clandestine forms in various Sami contexts.¹⁵

More nuanced approaches to yoiking developed in the 19th century, and it was no longer dismissed entirely as incompatible with the Christian faith. Accordingly, Laestadianism was able to cautiously state things like “yoiking is not a sin as long as one does not yoik in a sinful way, just as it is not a sin to partake of two drams when it is cold”. Paradoxically, Church representatives were the most active collectors and documenters of yoiking from the early 20th century onwards. Thus, they were able to preserve a lot of it for posterity. In any case, it is clear that by banning drums and yoiking, the Church forced two of the most important spiritual tools in Sami worship to the periphery. This would be comparable with banning and destroying all church organs and prohibiting the singing of hymns in Christian religious practice, as stated in one of the White Paper texts.¹⁶

The territorial and spiritual expansion of the state and the Church into Sami areas hence meant that they took possession of the space itself in both a spiritual and a physical sense. In brief the Church took on responsibility for explaining the true sense and meaning

of the outside world and the surroundings, while also penalising or demystifying earlier delusions, viewed from a Church authority perspective. This gradually broke up the fine mesh of symbolic and meaningful relationships between people, places, artefacts and spiritual beings in the traditional Sami faith, together with the variety of social practices with which these were interlinked. These actions left behind a cultural and religious conflict that is still leaving its mark on local church life even now, more than three hundred years later.

The Church and the Creation of the Sami Written Language — the Dual Role of the Church

The Church has held a multifaceted position of power in relation to the Sami language. Traditionally, Sami has been a spoken language only that includes a number of different varieties with significant mutual differences. Historically, the role of the Sami language has shifted in Church worship. The Church has been dependent on using the Sami language for successful mission work ever since the Middle Ages. At the same time, access to mission literature and clergymen who were able to speak Sami defined the frameworks for this work. For instance, interpreters were used early on to translate the sermons of ministers for Sami congregations. The first attempts to create written literature in Sami for Christian teachings were made in the 17th century. This included a service manual and an ABC book by Nicolaus Andreae, vicar of Piteå, in 1619, a service manual for Torne lappmark, *Manuale Lapponicum*, written by Johannes Tornaues, vicar of Torneå, in 1648, and a similar work for Ume lappmark and Pite lappmark compiled by vicar Olaus Stephani Graan in Lycksele in 1669. The linguistic quality of the translations varied, but in general they were fairly inadequate.¹⁷

One important element in the Lutheran Reformation approach was to allow Christian believers to hear the word of God in their own native language, not in Latin, and the early development of written religious text in Sami can be viewed as being linked with this.

The extended school and teaching initiatives of the early 18th century resulted in a more conscious approach to Sami as a mission language. Sami boys and girls were trained as catechists at the newly

formed schools, and work also began on compiling grammar books and glossaries with a view to supporting the translation of key church texts. Pehr Fjellström, vicar of Lycksele, was the first person to attempt to create a standardised Sami written language (based on the Ume Sami language). He published a Sami grammar book and a Swedish-Sami dictionary in 1738. He also published an ABC book, a service manual, Luther's Small Catechism and a hymnbook in Sami in 1744.

The New Testament was also translated in 1755. The written Sami language, in Fjellström's Ume Sami version, then spread to more northerly parishes by the efforts of Pehr Högström, vicar of Gällivare, and others. In Högström's own works — the translation of a book of sermons in 1737 and a catechism in 1748 — the vocabulary took on a Lule Sami and more northerly character. Another important work was *Lexicon Lapponicum* by Johan Öhrling and Eric Lindahl, which was published in 1780.¹⁸

Thus, it can be stated that Sami as an at least partly standardised written language emerged from above and was the fruit of Church representatives' efforts to facilitate mission work and the spread of Christianity. Individual ministers' knowledge of various varieties of Sami acted as the primary filter. This indicates a kind of dual role for the actions of the Church, a duality that is reflected in many different areas. While helping to strengthen and preserve the Sami language by writing it down — a kind of culture-preserving role, that is — the role of "guardian" also meant that the language was framed in a very specific religious context. Furthermore, the Sami language was facing gradually increasing competition from the Swedish-speaking population that moved from the south and entered areas that were previously entirely Sami-speaking. Similarly, the Finnish language had a major influence further north.

The Old Testament and a number of hymnbooks were also published in Sami in the early 19th century. From the middle of this century, there was a certain amount of linguistic relocation in written Sami which meant that many of the documents then being written were based on central Sami dialects instead of more southerly varieties, as had previously been the case. This trend was reinforced in the 20th century, one example being the fact that a new version of the New Testament was translated into Lule Sami in 1903. This came

to be followed by the publication of Lule Sami dictionaries, but also a South Sami dictionary and a hymnbook in several Sami dialects. However, most of the books published in the latter half of the 20th century were various kinds of devotional literature and guides to services.¹⁹

Of late, increased awareness within the Church of the importance of language to indigenous peoples and clearer requirements from Sami organisations have resulted in new efforts to attempt to reinforce the position of written Sami in Church contexts in both Sweden and Norway. Among other things, this has resulted in a Norwegian-Swedish project for yet another new translation of the New Testament into Lule Sami (2003) and creation of a Lule Sami hymnbook (2005) and a hymnbook with tunes (2006). 2015 also saw the publication of a referral edition of more than three hundred North Sami hymns, and a series of other translation projects are in progress or planned in various parts of Sápmi. One thing these initiatives all have in common is the fact that the translations are more closely linked with the Sami actually spoken than was previously the case. The projects that are currently in progress are very much concerned with considering the nuances of the language and reinforcing the positions of the different varieties.²⁰

The Church and Swedification of Sami Naming Custom

One of the things I remember from my first day at school is [...] when the register was being called out. I did not answer when my teacher called out my name as “Johannes Marainen”. My big brother, who was in the same class as me, poked me in the side and said, “Answer her, that’s you”. That was the first time I heard my official name. It is not really all that surprising that I did not reply, because it was not anything like the name I had grown up with, and my real Sami name, *Las-Biet-Heaihka-Johanas*.²¹

There are other linguistic domains in which the Church has held a central position of power and where the method used to administer this position has had direct consequences for Sami people. The Sami naming custom is one such domain. It goes without saying nowadays that one’s name is not just for practical purposes, allowing

people to be organised — something that allows people to refer to us and set us apart from others — but is also of significance as regards self-image and identity. Personal names signal not only individuals' links with their own families and relatives, but also their connections with wider cultural and social communities. Personal names embed the self in a meaningful context. The naming custom can also reflect prevailing power situations in a society and hence also have political and ideological implications. This is particularly clear in the relationship between the Sami and the Church.²²

Prior to the mid-20th century, the Church held overall responsibility for official registration of personal names in Sweden. This was a role held by the Church for several centuries, the foundation of which had already been laid in the early organisation of the state population register in the 17th century. In that century, recurring government regulations had instructed Sweden's vicars to compile population registers and officially register all children born and baptised, marriages and deaths and burials in their own respective parishes. The names and other information held by the clergy was then used as a basis for taxation and registration for census purposes, and also for the compilation of population statistics in subsequent centuries. In other words, ministers had a very important part to play at the hub of this gathering of information on the state's population.²³

Not much is known about traditional Sami naming custom. One of the reasons for this is the fact that Swedish clergymen chose to consistently “Swedify” Sami names throughout the centuries in which the Church gathered information on Sami people and registered their names, so that they fitted in with the linguistic and cultural templates of the public exercise of authority. Historically, this resulted in the creation of a kind of double naming custom for Sami people, where individuals could have a Sami name given at birth that was primarily communicated verbally within their own group, and a “more Swedish” name used in public and in writing. In Sami contexts, people were subsequently able to continue using their own names, but as soon as they came into contact with public institutions such as schools, the Church or other municipal and state agencies, they quite simply had to adapt to the names given to them by ministers. Thus, the written names have taken on a strong position compared with the spoken forms.²⁴

A specific example of the difference between Sami and Swedish names can be provided using the initial quotation as a starting point. Sami naming custom has traditionally been based on a kind of extensive form of patronymic; that is, a name indicating the parentage of a son or daughter. It was customary for a long time among the Swedish peasantry for surnames with the suffix *-son* ('son') or *-dotter* ('daughter') to be used, the name of the father usually providing the prefix. This indicated the family ties of the individual. In the Sami community, people went considerably further than merely signalling their ties to their father or mother. Here, the name could instead include references to several previous generations. Johannes Marainen's real name, *Las-Biet-Heaihka-Johanas*, indicates, for example, that his great-grandfather was Las (Swedish *Lasse/Lars*), his grandfather was Biete (Swedish *Per*), his father was Heaihka (Swedish *Henrik*) and that he himself is the son, grandson and great-grandson of these people. Essentially, this is a naming custom that is based on a different way of looking at the significance of earlier generations than is the case with the current Scandinavian custom. In line with this, it used to be common in the Sami community to ask who a person *was* rather than asking what they were *called*: in other words, there was a desire to bring clarity with regard to ties to family and relatives. The collective connection was more important than the individual connection.²⁵

The obtuseness of the Church's official Swedification of Sami names becomes even clearer when it comes to direct first names. Firstly, the Swedish names available rarely had direct Sami equivalents; and secondly, there was no chance of them matching the subtleties of the Sami names. In practice, this could mean that Sami names with mutually different meanings, such as *Biete*, *Biera*, *Bierra*, *Bera*, *Bieva*, *Beahkka* and *Beaivi* (in other words, these were not spoken variants of one and the same name) were entered in the Church records using the official generic name *Per* — a name that did not even exist in Sami. This in turn could result in rather absurd situations where several children in one and the same Sami family were officially named *Per*, although the minister made it clear which one was which by adding "the younger", "the elder", and so forth.²⁶

5. The Sami and the Church as an Authority

The tasks and assignments of the Church involved more than merely spreading the Christian faith and teaching the people to read and write. Many social functions were run or supported by the Church and its clergy before the start of the 20th century. People in those days would inevitably come into contact with the Church, not only for baptisms, marriages, funerals and Sunday services, but also in many matters that had nothing to do with the lives of individuals. Local official responsibility normally rested with the vicar. Until the mid-19th century, clergymen were not only religious leaders and teachers in their respective parishes, they were also responsible for common interests. Common issues related to financial expenses, buildings, schools, tax, healthcare, poor relief, morality and church discipline were decided at the parish meeting. The parish meeting was a predecessor of the municipal council (*kommunfullmäktige*), the decision-making body in rural areas after the municipal reforms of 1862. Until then, the congregation (*församling*) and the parish (*socken*) had been one and the same thing. One or more parishes formed a benefice (*pastorat*), which was headed by a vicar. The vicar usually convened parish meetings, prepared matters that were to be discussed and chaired the meetings. The vicar would also make sure that decisions were implemented, either personally by him or by helping to appoint the various stewards in the parish who in turn made sure there was compliance with joint decisions. This could involve maintaining buildings in the parish (the church, the

bell tower, the vicarage, the parish storage facility and the school), checking people moving into and out of the parish, checking morality and conduct, reviewing the tax register, implementing fire protection measures and dealing with matters involving poor relief. The parish meeting was also an arena for Church control over the people. Breaching the Church's rules of conduct or neglecting one's Church duties (such as taking communion and meeting knowledge requirements with regard to Christianity) were investigated at the parish meeting. Admonitions from the clergyman on these issues show the power structure in the parishes.¹

The state viewed the clergy and Church bodies as valuable assets for new tasks in the local community in the early 19th century. For instance, the vicar had to make sure that all children were vaccinated and the sexton administered the vaccinations. Gradually, the Church became the authority that promoted and dealt with healthcare within the parishes. As socially beneficial activities such as schooling, poor relief and healthcare were extended, so the responsibilities of the vicar were increased as a leading figure who distributed various tasks to the residents of the parish. The Church also had to make its services available for national population registration and census purposes. The Church records provided vital information for taxation, voting rights in elections and checking the population. A document such as a *prästbetyg* or *frejdebetyg* (certificate of peoples' conduct) was an important control instrument. In the 19th century, ministers wrote such "opinions of respectability" about residents of their parish, and these were used by individuals when applying for jobs.²

The vicar's position as a landowner with "his own employees" was a prerequisite for his leading role in the parish. As the owner of the vicarage and administrator of other Church property, known as the glebe (*prästbord*), the country vicar was one of the parish's farmers. This was significant not least in inland areas in northern Sweden, as the property of the Church was very extensive in geographical terms.

To summarise, it can be stated that historically, the Church and the clergy had authority influence in far more areas in the past than the Church has at present. Until the mid-19th century, the clergy and Church bodies were increasingly engaged by the state to take

the initiative for various social functions in local communities, and for implementing and monitoring these. This could involve social issues such as poor relief and healthcare, administrative issues such as the population register, school and upbringing issues and tax issues. However, it should be emphasised that the clergy did not have the sole right to make decisions on these issues. This responsibility was divided among a number of parties. The representatives of the Church held leading positions in many important respects, particularly with regard to the Sami people. However, the second half of the 19th century saw the introduction of a distribution of responsibility between the Church and other bodies in what were then the newly formed municipalities, which led to a decline in the influence of the Church on matters such as social and financial issues.

Church Buildings and Church Land in the Sami Landscape

The early 17th century heralded the formation of independent Church units (benefices) in Sami areas. In the Church organisation, these areas had previously been under the control of the vicars of the coastal benefices (Torneå, Luleå, Piteå and Umeå). The intention behind the new formation of these benefices was to create a more permanent Church presence in Sami areas. More and more smaller administrative units were created from the older benefices in the centuries that followed, which meant that the Church pushed forward its positions in the inland areas of northern Sweden. However, the formation of parishes in these areas was neither linear nor consistent. Parishes were formed and reformed extensively until the early 20th century.

A number of churches and chapels had been built on Sami land in the Diocese of Härnösand as early as the 16th century, such as in Rounala in Torne lappmark and in Arvidsjaur in Pite lappmark. However, in the first few decades of the 17th century the initiative was taken to build more churches as a consequence of the formation of new parishes.³ For example, construction of the first church in Lule lappmark began at Jokkmokks lappby in 1606.⁴ In the 1640s, the old benefice of Piteå was divided up and four new benefices were formed in Sami areas, two of which — Nasafjäll and Silbojokk — emerged on account of the mining taking place there.⁵ There-

fore, this area is home to the earliest administrative specialisation under the auspices of the Church. The Sami social administration of the day was forced to adapt to the new conditions: for example, the marketplaces of the individual Sami villages were moved to a central location in each *lappmark* where the church had been constructed. In other words, the expansion of the Church was intertwined with control of religious worship and trade, as well as tax collection.⁶

Until the end of the 19th century, almost 40 church buildings (chapels, meeting houses and churches) were built — as far as we know — in the areas that came to be known as the *lappmark* parishes.⁷ Of course, building churches required manpower and materials, but land was also needed for the place where the church and churchyard were to be sited. Land known as the glebe was also needed for the vicarage and in order to provide for the minister. He had his own land, alongside the fees that he charged to his parishioners, so that he could make a living. Therefore, the Church gradually became a major landowner in the *lappmark* parishes. It was not unusual for a few coastal or inland villages, to be selected to form part of the newly formed benefices. These villages were to help the minister's supplies go further.

However, the Church did not expand into a void. The land that was claimed for the minister's buildings and support was generally already in use by Sami people. This land was divided into *skatteland* ('tax land') used by individual Sami households. *Skatteland* was the term referring to a plot of land that was used by someone and for which a Sami household paid tax. It could be inherited, sold or mortgaged.⁸ There are two important questions to ask in order to find out more about the Church's landholdings in Lappmarken. One is: what land areas did the Church requisition in order to erect buildings? Did these areas have any particular function in the Sami community of the day? The other question is what happened when the Church took possession of land for buildings and for creating an economic basis for Church activities in these areas. Until the mid-20th century, researchers were of the opinion that the first Christian churches in the Nordic region were generally sited in pre-Christian cult sites. Researchers refer to this phenomenon as cult site continuity. This standpoint has been called into question of late, but never-

theless there is information in the literature to indicate that deciding on locations for churches in Sami areas was influenced by Sami beliefs. The site of the church in Markkina (Enontekis), for example, is said to have been selected because the Sami considered the area to have special power. Thus, it seems justified to dwell upon who took the initiative when it came to deciding the location of church buildings and what arguments were put forward in favour of placing a church building in a specific location.

A review of documents relating to church buildings shows that two overall reasons appear to have constituted a basis for the choice of church sites: accessibility and access to resources at the site. In some cases, accessibility related to the fact that the clergyman needed to be able to get to the church easily if he did not live there himself. This was the case with the chapel in Jillesnåle at Lake Storvindeln, where the location was selected because it was easy to get there by boat from Sorsele in summer. Many other church sites were selected because the Sami people themselves found it easy to get there. The Sami, like everyone else who lived within the borders of Sweden, were obliged to attend church services and communion. Under the auspices of the Church, they also had to have their children baptised, learn to read, be confirmed and marry, and bury their dead. These were obligations that demanded regular attendance, and so everyone needed to be relatively close to a church building. The chapel in Ålloluokta on the south side of Stora Lulevatten was chosen, for example, because the site was in a handy location for the local Sami people in summer. The locations of church buildings in Sorsele, Jukkasjärvi, Gällivare, Álggavárre and Fatmomakke were also chosen as they were accessible for Sami people. However, it should be emphasised that it was missionaries, ministers and county governors — that is to say, people and officials outside Sami society — who considered these places to be readily accessible. It is difficult to know just how readily accessible they actually were from a Sami perspective. The Sami people were consulted in some cases, such as when the church sites in Gällivare and Fatmomakke were selected. A different type of accessibility determined the locations of the church buildings in Pite lappmark. Mining activities at Nasafjäll and the transport routes from there determined the location of the church and marketplace built in Arjeplog.⁹

Sami people who wanted to visit church buildings in Sami areas in the 17th and 18th centuries not only needed to be able to get to church relatively easily. When they arrived, church visits were often “compressed” to take place over a weekend or a week. The Sami churchgoers stayed in the area near the church building during this intensive period of church activity, which could include church services, baptisms, confirmation studies, weddings and funerals. Future church visits were facilitated in some Sami areas by preparing places to sleep, and sometimes shelter. Smaller church towns, shared by both Sami people and settlers, emerged near to church buildings. Land around the church was earmarked for a marketplace, particularly in the church towns used by both Sami people and settlers (in particular Enontekis, Jukkasjärvi, Jokkmokk, Arvidsjaur and Lycksele). The winter markets in these places became key to trade in Sami areas, and the marketplace was also used by the judiciary and for tax collection purposes. These church towns clearly indicate how closely Church, court, market and tax collection were linked with one another in Sami areas, as comparable coastal church towns had more exclusively church functions.¹⁰

Thus, the fairly short time available to the Sami for attending church required not only close proximity to the churches, but also resources in the area around the church buildings. For example, the position of the church building in Lycksele was chosen due to availability of fishing and pasture conditions. Similar reasons appear to have been chosen when determining the location for the churches in Arvidsjaur, as well as the Enare and Kemijärvi church buildings in what is now Finland.¹¹

Accessibility and local resources in the form of fishing waters, pasture and building materials were the explicit reasons that determined the choice of church sites. No arguments have been found that would indicate that churches were built on older Sami religious sites.

How does this relate to the other aspect of the Church’s relationship with land areas used by the Sami people? What happened when the Church became a major landowner in Sami areas? Very extensive amounts of land were owned by the Church and used for the vicars’ upkeep. According to documents dating back to 1670, the Lycksele glebe covered 83,000 hectares, while the Church’s land in

Jokkmokk covered 16,000 hectares. In other words, the Church monopolised huge tracts of land when the churches were built and the ministers moved into Sami areas. Legal documents dating back to the 18th century show that the right to use the land had fallen to the Church at that time. There is much to indicate that these land areas were previously Sami *skatteland* that had been converted into glebe. The boundaries of the glebe in Sorsele match the *skatteland* that was there before the churchyard was laid out in Sorsele. Petrus Laestadius wrote in the late 1820s that the vicar of Arjeplog had received a Sami *skatteland* for his upkeep, a takeover that was sure to apply to all the old glebe on Sami territory, Laestadius believed. However, we know very little about how this takeover took place. There were probably local negotiations between Church representatives and Sami people when the oldest glebe came about in Jokkmokk, Sorsele and Jukkasjärvi in the early 17th century, for example. During this time, the Sami people were settled fairly securely on their land and the Church could not requisition it without further ado. This right began to be undermined as of the last few decades of the 17th century, which meant that land could be taken over without compensation or Sami influence.¹²

The Church and Sami Poor Relief

The first signs of statutory poor relief in Sweden can be found in the provincial laws (*landskapslagar*) of the Middle Ages. Some of the church tithe (the tax to the Church) was set aside for helping poor people. In the 16th and 17th centuries, when spiritual and worldly interests were intertwined, the clergy took on an increasingly defined role in care for the poor and elderly. Care for the poor, elderly and sick became a social concern that was to be administered, organised and controlled locally by the Church and its representatives for a long time. One basic principle was that every parish should take responsibility for its “own” poor people, and this principle held a prominent place in Swedish poverty management policy. The principle of care for the parish’s own poor people was reinforced in the late 18th century, when it was decided that the parish in which the poor person was most recently taxed was responsible for the upkeep of that person.¹³ This decision is particularly impor-

tant to the relationship between the Church and Sami poor relief. The fact that poor relief was linked with taxation and domiciliary rights meant in practice that individuals could be refused domiciliary rights due to poverty. Disputes between parishes show that there was a desire to transfer responsibility for upkeep to a different parish. Taxation and domiciliary rights were in turn regulated in part by the national population register, which in turn was handled by the benefice under the auspices of the Church.

The regulations had significant consequences for Sami people living in the counties of Jämtland and Härjedalen. Unlike the parishes in Västerbotten and Norrbotten, where Sami people and settlers had formed joint parishes, special “Lapp parishes” — as they were known — were formed in Jämtland and Härjedalen. These Lapp parishes, of which there were four in total,¹⁴ became a kind of “attachment” to the other parishes in the area. The Sami people in these areas found it difficult to participate in decision-making relating to church and school issues. Quite simply, they were outside society in the home parishes as they were registered in the Lapp parishes and hence had no domiciliary rights in the parishes in Jämtland and Härjedalen. As a consequence, the parishes were exempted entirely from the obligation to provide for poor Sami people, and the Lapp parishes themselves — despite the lack of resources — were responsible for caring for the sick, elderly and poor.¹⁵ Voting rights when electing vicars, for example, were also affected.¹⁶ The parish solution in Jämtland and Härjedalen had adverse consequences for the Sami people living there in a number of other ways as well. This gives us cause to return to this subject later on. Sami groups were unable to benefit from municipal poor relief in the two northernmost counties as well. This was why the state set up a special subsidy to districts in order to provide poor relief for Sami people in the 1850s. The intention was to pay this state subsidy to reindeer-herding Sami as they were considered to be unable to benefit from regular municipal poor relief.¹⁷

The Church’s formal responsibility for local poor relief was gradually reduced from the 1840s onwards. In 1847, parishes were forced to form a poor relief board where the vicar had to be a member by law. This can be viewed as an expression of the unity that still prevailed between the Church and society, but it also indicates

that poor relief was a responsibility shared by the clergyman and other bodies. Church and municipal activities were shared when the municipal laws came into force in the 1860s. Poor relief ended up becoming part of the municipal activity areas with their own bodies. The vicar was certainly welcome to join the poor relief board, which was part of the municipal activity, but his formal assignment as leader of poor relief was a thing of the past. However, in practice individual Church representatives held significant positions in issues relating to poor relief. They could take the initiative for various poor relief issues and were expert members of committees working on poor relief and homes for the aged until well into the 20th century.¹⁸ The clergy therefore fulfilled a variety of functions relating to poor relief and care for the elderly between the 18th century and the mid-20th century, from having played a key part in the local formulation of poor relief until the mid-19th century to fulfilling a more advisory, opinion-forming function thereafter. This development is true of both Sami areas and Sweden as a whole. One significant function performed by clergymen involved formation of opinion and passing on preconceptions about Sami people that impacted on the treatment of the Sami poor. There is evidence to suggest that poor Sami people were treated very badly by the rest of the population in the 19th century. They were regarded as dirty, ill-mannered and not really human. The origin of the demonisation of Sami people may possibly be sought to an extent in the Church's earlier condemnation of the Sami religion, attitudes that in turn had persisted among the peasantry.¹⁹

The clergy also spread preconceptions about Sami people in the Lapp parishes in Jämtland and Härjedalen, which delayed their integration into the regular parishes. In 1924, a committee proposed that Sami people should pay state tax and municipal tax and that all Sami people should have full access to municipal poor relief. However, the chapter in Härnösand and vicars of four Lapp parishes protested against the proposal during the consultation stage. There was concern about the Sami people's inclination to exploit poor relief, and doubt was expressed about their willingness to pay tax.²⁰ The vicars in the Jämtland and Härjedalen Lapp parishes argued, on the basis of the notion that the Sami and the Swedes were separate peoples, that the Sami should not be allowed to be registered by the Church and

the state, attend school or receive poor relief in the regular parishes, but that this should continue to be administered within the Lapp parishes. Other opponents to the abolition of the Lapp parishes, besides the clergy, were the Jämtland municipalities that opposed taking over poor relief for Sami people.²¹ This reluctance was sure to have stemmed from the preconception handed down through the ages, that the local community should only care for its “own” poor. The Sami in the area did not belong to this category as the Church had created special Lapp parishes in the mid-18th century and thereby excluded the Sami people from the rest of parish life.

The 1924 committee also outlined plans for establishing Sami homes for the aged. Preconceptions about Sami people were aired openly in connection with these plans as there was a desire to adapt these homes according to how the Sami people lived their lives. In their planning work, the committee members envisioned who would be living at these homes for the aged in future. There was emphasis on the importance of separating Sami people from the rest of the population and caring for mountain Sami in the first instance, but also — secondarily — other Sami groups “who have retained the Lappish way of life and not merged with the resident population or adjusted to their habits, clothing, etc.”²² Thus the committee also made a number of distinctions between different Sami groups. Mountain Sami and forest Sami, reindeer-herding Sami and non-reindeer-herding Sami, North Sami and South Sami were set against one another due to the desire to separate Sami groups in order to protect the “true” Sami.²³ Condescending Sami traits were also added to the overall view of Sami people, deeming them unruly, difficult to deal with, lazy and parsimonious, dirty and puerile. However, the more everyday descriptions from the homes for the aged present a more positive view than the public discussion on elderly Sami people.²⁴

The Church, the National Population Register and the Sami People

Creating categories of people on the basis of gender, age or ethnicity involves offering more or less compelling frameworks for the perception and evaluation of reality. The selected categories establish

structures with regard to how we perceive ourselves, how we perceive others and how others perceive us. Thus, they influence our lives to the highest degree. For instance, retirement age and the creation of the “pensioners” group removes individuals from the world of work and creates preconceptions about the group and self-identification within the group. Categories that are based on ethnicity form cornerstones for solidarity, identity and in some cases rights, but also for discrimination and exclusion. For this reason, *what* and *who* decides whether an individual belongs to a certain category or should be ascribed to a specific group of people is politically and socially significant (and contentious). Nowadays, people are being allowed more and more to determine their own identity in terms of ethnicity, gender or sexual preference, for instance. But from a historical perspective, such freedoms are the exception.

For a long time, the Swedish population statistics divided the country’s people into ethnic categories. For a long time, the Church of Sweden held overall responsibility for the gathering of information about the population. The clergy’s notes on people born, baptised, married, deceased and buried provided an excellent foundation for all kinds of statistics relating to the population of the nation. When the Census in Sweden came into being in 1749, the information from the parish records was quite simply transferred to national records and formed the population statistics. There were no directives in the 18th century and until the mid-19th century on how Sami people or other ethnic groups should be perceived and noted in the parish records. However, in the records the minister could divide his parish into *prästfolk* (clergy households), *nybyggare* (settler households) and *lappfolk* (Sami people). Thus, the term *lapp* was present as a category, but it seems to have been up to the clergyman in question to determine how and whether this identity marker should be noted. However, from the mid-19th century the change in the instructions on how Church records should be kept made it mandatory to note ethnicity. When Statistics Sweden (*Statistiska centralbyrån*) was established in 1858, it was expressly stated that the catechetical records should include notes on “nationality (if foreign)”. “Lapps”, “gypsies” and “Finns” were basic variables for distinguishing the “Swedish race” from foreign nationalities. More detailed guidelines did not exist, however, which proba-

bly left the way clear for clergymen to decide more or less unilaterally whether Sami people were to be noted as “Lapps” in the church records.²⁵

However, in the 1890s came instructions describing how ministers should think when noting “foreign race” (*främmande stam*) in the parish records. These instructions indicate that the language used within a household should serve as guidance when determining the nationality of an individual. From this time, the 1890s, until the population censuses of the 1930s and 1940s, there was discussion on whether the native language (or “spoken language”, as it was known in those days) alone could determine the ethnicity of an individual. Officials at Statistics Sweden, for example, were of the opinion that using “spoken language” as a guide provided a categorisation of ethnic groups that did not match reality. “Consideration of heritage” — or “racial origin”, as it was also known — as a criterion for assessment was brought into the discussion prior to the population censuses of 1920 and 1930. These population censuses also preserved and reinforced a division of the overall Sami population into two parts that had already been achieved by state authorities. The population censuses worked with the categories “full Lapp” (*hellapp*) and “half-Lapp” (*halvlapp*), and affiliation to a *lappby* (‘Lapp village’) — which in itself was a construct designed to organise reindeer-herding structures as of the reindeer pasture laws of the late 19th century — was the deciding factor when assigning individuals to one category or the other. People who were included in the parish register for a *lappby*, were born in a *lappby* or had a father and mother who were born in a *lappby* were deemed to be “full Lapps”. Anyone who failed to fulfil any of these criteria was categorised as a “half-Lapp”. Thus, the people carrying out the censuses could use notes made by clergymen in church records to assign people to one category or the other without leaving their offices or meeting a single person.²⁶

At the time of the latest Sami census, the census of 1945, there were discussions on what criteria would determine who should be deemed to be a Sami. To summarise, it can be stated that three approaches crystallised in the preparation work (where Sami people themselves participated in the discussions for the first time via language and culture researcher Israel Ruong and vicar Gustav Park). The first approach emphasised the link with reindeer herding as a

crucial criterion, the second emphasised origin (with elements of racial-biological thinking on the nature of a Sami “race”), while the third worked with language as the decisive factor. Although origin and racial thinking were included in the discussion, in practice an appraisal of the link to reindeer herding and language constituted the criteria for the 1945 census of Sami people. The notes in the parish records were still important benchmarks in the population census.²⁷ The population censuses taking place in the first half of the 20th century resulted in cementing of the division of various Sami groups that had begun at an earlier stage, the consequences of which reinforced unequal upkeep opportunities in traditional Sami jobs such as reindeer herding, hunting and fishing. These population censuses were carried out at a time when the reindeer pasture legislation was being formulated, and they cooperated with the legislation that determined the criteria for the right to herd reindeer. The eagerness to sort and divide people into the “full Lapp” and “half-Lapp” categories continued to build on divisions defined by the clergy as an element in the tasks of the Church, although the reasons for these divisions were not the same as before. Using church records as a basis, categories were created that merely used these designations (“full Lapps” and “half-Lapps”) to reinforce mental hierarchies of Sami people, but that were also used to select Sami children for nomad school.

Research into the Sami People, Racial-Biological Thinking and its Consequences

A large number of parts of skeletons, primarily skulls, were collected from graves and cemeteries in Sweden in the 19th century and early 20th century. These remains were considered to be invaluable to the research that was largely based on measuring and organising skulls into systems according to their size and shape. Sami skulls, alongside skulls from other ethnic groups, formed an important part of this research. As a result of this interest, graves were robbed in Sápmi and Sami remains were removed from what should have been the last resting place of the deceased, ending up in display cabinets in museums or investigated at university departments. For a couple of decades, there has been a relatively high level of awareness

of the fact that graves have been robbed and that Sami remains have been kept at institutions, and over the last few years certain research representatives, both in Sweden and abroad, have worked to return Sami remains, an act known as repatriation.²⁸ What is less well-known — and, of course, significant in this respect — is whether the Church of Sweden and individual clergymen helped with the robbing of Sami graves, and if so how.

The research expeditions in Lapland in the 19th century were troublesome and extensive enterprises. It was necessary to have reliable contacts in a number of locations so that the researchers could examine the things that they wanted to examine. If these expeditions related to people (alive or dead), one way or another, knowledge of these people was of course an important starting point. In general, Lappmarken vicars were perceived as reliable key individuals by researchers as they had the necessary knowledge and were able to arrange contacts. When, for example, entomologist Johan Wilhelm Zetterstedt was travelling in Sami areas in the 1820s and 1830s, he often stayed at vicarages and socialised with parish ministers. Zetterstedt is probably also typical of 19th-century scientists in another respect. Although he was an insect researcher, he went looking for Sami skulls that he could present to colleagues outside his own field of research.²⁹ Zetterstedt's interest can be explained by the fact that there was a major demand for Sami skulls. It was thought that these could be used to find out how reasonable researchers' various hypotheses were on matters such as the prehistory of Sweden, the origins and spread of the Aryan race and earlier migrations.³⁰ There was also a kind of international trade in skulls among researchers that came about due to both scientific motives and a desire for prestige. A Sami skull could potentially be traded for remains from an individual from another ethnic group.³¹ This was why the authenticity of the remains was also significant, and the knowledge and notes of the parish ministers about the population were needed in order to certify that the remains originated from "true" Sami people. Sven Nilsson, professor of natural history, had church certificates of authenticity for Sami skulls that he used in his research, for instance.³²

Church representatives also played a more practical part in the robbing of graves and the handling of Sami human remains. During

a grave robbing exhibition in the 1830s, Lars Levi Laestadius, vicar of Karesuando, acted as a guide and expert. At the disused church in Enontekis, the expedition team found “two sacks full of Lapp skulls and human bones”.³³ Laestadius’ indifference to Sami remains is patently obvious in a letter written to his friend, zoologist C. J. Sundevall. In this letter, Laestadius comes up with suggestions for how two anatomy researchers could go about acquiring a child’s skull. This proposal essentially involved going to the grave in winter, when it was open, and “cutting the throat of a child corpse of this kind”.³⁴ Obviously, these grave robbing activities challenged the values of the day. Notes from researchers explain that there was a great deal of opposition to grave robbing among both Sami people and settlers. The grave robbers were aware of this opposition but clearly did not respect it. A number of stories from Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia show that these activities took place in secret, sometimes under the cloak of darkness, and with the help of bribes.³⁵

There is currently discussion on how Sami remains at Swedish institutions should be repatriated and reburied. The Sami people themselves have largely taken the initiative to implement this discussion and made demands on administrative bodies and authorities sharing responsibility, including the Church of Sweden. Over the last few years, the Church of Sweden has discussed the issue of reburial of Sami human remains as part of the reconciliation process between the Church and the Sami people. The Sami Council in the Church of Sweden has demanded the reburial of Sami human remains kept at institutions. Motions on the matter have also been presented to the Church Assembly. In 2005, the Central Board appointed a committee to deal with Sami issues in the Church of Sweden. The report dealt in particular with the issue of reburial and suggested that Sami human remains that could be linked with specific individuals should be reburied. It was proposed that any remains that could not be linked with specific individuals should be buried in a common grave that could also function as a memorial and symbol of reconciliation. The issue of repatriation of Sami human remains has not yet been resolved satisfactorily at the time of publication of this book.³⁶

The hunt for Sami skulls and parts of skeletons was one element in scientific interests in the 19th century and received broad support

in a number of scientific disciplines. The collection of trophies was also a component in the major social issues and scientific achievements of the 19th century. Grave robbing emerged from a cross between science and politics, further branches of which involved grafting together, for example, archaeology and nationalism, medicine and migration issues, and genetics and proposed solutions to the social issues of society. This cross between science and politics resulted in another scientific practice emerging around the turn of the 20th century: racial biology. Racial biology studied humans and involved systematisation and charting of humans as human types and their specific characteristics. One key point of departure was the fact that the Earth's population could be divided into a number of races and that these could be placed into systems due to physical and mental variations between the races.³⁷ Racial biology in Sweden succeeded a number of racial preconceptions and measurement methods (such as skull measurement) that had been developed in the fields of archaeology, physical anthropology and ethnography in the 19th century, but gradually it displayed a particular interest in the "racial characteristics" of the Swedish society of the day and what were perceived as threatening social problems, namely "mixing of races", "social degeneration", hereditary diseases and "loosening of morals". Racial biologists were of the opinion that unnatural, discordant hereditary combinations had come about when mutually alien hereditary characteristics had been mixed. It was thought that this could lead to mental illness, alcohol abuse, immoral living and poor resistance to many diseases. The objective was to prevent the mixing of races and so prevent problems for individuals and society in general. These "civilising" ambitions could still be appreciated by the Church of Sweden for its part, despite the fact that the perception of humans in racial biology was incompatible with the values of the Church.³⁸ However, some Church representatives picked up preconceptions from the "doctrines of race". Olof Bergquist, bishop of the Diocese of Luleå, was one such person and, like the racial biologists, issued warnings about the ongoing "mixing of races" in northern Sweden.³⁹

When it was established in 1921, the State Institute for Racial Biology occupied premises next to what was known as Dekanhuset, right next to the cathedral and opposite the Archbishop's Palace

in Uppsala. Thus, there were plenty of opportunities for private relationships and work-related contact between Professor Herman Lundborg, head of the institute, and the Church leaders. Such contact was also of importance to Lundborg's research. He had developed an increasing interest in racial surveys of the population of northern Sweden since the 1910s, and these occupied him and his staff for more than two decades. Lundborg had not managed to complete his planned surveys by the time he retired in 1935. This provides some indication of the scope. Lundborg's research did not focus on the Sami people from the outset. Instead, his intention was to examine a number of "racially mixed" villages with mixed Finno-Swedish populations where intensive intermarriage had been ongoing for several generations. This was why Lundborg got into contact with Georg Bergfors, then deputy vicar of the parish of Jukkasjärvi, and asked him to help select appropriate villages for his research. Bergfors provided assistance, and Lundborg stayed with Bergfors at the vicarage when he travelled to Norrbotten for the first time in 1913. Via Bergfors, Lundborg came into contact with key individuals in the area around Jukkasjärvi that he needed to use as assistants and who could provide him with necessary information. Lundborg changed his research plans during this trip, probably due to the influence of his new friend Bergfors.⁴⁰ Lundborg's new idea was to chart the Sami people in detail, individual by individual, by means of surveys, collecting registers and taking photographs. For this extensive task, he needed information from the parish records and to carry out racial surveys in the field. Bergfors accompanied him on some of these expeditions and arranged for Lundborg to meet certain key individuals. As Bergfors held important positions in the world of education, both as a principal for the training of nomad school teachers in 1917 and as the chairman of a local board for industrial schools (*arbetsstugor*), a type of residential schools, he became an important "opener of doors", providing access to places where many Sami people gathered. A number of nomad school teachers, but also elementary school teachers, worked for Lundborg as assistants throughout his research expeditions.⁴¹

What specific features were the racial biologists examining during their expeditions in Sami areas? These surveys gathered personal details such as names, professions, registered addresses and

ages. They also collected physical measurements such as height, head length, head width, minimum facial diameter, facial width, hair, eyebrow and eye colour, and other complex dimensions relating to the shape of the head. Information on mental characteristics — that was not provided by the subjects of the surveys — was also gathered in accordance with a specific questionnaire. The cognitive abilities of individuals, along with their character traits and social skills, were graded on a scale. The institute employed a haematologist for a time, whose job it was to carry out blood tests. Photographs were another important form of documentation. These were used to illustrate variations in the physical features and clothing of the “human races”. For this reason, Sami people and other individuals were photographed both dressed and undressed. The racial biology institute’s 38 volume collection of photographs of Sami, includes seven volumes containing photographs of children. Most of these pictures were taken in connection with the nomad schools, probably without the consent of the children’s parents, and some of the books of photographs show that the children had to stand naked in front of the camera.⁴²

The racial-biological research conducted in Sweden throughout the first three decades of the 20th century causes offence, for a variety of reasons. This involves the practical approach, the documentation methods, used in the “racial surveys”. Sami individuals were more or less forced to allow their bodies to be measured from different angles and were placed in front of the camera without clothes to cover them. Outsiders also assessed their mental capacities. Church representatives assisted with these activities; and with this assistance they more or less gave their blessing to the documentation methods, which in turn reduced the will of the Sami people to protest. The offence also stems from the philosophy of racial biology and the hierarchical valuation of different “races” on which it was based. The Church cannot be acquitted of participation in this regard, either. Of course, sanctioning the survey methods also sanctions the premises of the surveys and their objective. The representatives of the Church included people who expressly reasoned on the basis of ideas that were closely interlinked with the philosophy of racial biology.⁴³

DAVID SJÖGREN

6. The Church and Sami People Outside the Church of Sweden

There is reason to place the historical relationship between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people in a slightly wider context than has been the case to date. The Sami area extends over several national borders and the Sami community does not come to a halt at the national borders in the north that were drawn fairly late on. For this reason, historical conditions in the closest neighbouring countries are relevant from a Sami perspective. Church actions at its sister churches in Norway and Finland are relevant comparators from a Church perspective as well. These churches profess themselves to be adherents of the Evangelical Lutheran faith and have also had close relationships with the state in their respective countries. Collectively, churches in the Nordic countries have also held specific responsibility for mass education and hence been responsible for education issues affecting Sami people. They demonstrate striking similarities in organisational and theological terms. In this context, it should also be remembered that Finland belonged to Sweden from the Middle Ages until 1809, and that the Church of Sweden therefore operated in what is now Finland. Structures from the Swedish era did of course survive in Finland after Sweden had to surrender the area to Russia in 1809.¹ As regards Norway, it should also be remembered that Sweden and Norway were in personal union between 1814 and 1905.

The Church of Sweden can be described as the most important — and, for long periods, the only — organisation serving the Christian faith in Sweden. This position was challenged by other religious organisations and movements in the late 18th century and throughout the entire 19th century, and in turn these organisations influenced the attitudes of the Church of Sweden in a number of respects. The Swedish revival movements gradually became an increasingly important component in organised Christianity in Sweden. Hence, there is reason to touch briefly upon the significance of the free churches and their relationship with the Sami people.

The Sami People and the Free Churches in Sweden

The free churches, which emerged as part of the Swedish revival movement in the 19th century, initiated substantial activities in Sápmi. Obviously, this includes evangelisation and social work. As of the revival movements, organisations were also created within the Church of Sweden or with links to the Church where the revival movements' ideas could be accommodated. These organisations were not free churches in the formal sense. The free churches and the new organisations linked with the Church of Sweden frequently recruited staff of Sami origin. Sami people took on leading positions in organisations such as Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsen (EFS, Swedish Evangelical Mission) and the Salvation Army, and they frequently initiated mission work. Andreas Wilks, who was an active member of the Salvation Army, and Jon Fjällgren of the EFS were two prominent representatives within their movements and for the free church movement among the Sami.²

The free churches were also involved in cultural initiatives and social issues. Their involvement in social issues resulted in — to name but a few examples — Svenska Missionsförbundet (The Mission Covenant Church of Sweden) running an evangelist school in Lycksele, Kvinnliga Missions Arbetare (The Women's Missionary Union) running the Sami home for the aged in Fjällgård in Undersåker in the early 20th century, and the Salvation Army founding children's homes and residential schools in the Vilhelmina area. The free churches generally had a positive attitude towards Sami culture in general. Salvation Army soldier Andreas Wilks often

preached in Sami and tried to find Sami expressions for key religious thoughts. He was not unaccustomed to linking his message to the Sami tradition.³ In these respects he was not typical, but he was probably the person from the free church movement who made the greatest progress when it came to integrating Sami culture in free church thinking. A number of leading representatives in Sami political mobilisation in the early 20th century originated from the free churches.⁴ It is likely that the non-conformist forms of community facilitated creation of other platforms for making political demands, achieving mutual unity on factual matters and pursuing issues relating to rights.

The Church of Norway and the Sami People

When Norway became a separate episcopate in the 12th century, this heralded the onset of expansion of the Church in the form of church buildings in Norwegian coastal areas. In *Finnmørk*, the land of the Sami, the Church had relatively little influence for a long time and the Sami people came into contact with the Church primarily via trading and fishing in the coastal areas. There was hardly any direct mission work among the Sami people in Norway during the Catholic era, or for the first 150 years of Protestantism. Therefore, up to the 18th century, there were less extensive initiatives to convert the Sami people to the Christian faith.

However, in the early 18th century there were new incentives to spread the beliefs of the Church among the Sami people. Pietism, a new and influential current in the Church, emphasised the fact that the Sami people should hear the message of the Church in their own language so as to facilitate personal conversion and a Christian way of life. These religious reasons coincided with political motives as the Danish authorities (Norway belonged to Denmark until 1814) were concerned about the national affiliation of the Sami people. This issue was founded in security policy as Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus had claimed that all Sami people were subjects of the Crown. Of course, this could also be interpreted as meaning that he also included Sami people under Danish sovereignty. From a Danish perspective, the need for clarity with regard to the national affiliation of the Sami people coincided with the mission interest.

According to the perceptions of the day, national affiliation was closely linked with religious affiliation. Missionaries and schoolmasters were appointed for the Sami people during the mission period that followed in the early 18th century, and Sami-speaking mission workers were appointed and trained to assist them. During this period, the authorities became more aware of the religiousness of the Sami people, from a Church perspective. It appeared that the Sami people were aware of Christianity; they were generally baptised and took communion, but they did not know much about the Christian faith and practised the traditional Sami religion alongside Christianity. Researchers disagree on when this “double practice” actually came to an end. Some are of the opinion that the religious conversion was complete by the mid-18th century, while others wish to emphasise longer continuity in traditional Sami religiousness within the framework of the institutional Christian religion.⁵

In the 19th century, Norwegian-Sami relations made the transition from a mission era to a Norwegianisation era, which meant that ever stronger national currents brought with them belittlement of Sami aspects. The basic notion was that the entire population should use the same language and belong to the same culture, which meant that the Sami people were increasingly forced to demonstrate their loyalty to the nation state through their language and lifestyle. The Church and its representatives were used as instruments in the Norwegianisation process, although within the Church sphere there was also a certain degree of scope for the Sami language, for example, and individual ministers who worked to promote Sami interests and hence contradicted the Norwegianisation efforts of other authorities.

The domineering attitude of the Church towards the Sami people of the 19th century meant that many people sought other foundations for their Christian faith within the Church of Norway. The Laestadian revival movement, which came to Norway in the 1840s, became important. Due to the multilingual approach of the movement, which used Sami and Finnish or Kven as its main languages, Laestadianism operated as a kind of “cultural defence” throughout the entire Norwegianisation era and so came into conflict with Norwegianisation tendencies within the Church of Norway.⁶

The Sami people began to organise themselves at the turn of the

20th century and put forward their own interests so as not to give way to the Norwegianisation policy. An independence movement was gradually established that grew in influence and also became an important factor in the Sami business community and Sami culture. However, the relationship with the authorities was problematic and the Sami people felt that they were not being taken seriously as negotiating partners. These conflicts came to a head in the 1980s at the time of the construction of a hydroelectric power plant on the Alta River, which threatened to destroy a local Sami community in the county of Finnmark. These conflicts made it necessary to devise a new policy in respect of the Sami people. As a result, the state of Norway entered into negotiations with Sami organisations on the right to land and water. The issue of a popularly elected Sami body was also brought to the negotiating table, which resulted in the establishment of the Norwegian Sami Parliament in 1987. This was gradually followed by the ratification of ILO Convention no. 169 and constitutional status for the Sami as an indigenous people.⁷

The Church of Norway took on a passive role in this slow shift in Norwegian Sami policy. The issue of Sami rights did not appear in earnest on the agenda of the Church of Norway until the conflict regarding the exploitation of the Alta River. This new interest resulted in a number of fundamental changes in favour of the Sami language, Sami society and Sami culture. The new direction meant that Sami church life would be considered equivalent to other aspects of Norwegian church life and that the Church would continue to bear particular responsibility for contributions to the development of Sami church life.⁸

The Sami people and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland

In 2012, the bishop of the Diocese of Oulu issued an official apology for the Church's failures in respect of the Sami people in Finland. This apology included a number of examples of failures of which the Church was guilty, in the opinion of the bishop. Among other things, he noted that the Church had disregarded the significance of the Sami language in church life and that key aspects of Sami culture had been suppressed.

The criteria for the Evangelical Lutheran Church's historical relationship with the Sami people in Finland were largely characterised by the fact that the country became part of the Russian Empire after the war of 1808–1809 between Sweden and Russia. Following the peace treaty between Sweden and Russia, Sweden was forced to cede what was then Kemi lappmark and parts of Torne lappmark. Until the mid-19th century, the presence of the authorities in Finnish Lapland was characterised by administrative difficulties and recruitment problems. More specialised activities aimed at Sami people could only come about following the formation of the Diocese of Kuopio in the 1850s. The Sami language ended up being used in the Church, and religious literature and ABC books were translated into Sami by vicar Anders Andelin. Interest in Sami aspects dated back to author and Fennoman Elias Lönnrot, who had travelled around Finnish Lapland a decade or so previously and criticised the attitudes of the Finnish authorities towards the Sami language. Lönnrot stated that Sami was about to disappear due to the attitudes of the authorities, and that the Sami language ought to be treated differently given the minority position of Finland and the Finnish language within the Russian Empire. In other words, allowing Finns to argue with Russia in favour of the position of the Finnish language while also forcing the Sami people to speak Finnish would be inconsistent. This view of the position of the Sami language in relation to Finnish, and the position of Finnish in relation to Russian, continued until Finland gained its independence in 1918.⁹

The high value attached to the Sami language in the 19th century was not matched by attaching equally high value to Sami culture in general. Quite the opposite, in fact: descriptions and preconceptions about Sami people were linked with culture-grading ideas that flourished in both Sweden and Norway, as in many European colonial states, during this period. The Finnish cultural elite were of the opinion that the ignorant and indifferent Sami people needed both guidance and assistance. People who were familiar with Sami conditions, such as the above-mentioned Andelin, were equally unable to resist stereotypical perceptions. He regarded the Sami as an underdeveloped primitive people compared to the cultured Finns, and was of the opinion that children ought to be taken away from the wilds and placed in educational institutions with the aim of persuading them to

abandon their traditional way of life and become farmers instead.¹⁰ Later on in the 20th century, Finnish missionary societies — which ran children's homes and reformatory institutions in Finnish Lapland, subscribed to these ideas. Certainly, these activities provided one-on-one physical care for Sami children, but at the same time the children were brought up as Finns and left the Sami culture behind.¹¹

New initiatives were put in place in the 1880s in order to reinforce the Sami language. Gustaf Johansson, bishop of Kuopio, was aiming to improve the status of the Sami language. This campaign for the Sami language was also partly explained by the political situation of Finland in relation to its neighbouring countries. Johansson was a Fennoman, an advocate of Finnish culture and the Finnish language, and as such he worked hard to reinforce the links between the Sami people and the Finns. He was of the opinion that reinforced ties of this kind would prevent the possibility of Sami people in Finnish Lapland approaching their Swedish and Norwegian counterparts in terms of culture. Johansson's perceptions came at just the right time. The Diocese of Kuopio implemented a Finnicisation of the language used in church services — at the expense of Swedish — and the clergy were forced to “Finnify” their Swedish Christian names and surnames. Moreover, similar measures relating to language policy were implemented in Norway at the same time in relation to the Danish language, which resulted in Norwegianisation of the Sami people in Norway. In Finland, however, emphasising the Finnish language led to the Sami language being “upgraded”. As stated previously, this “upgrade” should be understood on the basis of the position of the Finnish language in the Russian Empire and emphasis on the shared roots of the Sami and Finnish languages in the Finno-Ugric language group.¹²

The language policy applied by Finnish authorities in respect of the Sami people was largely dependent on the initiatives and priorities of individual representatives of the Church. For example, when Gustaf Johansson became archbishop and moved away from Kuopio, interest in the Sami language suffered a setback. The linguistic commitments of individuals also resulted in a great deal of attention being paid to Northern Sami, while Inari Sami was not given priority in translation work or as a language in church life. The ambitions of individual clergymen and itinerant teachers, known

as catechists, to learn Sami were also significant. It was not easy to recruit Sami-speaking clergymen and teachers, and their services in the sparsely populated area were not in great demand. At this time, conditions for the position of the Sami languages in Finland were dependent on small professional groups linked with the Church. There were factions within the Church that had more negative perceptions of the status of the Sami language.¹³

In 1921, a new Education Act was implemented in Finland, which related to compulsory schooling. This heralded the beginning of the end of the system of itinerant schoolteachers that had been used in Finnish Lapland since the early 19th century and had developed during the Swedish period in the 18th century. The Education Act meant that each municipal society had to have sufficient school buildings to guarantee the reading and writing skills of all residents. Permanent schools funded and run by the state were to replace itinerant schools run by the Church. Moreover, this represented a displacement of influence from the Church to the state (an organisational secularisation process) that took place in a number of Nordic countries around the turn of the century. However, for Sweden's part, the involvement of the Church in the education of the reindeer-herding mountain Sami people persisted for longer than was the case with the rest of the population on account of the fact that the Swedish nomad school system was unique from a Nordic perspective. The influence of the Church of Sweden over the nomad school system came to an end in the 1940s.¹⁴

However, the discontinuation of the itinerant school system in northern Finland progressed slowly. When this work was completed in the mid-20th century, however, this heralded the end of the special position enjoyed by the Sami language as a minority language in Finland. Changing the school type, from itinerant to permanent, often involved a change of teacher. In turn, changing teachers involved a change of language as the new teachers working at permanent schools generally only spoke Finnish, unlike the frequently Sami-speaking itinerant teachers. Further changes to the school system in the 1940s led to more equal education opportunities for Sami children, but at the same time they served to alienate Sami children from their background. The content of the education system was standardised, leaving no scope for the Sami language or Sami traditions.¹⁵

BJÖRN NORLIN & DAVID SJÖGREN

7. Final Reflections

Lessons Learned from the Scholarly Anthology

Reading and summarising the two volumes of the scholarly anthology has led to various thoughts about the White Paper Project and the initiated reconciliation process as a whole. Therefore, we would like to conclude with a few reflections based on our roles as historians and researchers focusing on Sami themes. To begin with, there are a number of issues that should be highlighted as regards the anthology's scientific contributions and limitations.

The Anthology's Contributions

— Compiling Knowledge and Generating a Foundation for New Knowledge

Essentially, an anthology is a collection of independent texts, usually organised into a collective thematic framework. What became obvious in our work on summarising the anthology is that together, the thirty or so articles it contains generate knowledge and understanding that is far more profound and cohesive than was previously the case. This is true, despite the fact that many of the articles present a content already well known in their respective fields of research. It goes without saying that the texts in the anthology also reflect priorities that the project has been forced to handle. Some aspects have not been possible to highlight at all, and some have not

been dealt with exhaustively. But combining research from so many different scientific fields to form a collective whole has subsequently generated something new, and in that sense any reader who endeavours to read the work from cover to cover will also encounter new knowledge. To a great extent, the White Paper anthology constitutes the present knowledge base concerning the relationships between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people, and no researcher has previously had access to a similar compilation of articles.

This also indicates something that we view as necessary in order to understand in earnest the actions and responsibilities of the Church as regards the relationship with the Sami population from a historical perspective, namely the importance of placing “the whole” before “the individual”. Some articles deal with specific, certainly frequently interesting areas and phenomena. Read together, they underpin a far more universal and comprehensive understanding of the Church’s influence on Sami religion and culture. Therefore, we hope that future discussions in the field will not be reduced to the individual or gravest issues in the anthology, but rather that they are based on a broad and in-depth reading of the White Paper’s texts. Only then can we gain a nuanced understanding — and discussion — of the Church’s historical relationship with the Sami people.

Furthermore, our general opinion is that the knowledge base now provides sufficient structure to allow representatives of the Church and the Sami people to acquaint themselves, in a credible manner, with the errors, shortcomings and omissions of which the Church has historically been guilty. Recognition and in-depth knowledge are key concepts in a reconciliation process: this has been pointed out by Archbishop Antje Jackelén and by some of the authors in the anthology as well. Given these key concepts, the anthology subsequently provides a foundation to recognise many of the injustices to which Sami people have been subject. At the same time, this recognition should not be limited to information that researchers have been able to glean from extant documents. The anthology contains no oral testimonies relating to experiences of injustices suffered by Sami people on account of the Church; either by past or present-day generations. Without a doubt, individual and collective memories are a source of new and different types of insight. The reader is left

uncertain of what these memories are and what they include. The fact that the project has omitted personal or collective experiences of Church oppression is sure to be due to practical prioritisation issues and also reflects the level of maturity in the research community. In other words, researchers specialising in historical aspects use fewer oral sources than written. However, for the future of the reconciliation process, it is important for the Church to also allow scope for individual and collective experiences, memories and perceptions in a planned manner. Such experiences would certainly shed more light on conditions in the more recent past and so act as a supplement to the anthology, which maintains a certain degree of distance to our own contemporary age. That is to say, few of the articles in the anthology relate to Church actions after the mid-20th century. In this regard it must be stated that the Church has published a book about the nomad school system based on interviews and experiences.¹ This indicates that there is an awareness of these issues as well.

The role of the historian primarily involves paying attention to fields that should be considered for more in-depth examination in future research. This includes matters such as the Church's land ownership and the takeover of Sami land areas, the role of the Church in the establishment of Swedish place names, the more general significance of the Church in the language replacement process, the relationship between Church activities and economic interests, and the links between the Church and the state (and, eventually, between the Church and education) with regard to Sami issues. The Sami resistance that can be discerned in a number of articles, yet is not made clearly explicit, is another such field. Of course, many more topics can be identified depending on the prior knowledge and perspectives of the reader of the anthology. In any case, this highlights the potential of the anthology to lead to new research issues and hence, in the long term, to help generate knowledge.

Plenty of space is devoted in the anthology to racial thinking, and a number of articles refer to these tendencies and their impact on Sami conditions. This is of course reasonable, but at the same time something about these statements is not investigated satisfactorily. Critical questions are not asked about matters such as the significance and explanatory value of racial biology and nationalism

for segregation of the Sami population. Neither are questions asked about the origins of the nomad school system and views on the treatment of Sami people in general. This would be justified as the state and the Church had established churches on Sami land, requisitioned Sami land areas and suppressed Sami culture in various respects at far earlier stages. Apparently, this could happen without the assistance of racial-biological thinking to justify the action. The counterfactual question is close at hand: would the language policy, education policy and economic policy have been completely different without the specific racial thinking that took shape around the turn of the 20th century? From our standpoint, this question is important, as the answer may mean that insufficient attention is paid to more deep-seated power structures and their driving forces. It may be true that arguments were selected from the racial ideas of the turn of the century because they were useful for purposes that actually had nothing to do with racial issues, but involved power and (financial) control over the population and land areas. The texts in the White Paper also bring to mind that comparisons between Norway, Sweden and Finland pave the way for new approaches in the field that adopting a strict national perspective cannot accommodate. The policy of Norwegianisation of Sami people in Norway could obviously be implemented with no Norwegian equivalent to the Swedish State Institute for Racial Biology. This reasoning does not cancel out the guilt of racial biologists in respect of injustices. Nor does it cancel out the guilt of the Church representatives that supported such actions.

Limitations and Advantages of Historical Knowledge Overviews

If the advantages of historical overviews are the compilation and creation of a new general view of a field, there are also inescapable and general problems with anthologies of this type. One obvious problem is the fact that the anthology deals with issues over a very long period of time without exclusively presenting models for or explanations of historical continuity or change at any point. The anthology makes it clear that the society of the 17th century is essentially different to 20th-century society, and the reader also under-

stands that there is a high degree of continuity as regards actions of the Church against the Sami people. One may ask, slightly pointedly, whether the identification of continuity is due to the purposes of the project and the questions that researchers have selected, or do the similarities over time match actual conditions?

The long period of time also raises questions in respect of the study objects, the *Church* and the *Sami*. The authors and editors of the White Paper provide important information that collectively shows how the Church as an organisation worked with regard to Sami issues. However, it is necessary to add nuance to the notion that the Church had a consistent programme and a consistent approach to various issues in times gone by that trickled down from the decision-making bodies to the parish ministers. The Church was not a monolith in that respect. Moreover, the role of the Church in state decision-making with regard to the Sami people varied over time and is not without its complications. The organisational structure of the Church as we know it today is a relatively late phenomenon. The Church comprised a number of relatively independent dioceses from the Middle Ages to the 17th century. It was not until the 17th century that its activities were standardised due to the training of clergy at universities and as a result of Church law, service manuals, catechism development and hymn books. The clergy made decisions on the position of the Church to nationwide issues and communicated these to dioceses and parishes. The same clergy was part of the political power that formed the Diet alongside the three other estates. Therefore, it may be difficult to distinguish the actions of the clergy with regard to Sami issues as these were often decided upon jointly with the other estates, with the King as the formal decision-maker. Reasonably, this means that the Church shared responsibility for national decisions relating to the Sami people. The fact that the clergy underwent a secularisation process in the 19th century, involving matters such as professors at the universities being made part of the clergy, further complicates the picture. Following the discontinuation of the Diet in the 1860s, there were many clergymen in the Parliament but it is not known whether it would be reasonable to link their actions with the Church as an organisation. Members of Parliament primarily represented the parties to which they belonged when the modern parliamentary parties emerged

towards the end of the 19th century. Not much is known about how people ended up on Parliamentary parties' lists of electable candidates or the interests represented by the party members. Essentially, at a national level and within legislative bodies it is not easy to define the position of the Church of Sweden to Sami issues in relation to other bodies.

In other words, it is difficult to draw the boundaries of the Church of Sweden in relation to the state. These boundaries become particularly blurred if we also consider the fact that the Church was involved in Sami issues at various levels in the decision-making and implementation process. In simplified terms, this process can be divided into the *inquiry and proposal phase*, the *decision-making phase*, the *implementation phase* and the *control phase*. The influence of the Church throughout the entire process is dependent on the point in history and the issue in question. For instance, it is possible to discern a pattern where the Church was deeply involved in a number of Sami issues during the inquiry and proposal phase and had less influence during the decision-making phase, but played a significant part during the implementation and control phases. Decision-making during an implementation phase forms part of this schematic description, but these are the consequences of laws and decrees set up during the decision-making phase. During the implementation and control phases, there is generally delegation of action from the Church at a national level to a regional level (the diocese), and finally to a local level (parishes). Until the mid-19th century, the influence of the Church was frequently significant throughout the entire chain, from the raising of a proposal to the control phase, but its influence declined after that. Its influence on education issues is one exception.

The emergence of the nomad school system in the early 20th century can illustrate how the Church was involved in Sami issues at a relatively late stage. Olof Bergqvist, bishop of Luleå, was commissioned by the state to work with a vicar and a folk school inspector (both of whom were subordinate to him) to evaluate the Sami school system and come up with ideas on how it could be improved. The then Minister for Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs submitted a proposal for a new school organisation a few years after completion of the commission's report. This proposal was pushed through both

chambers of the Parliament, and Olof Bergqvist himself probably voted in favour of the proposal as a Member of Parliament for the National Party. This decision by the Parliament resulted in a supplement to the regulations of the ecclesiastical affairs of Lappmarken, as it was formally known. In simplified terms, it can be stated that this supplement gave the chapter in Luleå the task of implementing the nomad school system and using various control functions to monitor and report back to the state on the initiative. The school system needed to be evaluated again a few years after the reform and Bergqvist was given the job once again, this time together with a politician and a state official. Essentially, this commission of inquiry resulted in an increase in the influence of the Church over the nomad school system. So, although the Church did not formally make the decision to establish the nomad school system, it did extensively influence its formulation by taking the initiative for the proposals and investigating and preparing them. The Church then implemented the school reform according to the assignment allocated to it in the regulations decided upon by the Parliament.

The above example highlights the fact that Church representatives were involved in decisions and implementation of Sami affairs in a number of different ways. It also highlights the fact that the Church, without having decision-making functions in all respects, was able to act in an *initiating, investigatory, advisory, opinion-forming, executive, cooperating* and *reviewing* capacity. The Church operated via a number of these functions with regard to certain issues such as the introduction of the nomad school system. In other issues, its influence was more limited to individual functions. The fact that Church representatives in these various functions could have different roles is also relevant. When Bergqvist headed commissions of inquiry, he did so on behalf of the state, when he voted in the Parliament he did so as a representative of a party, and when he presented the chapter's statement on the nomad school system proposal, he represented a diocesan leadership within the Church of Sweden. Many similar examples could be cited to demonstrate how Church representatives "hired themselves out" to state authorities, municipal bodies and voluntary organisations. It goes without saying that the overall issue is whether the Church as an organisation can be held responsible in all the roles held by the individ-

ual Church representatives, and if so how. Reasonably, it generally ought to be possible to hold the Church partly responsible or indirectly responsible. However, this matter should be examined in each individual field; fields that had both positive and negative consequences for Sami society.

One related problem is what the actions of individual ministers say about the church as a whole. A number of the articles in the White Paper highlight how individual Church *representatives* behaved, without going beyond hints of what their actions say about the *structures* of the Church organisations. Vicar and revivalist Lars Levi Laestadius, who organised opportunities for scientists to rob Sami graves of human remains, or assistant vicar Georg Bergfors, who struck up a friendship with and inspired racial biologist Herman Lundborg, are two examples of Church representatives who were very much involved in injustices affecting Sami people. How should we regard their actions in relation to the Church as a whole? A number of approaches are possible, and two in particular are important to consider. One involves regarding them as atypical elements in an otherwise healthy organisation. This does not cancel out their own individual guilt, but it does make the participation of the Church less serious. The second approach, which we consider to be more reasonable, involves regarding them as atypical elements in an organisation that facilitated their actions, gave silent consent, permitted or encouraged them.

It must also be added that the scope of all the problematic elements of the Church actions highlighted in the anthology are linked with how the researchers have interpreted their assignments as authors in the White Paper Project. All in all, it can be stated that, for various reasons, the problematic elements of the actions of the Church have been prioritised over others. The reader may sometimes, with reason, wonder whether the Church really did everything wrong. Matters such as systematic philanthropic efforts, and working to prevent hunger and/or deprivation are never touched upon. Hence, little is said about the role of the Church in protecting and carrying on the knowledge of the indigenous Sami religion, culture and language. Nor is anything said — except in a few articles — about the fact that many of the representatives of the Church and schools (at many different levels) were themselves Sami.

Is More Knowledge Needed?

Neither the need for future complementary studies in the fields referred to above, nor the emphasis placed on the positive work of the Church should conceal the most fundamental observation of the scholarly anthology; namely the fact that historically, the Church has held an enormous position of power over the Sami people and that the actions of the Church in many different respects have had extensive and often negative consequences for Sami people, Sami religion and Sami culture. Many of the book's authors appear to agree with this. In short, the historical encounters between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people have not been particularly successful. This observation, together with the knowledge offered by the anthology, should be more than enough for anyone wishing to take the step from knowledge to action. In other words, there is reason to reflect on the basis of what we now know, on how the Church can work in the future to find better forms of social interaction in relation to the Sami as an indigenous people, how to strengthen the Sami language and Sami culture, and how to support development towards true liberation from lingering colonial power structures and culture-inhibiting frameworks. If such will exists, a window for real change could now be opened.

PART II

PERSPECTIVES
ON RECONCILIATION

TOR E JOHNSEN

8. Acknowledged History and Renewed Relationships

*Perspectives on Reconciliation Work
between the Church and the Sami People*

The Church of Sweden has just completed a White Paper that documents various aspects of the Church's violations against the Sami people throughout history. This in itself is an important step towards reconciliation. However, just as important is the fact that the publication of the White Paper may deepen and strengthen the Sami-related reconciliation efforts within the Church of Sweden. Put differently, the White Paper ends with a colon rather than a full stop. The remaining question is how the knowledge represented by the White Paper is received and responded to. I hope that this article will help to provide a number of relevant perspectives and starting points for further discussion.

In my opinion, Jens-Ivar Nergård can assist with formulating the essence of the challenge presented by the White Paper. In an article in the book *Erkjenne fortid — forme framtid: Innspill til kirkeleg forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* ('Acknowledging the past — shaping the future: Reflections on church-related reconciliation efforts in Sápmi'), he points out the fact that Sápmi was colonised both externally and internally.¹ Externally, colonisation involved vandalisa-

tion of the Sami languages and cultural traditions and undermining of the Sami people's self-determination and rights. Internally, however, it meant that Sami people often ended up facing internal conflicts, mistrusting their own values and experiencing a sense of shame and self-loathing. The perception of the coloniser gradually became the perception of the people themselves. As a result, colonialism persisted for a long time after this policy was officially terminated, asserts Nergård. He concludes that perhaps the deepest impression was made by the Church which worked on behalf of the authorities while claiming divine authority. The Church bears a great deal of responsibility for the reconciliation efforts as a consequence of the deep wounds it has left, Nergård claims, adding that the Church's reconciliation with itself and its role in the colonisation must be an important part of this process.

Reconciliation has been applied as a key perspective in the efforts to alter the relationship between the Church and the Sami people since the 1990s. This is true of both the Church of Norway and the Church of Sweden. However, the quest for reconciliation has not been limited to Sápmi in this period. Rather, reconciliation processes linked with political, ethnic and cultural conflicts have taken place in tens of countries all over the world.² The most well-known example is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. Less well-known but relevant in this context is the existence of a number of reconciliation processes related to indigenous peoples in countries such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Guatemala and Peru.³ Christian churches have been involved in these processes in many instances. As members of communities characterised by conflicts, Christians all over the world have been forced to ask themselves: what is the role of the Church in rebuilding societies affected by serious human rights violations? What are the relevance and imperative of the Christian message on reconciliation in this context? How does the Church understand and deal with its own role in painful histories? And how should the churches come to terms with their own lapses? Working with questions of this kind has generated renewed attention to reconciliation as a key theological concept over the past two decades, particularly in the field of ecumenical theology.⁴

Due to the above-mentioned developments, we now have access to a growing body of relevant literature highlighting reconciliation

processes from the perspectives of both theology and other academic disciplines. Together with our own experiences from Sápmi, this provides interesting starting points for reflection on reconciliation and reconciliation processes between the Sami people and the Church. While the reflections in this article are addressing the ongoing processes in Sweden, most of my examples come from Norway as I am more familiar with that context. Let me begin my reflection with defining more closely what we mean by reconciliation.

What Do We Mean by Reconciliation?

Reconciliation is primarily a relational concept. It denotes a situation or a process where parties alienated or separated from one another due to conflict are united and re-establish broken relationships.⁵ This relates to the past, as well as the present and the future. Reconciliation involves overcoming a past characterised by pain, alienation and hostility. It involves finding a new way to relate to “the other” in the present. And it involves moving towards a goal ahead of us in the future.⁶ Everything I have said so far applies to both a general and a theological understanding of reconciliation.

Furthermore, it can be asserted that the relational processes that reconciliation involves hold both an internal and an external dimension. The external dimension comprises the social interaction; that is to say, the specific actions and the transformative processes taking place between the parties. The internal dimension comprises the internal self-awareness, healing and reorientation taking place within each individual affected.⁷ Both dimensions are represented in all the forms of reconciliation discussed in this article.

Reconciliation in the specific theological sense relates to the fact that God, in Christ, has reconciled the world with God self. In the New Testament, this reconciliation initiated by God involves both reconciliation with God (vertical reconciliation), reconciliation between people (horizontal reconciliation) and reconciliation in relation to creation (cosmic reconciliation). I will return to this later on. To begin with, it is, however, helpful to see how reconciliation as a human phenomenon unfolds at various levels.

South African theologian John W. de Gruchy contributes to such an understanding by making a distinction between three different

levels or ways of talking about reconciliation.⁸ The *interpersonal level* involves reconciliation between individuals, such as between spouses or between the victim of a crime and the perpetrator. The *social level* refers to reconciliation between social or cultural groups based on class or ethnicity, for example. The *political level* refers to politically established processes where for instance official apologies or truth and reconciliation commissions occur as common mechanisms. The term *social reconciliation* is frequently used to refer to reconciliation processes that involve both the social group level and the political level.⁹

If we apply de Gruchy's three levels to our theme, we can see that Sami-related reconciliation is primarily rooted in the social level but not solely limited to it. It is at the same time expressed at the interpersonal level in the interaction between individuals and at the political and institutional levels in society's official attitude towards and treatment of Sami culture, Sami languages and Sami society. In other words, these three levels and the reality to which they refer are all interlinked as regards Sami-related reconciliation.

This complexity is relevant to our understanding of reconciliation between the Sami and the majority population. That is to say, we need insight into how relationships at the interpersonal level, the social level and the political level *interact*, as the various levels often imply and legitimise one another. We can draw a number of conclusions from this observation which have a bearing on the reconciliation efforts of the Church related to the Sami.

The first conclusion is that perspectives reflecting an interpersonal or individual approach to reconciliation are not sufficient to address reconciliation issues of this type. This is particularly important to note for Church representatives since the theological language has a bias towards individual-centred reconciliation.¹⁰ Hence, the language is poorly equipped to inform and assist reconciliation processes at social and political levels.

The second point is the fact that the group conflict between the Sami people and the majority population has for a very long time been intertwined with political realities in which the Church itself has played a key role. This brings to the fore the issue of whether it is possible and right to isolate the role of the Church in Sami-related reconciliation to merely internal Church matters.

This brings me to my last point. Where is the Church of Sweden or the Church of Norway located in relation to the three levels referred to? In everyday life, Sami persons and individuals from the majority peoples interact at an interpersonal level as church members and staff in congregations, at offices and in public areas. However, these encounters are framed by a significant *asymmetry* at both social and institutional-political levels. Almost all arenas within the congregational life and the Church organisation are dominated by the majority population and their language, interests and cultural codes. Furthermore, the Church of Sweden and the Church of Norway are prominent national institutions that until recently represented the state and that still are maintaining significant positions in society.

All this indicates the need for rethinking the approach to relationships at both interpersonal, social and political levels as the churches engage in efforts towards Sami-related reconciliation. This includes being mindful of the power asymmetry still present in these relationships.

Four Stages in a Reconciliation Process

No reconciliation process is exactly like the other. One commonality, however, is that reconciliation at all the above-mentioned levels is best understood as a process comprising a number of elements.¹¹ This also applies to reconciliation in the theological sense. While these elements are categorised somehow differently in the literature, the basic structure is essentially the same. I prefer to talk about four main elements or stages on the way towards reconciliation: *acknowledging the past, repentance/naming the hurt, restoration and forgiveness*.¹² These categories are relatively broad and comprise a number of sub-elements that are described below.

While the sequential order of these stages is important, it should not be treated as a rigid schema. In reality, reconciliation processes are not entirely linear. They also move back and forth between the different elements. There are a number of reasons for this. One reason is that elements linked with an initial stage of the process are often given greater depth later on in the process. Similarly, stages belonging to the later phases of the process may be initiated early on in the process. A very different reason is the fact that every attempt

to deal with persistent injustice will probably trigger stored-up tensions and call for initiatives countering deep-rooted prejudices, preconceptions and structures created by the conflict.¹³ Reconciliation processes are rarely without friction. Therefore, in all reconciliation work it is necessary to be prepared to deal with moments of confusion and setbacks before making progress. In my opinion, this is a relevant perspective on the concern arising in the wake of the Church Assembly's decision in November 2014, where the Church of Sweden's attitude to Sweden's ratification of ILO Convention no. 169 was discussed.¹⁴ The element of unpredictability makes it, however, no less meaningful to refer to reconciliation as a process comprising specific elements. The identification of such elements can rather function as a roadmap and provide orientation points when processes are derailed and the parties struggle to identify a way forward.

Allow me to add one more thing. The description below is based on situations where it is possible to differentiate clearly between victim and wrongdoer. In real life, the distribution of roles is not always clear. Both parties may hold both roles, albeit to differing degrees. Or a party may be a victim in one relationship and a perpetrator in another. Having said that, there are nevertheless a number of cases in which the distribution of roles is relatively clear. At individual level, such examples can be found in domestic violence, sexual abuse and bullying. In the case of colonisation, racism and political oppression, entire groups of people may take on the same role.

ACKNOWLEDGING THE PAST

Acknowledgement is the first stage in a reconciliation process. This is due to the fact that every conflict has a history. When a relationship is breaking down, it is because something has happened. Therefore, all reconciliation must begin with the parties relating to this history. It is necessary to acknowledge what has happened. The first stage in reconciliation therefore involves *truth-telling*.

Experience shows that one important element in the healing processes of victims involves allowing the victims to tell the story about what has happened to them. Victims are however particularly vulnerable at the time when they start to share their story. Father Michael Lapsley, a South African priest who has dedicated his life to reconciliation work, refers in this context to the importance of "safe

and sacred spaces”.¹⁵ It is important to create safe spaces where victims can talk, be listened to and affirmed by others.

This first phase is important, since the understanding of what has happened grows as the individual is allowed to tell her story.¹⁶ In order to understand and create meaning, it is also crucial to know the stories of one’s own community. For example, it is well known how important it is for traumatised children to know their own family’s stories, even if these stories hurt.¹⁷ This is because knowing the story makes it easier to understand and create meaning and coherence from what has happened. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge the fact that traumatic experiences may often have a destructive influence over several generations. Reconciliation work in indigenous contexts should therefore adopt an inter-generational perspective.¹⁸ One of the problems arising as a consequence of the colonisation process in Sápmi, according to Nergård, is the fact that the painful experiences were veiled in so much shame that people stopped sharing their experiences with one another.¹⁹ Therefore, one important part of the acknowledgement phase should involve allowing implicit and unconscious memories stored in our bodies to become explicit and acknowledged.²⁰

During the acknowledgement phase, it is important to ensure that not only the story of the victim is told and listened to. It is also important to make sure that the perpetrator starts to tell the truth about what has happened. This concerns the need to establish a shared account of the truth.²¹ However, experience shows that perpetrators often need to find excuses for the things they have done. Such strategies are sometimes referred to as “false reconciliation” or “hasty peace”.²² The so-called reconciliation in this case does not involve acknowledging the bad things that have happened. Rather, the victims are pushed to forget — and hence repress — their painful history. In practice, this means that the victims must deny themselves and their own dignity. Such false reconciliation is nothing other than a new abuse. Therefore, telling the truth about the history must be the starting point for reconciliation. In Christian theology, this element is linked with *confession of sins*.

In 1977, the issue of reconciliation with the Sami people was brought up at the National Synod of the Church of Norway.²³ The following was stated in the resolution text:

The National Synod acknowledges the fact that the Norwegianisation policy implemented by the authorities and the role of the Church of Norway in this context represented an assault against the Sami people. The National Synod will help ensuring that the injustice does not continue.

This unequivocal acknowledgement from the National Synod was in itself significant. Even more important was the fact that the acknowledgement laid an important foundation for the ongoing process.

The Church of Sweden's White Paper Project and Nomad School Project also involve taking the history and acknowledgement seriously. The desire to document and describe in detail the injustices suffered by the Sami people at the hands of the Church of Sweden should be viewed as both acknowledgement and a deep desire for truth-telling. If the Church of Sweden's national bodies officially support the message of the White Paper, it can be stated that others are now "listening to the history and confirming it" at institutional level. This will probably make the Church a "safer space" where the history can be shared.

In reconciliation processes at social level and political level, the acknowledgement phase involves challenging *the collective stories*. This can be illustrated by a phenomenon that we sometimes encounter in northern Norway. Here, there are many examples of Sami visibility triggering conspicuously strong resistance in local communities as the Sami dimension is lifted from the private sphere and given public status. This may happen, for example, when a municipality puts up road signs in Sami or discusses whether to join the Sami language administrative district.²⁴ Many people are provoked by such things, probably because such actions signal how the local community itself — and not just a number of families — is associated with a Sami history. Allowing the Sami people to enter the collective story of society threatens the majority society's mono-cultural self-understanding in a manner that engenders resistance. I would be surprised if there were no similar phenomena in Sweden.

The challenge of collective relating of history is also relevant on a national level. Do the history and presence of the Sami people form part of the collective story of Sweden and Norway, or does

this remain a story alongside the story of Sweden and Norway?²⁵ In my opinion, the acknowledgement element must, as the Church involves itself in Sami-related reconciliation, include challenging the traditional mono cultural relating of history of both the Church and society in general. This may then involve including Sami history in educational literature or professional Church education programmes, or in the self-representation of the Church in various ways. These aspects are also relevant in the discussion of the self-understanding of the Church of Sweden or the Church of Norway as national “folk churches” in Sweden and Norway respectively.²⁶

REPENTANCE/NAMING THE HURT

While the first stage of the reconciliation process involves acknowledging what has happened in an objective sense, the second stage relates to how one is *existentially affected* by these events. This involves “repentance” for the perpetrator, and “naming the hurt” for the victim. Let us begin with repentance.

While particularly emphasised in the theological tradition, repentance holds universal human relevance. Repentance implies that the party who has committed an offence realises it deep down. They become *affected by the history in a subjective sense*, particularly with regard to how the offence has *affected the victim*. Thus, repentance embodies both a deeply existential and a deeply relational phenomenon.²⁷ While emerging emotionally, a phenomenon often associated with “remorse” or “contrition”, this feeling signals something deeper. True repentance is not the same as self-pity, but is rather an expression of empathy and a growing insight into the victim’s situation.

Repentance, thus, involves the restoration of the *moral order* between the parties.²⁸ The perpetrator does not acknowledge the history merely as actual events, but as something that was wrong, something for which they bear *responsibility*, and hence *guilt*. This is why they experience remorse, resulting in the emergence of a need to *apologise*. I will come back to this last point towards the end of this section.

Although realising what one has done is painful, this actually signals that a recovery of the relationship has started. Repentance is an embodiment of the fact that the victim’s human face is start-

ing to become clear to the perpetrator. In this way, true repentance involves a change of heart. A new attitude towards the victim puts the perpetrator's own actions in a new light. This change of heart is what Christian theology refers to as repentance.²⁹

While for the perpetrator the challenge lies in *realising deep down* the pain inflicted on someone else, the second stage for the victim involves *dealing with* their pain. According to Desmond and Mpho Tutu, this involves making the transition from “telling the story” to “naming the hurt”; from talking about what has happened to addressing the pain by putting it into words.³⁰ This is very important for victims in order to make progress in their internal healing process. Before anything can be done about a victim's feelings, they first have to “own” them.³¹ In practice, this involves a grieving process.³² This often has to begin by taking hold of the shame before emotions such as rage, grief and loss can emerge.³³

Naming the hurt sometimes is every bit as difficult for the victim as expressing repentance is for the perpetrator. This is particularly so when dealing with abuses and pain veiled in shame.³⁴ There is a risk that such shame is repressed in destructive ways, leaving the victims without a language for expressing their experience. For this reason, it is crucial to establish and practice a truthful language referring to the shame, both individually and collectively.³⁵ This is of relevance to reconciliation processes in Sápmi. Colonisation and assimilation resulted in a sense of shame for many people implying that conflicts and harassment were turned inwards, while the cultural networks that could have helped them to deal with the pain eroded.³⁶ Facilitating safe spaces where this pain can be received and recognised is a challenge that must be taken seriously in Sami-related reconciliation efforts.

What has been said so far must be nuanced. *Repentance*, as its associated word *remorse*, makes sense when someone is personally guilty of something that has happened. However, this is not always the case when we refer to reconciliation at the social or political level. If there is no personal guilt for actions performed in the past or present, it may nevertheless be meaningful to refer to *responsibility*. This is because an injustice often persists as a social, structural or political phenomenon, and frequently in ways that provide space for new abuses at the individual level. Hence, individuals who do

not bear direct guilt for things that have happened in the past may nevertheless share responsibility for ensuring that the *status quo* — and hence injustice — is maintained in the present.

Moreover, the injustice of the past may often be linked to institutions that still exist. *Corporate guilt* is therefore a relevant perspective in this context, and we will come back to this in the section on forgiveness.

Healing of relationships at group level and political level is also dependent on the ability to experience empathy with the group of people affected by abuses and injustices. Although it is perhaps not meaningful to use the term remorse to refer to this phenomenon, this is nevertheless a transition from acknowledging the history in an objective sense to allowing oneself to be *affected by the history* in a subjective sense. Therefore, emotional discomfort occurs at social level and political level as well, in a somehow similar way to repentance. One may experience grief, shame or pain when discovering the injustice in society and one's own part in it.³⁷ In my opinion, this condition is closely related to repentance on the interpersonal level. In both cases, it involves pricking the conscience (social conscience is also a type of conscience). Both signal of an initial recovery of the relationship. Both involve allowing “the other party's” human face to take shape and the creation of new attitudes. Both indicate that a shared moral order is being restored between the parties.³⁸ When this leads to the perpetrators distancing themselves from previous abuses, acknowledging responsibility, apologizing and wanting to put things right, it can be referred to as repentance.

Public apologies recur as important elements in many national reconciliation processes around the world.³⁹ In 1997, for example, King Harald apologised to the Sami Parliament in Norway for injustices that the state of Norway had inflicted on the Sami people on account of the strict Norwegianisation policy. Such apologies may be of major significance as regards marking the end point for histories of injustice and marking the starting point for a new way of relating to one another. However, academic literature on reconciliation processes also warn against the risk of “quasi-apologies” or “performative guilt” in political reconciliation.⁴⁰ Such matters occur when the apologies do not reflect true grief over what has happened or are not linked with acknowledged responsibility.⁴¹ Public apolo-

gies that are not followed by actions aiming for restoration trivialise abuses of human dignity and diminish the concept of reconciliation.⁴²

RESTORATION

Restoration is the third stage or element in the reconciliation process. This involves restoring justice. While the first stage concerns acknowledging the past, the third stage is directed towards the future. In its deepest sense, restoration involves laying the foundation for a new, shared future. This is one of the main tasks of what is known as *restorative justice*, where the needs of the victim for redress and healing are combined with the objective of restoring the relationship between perpetrator and victim.⁴³

I mentioned previously that elements associated with any of the initial stages in the process can often be expanded upon in the later phases of the process. The Church of Sweden's White Paper Project and the Nomad School Project can be cited as examples of this. Depending on which perspective is established, these projects can be regarded as both acknowledgement and restoration. Significant systematic effort has gone into these projects in order to document and publish important parts of a history rendered invisible. Thus, these projects strive to restore a history that was rendered invisible, and stolen in a sense. These projects can be understood as restoration measures while also expanding upon previous acknowledgement of the history.

Repairing (all or part of) what has been destroyed assumes a desire for new action that takes into account the victim's need for dignity, fairness and security so that no further abuses take place. This means that it is necessary to challenge patterns and structures that allow old injustices to continue while also establishing new ones, which is an element in what is known as *structural justice*.⁴⁴ This is particularly relevant when referring to reconciliation at social level and political level, as is the case with regard to the Sami people and majority society.

People who have committed an injustice frequently defend themselves vigorously against the restoration element of the reconciliation process — because it costs too much. After having demonstrated repentance, they would prefer the reconciliation to involve

forgiveness. “Let’s forgive and forget! It’s time to move on.” We can refer to this as “cheap reconciliation”.⁴⁵ The problem with this is that the victim becomes responsible for the reconciliation. The forgiveness is turned into a requirement to forget what happened, what one was. In this case, the victim pays the price; not the perpetrator. Repairing the damage, providing compensation or damages is an important principle in what is known as *restitutive justice*.⁴⁶

In situations involving major injustice or serious abuse, skewed distribution of power is often an important part of the picture. The perpetrator frequently has a lot more power (physically, economically, politically, etc.) than the victim, and the injustice is often committed by virtue of this power asymmetry. This is true regardless of whether we refer to reconciliation at individual level, group level or political level. When the injustice has occurred, the power situation is displaced still further. This means that the third stage, restoration, must also involve *redistribution of power* within the relationship, which is an element of *distributive justice*.⁴⁷ It is difficult to imagine true reconciliation taking place if the oppressive party hangs on to the privileges and position of power. This involves some of the most demanding elements of a reconciliation process.

Redistributing power may involve altering the fundamental rules of a relationship by means of national legislation, for example. As far as Sweden is concerned, the new paragraph in the 2010 constitution, which explicitly recognises the status of the Sami as a people, can be regarded as a restoration measure that is helping to change structural patterns.⁴⁸ However, Sweden’s reluctance to ratify ILO Convention no. 169 on indigenous peoples and tribal peoples — which would have made a major impact on the legal status of the Sami people in Sweden — can be viewed as an example of the opposite.

The creation of the Sami parliaments in Norway and Sweden — similar to the creation of the Sami Church Council in the Church of Norway and the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden — can also be understood as restoration measures. At the same time, it is relevant to ask what power and influence are given to bodies of this type, and what capacity building takes place in connection with them.

From an internal Church perspective, restoration should involve securing opportunities and space for Sami language and culture in

the ecclesial life. It may also involve Sami arena building and creation of opportunities for Sami self-representation, self-determination and involvement in the Church. Moreover, it may touch upon issues relating to the extent to which the Sami language, tradition and spirituality are accommodated and valued in the larger context of the Church.

When the Church chooses to speak out clearly in public in support of the rights of indigenous peoples and their societies, this also performs a restoration function.⁴⁹ Over the last few years, we have seen how the Church of Sweden has taken on a more proactive approach in its support for Sami rights; including public statements from the Archbishop and reports on human rights, for example.⁵⁰

The most prominent example in Norway involves the National Synod's handling of the proposal for a new land management law for the County of Finnmark in 2003.⁵¹ This was based on the bill proposed by the government that same year.⁵² This was the first time the land rights issues brought to the fore during the Alta dam conflict (c. 1980) were dealt with as a legal issue by the Norwegian Parliament. A unanimous Sami Parliament rejected the proposed bill due to failure to comply with international law. The National Synod supported the Sami Parliament on this issue. The Church of Norway thus became the first major national institution to publicly critique the government's proposal, and the reconciliation perspective was prominent in the resolution adopted by the National Synod.⁵³ The National Synod's international law argument was supported by an independent commission of inquiry by professors of law Hans Petter Graver and Geir Ulfstein, which was published at about the same time as the matter was discussed by the National Synod.⁵⁴ The Church of Norway's position probably influenced the outcome⁵⁵ as the law that was adopted in 2005 took into account the criticism that had been put forward.

Restoration is also an important element in the theological understanding of the reconciliation between God and humankind. In this regard, there is a crucial difference between the general understanding and the theological understanding of reconciliation. As humans are not capable of restoring the relationship destroyed through sin, God — the victim — has provided the restoration act entirely alone, with no prior initiative from humankind, by allow-

ing Christ to die for the sins of humans. Reconciliation in this sense is therefore entirely a gift from God; unlike reconciliation between people, which can be regarded as a work involving both parties. The Christian view of reconciliation does, however, teach us that reconciliation comes at a high price. One key element in the classic Christian view of reconciliation has involved atonement, accepting punishment. This view expresses what is known as *punitive justice*.⁵⁶ Having said that, the emphasis in the biblical view of justice is on restoring the relationship between victim and wrongdoer, in combination with various types of compensation and a clear desire to put things right.⁵⁷ This means that *restorative justice* and *restitutive justice* are equally key in a theological and a general understanding of reconciliation.

FORGIVENESS

For most people, forgiveness is costly, painful and difficult.⁵⁸ In general, it is only when the first three stages of the reconciliation process have been completed that the time may be ripe for forgiveness. I am of the opinion that there is a weakness in the way in which the theological tradition views forgiveness. It has leaped too easily from repentance to forgiveness with the consequence that too little attention has been paid to the independent role of restoration in reconciliation processes. To come to terms with this, I suggest forgiveness as the fourth stage of the reconciliation process. This should be understood in a nuanced manner, though. As I mentioned previously, the four stages of the reconciliation process should not be understood in too schematic and linear a fashion. Although “stages” implies a natural movement of emphasis from one stage to the other, an inner dynamism also occurs between the various elements throughout the process. Elements belonging to an early phase can be expanded upon in later phases; and conversely, elements belonging to a later phase can commence at an earlier phase. The same is true for forgiveness, as the seeds of forgiveness can be sown during the very first phases of a reconciliation process. Furthermore, it can be stated that forgiveness and restoration do not just follow one another. Restoration and forgiveness could also be understood as parallel processes that mutually expand upon one another during the final phase of the reconciliation process. My primary aim here

is to throw a spanner into the works as regards an understanding of reconciliation that does not take restoration seriously and abuses forgiveness as a kind of quick fix.

So what do we mean by forgiveness? One key theme in forgiveness involves leaving behind thoughts of hostility and revenge and instead recognising shared humanity. This frees the perpetrator from the violations that have defined the relationship between the parties. Just as important an element in forgiveness is the victims' inner liberation process, which involves breaking loose from the definitory power involved in the abuse.⁵⁹ The following elements are of most relevance when we go on to discuss the place held by forgiveness in social reconciliation processes: renouncing hostility and thoughts of revenge, recognising shared humanity and liberation from the destructive definitory power of the abuse. Moreover, these elements may be present without forgiveness necessarily being involved.

Just like repentance, forgiveness — or the elements that we have associated previously with forgiveness — is all signalling a recovery of the relationship between the two parties. While repentance involves the perpetrator starting to see the human face of the victim, forgiveness means that the victim now recognises the human face of the perpetrator, and is willing to “unlock” him from the misdeeds of the past. Forgiveness is thus a matter of perceiving our shared-humaneity.⁶⁰

Seeing forgiveness as the fourth stage of the reconciliation process also demonstrates that forgiveness constitutes a process that often follows a period of grief and healing.⁶¹ Only when the dignity of the victim is restored does an appeal for forgiveness not involve self-effacement. Only when the opportunity for a new and liberated future exists does forgiveness involve anything other than self-denial. Moreover, forgiveness cannot be demanded; nor can it be earned. The value of forgiveness lies in the fact that it is given for free, as a gift. Only then does it liberate both victim and perpetrator. That said, the perpetrator can help to create conditions that will make it easier for the victim to forgive. This is, however, completely different from demanding or earning forgiveness.

The discussion on forgiveness in social and political reconciliation processes requires a degree of nuance. Asking for forgiveness

is meaningful when a single individual is bearing guilt for a specific action. However, is it possible to ask for forgiveness in reconciliation processes at group level or political level if the injustice has been committed by earlier generations, or by parties other than oneself? This became an important topic when the issue of reconciliation with the Travellers (Norwegian, *taterne*) in Norway was raised at the National Synod of the Church of Norway in 1998. “The National Synod’s desire for reconciliation with Travellers was cut due to changes in the resolution proposal at the end of the meeting”, as the Church of Norway’s yearbook said later.⁶² The change occurred after a bishop argued, from an individual-centred perspective of guilt and forgiveness, that it is not possible to ask for forgiveness in such cases. This wording was removed, and the Travellers felt this was a slap in the face.

However, the question is whether a completely individual-centred view of guilt, forgiveness and responsibility is reasonable as regards the Church. Many Sami participants felt that the whole truth was not being told when the Church of Sweden’s Archbishop at that time spoke at the Sami-related reconciliation conference *Ságastallamat* held in Kiruna in 2011. What he said about guilt and responsibility gave rise to many reactions.⁶³ What is known as *corporate guilt* may be a relevant term in this context.⁶⁴ The Church comprises not only its individual members, but also a collective, which from a theological standpoint constitutes an organic unit in time and space. It is therefore possible to conceive that the Church as a collective may bear *corporate guilt*, and that the official representatives of the Church can ask for forgiveness in this capacity.⁶⁵

Perhaps a clear apology would still be preferable as an appeal for forgiveness can immediately create a perceived demand for forgiveness. If it is perceived in this manner, an appeal for forgiveness may be counter-productive to the reconciliation process. The most important thing must be to clearly distance oneself from previous abuses, recognise the pain caused by the abuses and recognise responsibility in the present.

Moreover, forgiveness is not a matter of forgetting; rather, it is a way of remembering in a different way.⁶⁶ The memory gradually changes through the reconciliation process. As the victim regains their dignity, the wound loses its destructive power. Telling the

truth and being believed, while the perpetrator sincerely regrets the harm done to the victim and attempts to put things right, helps to heal the wounds that were once caused. Finally, one may be prepared to forgive. The wounds have not necessarily disappeared, but they have lost their destructive power.

Forgiving can therefore be compared with remembering in a new way that allows a *new story* to be created between the two parties. Thus, reconciliation does not just demand something from the perpetrator of an abuse; it also makes demands of the victim. In extreme cases, it may certainly seem as though reconciliation would be impossible; in the case of serious abuses, for example. We ought to respect this.

If we stick to cases in which reconciliation is more realistic, there is nevertheless a point in the victim being able to “benefit” from previous abuses in a sense. The negative history may — often unconsciously — be used as an effective weapon against the party that did the wrong thing. The history has given the victim a moral advantage. There is a desire to retaliate and cultivate enemy images rather than seeing the fellow human being on the other side. This shows that reconciliation does not just demand something from the perpetrator. In the long run, something is also demanded from the victim of these abuses. Reconciliation is a pilgrimage that ideally takes both parties to a new place. Later on in this text, I will demonstrate that this relates to both the identity component in reconciliation processes as well as the understanding of victim role and agency.

Affirmative or Transformative Restoration?

The view of reconciliation as a pilgrimage that takes both parties to a new place involves understanding reconciliation processes as *transformative*. What does this imply for our understanding of the restorative dimension of social reconciliation? Social researcher Nancy Fraser’s differentiation between two types of restorative strategies highlights the issue.⁶⁷

Fraser distinguishes restoration measures comprising superficial reallocations from measures aiming at transforming the underlying relationships or structures producing the injustices. The first type of measures, paradoxically, helps to maintain or affirm existing struc-

tures. Fraser therefore refers to such measures as “affirmative”. She refers to the other type as “transformative” as they strive to transform the underlying structures and relationships.

Furthermore, Fraser differentiates between two variants of injustice. *Socio-economic injustice* involves exploitation, marginalisation and deprivation of resources and living conditions. *Cultural injustice* arises as a consequence of cultural dominance and a lack of recognition and respect. While these two types of injustice often exist in parallel,⁶⁸ they call for different restorative measures, according to Fraser. Socio-economic injustice should be tackled with *redistribution*, cultural injustice should be tackled with *recognition*.⁶⁹ It is interesting for us to examine how these two types of restoration can be embodied as either *affirmative* or *transformative* strategies.

Affirmative restoration in connection with *socio-economic* injustice involves creating compensatory measures *without* altering the basic socio-economic structure in society, says Fraser. As regards indigenous peoples, this is manifested when the state organises some form of “special measures” for the indigenous population, while their indigenous rights to traditional lands as basis for self-determination and socio-economic development are denied them by the same state. Paradoxically, therefore, affirmative redistribution confirms the *status quo* as measures of this kind conceal rather than reveal the underlying structural conditions. Transformative redistribution, on the other hand, seeks deeper, aiming also at revealing and transforming the underlying structures.

Affirmative restoration in connection with *cultural* abuses involves recognition in the form of “upgrading” of the despised or suppressed identity and culture, according to Fraser.⁷⁰ However, affirmative variants of cultural restoration fail to scrutinise *the majority culture’s identity formation and value scales*, which in fact inform the oppression of the minority. Hence, affirmative forms of recognition will maintain the structural patterns. However, transformative forms of recognition measures adopt a more radical approach by also challenging and transforming the dominant culture’s self-understanding, along with its interpretation patterns and value scales.⁷¹

Fraser goes on to describe a phenomenon that is recognised in many contexts involving indigenous peoples, including in Sápmi.

When affirmative strategies are combined in both the socio-economic and cultural field, a surprising dynamic occurs. When the status of the oppressed culture is “upgraded” without challenging the self-understanding, interpretation patterns and value scales of the majority culture, and when this is combined with certain socio-economic measures without highlighting and challenging the underlying structural inequalities, many people interpret the situation as if the minority is receiving privileges at the expense of the majority. This gives rise to aggression that rather confirms and reinforces the inherited structural inequality.

According to Jeff Corntassel and Cindy Holder, state-dominated reconciliation processes related to indigenous peoples are often characterised by affirmative strategies where attempts are made to isolate the issues of land rights and indigenous self-determination from the discussion on reconciliation.⁷² They point out that this type of process risks cementing the colonial injustices. For the same reason, they argue that decolonisation of relations between indigenous peoples and majority society should be an essential part of reconciliation processes involving indigenous peoples.⁷³

The distinction between affirmative and transformative restoration highlights the text on the Lord’s Supper in the first Letter to the Corinthians (11:17–34) in an interesting way. Here, Paul accuses the Corinthians of failing to celebrate the Lord’s Supper when they come together (verse 20). He declares that they are eating the bread and drinking the Lord’s cup incorrectly, and so are eating and drinking judgement over themselves (verses 27–29).

This warning probably has the following background.⁷⁴ The congregation in Corinth worshipped in a private home, and the celebration of the Lord’s Supper was probably part of a larger meal for which everyone had brought along food. The problem was that the dining room in the house could not accommodate everyone. This probably led to high-status individuals sitting together in the dining room, with access to the best food, while the low-status individuals sat in the much larger hall and received a much simpler meal. The congregation was thus only recreating the social divides and hierarchies that existed in larger society. To celebrate the Lord’s Supper in this way was a scandal, according to Paul.

Elsewhere, we can read how Paul pointed out how the divisions

between people was eliminated in Christ. “There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus” (Galatians 3:28). But instead of being characterised by the transformative reality celebrated in the Lord’s Supper, the communion practice of the Corinthians probably confirmed the divisions in society between rich and poor, slaves and free. What Paul found scandalous was — to use Fraser’s words — the fact that the congregation in Corinth celebrated the transformative reconciliation in Christ in an affirmative manner.

One of the major challenges facing Sami society in my opinion, is the majority society’s “ethnic blind spot”.⁷⁵ I am writing on the basis of my experiences from Norway, but I assume these are also relevant in a Swedish context. To explain what I mean, I would like to use the Greek terms *ethnos* and *demos*, both of which generally mean ‘people’, but have different specific meanings.⁷⁶ *Ethnos* refers to people in the ethnic sense, that is a group of people sharing origin and culture. *Demos*, on the other hand, refers to the “population” in a state. On the basis of the *demos* perspective, the nation is thus seen as a *political community* rather than an ethnic community. In practice, however, all social constructs of national identity are made up of combinations of *ethnos* and *demos*. Generally, the *demos* of a nation is largely defined on the basis of the majority population’s *ethnos*, as is the case in Sweden and Norway. In this context, indigenous peoples’ rights are all about protecting the right of the Sami people to participate in the *demos* of wider society without having to abandon their own *ethnos*.

In my view, the majority population is characterised by an ethnic blind spot in its encounters with the Sami population. In Norway, we see at regular intervals how people in different positions categorise Sami kindergartens, Sami schools, the Sami Parliament or what is known as the Finnmark Act (*Finnmarksloven*) as “special ethnic arrangements”.⁷⁷ The official policy of the Progress Party (*Fremskrittspartiet*), one of the biggest political parties in Norway, has for a long time been that such things constitute special ethnic arrangements that do not deserve state funding, or in a worst-case scenario are arrangements that Norway cannot accept.⁷⁸ Such an attitude disregards the fact the Norwegian state as a whole has in practice always functioned as a “special ethnic arrangement” for ethnic

Norwegians, and continues to do so. Why is it so that the language, culture, history and interests of the ethnic majority are viewed as belonging to society's *demos* — as if all this belonged in a non-ethnic sphere — while the same phenomena are linked with *ethnos* and defined as “special ethnic arrangements” as soon as the country's indigenous people is involved? The ethnic blind spot means that the self-understanding, interpretation patterns and value scales of the majority culture remain hidden. So, while often not recognised, this phenomenon largely defines the minority's scope for manoeuvre. A transformative perspective on social reconciliation must therefore inevitably challenge the majority population's blind spot.

Reconciliation as an Act of God

— Vertical, Horizontal and Cosmic Reconciliation

According to the Christian faith, full reconciliation can only be experienced as a realised hope, that is reconciliation as the final goal in the future. At the same time, the Christian faith proclaims that the Kingdom of God already has broken into the world, albeit in a preliminary and incomplete way. Hence the reconciliation that God offers to the world can already be experienced here and now, partially and preliminary, as an eschatological reality.⁷⁹ This means that reconciliation in the theological sense not only comprises a hope for the future, but is also a potential reality wherever God works in human relationships through the Spirit. Seen from this perspective, God is the active subject and the role of humans is to *participate* in God's actions. Here, it is relevant to mention that North Sami has two words for reconciliation, as these illustrate the difference between reconciliation in the theological sense and reconciliation as a general phenomenon.

Both *soabadus* and *soabahus* mean ‘reconciliation’, but there is a difference depending on who the subject of the action is. *Soabadus*, a derivation of the verb *soabadit*, denotes reconciliation where both (or all) parties are involved in the reconciliation work. In other words, this term refers to a mutual process. On the other hand, *soabahus*, a derivation of the verb *soabahit*, involves bringing about reconciliation in others. As regards relationships between people, the verb *soabahit* can be used when a marriage counsellor brings

about reconciliation between a couple, for example. Therefore, this verb can also be translated as ‘to mediate’. The word *soabadit* can never be used in theological context to refer to the reconciliation that God gives to humankind. This is because in the New Testament, God is always the sole subject that acts for reconciliation. Humans can only receive and participate in what God gives. This is why reconciliation in a theological sense is always *soabahus* and not *soabadus*.

Perhaps this linguistic difference in Sami is why there is particular vigilance on the part of Laestadianism as regards confusion between theological and political parlance in terms of reconciliation. There is a point to this. However, I would like to point out what is wrong with the conclusion that *soabahus* relating to God’s reconciliation cannot involve inter human relationships. Let us look more closely at this reasoning.

In the New Testament, the notion of reconciliation is developed primarily in Paul’s letters. Here, the word ‘reconciliation’ is used as a generic term to denote what God has done for the world through Christ. God is always the active subject of reconciliation, and all we can do is receive and participate in what God has done and is continuing to do. With this as the starting point, the notion of reconciliation is elaborated in different directions.

Theologian Robert Schreiter refers to three dimensions of reconciliation that are expressed in the New Testament. He calls these “vertical reconciliation”, “horizontal reconciliation” and “cosmic reconciliation”.⁸⁰ *Vertical reconciliation* describes how God reconciles a sinful humanity with itself. This is particularly clear in the Letter to the Romans. Here (Romans 5:1–11), Paul describes the peace with God that people justified by faith have received. Hostility is overcome, we have been reconciled with God through the death of Christ, which has given us reconciliation. As stated previously, this reconciliation is characterised by the fact that it is God, as the *victim* of humankind’s rebellion, that brings about the restoration. This is why the renewal of the relationship between God and humankind is solely God’s gift through Christ. The transformative power that renews and is active in this relationship is the Holy Spirit.

However, in the Letter to the Ephesians, reconciliation involves slightly more than reconciliation between God and humans. God’s

reconciliation also involves a horizontal process where humankind is drawn into the new reality that God brings to the world. Schreiter calls this *horizontal reconciliation*. In particular, this relates to the relationship between Jews and non-Jews (Gentiles), which involves reconciliation at social or group level. A number of letters in the New Testament show that there were numerous conflicts and a great deal of mistrust between these groups. In the Letter to the Ephesians, this situation is in stark contrast to the new reality of God breaking into the world through Christ. Therefore, it is vehemently argued that God's reconciliation should also transform relationships between people. This shows that *soabahus* as a theological concept can also be used for processes in relationships between people.

In the Letter to the Ephesians (2:12–20), it is pointed out that God, in Christ, has reconciled Jews and Gentiles and “destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility”. The barrier mentioned here probably refers to the inner dividing wall at the temple in the Jerusalem of the day. Only Jews were allowed to pass this and continue on to the sanctuary. On the wall was a message written in Latin and Greek stating that any Gentiles — that is to say, non-Jews — passing the wall would be sentenced to death!¹⁸¹ In the Letter to the Ephesians, this barrier appears to be a symbol of the general hostility between the groups, and it is emphasised that all such dividing lines have been erased in Christ (Galatians 3:28; Colossians 3:11). In other words, God's reconciliation through Christ creates a new, reconciled reality *between people*. The central point is that the new bond between Jews and non-Jews based in a common affiliation in God should create a shared overarching identity. Thus, ethnic boundaries are placed in context through Christ without devaluing or terminating the cultural affiliation.

Schreiter also points out that cosmic reconciliation is part of the theological reconciliation as presented in the New Testament. Not just humanity, but all of creation is included in God's act of reconciliation. This is particularly clear from the introductory verses of the Letters to the Colossians and the Ephesians. The Letter to the Colossians (1:20) states that God, through Christ, reconciled to himself *all* things, whether things on earth or things in heaven, by making peace through his blood, shed on the cross. The Letter to the Ephesians (1:10) states that God's plan for salvation is to unite

all things in heaven and on earth in Christ. In other words, the New Testament presents an all-encompassing vision of reconciliation; it includes all of creation. This challenges the one-sided, anthropocentric perspective of the Gospel and shows that reconciliation in the sense referred to in the New Testament also includes an *ecological* dimension. This is relevant when referring to reconciliation in Sápmi, as it creates a space for dialogue regarding the value and contribution of Sami spirituality, which has been subjected to serious demonisation. The Sami tradition has been characterised by a cosmological outlook where nature and places hold a sacred dimension, and where the human relationship with co-creation and Creator form an essential context for a reconciled life. The work of the Church with Sami-related reconciliation requires it to take the Sami spiritual tradition seriously and respect it.⁸²

The Identity Issue, the Role of Victim and Agency

Just as ethnic dividing lines and identities constitute themes in a number of letters in the New Testament, de Gruchy emphasises the fact that many of the world's conflicts are all about certain groups' attempts to protect their own identities at the cost of "Others".⁸³ Both the "Lapp should remain Lapp"-policy in Sweden and the Norwegianisation policy in Norway were examples of this. The policy implemented was justified by the fact that the Sami languages and Sami culture were inferior to the language and culture of the majority population. One underlying premise for this was the fact that the state only had room for *one* ethnic and cultural history and identity. With this as a starting point, it is difficult to imagine reconciliation without fundamentally challenging the history writing, self-understanding and identity of the majority culture and the state. This resonates with the concern in what Fraser calls transformative recognition.

It is a well-known phenomenon that a history of oppression can be internalised to such an extent that it is integrated in people's self-image. When this is profound, the victim role may become a defining factor in the identity of the minority culture. The problem is, however, that the image of the majority population as oppressors must be maintained in order to uphold the victim identity. In such a

situation, the minority's cultural values and symbols are easily conceptualised in opposition to the values and symbols of the majority culture. This has been, and to some extent continues to be, a challenge for the Sami society vis-à-vis the majority society. Reconciliation processes should therefore provide a basis for identity formation enabling also the minority to gradually free itself from "negative" identity definitions. Here, the minority is responsible for actively seeking a different role, identity and strategy.

At the same time, it should be added that the majority has a tendency to assign the victim role even when the other party are no longer behaving as victims. The victim role is primarily a passive role characterised by the feeling of being unable to control and take responsibility for one's own life. However, *resistance* to continued marginalisation — by insisting on the minority's right to exist and the majority's responsibility for change — does not involve behaving like a victim. Quite the opposite, this is an expression of *agency*.⁸⁴ It involves taking on the role of subject in one's own existence, and it is entirely possible to resist without cultivating the image of the other as perpetrator. Conversely, such resistance can be aimed at the other party's *humanity*;⁸⁵ by insisting that the other party has greater potential and more qualities than so fare merged; by insisting that the other party can make different choices, better choices.

It is exciting to read the gospel story about the Canaanite woman's encounter with Jesus from this perspective (Matthew 15:21–28). When the woman cries out to Jesus and asks for help for her daughter, Jesus rejects her initially as she belongs to the wrong people (He associates them with dogs!). At the World Council of Churches' 1996 world mission conference — the main topic of which was the relationship between "Gospel and culture" — I heard a black pastor preaching about precisely this text. He said: What this woman did was to present Jesus with a choice between the values of his own culture and the values of the Gospel. Should Jesus listen to the cultural prejudices that had taught Him this woman was unclean as she was a Canaanite, not one of God's people and therefore had no part in God's promises? Or should he enter more deeply into his calling to incarnate the Gospel that includes all people? Instead of taking on the victim role, the Canaanite woman demonstrated a high level of agency in the story. She did not perceive Jesus as an enemy even

though his reply could have been perceived as abusive. Quite the opposite: her persistence was due to the fact that she *saw more* in Jesus than Jesus saw in himself at that time. Hence, she led Jesus towards a deeper unification with his true self. And Jesus replied: “-Woman, you have great faith! Your request is granted.”

De Gruchy states that reconciliation involves, on the one hand, the recovery of cultural identities, and on the other, building bridges *between identities*, instead of reinforcing divisions.⁸⁶ One important element in reconciliation processes in Sápmi, both locally and nationally, must therefore involve challenging the majority culture’s monocultural relating of history, ensuring that the Sami population also has the opportunity to develop its language, culture and society, and creating space for collective relating of history in which both parties recognise one another’s value and right to existence.

This is at the core of what we have referred to up to now as horizontal reconciliation in the New Testament. Here it is the story that all people are created in God’s image and loved by God, which builds bridges, and the notion that everyone is equal in their faith in Christ, regardless of group affiliation. Luther’s definition of sin, being self-centred or “curved in on itself” (*incurvatus in se*) is also applicable at group level. History shows many examples of how cultural identity holds a destructive potential. Whole groups of people may be “curved in on themselves” in a manner that devalues others. This may lead to cultural abuses that may escalate in extreme cases to ethnic violence. One relevant theological perspective is therefore that ethnic and cultural affiliation can be overemphasised as carrier of human identity and life purpose. We are called to recognise God’s image in the faces of all people so that we can hold onto our fundamental shared identity. However, this reasoning should not be understood as meaning that ethnic and cultural affiliation is not important to human dignity and wellbeing.

Summary

— About Reconciliation as a Strategy and Spirituality

In this article, I have reflected on various aspects of social reconciliation processes that hopefully can inform the further discussions on Sami-related reconciliation within the Church of Sweden. To con-

clude, allow me to summarise the discussion by referring to Schreiter's distinction between reconciliation as strategy and reconciliation as spirituality.⁸⁷ Schreiter considers it wise to differentiate between these perspectives in the Church's work on reconciliation, and to balance them.

Reconciliation as *strategy* is based on awareness of the key elements of reconciliation processes and how to best facilitate such processes. This should not be underestimated, according to Schreiter, since a spirituality that does not lead to strategies will miss its target. At the same time, he issues a warning about adopting too "technical" an approach to reconciliation as this is a phenomenon that cannot be directed. When reconciliation occurs, deep down it is always a gift. Schreiter is of the opinion that reconciliation from a Christian perspective is therefore more a matter of spirituality than of strategy. The view of reconciliation as *spirituality* originates from the conviction that in the final analysis, all reconciliation is connected with the power of God's great act of reconciliation in Christ. While reconciliation as strategy relates to our own efforts, reconciliation as spirituality is about *uniting* with the power of Christ's reconciliation and *participating* in God's reconciling powers in the world.

While much of what I have written in this article relates to reconciliation as strategy, the links with reconciliation as spirituality should at the same time be obvious. We could perhaps say that reconciliation as spirituality involves seeing our purposeful reconciliation efforts from the perspective of faith, as we are constantly praying for God's guidance and power and entrusting our striving for reconciliation into the hands of God.

The work of the Church for reconciliation should therefore be carried out from a dual perspective. It is both a human enterprise and a gift from God. It is a matter of both moving and being moved by God's transformative Spirit. It is both strategy and spirituality.

9. The Barrier Torn Down

[Christ] is our peace, who has made the two groups one and has destroyed the barrier, the dividing wall of hostility.

These words are taken from the Letter to the Ephesians (2:14) and inserted in a longer context on what God's reconciliation in Christ means to the relationship between Jews and Gentiles. The basic notion is that in God's mercy, there is a new possibility for fellowship. It is no longer dependent on circumcision, or on fulfilment of the commandments. Hostility has been thwarted through God's actions in Christ. "For through Christ we both have access to the Father by one Spirit" (Ephesians 2:18). New opportunities for overcoming conflict and creation of community have been made possible.

In a fascinating way, the author of the Letter to the Ephesians (who, according to many Bible scholars, was not Paul) weaves together what Carola Nordbäck calls the vertical and horizontal dimensions of reconciliation. The horizontal dimension, human reconciliation, has its deepest meaning against the background of the vertical dimension, God's reconciliation through Jesus Christ (Ephesians 2:16).

These words reflect a living hope of the comprehensive significance of faith for life and stem from the conviction that the Christian faith has been called the Gospel, good news, "a message of peace to you who were far away and peace to those who were near"

(Ephesians 2:17). Humans have built many walls throughout history, and more have been promised. But walls have also been torn down. One recent example is the removal of the Berlin Wall and the tidal wave of new fellowship between east and west that was created. Other types of walls have also been built — and torn down. Many people long to see the tearing down of the wall between the Sami and the Church of Sweden.

Is the tearing down of the barrier between the Sami and the Church merely a pipe dream? Or a realistic hope? Of course, neither the Sami people nor the Church are uniform groups: many Sami people are also active members of the Church of Sweden. Nevertheless, we can refer to a barrier between the Church and the Sami people. The White Paper about the Church and the Sami¹ was partly produced in order to penetrate beneath the surface and concretise how various representatives of the Church of Sweden related to Sami people as individuals and as a people. The purpose was to clarify the long history of abuses of individual Sami people, the contempt for Sami people as a social group and the devaluation of Sami faith and tradition. The White Paper documents the fact that the Church and state — often in association — have a lot on their consciences. The various contributions specifically emphasise the responsibility of the Church of Sweden for this onerous legacy. I am a minister of this church, and the White Paper is a painful reminder of this responsibility. But how can we do this in a way that does not lead to even deeper clefts and higher walls, but to reconciliation?

Ideally, my account can be read in parallel with Tore Johnsen's contribution to this book. My account also relates to the contributions of Bishop Karl-Johan Tyrberg and Carola Nordbäck in the scholarly anthology. My contribution relates to those of Tyrberg and Nordbäck in a number of places, but I approach the issues from a general standpoint and also wish to present a more normative stance. I will make references to current peace and conflict research and, against this background, provide an interpretation of the place of forgiveness in Christian ethics of reconciliation. I will also study the consequences of such a reconciliation ethic for some of the issues touched upon in the two volumes of *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna* (2016). Finally, I will look

at issues from the viewpoint of theology of religions, in particular the approach of the Church of Sweden to the religious heritage of the Sami people. My conclusion is that there are excellent reasons to believe that Sami religion and spirituality can interact with the Christian faith in a fruitful way.

Reconciliation Models in Peace and Conflict Research

Violence begets violence. This is an old truth, confirmed in both times gone by and the present day. How should we escape from these vicious circles? One answer is reconciliation. But what is reconciliation? How does one achieve reconciliation? How does reconciliation relate to other ways of resolving conflicts? There is extensive research into these issues, and they are examined in an objective and clarifying manner in documents such as a Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) report written by peace researcher Karen Brounéus.² She links to the international research discussion, and her thoughts are ideal for illuminating the relationship between the Sami people and the Church of Sweden. In peace and conflict research, issues relating to peace and reconciliation have primarily been dealt with in connection with the issue of overcoming conflicts in war-torn countries. But there is also much to learn from this in order to overcome long-term conflicts without extensive bloodshed. The conflict between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people is one example; even though the White Paper also bears witness to the fact that it includes many elements of violence and physical abuse.

What is reconciliation? This word has strong religious overtones, and the *Swedish National Encyclopedia* also defines it as “the restoration of peace and fellowship between two divided parties, in religion between the deity and humankind”. It should be possible to differentiate between reconciliation theology and reconciliation ethics. *Reconciliation theology* relates to the relationship between God and humankind, while *reconciliation ethics* relate to the person-to-person relationship. Obviously, reconciliation theology and reconciliation ethics are closely interlinked. This is indicated by the following words of Jesus in the Gospel according to Saint Matthew:

Therefore, if you are offering your gift at the altar and there remember that your brother or sister has something against you, leave your gift there in front of the altar. First go and be reconciled to them; then come and offer your gift. (Matthew 5:23–24)

The surprising thing about these words from Jesus is that he argues that we should prioritise our reconciliation with our fellow man over our reconciliation with God. This is why it is natural to begin with reconciliation between human persons.

Reconciliation between human persons may involve both relationships between individual persons and a certain form of social process. In the recently published study by Brounéus, reconciliation is defined in the first instance as a social process:

Reconciliation is a social process that involves mutual recognition of previous suffering and a change in destructive attitudes and behaviours in constructive relationships towards a sustainable peace.³

Such reconciliation processes can exist on three different levels. They can exist at the top level in society, where political and other leaders are prominent actors. Nelson Mandela, the Dalai Lama and Pope Francis are famous examples. However, church leaders such as Karl-Johan Tyrberg and Antje Jackelén, and leaders in the Sami community such as Sylvia Sparrock and Ole Henrik Magga, could also be included. At intermediate level, we have the mass media and the Truth Commission in South Africa, but we also have national conferences such as Ságstallamat (2011), the Nomad School Book (2016)⁴ and the publication of the White Paper (2016). At grassroots level, we have all individuals and their everyday encounters far away from the TV sofas and the cultural sections in daily newspapers.

What components do various reconciliation processes have? Many different aspects can be established on social conflicts and reconciliation processes. Karen Brounéus reviews a number of them.

Human conflicts and human reconciliation relate to *religious* issues. War and oppression are frequently involved. This is something we encounter as early as in the Old Testament, and then on through the history of humankind. Over the last few years, there has been lively discussion on the relationship between religion and violence. Of course, it cannot be denied that religion frequently participates in violence, but how important is religious faith compared

with other factors? It is difficult to provide a general response, but in peace and conflict research there is a theory which says that conflict is worsened when religious dividing lines coincide with cultural, economic, political and racial divisions. The conflicts in Northern Ireland and the Middle East are two examples. On the other hand, religion can help to bring about reconciliation when it crosses fault lines that otherwise divide people. This was what happened in South Africa after the fall of the apartheid regime, for example. The ecumenical movement has been a peacemaking factor, and Archbishop Nathan Söderblom was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1930 as the leader of this movement.

Cultural factors are closely linked with religious issues. In purely historical terms, the conflict between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people has frequently involved “cultural expressions” such as ways of thinking, language, the ceremonial drum, the noaidi and yoiking.⁵ Therefore, reconciliation processes must largely look at how one embraces these expressions. People in Sápmi speak Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish alongside Sami, but my Swedish word processing software does not correct *Sapmi* to *Sápmi*! The Sami people in Sweden attend Swedish schools, but how much do they learn about Sami culture in their education?

Economic factors have a crucial part to play in both conflicts and reconciliation processes. Economic development is fundamental to peace, and peace is fundamental to reconciliation. “Reconciliation must go hand-in-hand with economic justice”, writes peace researcher Alex Boraine.⁶ Economic compensation programmes for the loss of reindeer pasture and reindeer migration routes have been in place for a long time, but they must also be applied in a manner that supports reconciliation between the Sami people and wider society.

Political factors are crucial in reconciliation processes at the top and intermediate levels. Karen Brounéus writes about *reconciliation events*, such as encounters between representatives of the parties involved in the conflict. The Ságastallamat conference held in Kiruna in 2011 is a clear example, but Karl-Johan Tyrberg provides a number of examples in his article on the reconciliation process in the first volume of *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna*. He also refers to public church services

and ritual symbolic acts as reinforced endeavours to achieve reconciliation and peace.⁷ In more general terms, peace and conflict research can confirm that such reconciliation events are of major significance when it comes to breaking conflict spirals. 64 percent of countries in which such reconciliation events took place did not backslide into violent conflict.

Psychological factors are an important aspect in conflict and reconciliation processes. Time heals some wounds, but not all. This is particularly true of people who have been subject to atrocities in war situations, but also of all people who have fallen victim to other forms of abuse. Therefore, telling one's story to someone who will listen is of major importance. However, Karen Brounéus emphasises the fact that how the story is told and how it is listened to are of major significance, and that the victim is aware that not everything disclosed will lead to immediate healing. In this context, we can once again remember the book of recollections from Sami attendance in the nomad school system.⁸ However, peace and conflict researchers also emphasise the fact that disclosure of abuse does not automatically lead to healing and that research does not provide unequivocal support for the therapeutic effects of truth commissions, for example.⁹ The reception of the tales of Per Gustav Sparrock, Ibb-Ristin Tuorda, Susanna Huuva and others from the nomad school system must be formulated in a thoughtful and conscientious manner. "The truth shall make you free!" said Jesus to Pontius Pilate. "What is truth?" replied Pilate. This may be interpreted as cynical scepticism, but perhaps Pilate did actually have a point; particularly when the truth involves something that has touched and harmed us deep down. In this case, the tales must be allowed to raise questions and help to bring about dialogue, which deepens the experiences of both victim and perpetrator. Only then does this become a reconciliation process.

Last but not least, conflict and reconciliation relate also to *legal* issues. Peace researcher Daniel Bar-Tal writes that "justice is an indispensable part of reconciliation".¹⁰ In this respect, there is a difficult balance between justice for punishment and restorative justice. Sometimes we imagine that restorative, healing justice has only recently made an impact in society. This is not the case. The Code of Hammurabi dating back to almost 2000 BC is largely based on

jus talionis (an eye for an eye, for example), but it also expresses a feeling for restorative justice. It expands to transmission of cultural values, education in schools and historical documentation in the manner expressed in the scholarly anthology *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna*.

A Christian Reconciliation Ethic

Against this background, we are ready to turn to issues that concern Christian reconciliation ethic and reflect on forgiveness in the reconciliation process. The wounds must heal. They may perhaps leave a scar, but this will no longer be anything that hurts and destroys. The memories must be released from their destructive power. Forgiveness can be a special concluding stage in a reconciliation process, but it can also be something that takes place when people seek the truth or attempt to put things right. In this context, I will focus on the meaning of forgiveness.¹¹

When we consider issues relating to forgiveness and reconciliation, it is important to pay attention to how we use these key concepts. Forgiveness and reconciliation are closely linked with one another, but nevertheless there are differences. Forgiveness usually involves special actions, while reconciliation is a process. When someone says “I forgive you”, it can be said that the action is complete as soon as the words have been said. The person addressed may respond by expressing happiness, surprise, annoyance and so forth. Nevertheless, you are forgiven. But if someone says “I am reconciled”, this implies a *you*. Reconciliation is not all about me, but about the relationship between you and me as well. You and I have to be in a specific form of community, or heading in that direction. Reconciliation can only take place if *both you and I* implement some form of community after having previously lived as enemies or strangers due to various injustices. It can also be expressed as follows: forgiveness happens within a person, reconciliation is a process in a relationship.¹²

So what happens “within a person” when he or she forgives someone else? American theologian Lewis Smedes answers: three things. We rediscover the humanity of the perpetrator, we let things pass (do not give “back”), and we let go of our bitterness — or at

least start to do so. It can be noted that all three of these things relate to the person giving forgiveness. This can then lead to reconciliation, depending on how the other party receives this forgiveness.¹³

Certainly, reconciliation can exist without forgiveness. Two people can resume a relationship without forgiving one another. They can be reconciled, “turn over a new leaf” or quite simply let things pass. One may consider it more important to find meaning in life with another person rather than “dwelling on old injustices”. Forgiveness is also conceivable without reconciliation. We forgive without striving for any form of community or resumed relationship. We “part as friends”. Everett Worthington writes that “it is usually because people cannot reconcile (because an offender might be dead or might have moved) or because it is not safe to reconcile (because an offender is a rapist or physical abuser)”.¹⁴

Catholic theology of the Middle Ages described repentance, confession and penance as criteria for the forgiveness of sin. This cannot be interpreted as meaning that anyone who confesses, regrets their misdeeds and puts everything right as far as possible, will automatically have their sins forgiven. This would transform penance and forgiveness into a kind of religious law of nature. Forgiveness is the free decision of the victim, not something that the perpetrator can obtain by force by meeting certain specific terms.

Martin Luther was critical of the Catholic doctrine of penance because it was based on the notion that it was possible to earn God’s forgiveness through repentance, confession and penitence. Particularly challenging was the mediaeval notion that penitence was something that people could be released from (and, along with it, also punishment in purgatory), and that this could come about through indulgences that could also benefit already departed souls in purgatory. Luther turned against these teachings in the 95 theses against indulgences that he published in 1517. In thesis 27, he writes: “Those who announce that as soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory springs, teach human doctrines.” God’s forgiveness is not granted to us on the basis of our own profits, but on “mercy alone” through Jesus Christ. True penance involves not concentrating on the past to the exclusion of all else, but on a new life, looking forward.¹⁵ Redress has a subordinate part to play in Luther’s thinking.

It is easy to misunderstand Martin Luther in this regard. When, for example, he speaks about penance in an important sermon in 1517, he is referring to our relationship with God (in Latin *coram Deo*, ‘before God’). Quite simply, we have to surrender to the mercy of the Lord. No penance is sufficient before God. “Your repentance is never sufficiently true, but your faith and the word of Christ are eminently true and secure and entirely adequate”.¹⁶ Our relationships with our fellow human beings (in Latin *coram hominibus*, ‘before men’) are something else. Here, it is necessary to be reconciled in the manner described by Tore Johnsen; that is to say, through repentance, confession and reparation.

As regards the indulgences, it is not difficult to agree with Luther’s criticism. Nor do the indulgences have any important part to play in contemporary Catholic piety. At the same time, there is a grain of truth in the mediaeval view of penitence, not least if we interpret it as a study of reconciliation between human beings. Repentance, recognition and reparation are prerequisites for reconciliation. However, one important point in the teachings of Jesus is that this is not applicable in all situations.

CONDITIONAL AND UNCONDITIONAL FORGIVENESS

The opposite of the doctrine of conditional forgiveness through repentance, recognition and reparation is the doctrine of unconditional forgiveness. In simple terms: forgiveness comes first and gives rise to repentance, confession and reparation. It is a “spontaneous manifestation of life” (Gustaf Wingren) and, like love or trust, cannot be given “on certain terms”. Love, trust and forgiveness come first. Unconditional forgiveness is expressed in a particular way in two places in the Gospels: the parable of the prodigal son — or sons — in Luke 15:11–32 and the tale of the adulteress in John 8:1–11. In this parable, the reconciliation comes about without the truth having been clarified, the son returning home having expressed repentance or the father being reinstated and the power situation restored. The adulteress is forgiven before she has even asked for forgiveness. The forgiveness comes first and is assumed to fill her with a new courage to face life: “Neither do I condemn you: go now and leave your life of sin” (John 8:11). What is intimated here is unconditional forgiveness.

Unconditional forgiveness is a spontaneous expression of trust and as such may elicit a strong response. It may be a measure that creates confidence and paves the way for new opportunities. One example could be the trip made by Anwar Sadat, President of Egypt, to Jerusalem in 1977. This paved the way for a completely new phase in the peace process between Israel and Egypt. Unconditional forgiveness is also of value as it perceives the repentance and desire for improvement before the offenders themselves perceive them. Alluding to the parable of the prodigal son, author George Eliot writes: “Would not love see returning penitence afar off, and fall on its neck and kiss it?”¹⁷

There are also objections to the notion of unconditional forgiveness. First, the significance of repentance is brought up in various places in the New Testament. Jesus said, “If your brother or sister sins against you, rebuke them; and if they repent, forgive them” (Luke 17:3). Here, the first stage in Tore Johnsen’s model— truth — is intimated and the second is clearly highlighted. Johnsen’s model also matches what the Apostle Peter says according to the Acts of the Apostles 3:19: “Repent, then, and turn to God, so that your sins may be wiped out”. Secondly, it is possible to wonder whether forgiveness is meaningful unless there is also a desire for forgiveness, repentance of what has been done and a desire to put things right. Thirdly, unconditional forgiveness can be perceived as a proposed demonstration of power; more or less as demonstrated by trickster Uriah Heep in Charles Dickens’ novel *David Copperfield*. Uriah had committed an obvious injustice against David. David, the narrator, boxed his ears, a violent altercation occurred and David told Uriah to go to hell.

“Don’t say that!” he replied. “I know you’ll be sorry afterwards. How can you make yourself so inferior to me, as to show such a bad spirit? But I forgive you.”

“You forgive me!” I repeated disdainfully.

“I do, and you can’t help yourself,” replied Uriah.¹⁸

Unconditional forgiveness can be misused as a means of power. Nevertheless, it is significant in many social situations. It can express spontaneous trust with no guarantees and so break a threatening spiral of violence. But as the quotation from Dickens shows,

it can be distorted into a means of power; and so conditional forgiveness is an inevitable element of various reconciliation processes. Reconciliation assumes forgiveness in many cases, but in such cases the forgiveness must be given with the right intention and received as a new opportunity for fellowship.

What Is the Significance of Christian Reconciliation Ethic for the Relationship between the Church of Sweden and the Sami People?

The question in this heading brings at least two different questions to the fore. The first relates on the one hand to the relationship between the people who were directly guilty of the abuse described in the White Paper, and on the other hand to subsequent generations, including our own, which has become more closely acquainted with the history of the Sami people. The second question relates to what forgiveness or reconciliation may involve between the Church and the Sami people as two — not entirely separate — groups. Can one group forgive another?

On numerous occasions, history bears testimony to how groups can harm and abuse one another. One of the most dramatic examples in contemporary times is the Hutu genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994. According to official statistics, 937,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were murdered between 6 April and early July. A tribunal was appointed in 1998 and a number of the top Hutu leaders have been convicted. Soldiers of lower rank have admitted their participation, repented and participated in various reconstruction projects.

Many conflicts are of the nature of antagonism between a national state authority and individual ethnic groups. Churches and communities have frequently been involved in conflicts and allied themselves with the state authority or the oppressed ethnic group. In the 1930s, the German Confessing Church (*Die Bekennende Kirche*) opposed the racist Nazi laws, while *Die Deutsche Christen* — ‘German Christians’ — expressed solidarity with Hitler. South African apartheid policy divided Christian churches in a similar way. In 1984, the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) expelled three Lutheran churches that supported the policies of the ruling Nation-

alist Party. Later, this resulted in a reconciliation between the LWF and the churches in question.

RACIAL BIOLOGY AND THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS

The relationship between the Sami people and the Church of Sweden is more complicated. In what sense can the Church and the Sami people be referred to as two different parties? The Sami people are hardly a uniform group, and the Church was historically intimately interwoven with the state authority and its various institutions. The various articles in the White Paper scholarly anthology provide numerous examples of this. Maja Hagerman writes about contact between Herman Lundborg's Institute for Racial Biology (1922–1958) at Uppsala University and various parish ministers in the Diocese of Luleå. Lundborg visited these ministers and Hagerman describes how they assisted Lundborg in his studies of the Sami population.¹⁹ Representatives of local parishes became involved in cooperation with Uppsala University and the state authority that supported the activities of the institute. This raises many critical issues, partly because Lundborg's Sami studies are undoubtedly indicative of a condescending view of the Sami population. From an ethical research standpoint, many questions can also be asked about whether the people involved were given the opportunity to provide informed consent. Sami people were subjected to abuse when various photographs were taken without their permission.

Hagerman provides a number of examples of incidents where a group of researchers, with the assistance of various parishes and clergymen in the Church of Sweden, subject Sami people to immoral treatment. The racial-biological background context further darkens the whole aspect. But how could this be made the subject of a reconciliation process in a meaningful way? The people involved most closely are no longer with us; although the Church and the Uppsala University remain as institutions, alongside the descendants of the Sami people who participated in the various Lundborg studies.

Hagerman's study could contribute to the reconciliation process between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people in various ways. But what part do repentance and conversion have to play? The Church of Sweden and Uppsala University are institutions. An

institution cannot repent or convert. Here, perhaps, is the most obvious difference between personal forgiveness and reconciliation on the one hand and group forgiveness and group reconciliation on the other.

Now it can be argued that even if an institution is unable to regret its actions, its representatives certainly can. In the case in question, Archbishop Antje Jackelén and Vice-Chancellor Eva Åkesson are the current representatives for the Church of Sweden and Uppsala University, respectively. However, this gives rise to many different questions. Archbishop Jackelén and Vice-Chancellor Åkesson are completely different people to those responsible for their respective institutions when Herman Lundborg was carrying out his unscientific and unethical studies. Can they really be held responsible for something that involved their predecessors in the early 20th century? The former Archbishop, Anders Wejryd, touched upon this during the Ságastallamat conference held in Kiruna in 2011. Here is a quotation from Wejryd's lecture:

What responsibility do we bear for previous generations? This is something we can reflect on. I feel no sense of responsibility for the stupid things my grandfather did. But I know I am influenced by them, and I hope my grandchildren do not get annoyed about them. We all have a responsibility for the mistakes we make, a responsibility to take on board historical experiences. What appears obvious now may not be so obvious in 20 years' time.²⁰

Many of the Sami representatives were upset and perceived this as a cowardly way of evading the responsibilities of the Church. Surely, no one could evade responsibility for how we handle and process history? This was an entirely natural reaction, and it was unfortunate that Wejryd was not given the opportunity to explain what he meant in greater detail. I believe he wanted to say that one person cannot be regarded as morally guilty of actions carried out by another person. Punishing a person for something they have not done cannot be right. That was probably what Anders Wejryd wanted to say.

That said, it may be important — indeed, obligatory even — for the Archbishop and Vice-Chancellor to stand up in some context, express their regret about what has happened and offer to put var-

ious things right, as far as this is possible. In this case, this is not repentance in the sense of personal remorse, but in the sense of a strong desire for the things that have happened not to have happened.²¹ This in turn gives rise to new questions. Who, then, would receive their repentance and clarifications, and perhaps give them their forgiveness? Who are the legitimate representatives of the Sami people abused by Lundborg? Of course, there are many different opinions in this regard. Many people would perhaps welcome such a statement, while others would consider it an evasion. "Forgiveness is a beggar's refuge; we must pay our debts."²² Others may perhaps feel that this is all in the past and it is time to "turn over a new leaf". Some people would say that the evil done by Lundborg will remain evil, no matter how much the Sami descendants get involved in a reconciliation process.

Here, in the first instance it is not a matter of whether various representatives of the Church and Uppsala University have or do not have a desire for reconciliation. I am convinced that many of them do. The question is whether their repentance and clarifications are something that would count in a reconciliation process at all. Can a person represent someone else in a reconciliation process? Should not the prayers for forgiveness come from the person who caused the harm, not from the representatives of the institution almost a century later?

Simon Wiesenthal describes an incident that happened when he was imprisoned at the Mauthausen concentration camp.²³ A young SS soldier was dying and asked Wiesenthal to forgive him for the bad things he had done to innocent Jews in the Soviet town of Dnepropetrovsk (now Dnipro). Wiesenthal refused, but he began to question whether he had done the right thing. He asked his elders at the camp about it, but they were of the opinion that Wiesenthal had no right to forgive the SS soldier on behalf of the innocent women and children that he helped to kill. But Wiesenthal was not convinced. Did his affiliation to Judaism not give him the right to forgive what the SS soldier had done to other Jews? All of this touches upon a matter that it is important to bear in mind in the ongoing discussion on the White Paper between the Church and the Sami people. The right to forgive is not exclusively bound to whoever has been directly affected by an injustice. The person or people that can iden-

tify with the people affected in a particular way can — so to speak — share their right to forgive and seek reconciliation.²⁴

In conclusion, the opportunity (note, not the right) to *be* forgiven is not linked exclusively with the party that directly caused the injustice. The people who represent the same institutions can seek forgiveness from the people who were affected in the past by the deeds of which the representatives of the institution at that time were guilty. Against this background, we can interpret the speech given by King Harald V of Norway in 1997 at the time of the opening of the Norwegian Sami Parliament, where he apologised to the Sami people. I reproduce here the quotation found in Gunlög Fur's contribution to the White Paper.

Norway is founded on the territory of two peoples — the Norwegians and the Sami. Sami history is closely interwoven with Norwegian history. Today, we must apologise for the injustices committed by the state of Norway against the Sami people on account of their strict Norwegianisation policy. Therefore, the state of Norway bears particular responsibility for laying the foundation so that the Sami people can build a strong and viable community. This is a time-honoured right based on the presence of the Sami people in their areas dating back to the time before the state of Norway came into being.²⁵

This speech is a good example of the fact that the right to ask for forgiveness does not exclusively belong to anyone who has harmed other people or an entire group of people in the past. This also touches upon the other stages in Johnsen's reconciliation process, including repentance in the sense of a strong desire for the things that have happened not to have happened.

Every bit as important is perhaps what Tore Johnsen says about restoration; that is to say, the opportunities to put things right and lay the foundation for a better future. Harald V says in his speech that “[t]herefore, the state of Norway bears particular responsibility for laying the foundation so that the Sami people can build a strong and viable community”. And this is very much applicable to present and future generations. It could perhaps even be said that this is where the emphasis should be in the reconciliation process. As regards the harm done to the Sami people by racial-biological

research, we can quite specifically ask the question: what can the Church of Sweden and Uppsala University do today to reinforce the credibility of contemporary research, and in particular the research that relates to Sápmi?

MISSION AND ENFORCED CONVERSION TO A DIFFERENT RELIGION

Racial-biological research is one example of the reflection required as regards the application of Johnsen's reconciliation model. Another is the more general issue of the Church of Sweden's attempts to induce the Sami people to abandon their original religion and become Christians. These attempts have been manifested in terrible ways, such as when Sami Lars Nilsson was sentenced to death by Svea Court of Appeal in 1692 for sorcery and sacrificial rites, and was then burnt at the stake the following year. It could also be manifested in less dramatic but no less abusive ways when the indigenous religion of the Sami people was subjected to disrespectful belittlement. In the summary of his White Paper article on the minority policy of the dioceses of Härnösand and Luleå, Lars Elenius writes:

The common aspect in the confessional policy was to force the Sami to abandon their own religion and turn them into Christians. This enforced conversion to a different religion is the only area where the Church has not asked the Sami people for forgiveness, although understanding has been expressed of Sami spirituality, the earlier mythology of the Sami people and the fact that nature has been regarded as sacred in Sami mentality.²⁶

The involvement of the Church of Sweden in the confessional policy is also something that Archbishop Antje Jackelén and Sylvia Sparrock brought to the fore in an article in Sweden's largest newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, in March 2016. This included the following passage:

The Church of Sweden is a party to the colonial heritage. The issue of accepting responsibility for history and respect for the human rights of the Sami people are interlinked today. This is why the Church of Sweden is currently working to examine the way in which we have behaved towards the Sami people. For centuries the

Church was part of the colonisation of Sápmi and played an active part in exercising power and control over the Sami people. Representatives of the Church also played a proactive part in the creation of the nomad schools in the early 20th century.²⁷

The White Paper describes in various contributions the enforced religious conversion mentioned by Lars Elenius in his article. One example is Olle Sundström's historical review of various Swedish Church understandings of indigenous Sami world view. In connection with this, there is discussion of the intensified suppression of Sami religion in the late 17th century, with the 1693 execution of Sami Lars Nilsson as one of the most terrible examples. Sundström provides examples of how later times brought with them more generous interpretations of Sami religious tradition and how the present day has displayed an even more inclusive theological attitude. This is in many ways a very positive development, but at the same time, many other contributions to the White Paper provide reminders of how Sami people were subjected to religious compulsion on the part of the Church of Sweden; at the nomad schools, for example.

Theology of Religions Issues

In the concluding part of my contribution, I will attend to theology of religions, particularly with regard to the normative issue of the Church of Sweden's approach to the religious heritage of the Sami people. Of course, not all Sami people regard their religious heritage as a living, existential alternative; just as Swedes in general do not view Sweden's Christian heritage as something that concerns them deep down. However, the Sami tradition is present in the collective memory, just as Christianity is present in Sweden as a forgotten yet physically tangible reality in the form of church buildings, as well as sayings and customs.²⁸ How to deal with these traditions across traditional boundaries is an issue that neither the Sami people nor the Church of Sweden can disregard. This is also emphasised by the instruction for Sami confirmation camps by the Diocese of Luleå, which Olle Sundström quotes in the introduction to his contribution to the White Paper.

At Sami confirmation camps, teaching should be characterised by the fact that the Sami are a separate people with a history of their own, in a cultural, political and spiritual sense. For the Church of Sweden, this means teaching about Sami religious traditions and providing scope for them, both as they were before they encountered the nation states and the Church, and as they continue to exist nowadays. Approaches to nature, sacred sites, foremothers, forefathers and reindeer are also important in these contexts.²⁹

Of course, the background to this focus of teaching at Sami confirmation camps is interlinked with high valuation of Sami heritage. However, it is also natural to assume that this has something to do with certain basic issues within the theology of religions. I will be looking more closely at some of these basic issues, where there are also differing views within the churches and the Church of Sweden. Nevertheless, I would venture to say that I am writing with a certain amount of support from contemporary Christian consensus.

The theology of religions concerns the interpretation of Christian faith in relation to other religious traditions. This may relate to the relationship of Christianity with Islam, Judaism and the Oriental religions, but it may also relate to the relationship with the religious heritage of the Sami people. Sami religion is designated (in the Swedish *National Encyclopedia*, for example) as a “pre-Christian religion”, but the White Paper documents how many customs and usages from this tradition live on in Sápmi. This includes the noaidi’s drum and yoiking, which various contributions to the White Paper place in their historical context. Moreover, sacred sites are part of the collective memory of the Sami people.

In his book about Sami world view, Nils Uddenberg highlights the significance of Sami religious heritage for the Sami people of today. They sometimes express regret over having been robbed of their own religious tradition and offered something they cannot accept, and affirm that the original Sami nature religion is of continuing significance to them. It is not unusual for this concern to go hand-in-hand with commitment to the environment. When Uddenberg asks an environmentally aware Sami man whether nature forms an integral part of Sami religiousness, he replies:

Yes, it affects our entire lifestyle. [...] I don't think we need specific gods as such that we make sacrifices to and that kind of thing, but there is a force in nature [...] Modern Sami religion doesn't need to manifest itself in the same way as the old [...] *seitar* [Sami sacred objects in nature] and rites and all that. It's more a matter of respect for nature.³⁰

In a similar way, a middle-aged woman explains her interest in ancient Sami traditions, yoiking and the various symbols on the ritual drum. The Sami tradition interprets her experiences more accurately than Christianity. And she continues:

This means you've respected all these natural forces, and that's what's all nature religions do. [The Sami culture] has been a very tiny culture really; a few people lived in a really barren environment, so their day-to-day survival took up so much time that they didn't have time to spend thinking about more philosophical issues like the Oriental religions have [done], [...] where loads of literature is available on the subject. The Sami religion doesn't have that tradition, but I reckon it's good enough for my day-to-day use [...] ³¹

For other Sami people, the relationship between the Sami and Christians was not always a state of opposition. Uddenberg provides a number of examples of this phenomenon. One middle-aged man had this to say:

I know, for example, that when we went fishing in autumn, even though he was a Laestadian, my dad always threw the biggest fish back into the lake when we pulled up our nets — always. When I was a teenager and started to rebel a bit, I asked him “How does all this link up with Laestadianism?” All I remember is how he simply said, with no further explanation or comment, “It belongs to the lake”. But I interpreted this as some kind of sacrifice to some being that had something to do with the lake.³²

Against this background, the traditional religion of the Sami people can be termed a living heritage. This is also something that can be recognised not only as a kind of wealth in a multicultural society, but also a matter of religious significance in the present as well as the past. In theology of religions, this is referred to as *knowledge-based*

inclusivism. Essentially, this means that there are religious truths in all religions, even though there are more religious truths that are more central and expressed more clearly in my own religious tradition.³³ An individual may perceive the Christian faith as central but also be open to the fact that there are religious truths in other religious traditions, such as the Sami religion. In other words, it is possible to be a Christian believer and at the same time recognise the fact that there are genuine encounters with the divine in the religious experience of the noaidis.

Knowledge-based inclusivism comes close to the standpoint embraced by Nathan Söderblom in the quotation reproduced by Olle Sundström in his contribution to the White Paper, which is taken from Söderblom's *Naturlig religion och religionshistoria* ('Natural religion and the history of religions') (1914):

For there are two insights involved in the concepts of natural religion and natural theology as far as theological science is concerned; firstly, that all religion is interlinked in some way, so that theology has a universal task and must include humanity's entire religiosity, and secondly, that something of the truth and hence of divine origin can be found in every religion, no matter how wretched, primitive or gone astray it may be.³⁴

Söderblom was — as also emphasised by Sundström — dependent on an evolutionistic view of the history of religions and imagines that humanity had developed from lower forms of “primitive” religion to the highest form of religion, Christianity. Such an interpretation must be reconsidered in various ways in order to form a starting point for a sustainable theology of religions. A theology of religions must also integrate the two insights referred to by Söderblom with the theories and results of what is known as the cognitive science of religion. This research focus is based on the fact that the global spread of religion is explained by certain universal cognitive mechanisms which came into being during the evolutionary development of mankind. There is a core in all religions that has been expressed in different cultural ways. Religion in the sense of a more indeterminate belief in something otherworldly comes naturally to most people. According to certain theories, religious faith is therefore rationally justified to a certain extent.³⁵

Against this background, both Sami religion and the Christian faith can be interpreted as mixtures of culturally developed ideas and something that could be described as a natural longing for the divine. Such an interpretation was not alien to Lars Levi Laestadius,³⁶ nor to Edgar Reuterskiöld, Söderblom's successor to the professorship in Uppsala. There are several reasons to expand upon such a theology of religions and emphasise what a philosopher of religion, Mikael Stenmark, calls *salvation-based inclusivism*; that is to say, the view that my religion offers the best and safest path to the ultimate goal of life, fellowship with God, *but that there are also other paths*. The opposite of this is *salvation-based exclusivism*; in other words, the notion that only one's own religious tradition is the right one, in the sense that only this path leads to salvation.³⁷

Salvation-based exclusivism has been characteristic of the Church of Sweden's approach to Sami religion. As Olle Sundström states, this was a supporting element in the increasing intolerance towards the Sami religion at the end of the 17th century. Gabriel Tuderus (1638–1705), vicar of Kemi lappmark, “burned drums, nailed shut the ritually significant back doors of Sami cots and was said to have ensured that an 80-year-old Sami man was sentenced to death for yoiking”.³⁸ Tuderus persecuted the Sami people because he believed that Sami worship would result in eternal condemnation after death. This was an expression of a demonisation of the religious faith and customs of the Sami people which to all intents and purposes still occurs, even though the purely physical persecution has ceased.

Salvation-based exclusivism was also the reason why the authorities waited before executing Lars Nilsson in 1693. He could not be beheaded and burnt at the stake until he had converted to Christianity. It was not possible to execute a person knowing that he will go directly to Hell.

Most churches distanced themselves from salvation-based exclusivism a long time ago. One important document for the theology of religions within the Catholic Church is *Lumen Gentium*, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church. This was promulgated by the Second Vatican Council in 1962–1965 and is interesting as it emphasises the notion that Christianity does not have a monopoly on salvation. It states, for example, the following:

Nor is God far distant from those who in shadows and images seek the unknown God, for it is He who gives to all men life and breath and all things (Cf. Acts 17:25–28), and as Saviour wills that all men be saved (Cf. 1 Tim. 2:4).

Those also can attain to salvation who through no fault of their own do not know the Gospel of Christ or His Church, yet sincerely seek God and moved by grace strive by their deeds to do His will as it is known to them through the dictates of conscience. Nor does Divine Providence deny the helps necessary for salvation to those who, without blame on their part, have not yet arrived at an explicit knowledge of God and with His grace strive to live a good life.³⁹

The Church of Sweden's *Befrielsen: Stora boken om kristen tro* ("The Liberation: The large book on Christian faith") (1993) comes close to expressing a similar notion. God has created all human beings. There is a relationship between the Creator and humanity that goes deeper than the traditions of all religions. "This means that all people seek the one God and turn to Him in their prayers, even though the various world religions and new religious movements provide the most shifting framework for their worship of God."⁴⁰

In the theology of religions document published by the Church of Sweden Theological Committee in 2011 (*Sann mot sig själv — öppen mot andra* ["True to oneself — open to others"]), Kajsa Ahlstrand writes that salvation-based exclusivism is "problematic, as it is of the opinion that all people who have lived without a knowledge of the Christian faith will miss out on salvation". And she continues:

Children who die without having been baptised and people who die without having heard of Jesus are then thought to be lost for all eternity. Such a theology is not consistent with the belief in a good and loving God who wants all people to be saved. Exclusivism in its strictest form has few advocates in churches today.⁴¹

If God loves all human beings, God is merciful and just. By no means all humans have access to the Christian path to salvation and — it may be added — those who do have it perhaps have morally acceptable reasons to doubt this path to salvation. Perhaps Lars Nilsson from Silbojokk was one of these? If so, how can it be possible for God, who is merciful and just, to give only certain people His fellowship? To avoid contradicting one's own faith, one should aban-

don salvation-based exclusivism and instead accept the notion that there are paths to salvation other than that offered by Christianity.

It is important to emphasise that salvation-based inclusivism does not mean that Christian believers must abandon the notion that the path offered by Christianity — the belief in Jesus Christ — is the best and safest path to salvation. The path to communion with God means that I trust in God's grace and that I do not believe that I can save myself through any of my own deeds or sacrifices. However, this conviction does not prevent me being convinced at the same time that people of other faiths can find communion with God, both in this life and for eternity. This is also consistent with the motto of the current Archbishop, Antje Jackelén: God is greater.

With such a theology of religions, participants in Sami confirmation camps approach Sami traditions not only as a cultural heritage museum, but as a living wealth of genuine religious experiences and existential paths to that which is holy.⁴² There is also reason for the Church of Sweden to recognise the religious heritage of the Sami people as a path to salvation for past generations and sincerely express a desire that this heritage had never been suppressed. With this, the barrier between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people could be torn down and a living discussion on Sami spirituality could be developed.

SYLVIA SPARROCK

10. Ways Forward

From Colonisation to Reconciliation

Introduction

I have learned a lot about my own and my people's history from reading the articles in the White Paper and the stories in the Nomad School Book.¹ A lot of what happened in the past is both frightening and painful — all the abuses suffered by Sami people at the hands of both the state and the Church. The fact that our history is being recognised is an important step in a reconciliation process which must aim to restore and respect the Sami people. This is the only way that healing and reconciliation can be achieved.

In this article, I refer to some of the articles and stories included in the White Paper and the Nomad School Book, but all the texts in these books include important elements of our Sami history. My article is also based on other sources, reports and commentaries; because although the White Paper is extensive, it does not cover everything. There is other research into the past and present situations of the Sami people that can complete the picture. I have in mind, for example, the Sami research taking place in Norway, Finland and Russia. International research into indigenous peoples may also help to provide perspectives on the Sami people in the past and the present.

I hope the White Paper Project, with its publications, inspires interest and involvement among both Sami people and the wider

public. I also hope that researchers will be inspired to implement new initiatives in order to expand upon and supplement the picture of our Sami history. My desire is for Sami history to become an integrated part of “Swedish” history.

Colonisation has left painful traces on the Sami people. Young Sami people are still suffering the consequences of colonisation. However, I am pleased to note that there is growing awareness among young Sami people of how colonial history influences their situation today. My son, Nejla Sparrock Jonasson, recently posted the following on Facebook:

The noaidi who was burned at the stake with his drum and images of his gods smeared in reindeer blood. Forced to adopt Christianity and not allowed to use their own Sami names. The division of property, *skattefjäll* documents that were burnt and “disappeared”. Land that was stolen for the second time. The “Lapp should remain Lapp”-policy. Reindeer herders who were forced to migrate thousands of kilometres. Skull measurements, racial biology. Sami children who were forced to go to school 300 kilometres from home at the age of six, schools where they were chastised and beaten if they spoke their native language. Mountains that are being requisitioned and turned into tourist centres. Migration routes that are being destroyed by hydroelectric power plants. Legal proceedings relating to lost winter pasture. A policy on predators that is slowly but surely bringing reindeer herding down.

We have survived a lot since the first colonisation.

And we are still battling to the very last. Like the windswept virgin forest nearest to the mountains. I am grateful that it still exists, providing security when the wind howls and the anguish strikes.

Am I wrong if I believe that the anguish can sometimes be inherited?

But they have done a good job, our ancestors, in good times and in bad.

That is something I will try to do as well.

I am pleased and proud that my son, Nejla, sees the links so clearly and expresses them with such clarity. However, he is not the only young Sami to express critical views of the past and its consequences in the present. I would like to reproduce parts of a discus-

sion involving journalist PO Tidholm and two young Sami, artist Anders Sunna and musician Magnus Ekelund — alias Kitok — in the Swedish Television documentary series “Resten av Sverige” (“The rest of Sweden”).² In this, Anders Sunna describes his family’s situation in conflict with the Swedish state: their reindeer owner’s marks have been cancelled, they have been forced to move, and they have been subject to persecution for more than 40 years. PO Tidholm wonders which tale about the Sami people is valid. Anders replies that this is the romanticised tale and the picture of the Sami as such a peaceful folk. When the Sami people revolt, even Sami themselves oppose one another and say: “We can’t do that, we’re really peaceful. But if we don’t resist, this could be the death of us.” In the same discussion, Sami musician Kitok says that failing to agree is a classic minority behaviour — everyone argues with everyone else. Anders agrees: “Yes, that’s really convenient as far as the state’s concerned. They never need to get their hands dirty. All they do is set the wheels in motion, then away it goes all on its own.”

The young Sami people of today are the future of the Sami people. We know that a lot of people have to fight hard for their Sami identity, their Sami culture and their Sami trade. We also know that not everyone has the energy to go on fighting. I hope that the work that has begun with the White Paper and the Nomad School Book will help young Sami today to experience a future where Sami people are taken seriously and Sami rights are respected.

Content of the Article

In this article, I will be looking at some of the questions that I feel are important for the indigenous Sami people in Sweden today. The Church of Sweden has helped to create some of these problems, either by means of independent action or in partnership with the state, while responsibility for other problems rests more unequivocally with the state authorities. Regardless, the Church of Sweden can accept responsibility for its colonial past today and help to create better living conditions for the indigenous Sami people in Sweden.

This article begins with colonial perspectives, where I show how the colonial past is still rendering the Sami exposed. I then look at the legal position of the Sami and make demands for ratification of

ILO Convention no. 169 on the rights of indigenous peoples. Land issues are an important part of these rights, and as an administrator of large tracts of land, the Church can set a good example by introducing new forms of consultation. Another important issue where the Church can make a difference involves repatriation and reburial of Sami human remains. I am calling for a clear policy on this issue.

This article also looks at the loss of the Sami language and other problems associated with the school policy implemented by the Church and the state. The Church of Sweden should create conditions which will allow Sami people to process their experiences and take back their language. The Church must also take responsibility for the internal conflict between various Sami groups caused by what is known as the “category split” between reindeer herders and non-reindeer herders.

This article culminates in demands for continued presentation of Sami culture and history, which includes a truth and reconciliation commission on the state’s colonial relationship with the Sami people. The Church of Sweden can play a proactive role in this regard. The article ends with a list of measures that the Church must undertake so that reconciliation efforts can continue towards decolonisation and restoration.

What Does Colonisation Involve, and What Does this Mean for the Sami People?

The state and the Church of Sweden have colonised the Sami people for a long time. This has involved conscious strategies and actions, and the colonisation process is still in progress. Colonisation does not just involve capturing and exploiting land areas, it also involves suppressing the religion, language, culture, ideology, values and knowledge of a people. According to Gunlög Fur, great geographical distance between the colonial power and the colonised is not required in order to refer to colonialism. For her, colonialism is instead a process which involves a state authority unilaterally “seizing the right to make decisions on an indigenous people’s territory, culture and economy, on the pretext that it has a superior social system”.³ Fur is of the opinion that the definition of colonialism also involves “perceptions of racial/ethnic and cultural inequality between the governing

people and the subordinate people, striving for political dominance and physical and economic exploitation of indigenous peoples.”⁴ The indigenous people’s norms are belittled, altered and — finally — adapted entirely to fit in with the norms of the majority society.

In the 17th century, when the state and the Church took Lappmarken — the traditional territory of the Sami people — land areas were seized and the Sami were forced to convert to Christianity. Both the state and the Church worked to convert the Sami people to the Lutheran faith. According to Gunlög Fur, this meant that the Sami had to be persuaded to abandon “the belief systems, the family structures and the laws and customs that constituted the foundation for livelihood and society”⁵ The aim was to incorporate the Sami people into the Swedish Realm as subjects of the King.

The colonial history of Sápmi⁶ has taken many forms: the capture of land and water areas by means of *Lappmarksplakat*, the establishment of *skattefjäll*, increasing the cultivation limit and promoting a settler culture. It involves the establishment of state institutions, from mining in Nasafjäll in the 17th century when the Sami people were forced to using pack reindeer and sleighs to transport silver ore to the coastal area for onward transport. It involves grave robbing, ministers supplying the researchers of the day with Sami bodies, skulls and skeletal parts. It involves the destruction and desecration of Sami cult sites and sacred objects. It involves enforcement of Christianity, prohibition of praying to any gods other than Christianity’s Holy Trinity. It involves banning Sami modes of expression — yoiking, the drum, the noaidi and the Sami languages.

The Exposure of the Sami People

Because of the colonial history, many Sami people feel they have been affected without really understanding that their colonial heritage is what is still affecting them. It is as though this has been passed down through the generations in their mothers’ milk. This is not just due to being in a vulnerable position as a minority, but also due to the feeling of being robbed of something: the language and the right to land and water, and perhaps above all autonomy, someone else dictating the terms of the rights to which we are entitled — or not, as the case may be.

Unfortunately, it is commonplace for Sami people and reindeer herders to be subjected to structural racism, bullying and abuse. This may involve coarse terms of abuse, but equally it may involve subtle hints or jokes about “Lapps” and reindeer that are then excused by saying that they were just jokes. And surely people can take a joke? I have never heard the word *Sami* in these contexts — it is always *Lapp*. People of all ages do this, from schoolchildren to elderly people in sheltered accommodation. I know elderly Sami who are subject to other residents’ idle tittle-tattle behind their backs, taunts and ostracism at their residential homes.

Not only Sami people are subjected to bullying and abuse. People also set about innocent animals, like when reindeer are the object of people’s hatred of reindeer owners and Sami people. In the autumn of 2015, the media highlighted a problem whereby reindeer owners were having their reindeer stolen and subjected to cruelty. In some areas, this is a major problem that has been ongoing for several decades. On 13 October 2015, “Kalla fakta” (‘Cold facts’) on the television network TV4 broadcast a report on poaching and reindeer cruelty in Gällivare. The reindeer owners were affected twice over; not just by the crimes themselves, but also by the judicial system’s inability — or perhaps unwillingness — to curb the problem and dispense justice. Sami people are subject to hate crimes, threats and harassment of all kinds, but unfortunately not all incidents are reported so large numbers of unreported cases are missing in the statistics.

Conditions for reindeer herding are worsening. Fewer people are expected to make a living from reindeer herding due to reductions in grazing areas on account of all the intrusions and disturbances that help to reduce the amount of pasture available. Reindeer herding is also being suppressed on account of the state policy on predators. Sami people who herd reindeer are challenged with regard to their reindeer herding rights. These rights are often referred to as “privileges” (this means hunting, fishing, “free” snowmobiling, etc.), although this actually involves a civil legal right based on traditions from time immemorial.

Among other things, the exposure of the Sami people leads to health problems. It is known that the Sami and other indigenous peoples are more commonly affected by mental illness and high sui-

cide figures than the majority population. The Sami Parliament was issued with a government mandate to chart psychosocial ill-health among Sami people. Psychologist Jon Petter Stoor carried out this work, which was completed in June 2016.⁷ “In my view, it is indecent that one of the richest countries in the world still has such a lack of knowledge about its indigenous population”, he says in an interview in the magazine *Psykologtidningen*.⁸ Later on in the interview, he explains how he relates to the high suicide figures:

It always seems important to wear a *kolt* [traditional Sami dress], particularly when I am lecturing about suicide. It is all a matter of respect for the Sami people who are no longer with us, a kind of marker.⁹

In many countries, mental illness among the indigenous population is linked with colonisation. This was also something emphasised recently in an article in prestigious medical and scientific journal *The Lancet*. The article reports on the results from a global study in which Sweden also participated. As Sweden has no Sami health research, not much is actually known about the health of the Sami people, and Sweden has been criticised by the UN for this. Per Axelsson, who was responsible for the Swedish part of the study, says that it is “likely that colonisation is the key to mental illness among Sami people”. In his opinion, they are suffering from a collective historical trauma that needs to be dealt with. However, there is one particular problem: “The county councils and medical care are a product of colonisation and are not created by and for Sami people”.¹⁰

The White Paper on the Church of Sweden and the Sami people includes a number of articles that provide perspectives on Sami exposure today. In particular, I would like to draw your attention to two articles dealing with attitudes towards Sami people that have led to segregation and exclusion. Lena Karlsson and Marianne Liliequist write about the attitudes toward elderly Sami people in geriatric care. They assert that the 1924 Government Official Report *Fattigvården bland lapparna* (‘Poor relief among the Lapps’) exhibited racial-biological elements in its reasoning on the Sami people. That is to say, the report derived the special position of the Sami people from their “peculiar living conditions”, which were perceived to be

linked not only with their work, but also with “curious habits and characteristics, so very different to the rest of the Swedish population, owing to their origin and nature [*naturanlag*]”.¹¹

This perception, that the Sami people were different to Swedes, was also part of the reason why special “Lapp parishes” were created in Jämtland and Härjedalen counties, a scheme that persisted for almost 200 years until 1941. In his article, Lars Thomasson writes about how the Sami people were excluded from influence in both the Lapp parishes and the regular parishes to which these were attached. Thomasson describes the Lapp parishes as follows:

They had no church council, nor any instructions on church meetings. The Sami did not attend the church meetings or elections of vicars for the regular parish, and they were not involved at all in any issues relating to the church and school. In other words, they were completely excluded from society in their home parishes and municipalities.¹²

The Sami people were registered residents of non-territorial Lapp parishes, so they were not entitled to vote either. This has left historical scars that affect Sami people to this day.

In her editorial article “När ska nya stigar trampas?” (“When will new paths be trodden?”) in the South Sami parish paper *Daer-pies Dierie*, issue 4, 2015, ViviAnn Labba Klemensson writes about the attitudes of society and individuals to the Sami people: the hate directed at reindeer and the Sami who herd them, abuses that have continued over several generations, attitudes and values that are rapidly passed on from generation to generation, structures in society that render Sami people and Sami issues invisible, leading to ineligibility and a lack of respect for them. “Action is what shows the way. State of Sweden, the time for it is now”, writes Klemensson. I would like to add: It is also time for the Church of Sweden to take action.

The Church and ILO Convention no. 169

It felt like a punch in the solar plexus, the kind of thing that takes your breath away for a moment. Shortly afterwards came the pain, feeling as though it came from the cheeks — burning, hot and red. It was a feeling of shame, a reminder that I had been stupid enough

to place my trust in the Church of Sweden in 2014. “What did we tell you?” The words echoed in my ears. Words from the people who doubted in the Church — this strengthened their argument. Why get involved in the Church after all the injustices committed by the Church and the state, in both the past and the present? And me, I had defended my involvement as a Sami member of the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden and attempted to explain to my mistrustful relatives, friends and other Sami people that things have changed, times are different. I had defended a Church that stands up for compassion, fairness and democracy, a Church that wants to strengthen the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities, a Church that has no desire to continue in the oppressive footsteps of history. My opinion and hope was — and still is — that success will be achieved more easily if we participate in all levels and arenas of society, rather than being excluded and marginalised.

What I am trying to describe are my feelings and reactions when the news broke on the stance of the Church of Sweden on the indigenous population. It was announced that the Church Assembly had decided on 18 November 2014 not to adopt motion 2014:4, “Support Sami rights”.¹³ This motion urged the Church Assembly to make a decision to assign to the Church Central Board the task of calling on the Swedish government and parliament to support the ratification of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The motion was voted down.

Once again, a motion on the ILO Convention no. 169 case was submitted to the 2015 Church Assembly.¹⁴ Again, the proposal was that the Church Assembly should make a decision to assign to the Central Board the task of calling on the government and parliament to support the ratification of the Convention. In September 2015, the Church Life Committee discussed the motion and decided to propose approval of the motion by the Church Assembly;¹⁵ and this was also the decision of the Church Assembly on 17 November 2015.¹⁶

Why is it so important to ratify ILO Convention no. 169? The Sami are an indigenous people in Sweden, and the Sami people’s traditional use of land for reindeer herding, hunting and fishing is protected in the constitution. The rights of the Sami people to use land in the reindeer herding region is a civil legal right based on traditions from time immemorial.

The colonial history of Lappmarken right from the beginning and through the ages, is impacting on the Sami population even now. It is all a matter of the right to land and water, autonomy, the right to own and handle our own issues. Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, states that this right to autonomy is the right that has been subject to the most abuse since the colonial age:

Autonomy is the right for a people to determine their own political status and social, cultural and economic development. Nation states may be afraid that this article will lead to undermining of territorial integrity and sovereignty. But the right to autonomy has nothing to do with any right to what people refer to as “breaking loose”. For indigenous peoples, self-determination involves autonomy within existing boundaries, not forming a state of their own.¹⁷

ILO Convention no. 169 came into being in 1989, almost 30 years ago. Sweden played an active part in efforts to produce the Convention, but as yet the Swedish state has not ratified the Convention and so is not bound by its provisions. Norway and Denmark, on the other hand, have adopted the Convention, while the issue has been put on ice in Finland.

The Convention is a key element in indigenous peoples’ rights and aims to counteract discrimination against Sami people and other indigenous peoples. The states that ratify the Convention have to undertake special measures to ensure that Sami people and other indigenous peoples can continue to work and live on the land where they have traditionally lived and worked. The Convention aims to guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples so that they themselves are able to determine the extent to which they wish to retain their cultural and political identity. It aims to protect indigenous peoples from non-voluntary assimilation, which constitutes recognition of indigenous peoples’ need to preserve and develop their identity in respect of cultural manifestations such as religion, language and traditions.

The Convention includes provisions on indigenous peoples’ right to *consultation and participation in decisions* that may affect them. For example, this involves participating in consultations on usage, management (also of natural resources) and preservation of traditional areas inhabited by indigenous peoples.

The Swedish state's mineral policy, with the generous Minerals Act that provides foreign prospecting companies (with profit interests that are barely taxed in Sweden and very limited obligations when it comes to restoring the land after completing their operations) with exploration permits to prospect on traditional Sami land, must be reviewed so that Sami land is protected from intrusion and destruction of the environment. It is more or less impossible for a land-based trade to hold its own against the mining industry's intrusions on its land. The rights of the Sami people count for little against huge mining corporations that create jobs in sparsely populated areas and have turnovers in the billions. Unfortunately, we have seen a number of shocking examples of mining companies that have gone bankrupt and left behind tracts of land that are polluted and destroyed for a long time to come. It is time for the Swedish state to tighten up the legislation on mining and other intrusions on traditional Sami land so that the rights of the Sami as an indigenous people are protected.

Sweden has adopted a number of conventions and brought in laws that protect and reinforce human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples. The fact that Sweden — which is frequently perceived as a pioneering country — has not yet ratified ILO Convention no. 169 has been criticised by a number of international bodies, such as the UN's Human Rights Council, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the Council of Europe's Commission for Human Rights and the Council of Europe's Commission against Racism and Intolerance.

The ratification of ILO Convention no. 169 is an important symbolic issue that clearly demonstrates the attitude of the Swedish state towards its own indigenous people and their rights. The Convention is a key element in the international rights of indigenous peoples. Not wanting to ratify the Convention provides an indicator to the world of how Sweden treats its own indigenous population and how human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples are to be observed. In fact, the attitudes of the parliament and government towards the indigenous Sami population in Sweden are of indirect significance to the rights of indigenous peoples on a global level.

At present, the responsible Minister's argument for not ratifying ILO Convention no. 169 is that a Nordic Sami Convention is being

devised instead. I am unable to judge whether or not this would be a good thing as things stand at present, but the Nordic convention is not as fundamental when it comes to the rights of indigenous peoples. It is about time that Sweden stepped up, took responsibility and ratified ILO Convention no. 169 in order to guarantee the rights of the indigenous Sami people.

The fact that the Church of Sweden finally made a decision at the 2015 Church Assembly to call on the government and parliament to support the ratification of ILO Convention no. 169 is very welcome. It is also pleasing to see that Archbishop Antje Jackelén has publicly presented the demand for ratification.¹⁸ Through its demand for state ratification, the Church of Sweden is taking responsibility for its colonial past, and it is to be hoped that this will help to create a stronger legal position for the indigenous Sami people in future. However, it is necessary for the Church to continue to follow up the issue until the Convention has been ratified.

The Church of Sweden as a Manager of State Land — Diocesan Forests

The Church of Sweden is Sweden's fifth biggest manager of forests and land, in charge of a total area covering almost 400,000 hectares. These forests can be found all over the country and form part of what are known as the *prästlönetillgångar* ("clergywage assets"), which also include agricultural land and securities.¹⁹

So what happened when church buildings were constructed in Lappmarken? To make a living, the clergymen who lived in Lappmarken were given access to land. Such land came to be known as glebe. "The glebe areas in Lappmarken were generally very large as they had to accommodate both fishing waters and natural hayfields, just like the lands belonging to the settlers", writes Gudrun Norstedt.²⁰ This meant that entire Lapp *skatteländor* areas, or at least parts of them, could be turned into glebes. We do not know exactly how this was done as it is difficult to find any deeds of transfer. However, Norstedt assumes that the glebe areas were established when the church sites were constructed and taken over by ministers who lived there permanently.

The Church's landholdings include large areas of the all-year-

round land in the reindeer-herding areas,²¹ and also montane forests. These forests are extremely important to reindeer herders as they include virgin forest where lichen grows that is an important supplement to reindeer pasture. When the snow is deep and densely packed, this hanging lichen is by far the most important feed for reindeer. It has saved the lives of many reindeer spending the winter in montane forests. It also acts as a feed for reindeer in spring when there is not much else available.

The National Association of Swedish Sami (*Svenska samernas riksförbund*, SSR) recommends that the Church of Sweden should certify its forest holdings in the reindeer-herding region in accordance with the FSC standard and hence also recognise Sami rights to land and water. FSC, the Forest Stewardship Council, is working to ensure that the forests of the world are used in sustainable, eco-friendly, social and economic ways. The Church's forests are FSC-certified in all dioceses at present, except in the reindeer herding region dioceses of Luleå and Härnösand! "Certification of the Church's forests situated in the reindeer-herding region would not just cater for elements of Sami rights, it would also be of major symbolic significance", says Jörgen Jonsson, chairman of SSR.²²

The Church's economic conditions have changed since the Church was separated from the state at the turn of the millennium. Parishes and benefices are being merged and churches, vicarages and parish houses are being sold off with a view to saving money. The Church's forests are being sold; not just through the selling of timber, but also in the form of land sales. This will have consequences for reindeer herding, particularly if the land is sold to more active landowners who have less of an understanding of reindeer herding. There are examples of Sami villages (*samebyar*) having been forced to buy land from forestry companies in order to guarantee important pasture for their reindeer.

The Church of Sweden issued a report in September 2015.²³ This is a good document that deals with some important issues. My expectations are that the Church, as an administrator of the state's land, will take responsibility on the basis of the questions asked by this report. To summarise, these questions are: "What should the Church of Sweden do in its capacity as a landowner?" and "What else could the Church of Sweden do pursuant to ILO Convention

no. 169?” One important question relates to consultation on how the land in the reindeer-herding region should be used. In the report, Marie B. Hagsgård makes the following statement:

The consultations taking place with the Sami people on the use of land in the reindeer-herding area do not meet the requirements specified in the international law that Sweden has undertaken to observe.²⁴

This report is an important tool in changing the attitude of the Church towards the Sami people. So what do these consultations mean, and on what terms are the consultations taking place at present?

At the moment, representatives of reindeer herding are invited to consultations or information meetings by companies wishing to intrude on reindeer pasture. The definition of consultation varies, as does the stage in the process at which the Sami village is invited to the consultation meetings. Sometimes invitations to consultations are issued late in the process — reindeer herding is “forgotten” — and there is now a desire to get projects up and running quickly. The arguments in favour of the projects relate to economic aspects; job opportunities and enterprise. There is generally very limited understanding of the Sami trade, which is of little economic significance by comparison. The representative of reindeer herding is given the uncomfortable task of acting as a brake and saying no to everything. The time pressure sometimes results in people accepting things that both parties understand will have adverse consequences in terms of Sami interests.

Sometimes decisions have to be made on multiple projects. Being forced to prioritise which area is most important to preserve is like having to choose between Scylla and Charybdis. It may also be difficult to convince the other party that something is particularly important from a reindeer herder’s standpoint as they do not know much about reindeer herding. They know barely anything about reindeer herding, in fact. The same is true of their knowledge of the rights of indigenous peoples.

Sami people all over Sápmi are forced to fight for their rights — even before Swedish courts. Their struggles do not always lead to success, but some judgements have gone in favour of reindeer herd-

ing. In 2008, Girjas sameby and SSR brought an action against the state on the right to hunting and fishing in the Sami village pastures in the mountains. The District Court's judgement on 2 March 2016 came down in favour of the Sami village. An appeal was made, and on 23 January 2018 the decision of the Court of Appeal was announced. The court found that the Sami village of Girjas "has more right than the state to hunt small game and fish" on the village's land. However, the court denied the Sami village the right to lease out hunting and fishing concessions to a third party without the consent of the state.²⁵

At present, we are waiting to find out whether an iron mine will be established in Gállok/Kallak, in the municipality of Jokkmokk. The Sami Parliament has adopted a mining policy that demands greater respect for the rights of the Sami as an indigenous people.

While awaiting the ratification of ILO Convention 169 and the Nordic Sami Convention and their implementation in Swedish law, the Sami Parliament is of the opinion that there should be a moratorium on all development in Sápmi. All natural resources above and below ground within the traditional Sami land areas are the property of the Sami people. This is clarified by article 26 of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.²⁶

It is time to introduce new forms of consultation in Sápmi. Administration of the Lapponia World Heritage Site is a functioning model for consultation, and it would be fully possible to implement this for land management throughout the entire reindeer-herding region. In Lapponia, management has been transferred to the locally based association Laponiatjuottjudus, a non-profit association that was formed in 2011. This association is made up of the Sami villages of Lapponia, the municipalities of Jokkmokk and Gällivare, the Norrbotten County Administrative Board and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (*Naturvårdsverket*). Sami representatives are in the majority on the board. All decisions are made in consensus, which means that the issues are discussed until all parties agree on what decisions are to be made.²⁷

The Lapponia model is a good example of how it is possible to find new forms of consultation and so alter the management and maintenance of mountains and natural assets — if only there is a

desire to do so. The fact that Sami people are in the majority in decision-making bodies and that decisions are made in consensus paves the way for respecting the rights of the Sami. The Church of Sweden should introduce similar forms of consultation concerning the management of its forests so that the principles of the Lapponia model can make an impact throughout the entire reindeer-herding region.

Repatriation of Sami Human Remains

Sami human remains have been removed from graves in cemeteries, but Sami graves in other places have also been robbed. In some cases clergymen opened doors, working with scientists and providing them with body parts. Researchers have recently found that the Rounala skulls, as they are known, are the remains of Sami people. This means that the issue of reburial has been brought to the fore once again. The Swedish History Museum, where these skulls have been stored, have previously opposed repatriation and reburial, with the motivation that the origin of the skulls was unclear. Now things have changed.

Sami remains can be found at a number of museums and archives, both state and private, in Sweden and abroad. These human remains should be allowed to “come home” to their right environment and be given a dignified burial and resting place. There is one single action with strong factual and symbolic impact for the Sami that the Church of Sweden can take to progress the reconciliation process between the Sami people in the Church: to clearly state that Sami human remains being kept at museums and other institutions must be repatriated and reburied, and that the Church will actively assist in this work. This is the one action that would specifically demonstrate that the Church of Sweden is serious about the reconciliation process between the Sami people and the Church of Sweden. The Church can influence the state on this issue by working together with Sami representatives to quickly devise a policy for the repatriation and reburial of Sami human remains.

The Lost Language

Many Sami people lost their native language in school. They were more or less banned from speaking Sami. Most Sami pupils had to switch language entirely, being taught in a foreign language that must have been completely incomprehensible to them initially. People have told me that they spoke Sami with their friends or their brothers and sisters on the quiet. Sami pupils were sometimes punished for speaking Sami in school. Besides the corporal punishment handed out by school staff, the clergyman used to turn up every Friday to punish pupils for their misdeeds in the week, and speaking Sami was one of them. My *aehtjie* ('father') told me this.²⁸ The state policy at the time was to eliminate the Sami language. The fact that the Sami were considered a lower race was belittling to the Sami people, and of course the language is all part of this.

One of the consequences of the language policy was that Sami parents tried to make things easier for their children by abandoning the Sami language and only speaking Swedish so that their children would be able to cope in Swedish society. Nowadays there is research to suggest that multilingualism stimulates children's development on several levels, unlike previous theories, which advocated avoiding bilingualism at an early age. Multilingualism is encouraged nowadays, but there are limited opportunities for this in Sami childcare and education.

My work as a language consultant has involved me running projects to attempt to overcome language obstacles.²⁹ This involves turning people with a command of the language from passive speakers into active speakers. It also involves encouraging learners to dare to use the language and not be put off for fear of getting something wrong in front of more advanced users of the language. Not least, it involves getting over the sense of shame involved in not being able to speak Sami perfectly, or the guilt involved in not knowing more Sami. Identity and language belong together.

Another project run by the Sami Language Centre (*Samiskt språkcentrum*) is a mentorship programme for students of the Sami language at university level. Every language student there was given access to a language mentor. These mentors were native speakers of the language, and a number of them had attended nomad schools in the 1930s and 1940s. At the kick-off meeting for the pro-

ject, it turned out they had a great need to talk about their memories of the nomad school and their own language history. These stories included bitterness about the fact that their native language had been taken away from them because of the school system. They expressed pain when describing how their language had been belittled by others, and how shameful it was to speak Sami. They talked about their sorrow about having lost their language, about being illiterate in their own language, and they expressed their desire to be able to read and write Sami. The group listened to their stories and confirmed their memories and feelings on the basis of similar experiences. One of them felt guilty about not having passed on the language to their children as much as they would have liked. One of them who had managed to retain the language felt guilty because others had lost the Sami language completely.

Many people mourn their lost language and are frustrated about the fact that the state, with its education policy, is failing to take responsibility and put things right. The Church of Sweden was very much part of the language policy pursued in the 20th century, and so the Church shares responsibility for giving Sami people genuine opportunities to regain the language.

Constant Homesickness

The school system of Lapp schools, nomad schools and industrial schools has left its mark on generations of Sami people, for good and ill. The children of reindeer herders were sent to the nomad schools at the ages of six or seven. They spent all their formative years away from home, separated from their parents and other people in their home environment who were important to them. The children were also separated from Sami values and traditional knowledge. They were only allowed to go home during the Christmas and Easter holidays. One could say that children moved away from home when they started school.³⁰

Many Sami children did definitely not want to go to state and Church schools far away from home. Children attempted to escape from the Skyttean School in Lycksele back in the 17th century. Nicolaus Lundius described what happened when children were collected for school. There was “such crying, the children cry and the

parents cry, and sometimes they run away and go back to their parents”.³¹ This happened in the 1670s, but children have attempted to escape from boarding school more recently as well. People often tell me this when I talk to the last generations of nomad school pupils.

I also attended a nomad school, and I am one of the children who had to move away from home in order to attend a nomad school. Going to school left me with a constant homesickness that stayed with me until well into my adult years. I could not understand why I associated Sundays with depression. It was only when I became aware of the reason, the fact that Sundays meant going back to boarding school,³² that I was able to let go of this emotion. I am still amazed that this could affect me for so long.

The narrative memory, the stories, are part of our past. The memories also remain in our bodies, in our relationship with nature. By telling our parents’ stories, we are passing on our traditions and linking our past to the future. These stories are being turned into weapons against the colonial oppression from which we suffered at the hands of the state and the Church. When I talk about my father’s experiences from his years at the nomad school and his relationship with the Church, I get answers to my own experiences and sentiments.³³

There is a major need to be able to tell the stories, share the memories of school and put the difficult experiences and feelings into words. People who were “unable” to attend the nomad school — because they were only designed for the children of Sami people who were reindeer herders — also have the need to tell their stories. In 2016, the Church of Sweden published a book in which former nomad school pupils talk about their memories of school.³⁴ Work on the Nomad School Book took place in parallel with the White Paper Project, and both book projects are part of the reconciliation work between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people. The book about the nomad schools has been important for everyone involved, and many Sami people have recognised themselves from the stories told in the book. Work on highlighting the experiences of former nomad school pupils and dealing with them must not be allowed to stop with just a book. The Church of Sweden must work in consultation with Sami representatives to pave the way for future discussions, which will allow healing and reconciliation to

take place. Such discussions must be based on a desire to re-establish and create an equal relationship with the Sami people.

A Divided People

The Sami people were divided between states, with national borders that divided families. Sami people and reindeer herds were forced to relocate. Sami people were divided into different categories. They were divided into mountain and forest Lapps, reindeer herders and non-reindeer herders, full Lapps and half-Lapps. This is a complex issue, and it may be difficult to work out how it should be handled in the present. This discussion is being held in today's internal and external Sami policy debates. Is it possible to administer justice without neither party being handled adversely? How should the issue be handled, and by whom? It is important to shine a spotlight on history, and it is equally important to shine a spotlight on reality from various directions.

The articles in the White Paper deal with many of the abuses of the Sami people over a period of several hundred years. These articles highlight the authorities' view of the Sami people, including the "category split" between reindeer herders and non-reindeer herders that characterised 20th-century legislation for education and reindeer herding. The category split meant — among other things — that the reindeer-herding Sami had their own form of education, known as the nomad school system, where the children received poorer teaching than the children of the majority population, while other Sami had to attend ordinary Swedish elementary schools and become Swedes. Another consequence of the category split was the fact that the rights to land and water were confined to the reindeer-herding Sami.

In the articles in the White Paper, emphasis is placed on the fact that the Sami people who were not members of any Sami village had their rights taken from them by the reindeer pasture laws. The White Paper contains no articles that detail the constant battles of the Sami villages, the reindeer herders and their organisations against the state and the Church to defend Sami rights. Reindeer herding and Sami rights face the same battles now that they faced in the 19th and 20th centuries. Without the battles fought by the rein-

deer-herding Sami, the degree of autonomy they now have would not have been guaranteed.

The category split between reindeer herders and non-reindeer herders have created tensions between different Sami groups. This is deeply regrettable. The frustration and anger felt by many Sami should not be vented on other Sami, though; instead, it should be aimed at the Church and the state, the creators of this situation that still characterises Sami society. The Church helped to lend legitimacy to the category split in ideological terms, and the nomad school system was established at the initiative of the Church. This is why the Church is responsible for assisting with the development that may also heal wounds within the Sami collective.

Both reindeer herders and non-reindeer herders have suffered as a result of the policy pursued by the Church and the state. Reindeer-herding Sami have often felt alone and vulnerable in their battle for Sami rights, particularly during times when Sami culture has maintained low status among Sami themselves. Reindeer-herding Sami need to feel that their battles have not been in vain, but that their efforts are recognised by other Sami as well. It is equally important to ensure that Sami who have no right to land or water due to the category split are given confirmation that their battle for rehabilitation is warranted. Personally, I understand their battle.

The tensions between various Sami groups are very tangible consequences of the colonisation policy of the Church and the state, and here the Church and the state must accept full responsibility for a decolonisation process for the Sami people. A reconciliation programme is needed that focuses on both internal and external relations. An ongoing reconciliation process between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people must therefore also include the tensions created between different Sami groups on account of the policies of the Church.

The Way Forward — Listening to Sami Voices

Sweden's previous attempts to stand as a homogeneous nation state with one people, one language and one church, where any deviations were to be phased out and eliminated, have had consequences that are still perceptible to the Sami people today. Archbishop Antje

Jackelén has this to say in the preface to the White Paper's scholarly anthology:

Yes, it is necessary to dig up old injustices in order to look at what happened and why. Without this, it would not be possible to achieve restoration and reconciled relations. And yes, many people probably did their best. Nevertheless, this was wrong. The wounds, the pain, the shame, the self-loathing, the rage and all the difficult memories are real. This cannot be ignored by a church that wishes to follow the example of Jesus Christ.

What has been done cannot be undone, but it is possible to learn from the mistakes made by previous generations. Highlighting, clarifying and processing these memories can give them other roles to play. Injustices can be dealt with by highlighting them, not by forgetting them.³⁵

There are many models dealing with how reconciliation work can take place. The key element is that all parties affected by the reconciliation must be involved in the process, and the truth must emerge and be recognised. This is why it is important to create safe spaces so that the people abused feel a sense of trust and dare to tell their stories. It is also important to make sure that the people telling their stories are listened to and receive confirmation. In his contribution to this book, Tore Johnsen describes four stages in a reconciliation process. These are *acknowledgment*, telling the truth about the past, *repentance*, being affected by the past, *restoration*, repairing what has been destroyed, and *forgiveness*, renouncing hostility and thoughts of revenge.³⁶ Johnsen emphasises the fact that it is “important to recognise the fact that traumatic experiences can often have a destructive influence on several generations”. This insight leads to the following conclusion: “Reconciliation work in the context of an indigenous people should therefore take place on the basis of a multigenerational perspective.”³⁷

Reconciliation work must begin with the Church of Sweden changing its attitudes towards the Sami people. I once spoke to an experienced Sami politician and asked him what the Church should do today to change its attitudes towards the Sami people. He said that first and foremost, the Church and its representatives should climb down from the pedestal that they still occupy. The represent-

atives of the Church must change their condescending attitude and stop patting Sami people on the head as they still do.

Part of the colonial heritage is the fact that the Church of Sweden has felt it knows what is best for the Sami people. It is time for the Church and its representatives to really start listening to the Sami people and taking them seriously. In this case, they also have to leave their passive role as onlookers and come down on the side of the Sami. The Church has been on the side of the authorities and society in general throughout, and hardly ever been on the side of the Sami people. They have tacitly observed how Sami culture and space have been curtailed. The Church should take responsibility for this “policy of silence” by now coming down on the side of the Sami people and defending Sami rights.

In their concluding article in the White Paper, Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström write about how the Church has adopted a passive approach to many Sami issues.

Certainly, the articles in the anthology focus primarily on the active actions of the Church, but there could be just as much reason to discuss the instances when the Church has remained a tacit observer, such as when the reindeer herders became increasingly repressed due to decisions on competing use of land in the form of agriculture, forestry, development of hydroelectric power plants and wind farms and mining. The passiveness of the Church is probably just as great a problem as its active actions.³⁸

Lindmark and Sundström put forward the notion that the passiveness of the Church is perhaps interlinked with “a poorly developed desire to listen to Sami voices and actually take them seriously”.³⁹ Now the Church has the opportunity to choose a different path.

One important measure that the Church of Sweden could implement so that Sami voices can be heard within the Church would be to create sustainable structures for Sami representation and Sami church life. These structures should be so obvious that the enterprise would not be dependent on the involvement of individuals. Sami voices must not fall silent simply because individual driving spirits leave their assignments. Sami skills must be secured at all levels within the Church of Sweden so that Sami church life is not just represented by non-Sami experts.

I would like to provide an example of how easily the models developed can be destroyed. Eva Teilus Rehnfeldt of Österbäck, Funäsdalen, is one of the Sami driving spirits helping to build up Sami church life within the Church of Sweden.⁴⁰ Today, she is resigned to watching the dismantling of everything she has helped to create. There is no longer a Sami workgroup or Sami reference group in her diocese, nor is there a Sami resource and development centre to replace the Sami workgroup that she chaired. “I think it’s sad that people didn’t make the most of the skills we built up,” she said in an interview broadcast on the Sami Radio network (*Sameradion*).⁴¹ This example clearly shows how fragile the structure of the Church of Sweden is when it comes to Sami issues. In other words, sustainable structures are needed to guarantee Sami skills within the Church of Sweden.

The History of the Sami People Must Be Recognised and Made Visible

Many people in Sweden are unaware of Sami culture and history, as hardly any time is devoted to teaching anything about Sami people in schools. There is often a lack of knowledge among the Sami people themselves when it comes to their own culture and history. Our Sami history has not been allowed to take up its rightful place. Instead, it has been silenced and been forgotten. Getting people to forget their own history is clearly one of the strategies of colonialism to achieve submission. The values of the minority are brought into line with the values of the majority by belittling any origin or culture that differs from that of the majority society. In many cases, this has involved attempts to wipe out entire indigenous populations and render them invisible.

It is important for people to be familiar with their roots and their origin. That is true of everyone. This gives a sense of security and strong self-esteem. You are someone. You then venture to make demands and oppose discrimination and abusive treatment, for example. But the presence and history of the Sami people are still not recognised, either in schools or in society, even though the curriculum says that students have to be taught about the indigenous Sami people and other national minorities. Teaching students

about Sami culture and society is entirely dependent on individual teachers' interests and knowledge. Many teachers know absolutely nothing about Sami life, and — for example — it is not unknown for Sami students to have to give lessons to their classmates on Sami people and Sami culture on 6 February, the Sami National Day.

A necessary structural change will involve rehabilitation of the Sami people by writing the history of Sweden in a way that makes the history of the Sami people clear. Among other things, this means that the history of how the Swedish state took Lappmarken must be included in history textbooks. The history of the Sami people must be placed on an equal footing to the history of Sweden that is currently found in teacher training and teaching in schools.

The Nomad School Book and the White Paper with its popular scientific summary are laudable attempts to tell a story that many people were unaware of. It is hoped that these books will be important sources of knowledge for both the Sami people themselves and for a broader public. However, it is not enough just to read these books. Sami culture and history must be made clear in many different contexts. The Church of Sweden is responsible for highlighting Sami culture and history in various parts of its operations and making people aware of them.

For the Church of Sweden to be able to make people aware of Sami culture and history, it is necessary to focus on initiatives involving training on Sami issues for Church personnel and other representatives. But further training is needed. Decolonisation is needed for the Sami people. Colonisation has also resulted in changes to the thought structures of the Sami people. For a long time we, the Sami people, have lived under conditions where various parts of our culture — traditional knowledge, language, ideology, norms and values — have been belittled. We have been forced to adopt the norms and values of society at large just to survive. Asta Mitkijá Balto and Gudrun Kuhmunen write that there is a need for re-education by means of decolonisation processes to free both thoughts and minds.

Colonisation of the mind teaches the Sami and other indigenous peoples to view themselves and their societies through “white lenses”, “other people’s” glasses. In the reverse process, the focus of autonomy is on counteracting colonisation and promoting decolo-

nisation by focusing once more on the indigenous population's own values and cultural expressions, and also reflecting on how the colonisation process has affected their thoughts and understanding.⁴²

Among other things, decolonisation involves making us aware of our cultural heritage and taking it back so that we can use it to restore what has been lost. For this to happen, we need educational initiatives and insight into the importance of education and re-education on our own culture.

If the Church of Sweden is serious about coming to terms with its colonial history and its continuing grip on thoughts and minds, it has to work together with Sami organisations to focus on education for decolonisation, which will also involve respect for traditional Sami knowledge.

Set up a Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Over the years, the state has implemented a large number of commissions of inquiry into Sami issues, but these have not led to anything with regard to the major issues in respect of Sami policy. It is high time that the state set up a truth and reconciliation commission as proposed by the Sami Parliament and the Equality Ombudsman (DO). A state commission receiving directives from the government will not suffice. No, any commission must be more independent than that. A commission should be set up according to the principles of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. "The Sami people need to help shape and define the job of the commission," wrote Archbishop Antje Jackelén and I in an article published in *Dagens Nyheter* on 6 March 2016.

A truth and reconciliation commission is needed for fundamental charting and documenting of the abuses, neglect and discriminatory actions on the part of the state. We have to examine issues relating to guilt and responsibility. A truth and reconciliation commission would mean continuation of the work that has begun on bringing Sami history to the fore. But that is not enough. A commission would also constitute an important step in the rehabilitation of the Sami people. Archbishop Antje Jackelén has spoken in favour of a truth and reconciliation commission in a variety of con-

texts. For such a commission to be implemented, it is important for the Church of Sweden to continue to pursue the issue.

What Does the Church Need to Do?

As the steering committee for the White Paper Project put it, the launch of the White Paper must “be perceived not as an end, but as a beginning”.⁴³ I hope the White Paper will provide an overall view of the knowledge base and inspire further research. However, there is already sufficient knowledge to make it possible to take significant steps forward. Finally, therefore, I would like to refer to a number of points where the Church of Sweden needs to implement measures so that a reconciliation process can progress towards decolonisation and rehabilitation.

- The Church of Sweden must come forward and change its attitude, ceasing to be a passive onlooker and becoming an active stakeholder in issues affecting the Sami people, Sami culture and Sami trades.
- The Church of Sweden must be on the side of the Sami people and claim the rights of the indigenous population. This involves human rights, discrimination issues and issues relating to land rights, for example. Sustainable management of Sami land during mine development and when developing hydroelectric power plants and wind farms is another important issue. One good example was the decision to support and encourage the state to ratify ILO Convention no. 169. The Church must continue to press the state on these issues.
- The Church of Sweden must develop the consultation procedure on issues relating to the Church and the Sami trades according to the Church’s own report and the express will of the Sami people. The Church should apply the principles of the Laponia model during consultation on the use of its own land and work to ensure that these make an impact throughout the entire reindeer-herding region.

- The Church of Sweden must continue to pursue issues relating to indigenous peoples in various contexts, both nationally and internationally. This will make it possible to reinforce the position of the Sami as an indigenous people.
- The Church of Sweden must continue to work to establish a truth and reconciliation commission on the state's colonial relations with the Sami people.
- The Church of Sweden must take a clear stand to ensure that Sami human remains kept at museums and other institutions are repatriated and reburied, and actively help to ensure that this is done. The Church should work to influence the state on this issue by working together with Sami representatives to promptly devise a policy for the repatriation and reburial of Sami human remains.
- A reconciliation programme is needed that focuses on Sami society's internal and external relations. An ongoing reconciliation process between the Church of Sweden and the Sami people must also include the tensions created between different Sami groups on account of the policies of the Church.
- The Church of Sweden must alter its colonial attitude towards the Sami people. This is why it is important to work with power structures within the Church. The Sami people must be granted autonomy with regard to their own issues. Among other things, this means that the Sami people must have their own representatives with decision-making rights on the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden, on church councils, on diocese councils and in the Church Assembly. The Sami Council in the Church of Sweden must be given greater influence rather than just being a consultative body.
- An action plan on Sami issues must be compiled within the Church of Sweden, and strategies must be prepared for Sami church life at a national level, diocese level and parish level.

- The Church of Sweden must take responsibility for its participation in the language policy pursued by the state in the 20th century. The Church must help to create genuine opportunities to allow Sami people to regain their language.
- It is important for the Sami and Sami languages to be included in parish instructions and for these intentions to be implemented. For example, it is important to organise activities for Sami children and Sami church services with continuity.
- The Church of Sweden must work systematically to recruit Sami personnel in all categories, from temporary project workers to bishops.
- The Church of Sweden must actively work to train Sami ministers, deacons and other staff. Initiatives are also needed to increase Sami trust in the Church so that Sami people train to work within the Church.
- Education and in-service training must be implemented at all levels within the Church of Sweden — parish level, diocese level and national level — relating to Sami languages, Sami culture and Sami history on the basis of the perspective of the indigenous Sami people.
- The Church of Sweden must work together with Sami organisations on decolonising education for Sami people. This emancipation process will involve focusing on the indigenous people's own values and cultural expressions and encouraging reflection on how colonisation has affected thoughts and understandings.
- Discussion groups and study circles need to be created where young people and the elderly can meet to talk about the consequences of the abuse of generations and exchange ideas on ways forward. Particular attention must be paid to the nomad school experiences of Sami people.

An information centre is required, similar to the one in Canada, for gathering documentation on abuses and offences

relating to the Sami. Symposia and discussion groups are needed so that Sami voices can be heard.

- The Church of Sweden must get involved in opinion-forming projects in order to increase awareness of the Sami people and their culture and counteract the spread of prejudices and discriminatory attitudes. The Church of Sweden, Sami society and researchers could work in partnership on such projects.

PART III

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

11. The Reception of the White Paper Project and Its Publications

April 2016 saw the publication of the research results from “The Church of Sweden and the Sami — a White Paper Project”. This report comprised two volumes totalling 1,135 pages. The publication of the book was highlighted in various Swedish media, and various Church and Sami activities were organised, particularly in northern Sweden. There was renewed interest in the White Paper Project and its publications when the briefer popular scientific summary was launched at a seminar in Stockholm on 23 February 2017. However, media coverage of the White Paper Project has not solely been linked with these two reports. In fact, the project has constantly been attracting attention ever since it began in November 2012.

How, then, have the White Paper Project and its publications been received? In this chapter, we will provide a brief description of how the project, its themes and publications have been reflected in various contexts. We will begin by providing examples of the Church of Sweden’s launch of the project and its publications, followed by a presentation of some of the Church and Sami activities that have taken place. The account then proceeds by looking at the news coverage in various media, and we will be paying attention to reviews of various types. Finally, we will touch upon a number of reflections on the roles of researchers in the White Paper Project.

This report does not claim to be complete: rather, the text and activities referred to should be understood as examples. Moreover, the reception and evaluation of the project are still ongoing as the project results were published quite recently.

This English-language volume is an expression of our ambition to bring the experiences from our White Paper Project before an international audience. However, our internationalisation efforts have already come to the fore in a variety of ways. A brief English-language presentation of the background, assignment, organisation and results of the White Paper Project was published on the White Paper Project's website in November 2017.¹ The project as such, and reflections on the work have also been presented orally in international academic contexts.²

Launch of the White Paper Project by the Church Leadership

The Church of Sweden decided to spread knowledge of the work in progress at a national level even before the White Paper Project had published its first document. Archbishop Antje Jackelén, the highest representative of the Church, highlighted the White Paper and its significance in various contexts. In an article about the need to reinforce the indigenous rights of the Sami people, which was published in Sweden's largest daily newspaper, *Dagens Nyheter*, on 25 January 2015, Jackelén emphasised the importance of coming to terms with colonial perspectives. The sting in the tail of the article was aimed at the Swedish state, but Jackelén also mentioned the Church's own colonial heritage. "The issue of accepting responsibility for history and respect for the human rights of the Sami people are interlinked today," she said. "This is why the Church of Sweden is currently working to examine the way in which we have behaved towards the Sami people." She clearly expressed her perception that the Church had played a key role in colonial oppression: "For centuries the Church was part of the colonisation of Sápmi and played an active part in exercising power and control over the Sami people." In this context, she mentioned the fact that a White Paper on the Church's treatment of the Sami would be published before long. She stated that the purpose of the White Paper Project was "to heal rela-

tionships, redress the wrongs that were done and increase understanding of Sami experiences”³

Just over one year later, Archbishop Jackelén wrote another article for *Dagens Nyheter* that discussed the relationship of the Church with the Sami people.⁴ This article was co-written with Sylvia Sparrock, chair of the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden, who was also involved in the White Paper Project. Again, the sting in the tail of the article was aimed at the Swedish state, which was encouraged to establish a truth and reconciliation commission in accordance with the proposals of the Sami Parliament and the Equality Ombudsman (DO). The work of the Church on examining its own colonial heritage was presented as an initial step that needed to be followed up with a scrutiny of the historical actions of the state against the Sami people.⁵ However, the article devoted a great deal of space to the injustices of which the Church itself was guilty and that had been evidenced in the scholarly anthology of the White Paper Project and the publication of the parallel Nomad School Project.

The Church's efforts to spread knowledge of the White Paper Project and its results also included other appearances by the Archbishop. On 7 April 2016, Jackelén participated in the debate programme “SVT Opinion Live”, a live broadcast by the state public television service, where a discussion was held about the historical injustices that were brought to the fore by the project.⁶ The 2015 Göteborg Book Fair included a seminar on “The Sami people and Swedish racism”, where Jackelén sat on a panel together with journalist Maja Hagerman and Sami artist Katarina Pirak Sikku.⁷ Although the discussion focused on the themes of Hagerman's recently published book on racial biologist Herman Lundborg,⁸ the White Paper Project was mentioned. Jackelén spoke about the effective symbiosis between the Church and the state in history and placed particular emphasis on the Church as a producer of ideology: “In many ways the Church has provided the intellectual and theological reference frameworks that could then be used to pursue colonialism as well.” As the Church of Sweden bore some of the colonial heritage that has characterised the world, the Church needed to come to terms with its past. According to Jackelén, this involved releasing painful stories that needed to be told over and over again until the time was ripe to continue with a reconciliation process.

The interview with Archbishop Antje Jackelén in a centrefold article in *Dagens Nyheter* published on 6 February 2016, the Sami National Day, should be regarded as part of the Church of Sweden's launch of the White Paper anthology. In this article, Jackelén provides examples of the "enormous infringements of human rights" of which the Church of Sweden has been guilty and for which it is necessary to ask the forgiveness of the Sami people: support for racial biology, suppression of the Sami naming custom, the demolishing of Sami sacred sites and the introduction of the segregated school system. Jackelén is of the opinion that the Church bears guilt for what happened: "We must acknowledge that we bear guilt as part of this colonial heritage. We need to confess to this and work to bring about reconciliation."⁹

When the popular scientific summary of the results of the White Paper Project was published in February 2017, the Church of Sweden organised a launch seminar in Stockholm, and Archbishop Jackelén participated in this. This seminar heralded the end of the White Paper Project, and at the same time the aim was for the launch to form a starting point for reconciliation activities within the Church. This event was monitored by Swedish Television (SVT), and the lectures and final panel discussion were broadcast repeatedly on SVT Forum.¹⁰ Although the Church of Sweden organised the launch seminar, the authors of the White Paper Project dominated the lectures (Gunlög Fur, Daniel Lindmark, Johannes Marainen and Olle Sundström) and the panel discussion (Carl Reinhold Bråkenhielm and Sylvia Sparrock).

Representatives of the Church other than the Archbishop also appeared in public; not least Eva Nordung Byström, Bishop of Härnösand, who represents a diocese that is home to many Sami people. She presented the White Paper Project at an international conference on indigenous peoples and reconciliation held in Trondheim, Norway on 20–21 June 2016,¹¹ and she participated in the programme on religious issues, "Människor och tro" ('People and faith'), broadcast on the Swedish public service radio network (*Sveriges Radio*) on 23 February 2017 on the occasion of the launch of the popular scientific summary of the results of the White Paper Project. The radio feature was designed as a discussion between Nordung Byström and Sylvia Sparrock.

Key individuals at the Central Church Office in Uppsala also made statements in the media on the White Paper Project and its publications. Kaisa Syrjänen Schaal, who was the head of the Department of Multilingualism at the time, was interviewed in an article in the newspaper *Fria tidningen* on 30 June 2016. “I already knew the story,” she said, “but I don’t think I fully understood that the Church was so involved in the oppression.” She stressed that the documentation was not complete and that the reconciliation process was not at an end, but that this was merely “the beginning of an ongoing reconciliation process between the Sami people and the Church”.¹²

Urban Claesson, a researcher at the Church of Sweden Research Department at the Central Church Office was another representative of the Church of Sweden who made media statements when the scholarly anthology was published. He emphasised the quality of the work in an interview in the South Sami parish paper *Daerpiés Dierie*, issue 1/2016. He was of the opinion that the scholarly anthology would become a new scientific standard reference work as it included articles by top experts in the field. Claesson hoped that members and representatives of the Church of Sweden would “be much more aware of what the historical wounds have caused as regards the Sami people” and that the Church would “get to the bottom of the issues that need to be brought out into the open”. Both Claesson and Syrjänen Schaal were involved in the steering committee for the White Paper Project and were well aware of the background and objectives of the project.

Example of Work on the Themes of the White Paper Project within the Church of Sweden

The Church of Sweden devised a plan for a White Paper Project at a national level following the Sáagastallamat (‘dialogue’, ‘listening’) hearing held in Kiruna on 11–13 October 2011. The Church of Sweden Theological Committee and the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden devised a joint memorandum in which the White Paper Project was one of eight proposals for reinforcing Sami church life. The Central Board Executive Committee made decisions to implement the various proposals, and responsibility for the White Paper

Project and its funding was allocated to the Church of Sweden Research Department. The entire Church Board was notified of the project on a couple of occasions,¹³ and the episcopal conference repeatedly discussed the issue of ongoing reconciliation work.¹⁴

The Central Church Office constituted the primary link between the Church leadership and the White Paper Project. The steering committee members who had daily duties to perform at the Church Office were important points of contact, but information channels were also created in other ways. Two of the project's steering committee meetings took place at the Central Church Office, and personnel from the Office were also called to attend other meetings. Other initiatives also took place. On 18 May 2015, Daniel Lindmark was invited to the Secretariat for Theology and Ecumenism to give a lecture on the White Paper Project. He also participated in a cultural heritage conference organised by the Central Church Office on 1–2 October 2014, giving a lecture entitled “Religious cultural heritage in Sápmi”, which was based on experiences from the White Paper Project.

The in-service education days held in the Diocese of Härnösand on 7–8 October 2014 were one of the bigger events at diocese level. The theme was “Reconciliation”, and Daniel Lindmark and Kaisa Huuva were invited to give lectures. Information on the ongoing work on the White Paper Project and ideas for a continued reconciliation process were in demand. At that time, Huuva worked with Sami issues at the Central Church Office. She was also part of the management for both the Nomad School Project and the White Paper Project.

Individual parishes also showed an interest in the White Paper Project and its themes a long time before the results were published. The parish of Arjeplog was the main organiser of a two-day symposium held in Arjeplog on 30 September–1 October 2013 on the subject of “The Church of Sweden and the Sami people”. The White Paper Project co-organised this symposium, and five of the authors of articles in the scholarly anthology gave lectures (Olavi Korhonen, Daniel Lindmark, Erik-Oscar Oscarsson, Olle Sundström and Anna Westman Kuhmunen). The parish of Arjeplog organised a new symposium two years later, where Daniel Lindmark contributed his experiences of the White Paper Project in a lecture enti-

tled “Reconciliation with history”.¹⁵ On 9 March 2014, the parish of Umeå series of lectures entitled “The theological room” (*Teologiska rummet*) organised a lecture by Olle Sundström on “Sami religion before and after Christ”, with a subsequent discussion on relationships between the Church of Sweden and the Sami together with vicar Kenneth Nordgren and Birgitta Simma, diocesan curate responsible for Sami church life in the Diocese of Luleå. The lecture and discussion coincided with an exhibition at the church of Sami artist Lars Levi Sunna’s church art. On 25 January 2015, a Sami themed service was held at the Maria church, Umeå, where Sundström spoke to minister Linda Vikdahl on the themes of the White Paper Project. Parishes outside the Church of Sweden did also pay attention to the White Paper Project. On 10 September 2014, the Equmenia Church in Umeå devoted an evening programme to the White Paper Project, starting with a lecture by Daniel Lindmark.

Interest in working with the themes of the White Paper Project grew when the results had been published and highlighted in the media. The parish of Vännäs organised an event about the White Paper on 12 November 2016, and Daniel Lindmark participated in this. Some parishes deliberately awaited the launch of the popular scientific summary so that they would have access to a briefer, more accessible and practical book that they could use for their work on Sami issues. During the 2017 Sami Week in Umeå, the parish of Umeå organised a half-day symposium on 4 March, where the White Paper Project and its results were presented by a number of project members (Lena Karlsson, Marianne Liliequist, Daniel Lindmark, Björn Norlin and Sylvia Sparrock), and on 7 March the parish of Maria in Umeå began a series of discussions on the various themes in the White Paper scholarly anthology. The first discussion dealt with the theme of “The Church and Sami cultural expressions”.¹⁶ On 9 March, an event took place in Åmsele entitled “Perspectives on reconciliation”, where minister Anders Dahlqvist — who was previously involved in a local reconciliation project — described the White Paper Project. The parish of Kiruna arranged a lecture with Daniel Lindmark on 22 March. In Umeå and Kiruna, the organisers provided the popular scientific book free of charge. A major event took place in Nordmaling on 26 September 2017, where the theme “Reconciliation and the future” was the topic of the dean-

ary convention, during which Björn Norlin and Daniel Lindmark gave lectures on the White Paper Project and its results.

The reconciliation work continued in 2018. On 16 February, Edelviks folkhögskola — headed by the Church of Sweden — held a themed day on reconciliation. Sagka Stångberg and Daniel Lindmark, as well as Bishop Hans Stiglund of Luleå took part in this event, which took place during the Sami Culture Days in Burträsk.

Some Sami Events Relating to the White Paper Project and Its Themes

A number of the church events relating to the White Paper Project and its publications were based on Sami participation. There was also formal cooperation with Sami organisations in some cases. For instance, the two symposia held in Arjeplog were co-arranged by the Arjeplog Sami Association. During the Sami Week — an annual cultural event held by the Umeå Sami Association Sáhkie — in Umeå in 2016, a discussion took place on 10 March on the topic of “Ways forward? The Sami people and the Church of Sweden”. This was organised by the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden, and the council was represented by members such as Sylvia Sparrock, chair, and Bishop Eva Nordung Byström.

Sami organisations played more prominent roles in other cases. During the 2016 Sami Week in Granö, which was organised by Umeå Sami Association Sáhkie, Sagka Stångberg talked about the White Paper Project on 5 July. Stångberg was a member of the steering committee. On 28 September 2016, a day’s seminar was held in Lycksele on the theme of “The Sami people and the Church”. Lycksele Sami Management Municipality, the Museum of Forestry and the Sami Association Liksjuosámit organised the seminar, which highlighted both the White Paper Project and the Nomad School Project. Ellacarin Blind, who had key positions in both projects, gave a lecture on Sami experiences of the nomad school. Johannes Marainen and Daniel Lindmark from the White Paper Project also gave lectures. In the programme time was also devoted to the repatriation of Sami human remains.¹⁷

The Sami Association Vadtijen Saemiej Sijte in the municipality of Storuman organised Indigenous People Day in Björkvattsdalen

on 6 August 2016. Gunlög Fur gave a lecture here on the topic of “History, colonialism and reconciliation: Possible ways forward”.¹⁸ Storuman Sami Management Municipality also called attention to the themes of the White Paper Project. During Delliie Maa: Sápmi Indigenous Film & Art Festival held in Tärnaby on 30 September–2 October 2016, Daniel Lindmark gave a lecture on the White Paper Project. The Nomad School Project was also presented during the festival. Noerhtenaestie, the Västernorrland County Sami Association, organised a lecture held in Sundsvall on 22 October 2016, where Sagka Stångberg talked about both the White Paper Project and the Nomad School Project.

In Norway, the Church of Sweden’s White Paper Project came to the fore in a number of contexts thanks to initiatives from the Sami Church Council in the Church of Norway. This project was one of a number of examples of regional cases of truth seeking that were presented at the conference on “Reconciliation processes and indigenous peoples: Truth, healing and transformation” organised by the Sami Church Council in Trondheim on 20–21 June 2016.¹⁹ At the time of Tråante 2017, the anniversary conference held to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the first Sami national meeting, the Sami Church Council worked in partnership with Saemien åålmege/Samisk menighet i sørsamisk område (‘The Sami congregation in the South Sami area’) to arrange a whole day seminar, “Sámi ecclesiastical seminar”. Most of the speakers were involved as authors in the Swedish White Paper Project (Veli-Pekka Lehtola, Siv Rasmussen, Sylvia Sparrock and Tore Johnsen), and Sylvia Sparrock spoke specifically about the Church of Sweden’s White Paper Project and possible ways forward.²⁰ The Sami Church Council has highlighted the Church of Sweden’s White Paper Project in its discussions on a Norwegian truth and reconciliation commission on the Norwegianisation and other abuses of the Sami people: “In a Sami context, it can be stated that the Church of Sweden has made the greatest progress in the review of the history.”²¹

Sami Church Days are held for all of Sápmi every four years, and these are attended by participants from Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The representative bodies for Sami church life in each country work together on this event. The theme of reconciliation was brought to the fore in the programme on the church days that

took place in Mo i Rana, Norway in 2013 and Arvidsjaur, Sweden in 2017. In Arvidsjaur, a panel discussion was held on efforts to implement truth and reconciliation commissions in Norway, Sweden and Finland in order to highlight state Sami policy. Archbishop Antje Jackelén took part in this discussion, referring to her experiences with the White Paper Project on the Church of Sweden and the Sami people. She put forward the proposal that the Church should invite representatives of Sami organisations and various authorities to a roundtable discussion on repatriation and reburial of Sami human remains.²²

Reports and Reviews of the White Paper Project in the Media

The White Paper Project began to attract attention in the media not long after it started. Both national and regional media, and the public and Sami and church media, showed an interest. Essentially, there was a development over time in that the general national news media published their features on the White Paper Project only when the scholarly anthology was published. Prior to that, the project was mainly reflected in regional, church and Sami media. Quite often, the general media and church media wanted to publish news on the Sami on 6 February, the Sami National Day.

The national weekly newspaper *Kyrkans Tidning*, which is close to the Church of Sweden, published a brief interview with Daniel Lindmark on 6 February 2014. The questions related largely to the need for a White Paper and the planned content of the forthcoming anthology. The regional media that were early to report on the White Paper Project were the press and television in the county of Västerbotten. This interest probably came about due to the county's relatively large Sami population and the location of the White Paper Project at the university in the county capital. Moreover, Sami culture provided an important theme in 2014, when Umeå was the Cultural Capital of Europe. On 4 March 2014, during the Sami Week in Umeå, an interview with Daniel Lindmark was broadcast on SVT's regional news programme. Daily newspaper *Folkbladet* published an article on 6 February 2015 entitled "Church of Sweden atones for its sins". This article was based on interviews with Kaisa Huuva and

Krister Stoor, two Sami members of the White Paper Project's steering committee, and Ingrid Inga, member of the Sami Parliament Board. The local parish magazine *Spira* in the parish of Umeå also highlighted the project in time for the Sami National Day in 2015. Krister Stoor and Daniel Lindmark were interviewed in this article.

Like the church and regional media, the Sami media spread the news about the White Paper Project while work was in progress. A feature was broadcast on SVT's Sami news programme "Oddasat" on 2 October 2013, and on 7 December 2015 the website *Samer* (www.samer.se) published an article entitled "Church abuse of Sami people charted". Both features were based on interviews with Daniel Lindmark and Sylvia Sparrock.

Media attention increased when the scholarly anthology was published. *Kyrkans Tidning* wrote about the imminent publication on 18 February 2016. This article was entitled "Clergymen involved in racial biology" and included interviews with Daniel Lindmark and Sylvia Sparrock. Racial biology recurred as the theme of an extensive interview with Maja Hagerman in the same magazine on 3 March 2016. Hagerman had recently published the acclaimed book about racial biologist Herman Lundborg, and she had also written an article about the Church of Sweden and racial biology in the White Paper Project's scholarly anthology. Hagerman called for a stronger launch of the White Paper in the form of panel discussions, a seminar or a ceremonial setting of some kind. She hoped that the White Paper would give the Sami people strength in the battle for their rights on matters such as landholdings, repatriation of Sami human remains and influence over archives. "The fact that the Church is now making a contribution is very important," she said. "The whole Sami experience must be included in the history books."

When *Dagens Nyheter* published a large article on 6 February 2016, the Church of Sweden's reconciliation really became national news. The newspaper had been given exclusive rights to the information, which helped the article to have a major impact. Under the heading "Church of Sweden seeks reconciliation with the Sami people", journalist Elisabeth Åsbrink wrote about the topics that were relevant in both the Nomad School Project and the White Paper Project. This article was based on the projects' publications and interviews with

Archbishop Antje Jackelén, former minister for Sami affairs Annika Åhnberg, a number of researchers who had worked on the scholarly anthology, and a number of Sami representatives such as Lars Levi Sunna, Katarina Pirak Sikku and Nils-Henrik Sikku. This article describes the fates of a number of Sami people in the 20th century, and the emphasis was on the Church's participation in the racial-biological surveys, the nomad school system and the underlying racially based "Lapp should remain Lapp"-policy.²³

The newspapers that came up with their own news features included *Västerbottens-Kuriren*, which published an article on the launch of the scholarly anthology on 19 April 2016. This article was based on an interview with Daniel Lindmark. The publication also led to a number of radio broadcasts on Sami, regional and national radio stations.²⁴ However, the publication of the scholarly anthology resulted in not only news features, but debate articles and editorials as well. Maja Hagerman provided an article in *Dagens Nyheter* on 13 May 2016, where she worked on the basis of the Church of Sweden's White Paper Project to emphasise the need to review the state's colonial relationship with the Sami people — and not least the responsibility of the research community for creating and disseminating notions about the Sami people.²⁵ In *Länstidningen Östersund*, Birger Ekerlid wrote an editorial on 5 July 2016 where he presented the scholarly anthology and sent "gratitude to the Church of Sweden for this sterling documentation". He emphasised the fact that the reconciliation process was important and that the Swedish state had a lot to learn from the way in which the Church was dealing with its colonial past.²⁶

In a large article in the journal *Baltic Worlds* in May 2017, freelance journalist Pål Ruin placed the White Paper Project in a broader context of years of Sami struggle that was now starting to pay off. Sami artists such as Sofia Jannok, Jon Henrik Fjällgren and Maxida Märak, Sami director Amanda Kernell's film "Sameblod" ("Sami blood") and the Sami Theatre Giron Sámi Teáhter's play "CO2lonialNATION" had shone a spotlight on Sami history, Sami culture and Sami political struggles. Ruin perceived the White Paper Project to be an expression of a growing insight into the oppression of the Sami people, their culture and rights in history and contemporary times. Like so many others, he noted that "the Church has

come further than the state in addressing its guilt”.²⁷

The perception that the Church of Sweden bore historic guilt also aroused contradiction. Christian newspaper *Dagen* published an interview with Mariann Lörstrand, project manager for the Sami Church Days held in Arvidsjaur in June 2017, on 16 June 2017. Lörstrand commented from a Sami perspective on the Church’s desire for reconciliation: “Recognising what has been done and creating a White Paper is progress. But now we want to see action.”²⁸ This article caused Per Sundin, churchwarden in Själevad and active in church politics, to reply in defence. His response was published on 28 June 2017. Sundin was of the opinion that the Church had done a lot of good things for the Sami people, while the state ought to be criticised for its colonial policy.²⁹ In a response to Sundin’s feature, Bishop Eva Nordung Byström stated on 5 July 2017 that the Church had failed the Sami people and that much more than a “sorry” was needed for reconciliation. The Church had to turn words into action.³⁰

During the Sami Church Days held in Arvidsjaur in June 2017, Sveriges Radio made recordings that resulted in an entire episode of the programme “Människor och tro”, and this was broadcast on 22 June 2017.³¹ The theme of this programme was “The Sami people and the Church of Sweden — can the wounds ever heal?” Archbishop Jackelén and Birgitta Simma, diocesan curate responsible for Sami church life in the Diocese of Luleå, were just two of the people interviewed for this programme. “We have received the White Paper now”, said Birgitta Simma. “Not everything has been included, but I think this is a good start.” She explained that she had met with many positive reactions among Sami people who understood that “the Church has opened its doors”. Antje Jackelén shared Simma’s views: “We have made some progress, but we still have a very long way to go.” She described work on the Nomad School Project and the White Paper Project and highlighted the popular science book *Samerna och Svenska kyrkan: Underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete*, which she recommended for general circulation. Jackelén emphasised the importance of progressing with the reconciliation work and specifically pointed out the need to make people more aware of the Sami issues in the Church of Sweden.

The White Paper Project and its publications also received atten-

tion in Norway and Finland, two countries that — like Sweden — have Sami minority populations. In Norway, this largely came about due to the conferences organised by the Sami Church Council in the Church of Norway.³² Weekly newspaper *Kyrkpressen*, a newspaper for the Swedish-speaking parishes in Finland, published a detailed article on 15 September 2016, which was based on interviews with Daniel Lindmark and Sylvia Sparrock. This article also made a connection with the situation of the Sami people in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland. This part of the article was based on an interview with Veli-Pekka Lehtola, who contributed an article to the scholarly anthology on the Church and Sami people in Finland.³³

In a couple of cases, the White Paper Project and its publications made international news. The English-language journal *Politico* noted that the Church of Sweden had initiated investigations of human rights violations against the Sami population that would result in publications on Sami history and the segregated Sami nomad schools that were used until 1962. Among other things, this article was based on an interview with Kaisa Syrjänen Schaal, who pointed out the problems that had been caused by a racial-biological approach and land grabs of historical Sami areas. This article also mentioned the fact that the Church of Sweden had given Sami people Swedish names in the Church records, thereby “assimilating them bureaucratically.”³⁴

While the article in *Politico* focused mainly on the Sami people’s attempts to bring about a truth and reconciliation commission on the state’s human rights violations, the Sami people’s relationship with the Church of Sweden was the focal point of the article published in French-speaking journal *Croix*. This article was largely based on interviews with representatives of the Church and Sami people which were carried out during the winter market in Jokkmokk in February 2016, when the Nomad School Book was published. However, the article also brought attention to the book that was to be published by the White Paper Project in the near future. Bishop Hans Stiglund of the Diocese of Luleå, the northernmost diocese in the Church of Sweden, stated that publications from both projects would enable further steps to be taken in a reconciliation process. The landholdings of the Church in relation to Sami land use was cited as a particularly major problem, but the bishop was

of the opinion that informal dialogue would be able to progress the issue. This article also pointed out the fact that the Church of Sweden had recently pursued issues relating to the state's relationship with the Sami people by encouraging the signing of ILO Convention no. 169 and establishing a truth and reconciliation commission on the state's colonial past.³⁵

Reviews in General and Academic Media

Reflection of the White Paper Project in the media includes not only news features, but also the reviews published in various newspapers and magazines and on various blogs and websites. The first review of the scholarly anthology was published in the evening paper *Aftonbladet* on 10 April 2016. This was written by Kalle Holmqvist, journalist and author of historical novels and non-fiction. What Holmqvist found most interesting about the book was the Sami resistance to the oppression. In his review, he highlighted examples of resistance from a number of the articles. He concluded that the Sami people were not victims, but freedom fighters.³⁶ On 24 July 2016, the daily newspaper *Sydsvenskan* published a review written by literature critic Ann Lingebrandt. The reviewer noted that the book was based on "a gigantic project" that had resulted in "a perspective-rich knowledge base" that included both stakeholders and structures, both oppression and resistance. She was of the opinion that the book provided a sample chart of systematic, albeit contradictory strategies and objectives in order to crush a culture. The review culminated in the conclusion that there is plenty to reconcile, along with musing as to whether the state would follow the example set by the Church.³⁷

Ann Lingebrandt described the Sami origins of her family, as did Elisabeth Lahti Davidsson in her review that was published on the *dagensbok.com* website on 9 January 2017. But even though her paternal grandmother was a Sami, Lahti Davidsson claimed to have a very limited knowledge of Sami aspects. She was of the opinion that she did not learn anything about the Sami at school, and that even her family had been silent on the subject. She had been left with indignation from reading a number of the articles: Maja Hagerman's article on the Church and racial biology, and Carl-Gösta Ojala's article on grave robbery and removal of Sami human

remains. She said that Erik-Oscar Oscarsson's article on racist ideas and the category split among the Sami helped her to understand why the forest Sami culture from which her family came was belittled and silenced. She recommended the book for general reading as Swedish attitudes to Sami people still retain some of those colonial and racial-biological ideas.³⁸

The scholarly anthology was also the subject of reviews by researchers from various disciplines. Tobias Hübinette, associate professor of intercultural education, published a review on his blog on 24 May 2016. Compared with other white papers, he perceived the Church of Sweden's White Paper on the Sami people as "the most ambitious to date as regards our Swedish contemporary context". At the same time, he was of the opinion that reading it made it clear that there was a need for a white paper on "the Swedish state's colonial and racial policy against the Sami people". This was then followed by a description of selected elements of the content in the articles.³⁹

Technology historian May-Britt Öhman reviewed the anthology in *Feministiskt perspektiv* on 25 October 2016.⁴⁰ To begin, she emphasised the fact that this extensive work on a stakeholder in society that must still be regarded as significant was a result of the proactive work done by the Sami people since the 1970s. She was of the opinion that the list of authors was impressive and that every article was worth a read. However, she called for explicit information on which of the authors had Sami identities. She perceived the absence of the land issues to be the greatest shortcoming of the work. "Racism and abuse of Sami people cannot be understood without touching upon the land issues and subjecting them to in-depth analysis," she claimed. The reviewer cited the editors' description of their efforts to call attention to the landholdings of the Church in relation to Sami land use, and was of the opinion that greater progress could have been made if the work had been organised differently, primarily by "allowing Sami researchers to lead and organise the work on the basis of Sami perspectives of what is important to Sami society". Regardless of this shortcoming, Öhman expressed a desire for the anthology to be made available within the Church of Sweden and academia, particularly as part of the teacher education programme, so that this knowledge could be passed on. "A third

volume focusing on the land issues, to include existing and ongoing new research, should be a natural next step,” she wrote.

Lawyer Tomas Cramér also felt that a proper investigation of the land issues was missing in the scholarly anthology. He was of the opinion that the White Paper Project had focused far too exclusively on the religious aspects. Working on the basis of Bishop Olof Bergqvist’s view of northern Sweden as “the land of the future”, he felt that the Church had been involved in the state development policy with regard to hydroelectric power, mining, forestry, tourism and research. He also called for a presentation of the Sami efforts to organise themselves politically, which according to him had taken place with non-existent support from the Church. Cramér claimed that the Church of Sweden had demonstrated an “indifference as regards the Sami people’s own cultural development and emancipation in society”.⁴¹ Archaeologist Carl-Gösta Ojala, who himself had contributed an article to the scholarly anthology, recommended the book’s articles on various aspects of the relationship between the Church and the Sami people. He was aware that a certain amount of criticism had been levelled at the White Paper for failing to look in depth at the Church’s landholdings in relation to Sami land use, but he stated that the book represented “a vital first step in a long process”.⁴²

Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift, the 2016 yearbook of the Swedish Association of Church History (*Svenska kyrkohistoriska föreningen*), published a review by Leif Nordenstorm, historian of religions and minister in the Church of Sweden. The reviewer was of the opinion that the scholarly anthology was “a unique contribution to Sami church history” that would be a standard reference book for a long time to come thanks to the many experts who had contributed to it. Nordenstorm described the contents of all the articles and emphasised a number of recurring issues in particular: the fundamental aspects of reconciliation, the multifaceted actions of the historical stakeholders, the difficulties inherent in defining what being a Sami means and the segregating “Lapp should remain Lapp”-policy. The reviewer welcomed the articles that called attention to Sami agency. From this perspective, he reckoned it would have been particularly desirable to see more systematic treatment of the Laestadian revival movement in which “many Sami people had an important part to play”. More-

over, he criticised the book for its lack of a description of the relationships of the Orthodox Church in both Russia and Finland with the Sami people throughout the ages. This would have been justified given the fact that the relationships of both the Swedish free churches and the Norwegian and Finnish Lutheran churches with the Sami people were discussed in separate chapters, he stated.⁴³

Historian Otso Kortekangas reviewed the scholarly anthology in *Scandinavian Journal of History* issue 3/2017.⁴⁴ This review began by stating that the book is “an excellent read for anyone interested in the history of the Sámi or in the history of the Church of Sweden”. The reviewer perceived the book to be particularly interesting to review as it brings to the fore a number of issues that are worth discussing: research ethics, the relationship between research and politics, and epistemological issues related to the fact that the study object had contributed to the funding of the project. A number of these topics were discussed in the articles in the first section of the anthology (“Perspectives on Reconciliation”), and therefore he considered this section to be particularly valuable. Kortekangas concluded that the book stands as a scientific work by asking open questions and refraining from giving simple answers. He noted with satisfaction that the book contains many different perspectives without being fragmented as a result. Following a summary of the contents in the various sections of the book, the reviewer went on to develop his primary criticism, which involved calling for clearer discussion on the project’s demarcation of the Church of Sweden, the object under scrutiny. Given the project’s starting point in the organisation of today, it is unclear what responsibility the Church of Sweden can be stated to bear in its historical role against the Sami people who now live within other church and state boundaries in Finland. Kortekangas concluded his review by stating that the editors and authors had managed to strike a fine balance between a white paper published by an organisation and a scholarly anthology, with clear emphasis on the latter function. To finish, he stated that he hoped that the results would be published internationally.

The White Paper Project’s scholarly anthology was also discussed in detail in a report from the Swedish Foundation for Human Rights. Although this was not a straightforward review, there is reason to discuss this work here. In *The Truth from Below: Alter-*

native Truth-Seeking, Ylva L. Hartmann and Aniiina Karlsdottir discuss projects in Burma, Colombia and Sweden that were initiated at civil society or grassroots level with a view to dealing with human rights violations in the past. The purpose of this report is to show how alternative truth-seeking can be implemented and point out strengths and weaknesses.⁴⁵ The Sami section discusses both the Nomad School Project and the White Paper Project, and the authors focus on the suppression of the indigenous Sami religion and the Sami naming custom, as well as the way in which the authorities handled the Sami people as an ethnic group in population registration and nomad schools. The authors discern “a pattern of serious repression and denial of the Sami culture and traditions and their subsistence, which is sensed even today”.⁴⁶ The strength of the anthology is said to be the fact that “it brings forward an important account of the history of repression of the Sami people in Sweden”⁴⁷ as regards both the structure and the extent of the oppression. The report points out the paradox in the fact that Church representatives participated in the White Paper Project and Nomad School Project, but emphasises advantages of the partnership between the Church, the Sami people and academia. The participation of the Church has led to a number of measures, including the Archbishop raising awareness of the White Paper Project and its publications, and of Sami issues in general, including the requirement for a truth commission on the state’s colonial relationship with the Sami people. The greatest limitation identified by the authors in the White Paper Project is the lack of a thorough review of the state’s abuse of the Sami people.

The popular science summary *Samerna och Svenska kyrkan: Underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete* of 2017 — that is, the very book that is presented here in an English translation — was also reviewed in several newspapers and journals. On 28 March 2017, *Värmlands Folkblad* published a review written by historian of ideas Stefan S. Widqvist, who took as his starting point the articles in the scholarly anthology that deal with Church involvement in the theories and practices of racial thinking. This review concluded by demanding that the Swedish state should follow the Church’s example and come to terms with its oppression of Sami people in years gone by.⁴⁸

Yvonne Marcus Meyer published a review of the summary volume in *Miljömagasinet* on 31 March 2017. The reviewer considered the book to be a “very readable and well-presented summary of the White Paper Project”. She dwelt upon various perspectives of reconciliation and called for a discussion on Sami spirituality. She felt that Sylvia Sparrock’s final chapter was outstanding and subscribed to Sparrock’s demands to make the history of the Sami people more visible in the public.⁴⁹

The summary volume was also the subject of an academic review published in issue 3/2017 of cultural history journal *RIG*.⁵⁰ This article was written by Anders Gustavsson, emeritus professor of ethnology. The reviewer described the contents of the book and finally reflected on the two parts; the description of the scientific results and the presentation of the various perspectives on reconciliation. “It is extremely important to ensure that historical-scientific research results and insights can be turned into relevant social debate and reconciliation policy,” stated Gustavsson, concluding by expressing the opinion that the book could be useful in other reconciliation processes as well.

Reflections on the Roles of Researchers in the White Paper Project

The reception of the White Paper Project also includes the reflections of researchers on historians’ participation in retrospective practices such as white paper projects and truth commissions. When researchers participate in projects that require critical reflection on the past, this frequently raises questions on the professionalism of the researchers and the integrity of their research. How, for example, should one relate to the moral agenda that is generally behind a white book project or a truth commission? Is it actually possible to apply moral aspects to history at all? If so, what yardstick should be used to assess the people of times past? Is there not a risk of ending up with an anachronistic and contextless approach if today’s norms and values are used as a basis? Other issues relate to who bears responsibility today for historical injustices. Can an organisation like the current Church of Sweden be held accountable for abuses that took place several hundred years ago? Is it possible at

all to distinguish the responsibilities of the Church and the state at a time when the Church was part of the state apparatus?

The questions raised have been kept alive throughout the entire White Paper Project, and some of them have also been explicitly discussed in the project's own publications. Questions relating to the Church's past and present responsibility are discussed in the text that concludes the scholarly anthology,⁵¹ and similar reasoning can be found in Björn Norlin's and David Sjögren's final reflections on the results of the White Paper Project in the present volume. In both cases, attempts are made to distinguish and grade the past responsibility of the Church. The different roles of the Church at various levels and in various matters are discussed, as are individual stakeholders' relationships with the Church as an organisation. These texts seek to provide an inventory of the problems and do not culminate in any definitive answers. Rather, the conclusions drawn relate to the issue of how the White Paper Project's historical documentation could be used in an ongoing reconciliation process. Norlin and Sjögren express their view that the White Paper Project's results provide sufficient knowledge to facilitate action. For Lindmark and Sundström, the crucial question is what the Church of Sweden is currently prepared to accept responsibility for, and also what responsibility the Sami people would like the Church to accept, regardless of how formal responsibility and guilt could be distributed in both the past and the present.

Experiences from the White Paper Project have also prompted reflections in other contexts relating to the involvement of historians in "retrospective practices" such as white paper projects and truth commissions. In an article dating back to 2016, Daniel Lindmark discusses the type of historical knowledge that recipients want to see and the type of knowledge that historians are able to contribute.⁵² Among other things, he points out the contradiction between the nuanced, contextualising reasoning of historians on the one hand and, on the other, stakeholders' expectation of unequivocal results and clear statements on issues relating to responsibility and guilt. This article also clarifies the strategies selected by the White Paper Project's leaders in order to defend the professionalism and integrity of the researchers involved.

David Sjögren's involvement in both the government's white

paper on abuses of the Romani in the 20th century and the White Paper Project on the Church of Sweden and the Sami people was behind his assignment as a guest editor for a special issue of the journal *Historisk tidskrift* in 2016. The theme was “Historians in reconciliation” (*Historiker i försoning*), and although the White Paper Project on the Church of Sweden and the Sami people was only mentioned initially, it was clear that the project constituted part of the Swedish background for the creation of the special issue.⁵³ Researchers’ interest in historians’ experiences of working with “historical justice” was also expressed in other ways. For instance, David Sjögren and Daniel Lindmark were invited to the research seminar in history at Umeå University on 4 November 2016, where plenty of time was devoted to the work on the White Paper Project on the Church of Sweden and the Sami people.

The first scientific review of the White Paper Project’s scholarly anthology also brought up issues relating to differences between research within the framework of the White Paper Project and research with a more unbiased approach.⁵⁴ In his review, Otso Kortekangas refers primarily to certain consequences of the geographical limitations presented by the White Paper Project by using today’s church organisation as a starting point for its historical survey. However, the review notes that the editors appear in their final reflections to be aware of the “tension between history and politics that characterizes the project”. He perceives this as “a necessary signal that history [i.e., historical science] has its own premises and laws that are set by historians collectively, rather than states or private organizations.”⁵⁵

The leaders of the White Paper Project therefore had an ambition to defend the integrity of their researchers and the research against the ideological agenda that controlled the Church’s reconciliation process to which the project belonged. This delimitation also included ideas on distribution of roles between representatives of the Church of Sweden and university research teams. The basic idea was to allow researchers to contribute scientifically sound data the parties to the reconciliation process could use in the ongoing processing of their past and present relationships. In other words, the White Paper Project was to be an academic research project, and the scientific leaders and staff working on the project would

not need to take up a position on the overall reconciliation process. However, in practice the role of the project leaders was greater than that. Not least, project manager Daniel Lindmark ended up talking in interviews not only about the scientific documentation, but also about the White Paper Project's overall objective within the scope of a long-term reconciliation agenda. This did not just have a practical basis — Lindmark chaired the project's steering committee and was very familiar with the purpose of the project — but also reflected a certain shift in views of what would be possible and desirable as regards historians contributing research relevant to society.

12. The Overall Results of the White Paper Project

It is not an easy task to give an account of the project's overall results. The project covered a history spanning some 500 years and the historical writing produced for the anthology comprises more than 1,000 pages. Thus, there are many different results and conclusions that could be highlighted, depending on one's own interests. As stated above, an essential point in this connection is also that it is now primarily up to the parties in the reconciliation process to draw those conclusions they consider most important. The project produced the anthology and the popular scientific book as a basis for further dialogue. These publications represent a contribution from the research community to the reconciliation process, a process that is now owned by others.

As mentioned previously, the White Paper Project makes no claim to provide a complete or definitive description of the relations between the Church and the Sami. However, in their summary of the scholarly anthology, historians Björn Norlin and David Sjögren state that they believe the research findings presented should be sufficient to allow the Sami and the Church to engage in a process which will hopefully result in new forms of social intercourse and emancipation from historical colonial power relations.¹

Even though it is now primarily up to the Church and the Sami to draw their own conclusions and identify those results they see

as being the most urgent to discuss, it might be useful to point out some important conclusions that may ensure that future dialogues will be based on a fair and balanced picture of the past history.

Probably the most obvious general conclusion to come from the research conducted within the framework of the project is that the relations between the Church and the Sami can be characterised as colonial power relations. As an integral part of the historical colonial power, the Church has had a paternalistic attitude towards the Sami. According to the dictionary of the Swedish national encyclopaedia (*Nationalencyklopedins ordbok*), *paternalism* means 'a relationship between a (more) superior and a (more) subordinate party, characterised by a protective (and thus often passivising) attitude on the part of the stronger party'. The term is often used pejoratively about attitudes, views etc. one is critical of. *Paternalism* comes from the Latin word for 'father', *pater*, and denotes the relationship between a father and his children, in a patriarchal structure. The Church assumed the superior role and acted as a guardian while the Sami were assigned the subordinate role in the relationship and were seen and treated more or less as minors not entirely capable of controlling their own development. Like a patriarchal father, the Church imposed its will on the Sami. However, it should be said that, in most cases, church representatives acted with the best of intentions in so far as they usually had what they believed to be the good of the Sami in mind. This is another aspect of the paternal role and the attitude referred to as *paternalistic*.

Until the turn of the 21st century, the Church of Sweden was a state authority. Throughout their history, the Church and the state have been authoritarian and have more or less unilaterally imposed their rule on the population. There has been a lack of reciprocity in the relations between the Church and the state on the one hand and the Sami on the other. Further back in history, it would seem that church or state representatives did not reflect much on this lack of reciprocity, as the current social order was seen as normal, natural or God-given. In the 17th century, the King, or the Queen, was considered to be God's foremost representative in the country and it was the monarch's responsibility to ensure, via the Church and other government authorities, that the population, including the Sami, conformed to what the powers considered to be God's order.

These attitudes have of course changed. Today, we have entirely different expectations regarding reciprocal relations between the state and its citizens and the Church and its members. In this connection, it should be remembered that while many church representatives participated in the paternalistic policies of previous centuries, some also contributed to the development of more reciprocal and democratic relations, especially in the second half of the 20th century. This is, for example, pointed out by Lars Elenius in his article in the scholarly anthology.² However, old structures of superiority and subordination may still remain to some extent today in the relations between the Church and the Sami, as well as between the state and the Sami. This is one of several aspects that Sylvia Sparrock, in her reflections on the results of the White Paper Project, believes the Church, together with the Sami, must now consider and process.³

A Complex History

It should be noted that the picture of the Church of Sweden's relations with the Sami is a complex one. To bring more nuance to the depiction of their historical relations, it is important to state that the Church never strove to fight the Sami and Saminess generally. Nor is it always possible to identify a clear dividing line between the Church and the Sami. A few examples from the anthology will illustrate this:

- Siv Rasmussen's article on Sami clergymen from the end of the 16th to the 19th century shows that the Church made fairly strenuous efforts to recruit Sami ministers who could speak Sami to their parishioners. There was a fair number of Sami ministers during this period, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. The first one, Gerhard Jonsson (Gerhardus Jonæ) was ordained as early as 1581. For some time, he was chaplain to King Johan III, but chiefly worked as a minister in Skellefteå. Incidentally, one of Gerhard's sons, Johan, was later appointed County Governor of Västerbotten and took the family name Graan after being knighted. Johan Graan's brother Anders also came to belong to the upper ranks of Västerbotten society in his capacity as Mayor of Umeå.⁴

- Daniel Lindmark's article deals with the comparatively early efforts to provide education for the Sami. The reason behind these efforts was that the Church wished to train Sami ministers and so-called catechists, i.e. people who assisted the minister in teaching the Christian faith. These efforts were focused not least on Sami girls. As early as the 1740s, Sami girls received schooling, long before most non-Sami girls had access to the same level of education. This special focus on Sami girls was due to the Church's belief that women would be better suited to spreading education — and Christianity — in their homes since they spent more time there with their children than men did.⁵
- The efforts to provide education for Sami girls had some noticeable results. For example, Håkan Rydving shows that a 23-year-old Sami woman by the name of Ingri Månsdotter was appointed chief catechist in 1779, which meant that she was not only the head of all the other catechists in her parish, Arjeplog, she could also take on several of the minister's duties in his absence. Rydving points out that Ingri Månsdotter achieved this almost minister-like role nearly 200 years prior to the ordination of the first woman minister in the Church of Sweden.⁶
- Olavi Korhonen provides an account of how the Church, as early as the beginning of the 17th century, focused on developing a written Sami language and producing literature in Sami (an ABC book and a service book). This work continued in the 18th and 19th centuries with translations of hymns, Bible books and homilies aimed at spreading Christendom. While the number of Sami-speaking ministers decreased in the 20th century, perhaps due to the fact that, starting in the late 19th century, the use of Sami as a teaching language had increasingly been abandoned, the Church still continued to publish church texts in Sami. At the beginning of the 21st century efforts to translate hymns and Bible books into the various Sami language varieties were boosted, and this work is currently ongoing.⁷

The original project assignment stated that it was particularly important to shed light on two specific areas, viz. the so-called religious

trials from 1680 to 1730 and the segregating school policy around the turn of the 20th century, both of which manifest the paternalistic attitude of the Church of Sweden towards the Sami. Even though these two areas have no special place in the project, a presentation of some of the conclusions that can be drawn from these periods might be in order.

The Religious Trials 1680–1730

The religious trials at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries were part of an intensified campaign by the state and the Church to get to grips with what the authorities saw as extensive “idolatry” and “sorcery” among the Sami. Specifically, the campaign consisted of trials against Sami people accused of practicing certain indigenous religious traditions, such as yoiking, sacrifice and, not least, the use of the ritual drums. Such practices incurred severe penalties, sometimes even death. These traditions, however, were seen by many Sami people at the time as absolutely essential for their own well-being. In these court cases, the prosecution often invoked the first commandment in the Old Testament, “Thou shalt have no other gods before me”. Indictments in these so-called sorcery cases were often initiated by clergymen. In addition to the trials, ministers serving in the Lappmark are also known to have destroyed Sami sacred places and seized drums on their own initiative. Several of the articles in the anthology deal with these trials.⁸

The hostile attitudes towards indigenous Sami traditions are closely connected to the Reformation. The Reformation and the following Reformation Wars, which divided Europe into Catholic and Protestant kingdoms, resulted in the Church of Sweden, like many other European churches at the time, becoming more zealous in dealing with what were seen as deviations from the true faith. This, among other things, led to the widespread so-called witch trials in Europe and Sweden. Thus, the religious or sorcery trials against Sami people were part of the same campaign that also resulted in the witch trials. While this campaign against Sami religious practices was intense, and while the Sami were seen as being particularly inclined to “idolatry” and “sorcery” compared to other country folk, the fact is that Sami defendants were treated more leniently by

the courts than, for example, Swedish peasants. As far as we know, only one Sami man was ever executed for ritual sacrifice and using his drum. His name was Lars Nilsson, and at the turn of the year 1693/94 he was beheaded at the winter market in Pite Lappmark as a terrible warning to others. The local district courts, which included many Sami lay-assessors, imposed several death sentences in trials against Sami people, but these sentences were often repealed by higher courts. Many more death sentences pronounced in the witch trials were actually carried out.

The Segregating Schooling Policy around the Turn of the 20th Century

Until the beginning of the 20th century, the Church of Sweden was responsible for the schooling of Sami children. By that time, a number of different types of Sami schools, both stationary and circulating ones, had been established. With a view to achieving uniformity in the education system, the so-called Nomad School Act was adopted in 1913. The person chosen to reorganise the Sami education system was the bishop of the then newly formed Luleå diocese, Olof Bergqvist. As Björn Norlin and David Sjögren, and also Erik-Oscar Oscarsson, show in their articles, Bergqvist was an advocate of racial ideas prevalent at the time which saw the Sami as belonging to an inferior race that risked extinction if they were given access to too much modernity and civilisation.⁹ In the nomad school system that Bergqvist created, the children of primarily reindeer-herding Sami were to be offered schooling specially adapted to what he deemed to be their lower educational needs, while the children of settled Sami were to attend the regular elementary school together with other children so that they could be rapidly assimilated into the Swedish culture. It was only the children of reindeer-herding Sami that were considered to be “true” Sami, or of the “purest breed” as Bergqvist put it, and they should be protected from the degrading effects of civilisation on their culture.

In addition to the fact that the nomad school system resulted in children of reindeer-herding Sami receiving a schooling of far lower quality and shorter length than that offered to other children in Sweden, the system, together with the racist ideas it was based

on, also led to a split in the Sami population. The division of the Sami into two categories, the so-called true Sami, i.e. the reindeer herders, and other Sami, who did not live by reindeer herding and who were to be assimilated, came to influence Swedish legislation and policies involving the Sami, with consequences that remain to this day.

Paternalism and ideas of cultural hierarchies, which were especially prevalent in the decades around the turn of the 20th century, also led several church representatives to assist racial biologists in robbing Sami graves and removing human remains. It would appear that those involved in these activities paid no heed to the personal integrity of the deceased and their surviving relatives, as shown in Carl-Gösta Ojala's article.¹⁰ The articles by Erik-Oscar Oscarsson and Maja Hagerman point out how some church representatives assisted racial biologist Herman Lundborg when he took measurements of and photographed Sami people in the course of his field studies from the 1910s to the 1930s.¹¹

Concluding Remarks

Since the memories of past violations of their integrity still remain with many Sami, since there are still Sami human remains in the collections of Swedish state museums and since the consequences of the racially-based division of the Sami into two categories are still felt today, there is a justifiable fear on the part of the Sami that both the Church of Sweden and the state, as well as Swedish society as a whole, have not been entirely successful in abandoning the paternalistic attitudes that have characterised the relations throughout history. For this reason, Sylvia Sparrock believes that the Church of Sweden now "must amend its colonial attitude towards the Sami".¹²

In our own concluding text in the anthology we make the point that, in the absence of proper assessment criteria, it is difficult for us as researchers to pass judgement in questions of individual guilt: Was it the Church or the state that was responsible for the measures taken? Was it the Church as an organisation or individual church representatives that were responsible? It is even more difficult to identify who might be to blame today: What kind of responsibility does today's Church and its representatives have for the actions

of previous generations? These are issues that the Church and the Sami can, and should, now discuss and reflect on, as questions of responsibility for historical wrongs cannot be answered by historical science. They are rather questions of a moral, ideological and theological nature.

The crucial point is perhaps what responsibility today's Church of Sweden wants to assume for the actions of the Church and its representatives in the past, and what responsibility the Sami believe the Church should assume. In this matter, the Church of Sweden can now take a position, irrespective of who may have been responsible in the past.¹³ Sylvia Sparrock argues in a similar manner when stating that the Church has contributed to the creation of some of the problems that the Sami encounter today, either together with the state or independently, while responsibility for other problems lies more with the state. However, regardless of where the blame lies, she writes, "the Church of Sweden can today assume responsibility for its colonial past and contribute to creating a better quality of life for Sweden's indigenous people, the Sami".¹⁴

NOTES

1. THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN AND THE SAMI

- 1 Karl-Johan Tyrberg, "Försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: Initiativ och insatser 1990–2012", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 43–78.
- 2 *Rapport från Sägastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan, i Kiruna den 11–13 oktober 2011* (2012), <www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=899745>, p. 3, 30 May 2015.
- 3 Sören Ekström & Marie Schött, *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* (Stockholm 2006) pp. 9, 83.
- 4 "Förslag till åtgärder med anledning av en hearing om samerna och Svenska kyrkan, *Sägastallamat*. "Decision data, Central Board of the Church of Sweden, Working Committee meeting on 29 March, 2012, agenda item 40. Church of Sweden, Central Church Office, Uppsala. The memorandum was drawn up by Göran Möller, Kaisa Syrjänen Schaal and Kaisa Huuva.
- 5 "Plan för 'Svenska kyrkan och samerna — ett vitboksprojekt'", unpublished memorandum, Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Umeå University (2013).
- 6 "Plan för 'Svenska kyrkan och samerna — ett vitboksprojekt'" (2013).
- 7 Tore Johnsen, "Erkänd historia och förnyade relationer: Perspektiv på försoningsarbetet mellan kyrkan och samerna", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (red.), *Samerna och Svenska kyrkan: Underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete* (Möklinta 2017) pp. 101–129.
- 8 See <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/vitboken>>, 19 January 2018.

2. THE SCHOLARLY ANTHOLOGY AND WHITE PAPERS AS A CONTEMPORARY PHENOMENON

- 1 Antje Jackelén, "Förord", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 11–12.
- 2 Anna-Lill Drugge, "Forskningsetik och urfolksforskning", in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 191–193; David Sjögren, "Att göra upp med det förflutna: Sanningskommissioner, officiella ursäkter och vitböcker i ett svenskt och internationellt perspektiv", in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 123–125.
- 3 Gunlög Fur, "Att sona det förflutna", in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016a) pp. 170–184.
- 4 Sjögren (2016) pp. 123–153.
- 5 Carola Nordbäck, "En försoningens väg i Jesu namn: Perspektiv på Svenska kyrkans försoningsarbete", in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 79–99.
- 6 Karl-Johan Tyrberg, "Försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: Initiativ och insatser 1990–2012", in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 43–58.

- 7 More about this reconciliation service and reconciliation practices from a contemporary and historical perspective can be found in Nordbäck (2016) pp. 79–122.
- 8 Tyrberg (2016) pp. 68–73.
- 9 Drugge (2016) pp. 199–213.

3. THE CHURCH, MISSION AND SCHOOL

- 1 Bo Lundmark, “Medeltida vittnesbörd om samerna och den katolska kyrkan”, in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016a) pp. 221–240; Håkan Rydving, “Samisk kyrkohistoria: En kort översikt med fokus på kvinnor som aktörer”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 317–318.
- 2 Lundmark (2016a) pp. 229, 235.
- 3 Lundmark (2016a) pp. 222–224.
- 4 Lundmark (2016a) pp. 221–240; Gunlög Fur, “Kolonisation och kulturmötet under 1600- och 1700-talen”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016b) p. 259. Concerning Thomas von Westen, see also Louise Bäckman, “Vearalden Olmai — Världens Man — Frey eller Kristus?”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 590–591.
- 5 Lundmark (2016a) pp. 227–235; Rydving (2016) pp. 323–325.
- 6 Fur (2016b) pp. 243–251; Daniel Lindmark, “Svenska undervisningsinsatser och samiska reaktioner på 1600- och 1700-talen”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) p. 342.
- 7 Fur (2016b) pp. 247–251; Lindmark (2016) pp. 342–344.
- 8 Fur (2016b) pp. 247–251. A presentation of the formation of benefices is provided in Lindmark (2016) pp. 342–344.
- 9 Fur (2016b) pp. 250–251; Lindmark (2016) pp. 342.
- 10 As stated, the Church took on a subordinate position in relation to the state and the Crown at the time of the Reformation. A review of the Church’s long-term relationship with the state authority, and changes and continuity in the Church’s assignments and problems in relation to the Sami people and Sami culture, can be found in Lars Elenius, “Stiftsledningen och minoritetspolitiken”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 469–518.
- 11 Fur (2016b) p. 257.
- 12 Fur (2016b) pp. 251–253. See also Lindmark (2016) pp. 344–349.
- 13 Fur (2016b) pp. 268–274.
- 14 Lindmark (2016) pp. 345–350.
- 15 Siv Rasmussen, “Samiske prester i den svenske kirke i tidlig nytid”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 283–314.
- 16 Rasmussen (2016) pp. 294–305.
- 17 Rasmussen (2016) pp. 283–314; Rydving (2016) p. 319; Lindmark (2016) pp. 352–356.
- 18 Rydving (2016) pp. 315–339.
- 19 Rydving (2016) pp. 315–339.

- 20 Lindmark (2016) pp. 341–351; Rydving (2016) pp. 315–339.
- 21 Lindmark (2016) pp. 345–347.
- 22 Lindmark (2016) pp. 351–356. See also Sölve Anderzén, “Kyrkans undervisning i Lappmarken under 1800-talet: En ständigt pågående process för att finna fungerande arbetsformer”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 372–376; Björn Norlin & David Sjögren, “Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900: Inflytande, vägval och konsekvenser?”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 404–407.
- 23 Lindmark (2016) pp. 351–364.
- 24 Anderzén (2016) pp. 371–398; Norlin & Sjögren (2016) pp. 407–410.
- 25 Anderzén (2016) pp. 371–398; Norlin & Sjögren (2016) p. 410.
- 26 Anderzén (2016) pp. 389–398; Norlin & Sjögren (2016) pp. 409–410.
- 27 Norlin & Sjögren (2016) pp. 403–432. See also Erik-Oscar Oscarsson, “Ras-tänkande och särskiljande av samer”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 943–956.
- 28 Norlin & Sjögren (2016) pp. 403–432; Oscarsson (2016) pp. 943–956.
- 29 Norlin & Sjögren (2016) pp. 403–432; Oscarsson (2016) pp. 943–956.
- 30 Johan Hansson, “Svenska Missionsällskapet och Samernas folkhögskola”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 439–461.
- 31 Hansson (2016) pp. 439–461.

4. THE CHURCH AND SAMI CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS

- 1 Forbus is quoted in Olle Sundström, “Svenskkyrkliga förståelser av inhemska samisk världsåskådning: En historisk översikt”, in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) p. 531.
- 2 Sundström (2016) pp. 531–536. For more in-depth reading on Sami religion and world view, see Louise Bäckman, “Vearalden Olmai — Världens Man — Frey eller Kristus?”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 589–620.
- 3 Sundström (2016) pp. 536–539.
- 4 Sundström (2016) pp. 539–552.
- 5 Sundström (2016) pp. 552–556.
- 6 Sundström (2016) pp. 556–567.
- 7 Sundström (2016) pp. 567–575.
- 8 Sundström (2016) pp. 575–580.
- 9 Anna Westman Kuhmunen, “Bassebájke: Heliga platser i landskapet”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 629–644; Bäckman (2016) pp. 589–620.
- 10 Westman Kuhmunen (2016) pp. 639–644.
- 11 Westman Kuhmunen (2016) pp. 644–652.
- 12 Rolf Christoffersson, “Svenska kyrkan och samiska trummor”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 657–675.
- 13 Christoffersson (2016) pp. 657–675. See also Sundström (2016) pp. 551–552.
- 14 Hans Mebius, “Den återupprättade nåden”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 681–704.

- 15 Krister Stoor, "Svenska kyrkan och jojken", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 711–730.
- 16 Stoor (2016) pp. 711–730; Christoffersson (2016) p. 657.
- 17 Olavi Korhonen, "Samiskan under fyra sekel i Svenska kyrkans arbete", in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 735–748.
- 18 Korhonen (2016) pp. 735, 749–761.
- 19 Korhonen (2016) pp. 735, 761–780.
- 20 Korhonen (2016) pp. 735, 781–784.
- 21 Johannes Marainen/Las-Biet-Heaihka-Johanas writes about his first day at school in the 1940s in Johannes Marainen, "Svenska kyrkan och det samiska namnskicket: Reflektioner kring några konkreta exempel", in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) p. 812.
- 22 Märit Frändén, "Svenska kyrkan och det samiska namnskicket: Övergripande perspektiv", in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 797–806.
- 23 Frändén (2016) pp. 797–806.
- 24 Frändén (2016) pp. 797–806; Marainen (2016) pp. 816–817.
- 25 Marainen (2016) pp. 811–814.
- 26 Marainen (2016) pp. 815–816.

5. THE SAMI AND THE CHURCH AS AN AUTHORITY

- 1 Peter Aronsson, *Bönder gör politik: Det lokala självstyret som social arena i tre Smålandssocknar, 1680–1850* (Lund 1992); Harald Gustafsson, *Sockenstugans politiska kultur: Lokalt självstyre på 1800-talets landsbygd* (Stockholm 1989); Lennart Tegborg, *Kyrkoherden — ämbetsmannen 1809–1930: Ett drama i tre akter* (Uppsala 1994).
- 2 Tegborg (1994); Carin Bergström, "Lantprästen: En maktfaktor att räkna med", in Carin Bergström (ed.), *Hand & penna: Sju essäer om yrken på 1700-talet* (Stockholm 1996) pp. 71–103; Björn Furuhausen, *Berusade bönder och bråkiga båtsmän: Social kontroll vid sockenstämmor och ting under 1700-talet* (Stockholm 1996); Sten Henrysson, *Prästerna i Lappmarken före 1850: Ursprung och arbetsuppgifter* (Umeå 1989); Göran Inger, *Vanfnejd: Från infamia till förlust av medborgerligt förtroende* (Uppsala 2001), pp. 167–168.
- 3 Leonard Bygdén, *Hernösands herdaminne: Bidrag till kännedom om prästerskap och kyrkliga förhållanden till tiden omkring Luleå stifts utbrytning 1* (Uppsala 1923) pp. 26, 44.
- 4 Bygdén (1923) p. 26.
- 5 Bygdén (1923) pp. 169–170.
- 6 Filip Hultblad, *Övergång från nomadism till agrar bosättning i Jokkmokks socken* (Stockholm 1968) p. 71.
- 7 Bygdén (1923).
- 8 Nils-Johan Päiviö, *Från skattemannarätt till nyttjanderätt: En rättshistorisk studie av samernas rättigheter från slutet av 1500-talet till 1886 års renbeteslag* (Uppsala 2011) pp. 188–195.
- 9 Gudrun Norstedt, "Hur kyrkor och prästbord tog plats i det samiska landskapet", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna*

- mellan Svenska kyrkan och Samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 826–831.
- 10 David Sjögren, “Kyrkstaden Fatmomakke i historisk belysning: Platsens betydelse, och dess andliga, politiska och kulturella verksamhetsformer från 1700-talets slut till 1900-talets mitt”, in Daniel Lindmark, Björn Norlin & David Sjögren (eds.), *Kyrkliga strukturer och platsbundna kulturer: Vilhelmina pastorat 200 år* (Umeå 2014) pp. 90–93, 98–102; Ragnar Berglin, *Kyrkstaden i övre Norrland: Kyrkliga, merkantila och judiciella funktioner under 1600- och 1700-talen* (Umeå 1964) pp. 45, 148, 364–365; Gudrun Norstedt, “Fatmomakkes omland i historisk belysning”, in *Kyrkstaden Fatmomakke i historisk belysning*, Länsstyrelsen Västerbottens meddelande 4 (Umeå 2013) pp. 80–83.
 - 11 Norstedt (2016) pp. 832–833.
 - 12 Norstedt (2016) pp. 836–848.
 - 13 Elisabet Engberg, *I fattiga omständigheter: Fattigvårdens former och understödsgare i Skellefteå socken under 1800-talet* (Umeå 2005) pp. 57–60.
 - 14 After 1925, the Lapp parishes were Frostviken, Hotagen, Undersåker and Tännäs. The Föllinge Lapp parish was first formed in 1746 when it broke away from the parish of Åsele. The parishes of Undersåker, Hede and Frostviken all broke away from the original Föllinge Lapp parish on various occasions. The Föllinge parish changed its name to Hotagen in 1842, and Hede changed its name to Tännäs in 1925.
 - 15 Lars Thomasson, “Lappförsamlingarna i Jämtland-Härjedalen 1746–1941: Gemenskap eller segregering?”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 856–857, 864–865.
 - 16 Thomasson (2016) p. 873.
 - 17 Patrik Lantto, *Tiden börjar på nytt: En analys av samernas etnopolitiska mobilisering i Sverige 1900–1950* (Umeå 2001) p. 121.
 - 18 Engberg (2005) pp. 63–64; Lena Karlsson & Marianne Liliequist, “Fattigauctioner och samiska ålderdomshem: Synen på äldre samer i samband med åldringsvården”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 887–888.
 - 19 Karlsson & Liliequist (2016) pp. 893–898.
 - 20 Karlsson & Liliequist (2016) p. 899.
 - 21 Thomasson (2016) pp. 869–873.
 - 22 SOU 1924:58, *Fattigvården bland lapparna* (Stockholm 1924) p. 96. Also quoted in Karlsson & Liliequist (2016) p. 901.
 - 23 Karlsson & Liliequist (2016) pp. 900–901.
 - 24 Karlsson & Liliequist (2016) pp. 900–906.
 - 25 Per Axelsson, “Kyrkan, folkbokföringen och samerna”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 921–923.
 - 26 Axelsson (2016) pp. 923–926.
 - 27 Axelsson (2016) pp. 927–933.
 - 28 Carl-Gösta Ojala, “Svenska kyrkan och samiska mänskliga kvarlevor”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 994–998; Lennart Lundmark, *Stulet land: Svensk makt på samisk mark* (Stockholm 2008) pp. 141–152; Olof Ljungström, *Oscariansk antropologi: Etnografi, förhistoria och rasforskning under sent 1800-tal* (Hedemora 2004).

- 29 Ojala (2016) pp. 996–997.
- 30 Ljungström (2004).
- 31 Ojala (2016) p. 997.
- 32 Ojala (2016) p. 997.
- 33 Ojala (2016) p. 1000.
- 34 Ojala (2016) p. 1001.
- 35 Veli-Pekka Lehtola describes an anthropological excavation of Sami graves in what is now the municipality of Enare in Finland, headed by Professor Väino Lassila. Tuomo Itkonen, vicar of Enare, gave unofficial permission to the excavation expedition, and as a result of this excavation around 70 skulls were transported to the Institute for Anatomy in Helsinki; Veli-Pekka Lehtola, “Historical encounters of the Sámi and the Church in Finland”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 1109–1110.
- 36 Ojala (2016) pp. 1016–1019.
- 37 Björn Furuahagen, *Den svenska rasbiologins idéhistoriska rötter: En inventering av forskningen* (Stockholm 2007) pp. 2, 8–9; Gunnar Broberg & Mattias Tydén, *Oönskade i folkhemmet: Rashygien och sterilisering i Sverige* (Stockholm 2005) p. 9.
- 38 Maja Hagerman, “Svenska kyrkan och rasbiologin”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 961, 965.
- 39 Erik-Oscar Oscarsson, “Rastänkande och särskiljande av samer”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 944–947.
- 40 Oscarsson (2016) pp. 951–954; Hagerman (2016) pp. 973–974.
- 41 Hagerman (2016) pp. 974–982; Oscarsson (2016) pp. 951–954.
- 42 Hagerman (2016) pp. 982–985.
- 43 See e.g. Oscarsson (2016) pp. 943–959.

6. THE CHURCH AND SAMI PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN

- 1 Torkel Jansson, *Rikssprängningen som kom av sig: Finsk-svenska gemenskaper efter 1809* (Stockholm 2009).
- 2 Bo Lundmark, “Samerna och frikyrkosamfunden i Sverige”, in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016b) pp. 1035–1040.
- 3 Lundmark (2016b) pp. 1038–1040.
- 4 Patrik Lantto has called attention to how the early Sami movement derived inspiration from other popular movements, particularly the temperancemovement and the Christian revival movements; Lantto (2002) pp. 67–68.
- 5 Roald E. Kristiansen, “Den norske kirken og det samiske”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 1053–1059.
- 6 Kristiansen (2016) p. 1075. Veli-Pekka Lehtola has described the attitude of the Church of Finland to Laestadianism. Veli-Pekka Lehtola, “Historical encounters of the Sámi and the Church in Finland”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 1103–1105.
- 7 Kristiansen (2016) pp. 1076–1077.

- 8 Kristiansen (2016) pp. 1077–1081.
- 9 Lehtola (2016) pp. 1088–1091.
- 10 Lehtola (2016) p. 1091.
- 11 Lehtola (2016) pp. 1104–1105.
- 12 Lehtola (2016) pp. 1093–1096.
- 13 Lehtola (2016) pp. 1096–1103.
- 14 David Sjögren, *Den säkra zonen: Motiv, åtgärdsförslag och den särskiljande utbildningspolitiken för inhemska minoriteter 1910–1962* (Umeå 2010), pp. 45–116.
- 15 Lehtola (2016) pp. 1105–1111.

7. FINAL REFLECTIONS

- 1 Kaisa Huuva & Ellacarin Blind, “När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och jag har ännu inte kommit tillbaka”: *Minnesbilder från samernas skoltid* (Stockholm 2016).

8. ACKNOWLEDGED HISTORY AND RENEWED RELATIONSHIPS

- 1 Jens-Ivar Nergård, “Fremmedgjoringen av samisk selvforståelse”, in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid — forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 47–64.
- 2 Twenty-four different truth commissions were appointed between 1975 and 2008; cf. Jeff Corntassel & Cindy Holder, “Who’s sorry now? Government apologies, truth commissions, and indigenous self-determination in Australia, Canada, Guatemala, and Peru”, *Human Rights Review* 9:4 (2008) p. 469.
- 3 See Corntassel & Holder (2008) and Dominic O’Sullivan, “Reconciliation as public theology: Christian thought in comparative indigenous politics”, *International Journal of Public Theology* 8:1 (2014) pp. 5–24.
- 4 Robert J. Schreiter, “Reconciliation as a new paradigm of mission”, *Winter 2005 Periodic Newsletter — Catholic Mission Association* (2005) p. 1, <<https://www.scribd.com/document/33124819/Winter-2005-Periodic-Newsletter-Catholic-Mission-Association>>, 23 May 2015. Otherwise, reconciliation was the main topic for the Conference of European Churches’ General Assemblies in 1997 and 2003, and also for the World Council of Churches’ Conference on World Mission and Evangelism, 2005.
- 5 Puleng LenkaBula, “Justice and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa: A South African woman’s perspective”, *International Review of Mission* 94:372 (2005) p. 109. Self-reconciliation is not included in this discussion on reconciliation.
- 6 John W. de Gruchy, *Reconciliation: Restoring justice* (Minneapolis 2002) p. 27.
- 7 To become “reconciled with oneself” and one’s situation forms part of these processes.
- 8 de Gruchy (2002) p. 26. Theological reconciliation belongs to a fourth level that is highlighted by de Gruchy. However, the three levels linked with reconciliation between people are of interest to the discussion being held here.

- 9 Robert J. Schreiter, *The ministry of reconciliation: Spirituality & strategies* (New York 1998) pp. 111–116.
- 10 de Gruchy (2002) p. 66.
- 11 de Gruchy (2002) p. 27.
- 12 The categorisation and description that follow expand upon my discussion of the topic in Tore Johnsen, *Jordens barn, Solens barn, Vindens barn: Kristen tro i et samisk landskap* (Oslo 2007) pp. 100–111; and in Tore Johnsen, “Menneskers arbeid eller Guds gave? En teologisk drøfting av forsoning med henblikk på forsoningsprosesser i Sápmi”, in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid — forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 13–31.
- 13 Corntassel & Holder (2008) p. 469.
- 14 See the Church Assembly’s discussion of motion 2014:4, Support Sami rights. The Sami media devoted a lot of attention to this issue, and there were several versions of what the Church Assembly’s decision would involve; see e.g. “Samer engagerade i kyrkfrågor besvikna över ILO-beslut”, Sameradion & SVT Sápmi, <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=6023209>>, 22 May 2015; and press release “Förtydligande om Svenska kyrkans arbete för samernas rättigheter”, Church of Sweden, 26 November 2014: <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/1201360>>, 24 October 2016.
- 15 Michael Lapsley, *Redeeming the past: My journey from freedom fighter to healer* (Cape Town 2012) p. 37.
- 16 Desmond Tutu & Mpho Tutu, *The book of forgiving: The fourfold path of healing ourselves and the world* (New York 2014) p. 82.
- 17 Tutu & Tutu (2014) pp. 72–73.
- 18 The truth and reconciliation commission related to indigenous peoples in Canada has also focused on what it refers to as “intergenerational victims”; that is to say, the second and third generations of the people affected by an abuse. See TRC Canada “Mandate for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission”, <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/pdfs/SCHEDULE_N_EN.pdf>, 18 September 2016.
- 19 Nergård (2013) p. 59.
- 20 Tutu & Tutu (2014) p. 72.
- 21 Human rights perspectives emphasise the importance of verifying actual conditions and establishing an official picture of the truth as the first part of a reconciliation process. Cf. Ingar Nikolaisen Kuoljok, “Utopi eller virkelighet? Forsoningsprosessen mellom kirken og samene i et menneskerettighetsperspektiv”, in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid — forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 47–64.
- 22 Schreiter is of the opinion that approaches of this kind not only trivialise the abuse, but conceal its causes as well, Schreiter (1998) pp. 18–21.
- 23 “KM sak 13/97, Urfolk i den verdensvide kirke med utgangspunkt i samisk kirkeliv”, <<http://docplayer.me/10530494-Urfolk-i-den-verdensvide-kirke-med-utgangspunkt-i-samisk-kirkeliv.html>>, 18 September 2016.
- 24 An insight into the problem is provided by the documentary “Tilbakeslaget og de

- fem hersketeknikkene”, NRK (2012), <<http://tv.nrk.no/program/dnpr64000012/tilbakeslaget-tromsoe-og-defem-hersketeknikkene>>, 23 May 2015.
- 25 Hadi Khosravi Lile reveals major shortcomings among children in Norwegian schools when it comes to what they know about the Sami people, compared with the requirements laid down in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 29. One conclusion in Lile’s doctoral thesis is that the state has demonstrated little, if any, desire to allow the decision to become a benchmark for the teaching of children in Norway; Hadi Khosravi Lile, *FNs barnekonvensjon artikkel 29 (1) om formålet med opplæring: En retts sosiologisk studie om hva barn lærer om det samiske folk* (Oslo 2011), <<http://folk.uio.no/hadil/Samlet-ferdig6.pdf>>, 18 September 2016.
 - 26 I have discussed this problem on the basis of the Norwegian context in Tore Johnsen, “Urfolk og folkekirke: Samiske perspektiver på folkekirkedebatten”, in Øystein Ekroll, Søren Hjort & Einar Vegge (eds.), *Vor kristne og humanistiske arv: Betragtninger ved 200-årsjubileet for Grunnloven* (Trondheim 2014) pp. 239–254.
 - 27 Jan-Olav Henriksen describes repentance as a deeply personal phenomenon; unlike forgiveness, which, according to him “is, on the other hand, a social aspect in a sense”, Jan-Olav Henriksen, “Forsoning, oppgjør og tilgivelse”, in Harald Bekken (eds.), *Fengselsliv og menneskeverd: Tekster om skyld, sorg og soning* (Oslo 2008) p. 203. Unlike Henriksen, I would like to point out a number of features shared by repentance and forgiveness, as I consider both to be relational. I will come back to this in the discussion on forgiveness.
 - 28 Lapsley (2012) p. 173.
 - 29 The word for repentance in the basic Greek text of the New Testament is *metanoia*, which, literally translated, means ‘change of mind’.
 - 30 Tutu & Tutu (2014) pp. 93–114.
 - 31 Lapsley (2012) p. 197.
 - 32 Tutu & Tutu (2014) pp. 101–104.
 - 33 A good introduction to shame-related issues in Sami-related reconciliation processes is provided by Øystein Gjerdrum, “Skammen og frykten holder livet tilbake”, in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid — forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 65–78.
 - 34 Tutu & Tutu (2014) p. 97.
 - 35 See Gjerdrum (2013), in particular p. 71 and pp. 76–77.
 - 36 Nergård (2013) p. 59.
 - 37 Lapsley (2012) p. 151.
 - 38 Schreiter defines social reconciliation as “a process of reconstructing the moral order of a society”, Schreiter (1998) p. 116.
 - 39 Corntassel & Holder (2008).
 - 40 Corntassel & Holder (2008) pp. 468, 473.
 - 41 O’Sullivan points out the link between *sorry*, *sorrow*, and *contrition* (repentance) in his critical observation of Australia’s reconciliation process with its indigenous people: “The contemporary Australian state is one that has accepted the propriety of saying ‘sorry’ for its historic affronts to the human rights

and dignity of its indigenous peoples. However, it remains uncertain and perhaps even indifferent towards reconciliation's presumption that 'sorrow' requires contrition, as a meaningful policy attempt to correct the consequences of the injustice for which sorrow has been expressed, and to resolve not to repeat those transgressions in public policy", O'Sullivan (2014) p. 16.

42 O'Sullivan (2014) p. 15.

43 LenkaBula (2005) p. 111.

44 Schreiter (2005) p. 3.

45 Corntassel & Holder (2008) p. 467.

46 Schreiter (2005) p. 3.

47 Schreiter (2005).

48 The Constitution, chapter 1, § 2, paragraph 6.

49 Relevant examples from Australia and New Zealand are highlighted by O'Sullivan (2013) pp. 11–12, 14, 18.

50 See e.g. Archbishop Wejryd's debate contribution "Urfolkens framtid hotas av klimatförändringarna", *Dagens Nyheter* 9 August 2013, <www.dn.se/debatt/urfolkens-framtid-hotas-av-klimatforandringarna/>, 24 October 2016; and the reports *Human rights challenges in Sweden* (2014), *Våga vara minoritet* (2012) and *Marginalized and ignored* (2013), all of which can be found on the Church of Sweden's website, <<https://intern-www.svenskakyrkan.se/flersprakigkyrka/rapporter/>>, 24 October 2016.

51 See "KM 11/03, Om lov om rettsforhold og forvaltning av grunn og naturressurser i Finnmark fylke (Finnmarksloven)", <https://kirken.no/nb-NO/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/kirkemotet/dokumenter_vedtak/kirkemotet-17.11.2003-22.11.2003-lillehammer/>, 23 May 2015.

52 This law, i.e. the Finnmark Act, would clarify property conditions and administration issues within the areas that had been defined until that time as state land in Finnmark, which covered 98 per cent of the area of the county.

53 See the National Synod's decision in "KM 11/03, Om lov om rettsforhold og forvaltning av grunn og naturressurser i Finnmark fylke (Finnmarksloven)".

54 The two professors of law were commissioned by the government in the autumn of 2013, when criticism of the proposed bill grew. The Parliament's legal committee conveyed a request to the government in June 2013 requesting the appointment of an independent committee.

55 Line M. Skum describes and discusses, with the aid of a diaconal perspective, how the role of the Church of Norway in the process in respect of what was known as the Finnmark Act can be viewed as an expression of reconciliation. Line M. Skum, "Land is life — life is land: Om urfolksrettigheter og forsoning sett i et diakonalt perspektiv", in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid — forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 139–151.

56 As regards breaking the law, punitive justice also has a function in reconciliation between people. Its function is to show that society recognises the injustice committed and indicate that it will not tolerate such injustice in future, Schreiter (2005) p. 3.

57 LenkaBula (2005) p. 111.

- 58 Lapsley (2012) p. 184.
- 59 Schreiter (1998) pp. 58–59.
- 60 Tutu & Tutu (2014) pp. 125–127.
- 61 LenkaBula (2005) p. 110.
- 62 “Det hendte i 1998: En årskavalkade trykket i Årbok for Den norske kirke”, <https://kirken.no/globalassets/kirken.no/aktuelt/arkiv-1991-2013/hendt_i_den_norske_kirke_1998.pdf>, 18 September 2016.
- 63 According to the seminar report, the Archbishop said: “We must not underestimate the conflict. We bear responsibility for what has been done. I have played two roles in *Himlaspelet* (‘The Heavenly Play’), which is performed in Leksand during the summer. In one of these roles, I am the evil clergyman who sentences Marit to be burnt at the stake. What responsibility do we bear for previous generations? This is something we can reflect on. I feel no sense of responsibility for the stupid things my grandfather did. But I know I am influenced by them, and I hope my grandchildren do not get annoyed about them. We all have a responsibility for the mistakes we make, a responsibility to take on board historical experiences;” *Rapport från Sägastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan, i Kiruna den 11–13 oktober 2011* (2012), <www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=899745>, 20 October 2016, p. 54.
- 64 *Corporate guilt* means that the collective bears guilt, even when there is no direct link between the individuals who bear personal guilt and the people who now represent the collective. The most obvious example is when a company is guilty of a misdeed in a financial or other sense.
- 65 According to Erva Niittyvuopio, the Bishop of Oulu in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland begged the Sami people for forgiveness on behalf of the entire Church at a seminar in 2012, Erva Niittyvuopio, “Synlighet som förutsättning för försoning: Ett perspektiv från Evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland”, in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid — forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 155–162.
- 66 Schreiter (2005) p. 3; Tutu & Tutu (2014) p. 37.
- 67 I will refer below to her classic article: Nancy Fraser, “From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a ‘post-socialist’ age”, *New Left Review* 212 July–August (1995) pp. 68–93.
- 68 Fraser also distinguishes groups where the emphasis is on one type of injustice (e.g., class is affected primarily by socio-economic injustice, while sexual minorities are primarily affected by symbolic-cultural injustice) from groups that are clearly affected by both forms of injustice. She refers to the latter group as “bivalent” and uses gender and race as examples, Fraser (1995) pp. 74–82.
- 69 “Redistribution” and “recognition”, according to Fraser, constitute fairly broad categories that involve more than the terms would imply at first glance.
- 70 However, this is often based on stereotypical views of the oppressed culture, Fraser (1995).
- 71 According to Woolford, this formulation expresses Fraser’s later understanding of “transformative recognition”. In her 1995 article, she advocated deconstruction and destabilisation of the group identity in *both* the majority and the

- minority. After having been criticised for this, she has specified her attitude in greater detail; Andrew Woolford, “Negotiating affirmative repair: Symbolic violence in the British Columbia treaty process”, *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 29:1 (2004) pp. 111–144.
- 72 Corntassel & Holder point this out in their analysis of similar processes in Canada, Australia, Peru and Guatemala, Corntassel & Holder (2008) p. 486.
- 73 Corntassel & Holder (2008) p. 472.
- 74 A number of New Testament scholars lean towards the interpretation presented here; see e.g. Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians: Interpretation: A Bible commentary for teaching and preaching* (Louisville 1997). pp. 9–12, 192–201.
- 75 This is based on Anders Vassenden, “Hvorfor en sosiologi om norskhet må holde norskheter fra hverandre”, *Sosiologi i dag* 41:3–4 (2011) pp. 156–182.
- 76 Vassenden points out this as a phenomenon in sociological research on multicultural Norway, Vassenden (2011) p. 159.
- 77 See e.g. the debate contribution “Gener i Oslo og Finnmark” by Olav Gunnar Ballo, at that time a Member of Parliament for the Socialist Left Party, which was published in *Dagbladet* on 29 November 2011: <<http://www.dagbladet.no/2011/11/29/kultur/debatt/debattinnlegg/skole/etnisitet/19208762/>>, 12 October 2013.
- 78 In 2011, four representatives of the Progress Party, e.g., presented a motion to the Parliament stating that Norway should withdraw from ILO Convention no. 169, close down the Sami Parliament, repeal the Finnmark Act and phase out the administrative area for Sami languages; “Representantforslag 154 S (2010–2011) fra stortingsrepresentantene Gjermund Hagesæter, Per-Willy Amundsen, Åge Starheim og Jan-Henrik Fredriksen”, <<http://stortinget.no/Global/pdf/Representantforslag/2010-2011/dok8-201011-154.pdf>>, 23 May 2015.
- 79 In theology, *eschatology* refers to ‘the doctrine of the last things.’ “The Kingdom of God” is a key concept in Christian eschatology.
- 80 Schreiter (2005) pp. 1–2.
- 81 George Mathew Nalunnakkal, “Come Holy Spirit, heal and reconcile: Called in Christ to be reconciling and healing communities”, *International Review of Mission* 94:372 (2005) pp. 14–15.
- 82 Cf. Nergård (2013) p. 61.
- 83 de Gruchy (2005) p. 30.
- 84 Lapsley describes the transition from the role of victim to the role of agent as follows: “When we are victims, we are passive. As we heal we become active and take back agency”, Lapsley (2012) pp. 200–201.
- 85 We have previously emphasised the fact that recognition of shared humanity is one of the characteristics of forgiveness.
- 86 de Gruchy (2005) pp. 30–31.
- 87 Schreiter (1998) pp. 16–17.

9. THE BARRIER TORN DOWN

- 1 Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016).

- 2 Karen Brounéus, *Reconciliation: Theory and practice for development cooperation* (Stockholm 2003).
- 3 Brounéus (2003) p. 3.
- 4 Kaisa Huuva & Ellacarin Blind (eds.), “När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och jag har ännu inte kommit tillbaka”: *Minnesbilder från samernas skoltid* (Stockholm 2016).
- 5 See Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) Volume 2.
- 6 Quoted in Brounéus (2003) p. 26.
- 7 Karl-Johan Tyrberg, “Försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: Initiativ och insatser 1990–2012”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 43–78.
- 8 Huuva & Blind (2016).
- 9 See also David Sjögren’s contribution “Att göra upp med det förflutna: Sanningskommissioner, officiella ursäkter och vitböcker i ett svenskt och internationellt perspektiv”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 123–152.
- 10 Quoted in Brounéus (2003) p. 29.
- 11 I am referring here to an earlier work, Carl Reinhold Bråkenhielm, *Förlåtelse: En filosofisk och teologisk analys* (Stockholm 1987).
- 12 Everett L. Worthington Jr, “The pyramid model of forgiveness: Some interdisciplinary speculations about unforgiveness and the promotion of forgiveness”, in Everett L. Worthington Jr. (ed.), *Dimensions of forgiveness: Psychological research and theological perspectives* (Philadelphia 1998) p. 129.
- 13 Lewis B. Smedes, “Stations on the journey from forgiveness to hope”, in Everett L. Worthington Jr. (ed.), *Dimensions of forgiveness: Psychological research and theological perspectives* (Philadelphia 1998) pp. 344 ff.
- 14 See also Worthington (1998) p. 130.
- 15 This wording is taken from Leif Grane’s book *Vision och verklighet: En bok om Martin Luther* (Skellefteå 2012) p. 80.
- 16 Quoted by Grane from what is known as the Weimar edition of Luther’s works; see Grane (2012) pp. 80–81.
- 17 “Would not love see returning penitence afar off, and fall on its neck and kiss it?” This quotation is taken from George Eliot’s novel *Middlemarch* (Stockholm [1874] 1997). See also Bråkenhielm (1987) pp. 55–60.
- 18 Dickens quoted in Bråkenhielm (1987) p. 12.
- 19 Maja Hagerman, “Svenska kyrkan och rasbiologin”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) pp. 961–992.
- 20 Quoted from Carola Nordbäck, “En försonings väg i Jesu namn: Perspektiv på Svenska kyrkans försoningsarbete”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) p. 108.
- 21 See K. G. Hammar’s statement on the Romanies in Nordbäck (2016) p. 108.
- 22 George Bernard Shaw quoted in Bråkenhielm (1987) p. 15.
- 23 Smedes (1998) p. 347.
- 24 Bråkenhielm (1987) p. 52.
- 25 Gunlög Fur, “Att sona det förflutna”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016a) p. 164.

- 26 Lars Elenius, “Stiftsledningen och minoritetspolitiken”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) p. 507.
- 27 Antje Jackelén & Sylvia Sparrock, “Dags att göra upp med Sveriges koloniala förflutna”, *Dagens Nyheter*, DN Debatt 6 March 2016.
- 28 See, e.g., Mattias Martinson, *Katedralen mitt i staden: Om ateism och teologi* (Lund 2010).
- 29 Olle Sundström, “Svensskyrkliga förståelser av inhemsk samisk världsåskådning: En historisk översikt”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) p. 532.
- 30 Nils Uddenberg, *Renarna, markerna och människorna: Om svenska samers syn på natur, djur och miljö* (Nora 2000) p. 41.
- 31 Uddenberg (2000) p. 42.
- 32 Uddenberg (2000) p. 44.
- 33 Mikael Stenmark, *Religioner i konflikt: Relationen mellan kristen och muslimsk tro* (Stockholm 2012) pp. 82–86.
- 34 Quoted from Sundström (2016) p. 569.
- 35 See also Lotta Knutsson Bråkenhielm, *Religion — evolutionens missfoster eller kärleksbarn? Kognitionsvetenskaplig religionsforskning och dess relevans för religiösa trosföreställningars rationalitet* (Uppsala 2016) chapter 5.
- 36 See Carl Fredrik Hallencreutz, “Lars Levi Læstadius’ attitude to Saami religion”, in Tore Ahlbäck (ed.), *Saami religion: Based on papers read at the symposium on Saami religion held at Åbo, Finland, on the 16th–18th of August 1984* (Turku 1987) pp. 170–184.
- 37 Stenmark (2012) p. 55.
- 38 Sundström (2016) p. 544.
- 39 Walter M. Abbot (ed.), *The documents of Vatican II* (London 1967) p. 35.
- 40 Hilda Lind (ed.), *Befrielsen: Stora boken om kristen tro* (Stockholm 1993) pp. 342 ff.
- 41 *Sann mot sig själv — öppen mot andra: Samtal om religionsteologi i Svenska kyrkan* (Uppsala 2011) p. 15.
- 42 See also Tore Johnsen, *Jordens barn, Solens barn, Vindens barn: Kristen tro i et samisk landskap* (Oslo 2007) p. 138.

10. WAYS FORWARD

- 1 Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016); Kaisa Huuva & Ellacarin Blind (eds.), “När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och jag har ännu inte kommit tillbaka”: *Minnesbilder från samernas skoltid* (Stockholm 2016).
- 2 This discussion is included in part 2 of the series “Resten av Sverige”, which was broadcast on 2 October 2016. This has been reproduced from SVT Play, <<http://www.svtplay.se/video/10458349/resten-av-sverige/resten-av-sverige-avsnitt-2?info=visa>>, 17 October 2016.
- 3 Gunlög Fur, “Kolonisation och kulturmöten under 1600- och 1700-talen”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016b).
- 4 Fur (2016b) p. 244.

- 5 Fur (2016b) p. 274.
- 6 I use the North Sami term *Sápmi*, which is the established name for the Sami territory, although personally I would be more likely to write *Saepmie*, which is the same name in South Sami.
- 7 Jon Petter Stoor is a psychologist and doctoral student at the Arctic University of Norway — University of Tromsø and was born in Leavas sameby.
- 8 Kajsa Heinemann, “Det är ovärdigt ett av världens rikaste länder att inte kunna säga något om hälsan hos urfolket”, *Psykologtidningen* 4–5 (2016) pp. 13–17, quotation p. 14.
- 9 Heinemann (2016) p. 14.
- 10 Heinemann (2016) p. 17.
- 11 *Fattigvården bland lapparna* (SOU 1924:58) p. 74, quoted from Lena Karlsson & Marianne Liliequist, “Fattigauktioner och samiska ålderdomshem: Synen på äldre samer i samband med åldringsvården”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) p. 901.
- 12 Lars Thomasson, “Lappförsamlingarna i Jämtland-Härjedalen 1746–1941: Gemenskap eller segregering?”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) p. 864.
- 13 This motion was submitted by Johan Åkesson (Swedish Social Democratic Party).
- 14 Motion 2015:21 was submitted by Olle Burell (Swedish Social Democratic Party) and Johan Åkesson (Swedish Social Democratic Party).
- 15 “Kyrkolivsutskottets betänkande 2015:5, ILO-konvention nr 169”, <<https://sve-rigesradio.se/diverse/appdata/isidor/files/2327/6970e7b7-affd-4815-8d9bb-badffaba4a4.pdf>>, 2 December 2016.
- 16 The 244 votes were distributed as follows: Yes 139, No 79, abstained 26; “Kyrkomötets protokoll den 17 november 2015”, § 111, <<https://www1.svenskakyrkan.se/1368197>>, 2 December 2016.
- 17 “Urfolksdeklarationen”, the website of the Swedish Sami Parliament, <<https://www.sametinget.se/urfolksdeklarationen>>, 4 October 2016.
- 18 Antje Jackelén & Sylvia Sparrock, “Dags att göra upp med Sveriges koloniala förflutna”, *Dagens Nyheter*, DN Debatt, 6 March 2016.
- 19 “Stiftens skogar”, the Church of Sweden website, <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/stiftensskogar>>, 6 October 2016.
- 20 Gudrun Norstedt, “Hur kyrkor och prästbord tog plats i det samiska landskapet”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) p. 838.
- 21 “All-year-round land” refers to the areas that can be used for reindeer pasture all year round. “All-year-round land” means different things depending on where reindeer herding takes place. See “Ordförklaringar”, the website of the Swedish Sami Parliament, <<https://www.sametinget.se/8392>>, 6 October 2016.
- 22 Svenska samernas riksförbund, press release dated 14 April 2015, <<http://www.sapmi.se/pm/pmSvenskakyrkanFSC.pdf>>, 6 October 2016.
- 23 Marie B. Hagsgård, *Samernas rätt att bruka Svenska kyrkans mark: En studie av nationell och internationell rätt* (Uppsala 2015).
- 24 Hagsgård (2015) p. 31.
- 25 See e.g. Monica Olofsson, “Girjas ordförande om hovrättens beslut”, *Norr-*

- bottens-Kuriren*, 10 October 2016; “Hovrättens dom i Girjasmålet”, press release from the Court of Appeal, 23 January 2018, <<http://www.hovratten-ovrenorrland.domstol.se/Om-hovratten/Nyheter-och-pressmeddelanden/Hovrattens-dom-i-Girjasmalet/>>, 3 October 2018.
- 26 “Sametingets syn på mineraler och gruvor i Sápmi”, adopted by the Sami Parliament plenary meeting on 20 May 2014, the website of the Swedish Sami Parliament, <<https://www.sametinget.se/gruvpolicy/>>, 6 October 2016.
- 27 For information on Laponiatjuottjudus, see also the Laponia website, <<http://laponia.nu/om-oss/laponiatjuottjudus/>>, 26 October 2016.
- 28 For the memories of my father and other Sami people of how they were treated at the nomad school, see Huuva & Blind (2016).
- 29 Helen Blind Brandsfjell, *Språkspärr — “Jag tar tillbaka mitt språk”*, <<https://www.sametinget.se/54510>>, 7 October 2016; Jane Juuso, *Jag tar tillbaka mitt språk* (Kiruna 2013); Inger Johansen, “*Det er ikkje eit museumsspråk — det har noko med framtida å gjera*”: *Ei sosiolingvistisk undersøkning av revitaliseringa av sørsamisk*, unprinted Master’s thesis at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Trondheim 2006); Ann-Marie Andersen, “*Det stikker så smertelig, spesielt når man forsøker...*”: *Om håndtering av samisk identitet uten det samiske språket: En kvalitativ undersøkelse om norskstalende samer i indre del av Finnmark*, Master’s thesis at the University of Nordland, Norway (Bodø 2011).
- 30 Huuva & Blind (2016).
- 31 Quoted from Fur (2016b) p. 263.
- 32 We were allowed to go home every weekend when I was at the nomad school. We travelled back to school on Sundays.
- 33 “Per Gustav Sparrocks berättelse”, in Huuva & Blind (2016) pp. 16–25.
- 34 Huuva & Blind (2016).
- 35 Antje Jackelén, “Förord”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016) p. 11.
- 36 See Tore Johnsen’s chapter in this book.
- 37 See Tore Johnsen’s chapter in this book.
- 38 Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström, “Vem bär ansvar för kyrkans agerande mot samerna i historien? Några avslutande reflexioner”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016b) p. 1132.
- 39 Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016b) p. 1132.
- 40 Among other things, she has been presented with the Church of Sweden’s Stefan medal award (*Stefansmedaljen*) for her long-term work on Sami culture and worship in the Church of Sweden. She has also received a culture award from the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden. She has led Sami church life at diocese level by assisting with reconciliation services, creating Sami service workshops and decorating church halls.
- 41 ”Stiftet misslyckades — samiskt centrum nedlagt”, Sameradion & SVT Sápmi, <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=6205704>>, 10 October 2016
- 42 Asta Mitkijá Balto & Gudrun Kuhmunen, *Omskola dem och oss! Samiskt självbestämmande och samiskt ledarskap* (Kárásjohka 2014) pp. 26–27.
- 43 Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström, “Svenska kyrkan och samerna — ett vit-

boksprojekt: Presentation av projektet och antologin”, in Lindmark & Sundström (eds.) (2016a) p. 37.

11. THE RECEPTION OF THE WHITE PAPER PROJECT AND ITS PUBLICATIONS

- 1 Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström, “The Church of Sweden and the Sami — a white paper project: Background, assignment, organisation and results”, <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=1692954>> <<http://umu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1165587&dsid=3425>>, 19 January 2018.
- 2 This relates not only to the events arranged by the Sami Church Council in the Church of Norway in Trondheim in 2016 and 2017 (see the section entitled “Reflection of the White Paper Project in the Media” below), but to other international conferences as well. The White Paper Project arranged a session during the international Arctic research conference ICASS IX, which took place at Umeå University on 8–12 June 2017, which presented the content in the popular scientific summary volume. The book’s editors and most of its authors (Carl Reinhold Bråkenhielm, Tore Johnsen, Daniel Lindmark, Björn Norlin and Olle Sundström) took part in this session. The same staff members participated in an international colloquium on the theme of “Reconciliation” at Umeå University on 15–16 December 2017. The purpose of this conference was to exchange experiences of reconciliation processes in Sweden and South Africa. Besides these presentations involving extensive representation from authors involved in the White Paper Project, the project has received attention due to the participation of individual researchers in conferences and seminars abroad.
- 3 Antje Jackelén, “Samernas urfolksrättigheter måste tas på större allvar”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 25 January 2015.
- 4 Antje Jackelén & Sylvia Sparrock, “Dags att göra upp med Sveriges koloniala förflutna”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 6 March 2016.
- 5 The Church of Sweden’s White Paper Project has gone on to be used by other commentators to argue in favour of a state truth commission. See e.g. Maja Hagerman, “En historia om oss alla”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 13 May 2016; Birger Ekerlid, “Dags att sona statens skuld till samerna”, *Länstidningen Östersund*, 5 July 2016; Linnea Swedenmark, “Ett förtryck som dödar”, *Aftonbladet*, 17 July 2016; Stefan S. Widqvist, “Hög tid att svenska staten följer den Svenska kyrkans exempel”, *Värmlands Folkblad*, 28 March 2017.
- 6 <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=6406449>>, 19 January 2018.
- 7 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gSo7UMu1Nc>>, 5 December 2017.
- 8 Maja Hagerman, *Käraste Herman: Rasbiologen Herman Lundborgs gåta* (Stockholm 2015).
- 9 Elisabeth Åsbrink, “Svenska kyrkan söker försoning med samer”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 6 February 2016.
- 10 The recording was also made available on SVT Play: <<https://www.svt.se/>

- nyheter/svtforum/svenska-kyrkan-och-samerna-fran-fortryck-till-forsoning>, 5 January 2018. Videos from the symposium can also be accessed on the Church of Sweden website: <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/filmer-fran-symposium-om-svenska-kyrkan-och-samerna->>, 5 January 2018. Pontus Håkansson, “Samernas berättelser måste höras”, *Kyrkans Tidning*, 2 March 2017, provides a report on the symposium which involves interviews with Antje Jackelén and Sylvia Sparrock.
- 11 <https://kirken.no/nb-NO/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/samisk-kirkeliv/internasjonalt/indigenous_reconciliation_conference>, 5 January 2018.
 - 12 *Fria tidningen*, <<http://www.fria.nu/artikel/123675>>, 19 January 2018.
 - 13 Church Board minutes, 26 September 2016, § 116; Church Board minutes, 4–5 April 2017, § 33.
 - 14 Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Skara on 26–27 January 2016, § 9; Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Karlstad on 9 March 2016, § 40; Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Uppsala on 9–10 May 2016, § 81; Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Stockholm on 24–25 January 2017, § 15; Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Västerås on 8 March 2017, § 38; Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Uppsala on 3–6 October 2017, § 111.
 - 15 This symposium was reflected in the article “Lyxig kunskap på Silvermuseet” in *Arjeplogsnytt*, 30 September 2015, <<http://www.arjeplognytt.se/modules.php?name=Content&op=showcontent&id=3428>>, 5 January 2018.
 - 16 Gudrun Råssjö, “Vitboken — kyrkans tema under veckan”, *Kyrkans Tidning*, 16 March 2017, highlights work on Sami themes within the parish of Umeå during the Sami Week, including an interview with minister Christofer Sjödin.
 - 17 Lina Olofsson, “Vitboken uppmärksammades i Lycksele”, *Folkbladet*, 28 September 2016.
 - 18 <<http://www.storuman.se/Nyheter/urfolkens-dag/>>; <<https://www.vk.se/1782970/urfolkens-dag-firas-i-tarnaby>>, 5 January 2018.
 - 19 <https://kirken.no/nb-NO/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/samisk-kirkeliv/internasjonalt/indigenous_reconciliation_conference/indigenous_reconciliation_conference/updated-program/>; <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/svenska_kyrkan/pressreleases/svenska-kyrkan-lyfter-foersoningsfraagor-paa-urfolkskonferens-1446398>, 5 January 2018.
 - 20 <<https://kirken.no/seminartraante2017>>, 5 January 2018.
 - 21 “Arbeid med sannhets- og forsoningskommisjon om fornorskning og urett begått mot det samiske folk”, Sami Church Council, SKR 32/16, <<https://kirken.no/globalassets/kirken.no/samisk-kirkeliv/dokumenter/samisk-kirkerad-sakspapirer/mars2017-snasa/0517-forsoning/arbeid-med-sannhets-og-forsoningskommisjon-om-fornorskning-...pdf>>, 5 January 2018.
 - 22 See e.g. Viviann Labba Klemensson, “Historien är full av rasism”, *Daerpiens Dierie* 3 (2017); Viviann Labba Klemensson, “Inhumant att ej återbegrava samiska anförvanter”, *Daerpiens Dierie* 3 (2017); Åsa Lindstrand, “Dagar för samtal och tro”, *Samefolket*, 22 September 2017. This roundtable discussion took place in Uppsala on 16 November 2017. “Svenska kyrkan vill bidra till repatriering av

- samiska kvarlevor”, press release dated 17 November 2017, <<https://via.tt.se/pressmeddelande/svenska-kyrkan-vill-bidra-till-repatrering-av-samiska-kvarlevor?publisherId=1344892&releaseId=1896272>>, 19 January 2018.
- 23 Elisabeth Åsbrink, “Svenska kyrkan söker försoning med samer”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 6 February 2016.
 - 24 The Sameradion feature broadcast on 14 April 2016 can be accessed at: <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=6410440>>, 5 January 2018. The features broadcast on P4 Västerbotten and Morgonekot on 15 April 2016 were based on the Sameradion news broadcast.
 - 25 Maja Hagerman, “En historia om oss alla”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 13 May 2016.
 - 26 Birger Ekerlid, “Dags att sona statens skuld till samerna”, *Länstidningen Östersund*, 5 July 2016.
 - 27 Pål Ruin, “Sweden is stepping out of the colonial closet”, *Baltic worlds: A scholarly journal and news magazine* 10:1–2 (2017) pp. 4–10.
 - 28 Inger Alestig, “Samer kräver upprättelse från Svenska kyrkan”, *Dagen*, 16 June 2017.
 - 29 Per Sundin, “Behövs inget kyrkligt förlåt till samerna”, *Dagen*, 28 June 2017.
 - 30 Eva Nordung Byström, “Förlåt till samiska folket från kyrkan räcker inte”, *Dagen*, 5 July 2017.
 - 31 <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/908488?programid=416>>, 11 January 2018.
 - 32 See the section entitled “Some Sami events relating to the White Paper Project and its themes” above.
 - 33 Emelie Melin, “Kyrkan som förtryckte ett folk”, *Kyrkpressen* 37 (2017), 15 September 2017.
 - 34 Emma Hartley, “Sami desire for truth and reconciliation process: As Sweden pushes back against multiculturalism, its indigenous Sami population pushes for recognition”, *Politico*, 10 January 2016.
 - 35 Antoine Jacob, “L’Eglise de Suède veut se réconcilier avec les Sames”, *La Croix*, 3 March 2016.
 - 36 Kalle Holmqvist, “Samisk voodoo — en form av motstånd: Svenska kyrkan gör upp med sitt förtryck av ursprungsbefolkningen”, *Aftonbladet*, 10 April 2016.
 - 37 Ann Lingebrandt, “Så försökte kyrkan krossa den samiska kulturen”, *Sydsvenskan*, 24 July 2016.
 - 38 Elisabeth Lahti Davidsson, “‘Lapp skall lapp vara’: En vitbok som visar hur den samiska identiteten kapades”, *dagensbok.com*, 9 January 2017, <<http://dagensbok.com/2017/01/09/lapp-ska-lapp-vara-en-vitbok-som-visar-hur-den-samiska-identiteten-kapades/>>, 5 January 2018.
 - 39 Tobias Hübinette, “Om Svenska kyrkans vitbok om samerna”, 24 May 2016, <<https://tobiashubINETTE.wordpress.com/2016/05/24/svenska-kyrkan-samer-kolonialism-rasforskning/>>, 5 January 2018.
 - 40 May-Britt Öhman, “Tyst om markfrågan i Svenska kyrkans ‘Vitbok’”, *Feministiskt perspektiv*, 25 October 2016, <<https://feministisktperspektiv.se/2016/10/25/tyst-om-markfragan-i-sve/>>, 26 October 2016.
 - 41 Tomas Cramér, “Kyrkans vitbok duckar för viktiga frågor”, *Samefolket*, 28 July 2017.

- 42 Carl-Gösta Ojala, "Kulturarv, historisk arkeologi och samisk historia", 8 September 2017; <<https://kulturmiljonorrboten.com/2017/09/08/kulturarv-historisk-arkeologi-och-samisk-historia/>>, 5 January 2018.
- 43 Leif Nordenstorm, "[Review of] Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.) De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskapliga antologi. Skellefteå: Artos & Norma 2016, 1135 s. (2 vol.)", *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 116 (2016) pp. 225–228.
- 44 Orto Kortekangas, "[Review of] De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 3:42 (2017) pp. 355–359, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2017.1322782>>, 5 January 2018.
- 45 Ylva L. Hartmann & Aniina Karlsdottir, *The truth from below: Alternative truth-seeking* (Stockholm 2017).
- 46 Hartmann & Karlsdottir (2017) p. 14.
- 47 Hartmann & Karlsdottir (2017) p. 16.
- 48 Stefan S. Widqvist, "Hög tid att svenska staten följer den Svenska kyrkans exempel", *Värmlands Folkblad*, 28 March 2017.
- 49 Yvonne Marcus Meyer, "Från förtryck till försoning", *Miljömagasinet*, 31 March 2017.
- 50 Anders Gustavsson, "[Review of] Samerna och Svenska kyrkan. Underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete. Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.). Gidlunds förlag, Möklinta 2017", *RIG* 3 (2017) pp. 186–188.
- 51 Some of these questions were formulated in works such as Daniel Lindmark, "Sanningen ska göra er fria: Kyrkan, samerna och historien", in Lars Söderholm, Henrik Friberg-Fernros, Erik Lundgren & Hanna Stenström (eds.), *Religion: Konflikt och försoning* (Lund 2015) pp. 83–93. These questions recur in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström, "Vem bär ansvar för kyrkans agerande i historien? Några avslutande reflexioner", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 1121–1122.
- 52 Daniel Lindmark, "Historiebruk i retrospektiva praktiker: Historikers bidrag till försoning", in Daniel Lindmark (ed.), *Gränsöverskridande kyrkohistoria: De språkliga minoriteterna på Nordkalotten* (Umeå 2016) pp. 115–142.
- 53 David Sjögren, "Tema historiker i försoning", *Historisk tidskrift* 136:3 (2016) pp. 377–382.
- 54 Kortekangas (2017) pp. 355–359.
- 55 Kortekangas (2017) p. 359.

12. THE OVERALL RESULTS OF THE WHITE PAPER PROJECT

- 1 See Chapter 7.
- 2 Lars Elenius, "Stiftsledningen och minoritetspolitiken", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström, *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 490–505.
- 3 See Chapter 10.
- 4 Siv Rasmussen, "Samiske prester i den svenske kirke i tidlig nytid", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 283–314.

- 5 Daniel Lindmark, "Svenska undervisningsinsatser och samiska reaktioner på 1600- och 1700-talen", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 341–369.
- 6 Håkan Rydving, "Samisk kyrkohistoria: En kort översikt med fokus på kvinnor som aktörer", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) p. 328.
- 7 Olavi Korhonen, "Samiskan under fyra sekel i Svenska kyrkans arbete", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 735–795.
- 8 Se e.g. Gunlög Fur, "Kolonisation och kulturmöten under 1600- och 1700-talen", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 261–266; Olle Sundström, "Svenskkyrkliga förståelser av inhemsk samisk världsåskådning: En historisk översikt", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 539–552; Anna Westman Kuhmunen, "*Bassebájke*: Heliga platser i landskapet", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 635–638, 644–650; Rolf Christoffersson, "Svenska kyrkan och samiska trummor", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 657–678.
- 9 Björn Norlin & David Sjögren, "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900: Inflytande, vägval och konsekvenser?", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 413–423; Erik-Oscar Oscarsson, "Rastänkande och särskiljande av samer", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 944–951.
- 10 Carl-Gösta Ojala, "Svenska kyrkan och samiska mänskliga kvarlevor", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 994–1005.
- 11 Oscarsson (2016) pp. 951–953; Maja Hagerman, "Svenska kyrkan och rasbiologin", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 961–992.
- 12 Sparrock (2017) p. 182.
- 13 Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström, "Vem bär ansvar för kyrkans agerande mot samerna i historien? Några avslutande reflexioner", in Lindmark & Sundström (2016) pp. 1130–1134.
- 14 Sparrock (2017) p. 159.

REFERENCES

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

- Church Board minutes, 26 September 2016, Church of Sweden.
- Church Board minutes, 4–5 April 2017, Church of Sweden.
- “Förslag till åtgärder med anledning av en hearing om samerna och Svenska kyrkan, Sägastallamat.” Decision data, Central Board of the Church of Sweden, Working Committee meeting on 29 March 2012. Church of Sweden, Central Church Office, Uppsala.
- Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Skara on 26–27 January 2016, Church of Sweden.
- Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Karlstad on 9 March 2016, Church of Sweden.
- Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Uppsala on 9–10 May 2016, Church of Sweden.
- Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Stockholm on 24–25 January 2017, Church of Sweden.
- Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Västerås on 8 March 2017, Church of Sweden.
- Minutes from the episcopal conference held in Uppsala on 3–6 October 2017, Church of Sweden.
- “Plan för ‘Svenska kyrkan och samerna – ett vitboksprojekt’”, unpublished memorandum 2013, Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Umeå University.

PRINTED SOURCES AND LITERATURE

- Abbot, Walter M. (ed.). *The documents of Vatican II* (London 1967).
- Alestig, Inger. “Samer kräver upprättelse från Svenska kyrkan”, *Dagen*, 16 June (2017).
- Andersen, Ann-Marie. “*Det stikker så smertelig, spesielt når man forsøker...*”: *Om håndtering av samisk identitet uten det samiske språket: En kvalitativ undersøkelse om norsktalende samer i indre del av Finnmark*, unpublished master’s thesis, University of Nordland, Norway (Bodø 2011).
- Anderzén, Sölve. “Kyrkans undervisning i Lappmarken under 1800-talet: En ständigt pågående process för att finna fungerande arbetsformer”, in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 371–402.
- Aronsson, Peter. *Bönder gör politik: Det lokala självstyret som social arena i tre Smålandssocknar, 1680–1850* (Lund 1992).

- Åsbrink, Elisabeth. "Svenska kyrkan söker försoning med samer", *Dagens Nyheter*, 6 February (2016).
- Axelsson, Per. "Kyrkan, folkbokföringen och samerna", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 915–942.
- Bäckman, Louise. "Vearalden Olmai – Världens Man – Frey eller Kristus?", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 589–628.
- Balto, Asta Mitkijä & Gudrun Kuhmunen. *Omskola dem och oss! Samiskt självbestämmande och samiskt ledarskap* (Kårásjohka 2014).
- Berglin, Ragnar. *Kyrkstaden i övre Norrland: Kyrkliga, merkantila och judiciella funktioner under 1600- och 1700-talen* (Umeå 1964).
- Bergström, Carin. "Lantprästen: En maktfaktor att räkna med", in Carin Bergström (ed.), *Hand & penna: Sju essäer om yrken på 1700-talet* (Stockholm 1996).
- Broberg, Gunnar & Mattias Tydén. *Oönskade i folkhemmet: Rashygien och sterilisering i Sverige* (Stockholm 2005).
- Bråkenhielm, Carl Reinhold. *Förlåtelse: En filosofisk och teologisk analys* (Stockholm 1987).
- Brounéus, Karen. *Reconciliation: Theory and practice for development cooperation* (Stockholm 2003).
- Bygdén, Leonard. *Hernösands herdaminne: Bidrag till kännedom om prästerskap och kyrkliga förhållanden till tiden omkring Luleå stifts utbrytning 1* (Uppsala 1923).
- Byström, Eva Nordung. "Förlåt till samiska folket från kyrkan räcker inte", *Dagen*, 5 July (2017).
- Christoffersson, Rolf. "Svenska kyrkan och samiska trummor", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 681–710.
- Corntassel, Jeff & Cindy Holder. "Who's sorry now? Government apologies, truth commissions, and indigenous self-determination in Australia, Canada, Guatemala, and Peru", *Human rights review* 9:4 (2008) pp. 465–489.
- Cramér, Tomas. "Kyrkans vitbok duckar för viktiga frågor", *Samefolket*, 28 July (2017).
- Drugge, Anna-Lill. "Forskningsetik och urfolksforskning", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 191–218.
- Ekerlid, Birger. "Dags att sona statens skuld till samerna", *Länstidningen Östersund*, 5 July (2016).

- Ekström, Sören & Marie Schött. *Samiska frågor i Svenska kyrkan* (Stockholm 2006).
- Elenius, Lars. "Stiftsledningen och minoritetspolitiken", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 469–518.
- Eliot, George. *Middlemarch*, Swedish transl. by Elsie Tollet & Håkan Tollet (Stockholm [1874] 1997).
- Engberg, Elisabet. *I fattiga omständigheter: Fattigvårdens former och understödstagare i Skellefteå socken under 1800-talet* (Umeå 2005).
- Frändén, Märta. "Svenska kyrkan och det samiska namnskicket: Övergripande perspektiv", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 797–810.
- Fraser, Nancy. "From redistribution to recognition? Dilemmas of justice in a 'post-socialist' age", *New Left Review* 212 July–August (1995) pp. 68–93.
- Fur, Gunlög. "Att sona det förflutna", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 153–190.
- Fur, Gunlög. "Kolonisation och kulturmöten under 1600- och 1700-talen", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 241–280.
- Furuhagen, Björn. *Berusade bönder och bråkiga båtsmän: Social kontroll vid sockenstämmor och ting under 1700-talet* (Stockholm 1996).
- Furuhagen, Björn. *Den svenska rasbiologins idéhistoriska rötter: En inventering av forskningen* (Stockholm 2007).
- Gjerdrum, Øystein. "Skammen og frykten holder livet tilbake", in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 65–78.
- Grane, Leif. *Vision och verklighet: En bok om Martin Luther*, 2nd ed., transl. by Margareta Brandy-Cöster (Skellefteå 2012).
- de Gruchy, John W. *Reconciliation: Restoring justice* (Minneapolis 2002).
- Gustafsson, Harald. *Sockenstugans politiska kultur: Lokalt självstyre på 1800-talets landsbygd* (Stockholm 1889).
- Gustavsson, Anders. "[Review of] Samerna och Svenska kyrkan. Underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete. Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.). Gidlunds förlag, Möklinta 2017", *RIG* 3 (2017) pp. 186–188.
- Hagerman, Maja. *Käraste Herman: Rasbiologen Herman Lundborgs gåta* (Stockholm 2015).
- Hagerman, Maja. "En historia om oss alla", *Dagens Nyheter*, 13 May (2016).

- Hagerman, Maja. "Svenska kyrkan och rasbiologin", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 961–992.
- Hagsgård, Marie B. *Samernas rätt att bruka Svenska kyrkans mark: En studie av nationell och internationell rätt* (Uppsala 2015).
- Håkansson, Pontus. "Samernas berättelser måste höras", *Kyrkans Tidning*, 2 March (2017).
- Hallencreutz, Carl. F. "Lars Levi Læstadius' attitude to Saami religion", in Tore Ahlbäck (ed.), *Saami religion: Based on papers read at the symposium on Saami religion held at Åbo, Finland, on the 16th–18th of August 1984* (Turku 1987) pp. 170–184.
- Hansson, Johan. "Svenska Missionssällskapet och Samernas folkhögskola", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 439–467.
- Hartley, Emma. "Sami desire for truth and reconciliation process: As Sweden pushes back against multiculturalism, its indigenous Sami population pushes for recognition", *Politico*, 10 January (2016).
- Hartmann, Ylva L. & Aniina Karlsdottir. *The truth from below: Alternative truth-seeking* (Stockholm 2017).
- Hays, Richard B. *First Corinthians: Interpretation: A Bible commentary for teaching and preaching* (Louisville 1997).
- Heinemann, Kajsa. "Det är ovärdigt ett av världens rikaste länder att inte kunna säga något om hälsan hos urfolket", *Psykologitidningen* 4–5 (2016) pp. 13–17.
- Henriksen, Jan-Olav. "Forsoning, oppgjør og tilgivelse", in Harald Bekken (ed.), *Fengselsliv og menneskeverd: Tekster om skyld, sorg og soning* (Oslo 2008) pp. 198–217.
- Henrysson, Sten. *Prästerna i Lappmarken före 1850: Ursprung och arbetsuppgifter* (Umeå 1989).
- Holmqvist, Kalle. "Samisk voodoo – en form av motstånd: Svenska kyrkan gör upp med sitt förtryck av ursprungsbefolkningen", *Aftonbladet*, 10 April (2016).
- Hultblad, Filip. *Övergång från nomadism till agrar bosättning i Jokkmokks socken* (Stockholm 1968).
- Huuva, Kaisa & Ellacarin Blind (eds.). "När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och jag har ännu inte kommit tillbaka": *Minnesbilder från samernas skoltid* (Stockholm 2016).
- Inger, Göran. *Vanfrevjd: Från infamia till förlust av medborgerligt förtroende* (Uppsala 2001).

- Jackelén, Antje. "Förord", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 11–12.
- Jackelén, Antje. "Samernas urfolksrättigheter måste tas på större allvar", *Dagens Nyheter*, 25 January (2015).
- Jackelén, Antje & Sylvia Sparrock. "Dags att göra upp med Sveriges koloniala förflutna", *Dagens Nyheter*, 6 March (2016).
- Jacob, Antoine. "L'Eglise de Suède veut se réconcilier avec les Sames", *La Croix*, 3 March (2016).
- Jansson, Torkel. *Rikssprängningen som kom av sig: Finsk-svenska gemenskaper efter 1809* (Stockholm 2009).
- Johansen, Inger. "Det er ikkje eit museumsspråk – det har noko med framtida å gjera": *Ei sosiolingvistisk undersøkning av revitaliseringa av sørsamisk*, unpublished master's thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology (Trondheim 2006).
- Johnsen, Tore. *Jordens barn, Solens barn, Vindens barn: Kristen tro i et samisk landskap* (Oslo 2007).
- Johnsen, Tore. "Menneskers arbeid eller Guds gave? En teologisk drøfting av forsoning med henblikk på forsoningsprosesser i Sápmi", in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 13–31.
- Johnsen, Tore. "Urfolk og folkekirke: Samiske perspektiver på folkekirkedebatten", in Øystein Ekroll, Søren Hjort & Einar Vegge (eds.), *Vor kristne og humanistiske arv: Betragtninger ved 200-årsjubileet for Grunnloven* (Trondheim 2014) pp. 239–254.
- Johnsen, Tore. "Erkänd historia och förnyade relationer: Perspektiv på försoningsarbetet mellan kyrkan och samerna", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *Samerna och Svenska kyrkan: Underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete* (Möklinta 2017) pp. 101–129.
- Juuso, Jane. *Jag tar tillbaka mitt språk* (Kiruna 2013).
- Karlsson, Lena & Marianne Liliequist. "Fattigauktioner och samiska ålderdomshem: Synen på äldre samer i samband med åldringsvården", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 885–914.
- Klemensson, ViviAnn Labba. "När ska nya stigar trampas?" *Daerpies Dierie* 4 (2015).
- Klemensson, ViviAnn Labba. "Historien är full av rasism", *Daerpies Dierie* 3 (2017).
- Klemensson, ViviAnn Labba. "Inhumant att ej återbegrava samiska anförvanter", *Daerpies Dierie* 3 (2017).

- Knutsson Bråkenhielm, Lotta. *Religion – evolutionens missfoster eller kärleksbarn? Kognitionsvetenskaplig religionsforskning och dess relevans för religiösa trosföreställningars rationalitet* (Uppsala 2016).
- Korhonen, Olavi. "Samiskan under fyra sekel i Svenska kyrkans arbete", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 735–796.
- Kortekangas, Otso. "[Review of] De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi", *Scandinavian Journal of History* 3:42 (2017) pp. 355–359 (<<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2017.1322782>>, accessed 5 January 2018).
- Kristiansen, Roald E. "Den norske kirken og det samiske", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 1053–1084.
- Kuoljok, Ingar Nikolaisen. "Utopi eller virkelighet? Forsoningsprosessen mellom kirken og samene i et menneskerettighetsperspektiv", in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 47–64.
- Lantto, Patrik. *Tiden börjar på nytt: En analys av samernas etnopolitiska mobilisering i Sverige 1900–1950* (Umeå 2001).
- Lapsley, Michael. *Redeeming the past: My journey from freedom fighter to healer* (Cape Town 2012).
- Lehtola, Veli-Pekka. "Historical encounters of the Sámi and the Church in Finland", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 1085–1118.
- Lenka Bula, Puleng. "Justice and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa: A South African woman's perspective", *International Review of Mission* 94:372 (2005) pp. 103–116.
- Lile, Hadi Khosravi. *FNs barnekonvensjon artikkel 29 (1) om formålet med opplæring: En rettsososiologisk studie om hva barn lærer om det samiske folk* (Oslo 2011).
- Lind, Hilda (ed.). *Befrielsen: Stora boken om kristen tro* (Stockholm 1993).
- Lindmark, Daniel. "Sanningen ska göra er fria: Kyrkan, samerna och historien", in Lars Söderholm, Henrik Friberg-Fernros, Erik Lundgren & Hanna Stenström (eds.), *Religion: Konflikt och försoning* (2015) pp. 83–93.
- Lindmark, Daniel. "Historiebruk i retrospektiva praktiker: Historikers bidrag till försoning", in Daniel Lindmark (ed.), *Gränsöverskridande kyrkohistoria: De språkliga minoriteterna på Nordkalotten* (Umeå 2016) pp. 115–142.

- Lindmark, Daniel. "Svenska undervisningsinsatser och samiska reaktioner på 1600- och 1700-talen", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 341–369.
- Lindmark, Daniel & Olle Sundström (eds.). *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016).
- Lindmark, Daniel & Olle Sundström. "Svenska kyrkan och samerna – ett vitboksprojekt: Presentation av projektet och antologin", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016a) pp. 21–39.
- Lindmark, Daniel & Olle Sundström, "Vem bär ansvar för kyrkans agerande mot samerna i historien? Några avslutande reflexioner", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016b) pp. 1121–1135.
- Lindstrand, Åsa. "Dagar för samtal och tro", *Samefolket*, 22 September (2017).
- Lingebrandt, Ann. "Så försökte kyrkan krossa den samiska kulturen", *Sydsvenskan*, 24 July (2016).
- Ljungström, Olof. *Oscariansk antropologi: Etnografi, förhistoria och rasforskning under sent 1800-tal* (Hedemora 2004).
- Lundmark, Bo. "Medeltida vittnesbörd om samerna och den katolska kyrkan", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016a) pp. 221–240.
- Lundmark, Bo. "Samerna och frikyrkosamfunden i Sverige", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016b) pp. 1031–1052.
- Lundmark, Lennart. *Stulet land: Svensk makt på samisk mark* (Stockholm 2008).
- Marainen, Johannes. "Svenska kyrkan och det samiska namnskicket: Reflektioner kring några konkreta exempel", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 811–820.
- Martinson, Mattias. *Katedralen mitt i staden: Om ateism och teologi* (Lund 2010).
- Mebius, Hans. "Den återupprättade nåjden", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 681–710.
- Melin, Emelie. "Kyrkan som förtryckte ett folk", *Kyrkpressen* 37, 15 September (2017).

- Meyer, Yvonne Marcus. "Från förtryck till försoning", *Miljömagasinet*, 31 March (2017).
- Nalunnakkal, George Mathew. "Come Holy Spirit, heal and reconcile: Called in Christ to be reconciling and healing communities", *International Review of Mission* 94:372 (2005) pp. 7–19.
- Nergård, Jens-Ivar. "Fremmedgjøringen av samisk selvforståelse", in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 47–64.
- Niittyvuopio, Erva. "Synlighet som förutsättning för försoning: Ett perspektiv från Evangelisk-lutherska kyrkan i Finland", in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 155–162.
- Nordbäck, Carola. "'En försonings väg i Jesu namn': Perspektiv på Svenska kyrkans försoningsarbete", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 79–122.
- Nordenstorm, Leif. "[Review of] Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.) De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna. En vetenskaplig antologi. Skellefteå: Artos & Norma 2016, 1 135 s. (2 vol.)", *Kyrko-historisk Årsskrift* 116 (2016) pp. 225–228.
- Norlin, Björn & David Sjögren. "Kyrkan, utbildningspolitiken och den samiska skolundervisningen vid sekelskiftet 1900: Inflytande, vägval och konsekvenser?", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 403–438.
- Norstedt, Gudrun. "Fatmomakkes omland i historisk belysning", in *Kyrkstadens Fatmomakke i historisk belysning*, Länsstyrelsen Västerbottens meddelande 4 (Umeå 2013).
- Norstedt, Gudrun. "Hur kyrkor och prästbord tog plats i det samiska landskapet", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016).
- Ojala, Carl-Gösta. "Svenska kyrkan och samiska mänskliga kvarlevor", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 993–1029.
- Olofsson, Lina. "Vitboken uppmärksammades i Lycksele", *Folkbladet*, 28 September (2016).
- Olofsson, Monica. "Girjas ordförande om hovrättens beslut", *Norrbottnens Kuriren* 10 October 2016.

- Oscarsson, Erik-Oscar. "Rastänkande och särskiljande av sameer", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 943–961.
- O'Sullivan, Dominic. "Reconciliation as public theology: Christian thought in comparative indigenous politics", *International Journal of Public Theology* 8:1 (2014) pp. 5–24.
- Päiviö, Nils-Johan. *Från skattemannarätt till nyttjanderätt: En rättshistorisk studie av samernas rättigheter från slutet av 1500-talet till 1886 års renbeteslag* (Uppsala 2011).
- "Per Gustav Sparrocks berättelse", in Kaisa Huuva & Ellacarin Blind (eds.), "När jag var åtta år lämnade jag mitt hem och jag har ännu inte kommit tillbaka": *Minnesbilder från samernas skoltid* (Stockholm 2016) pp. 16–25.
- Rasmussen, Siv. "Samiske prester i den svenske kirka i tidlig nytid", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 283–314.
- Råssjö, Gudrun. "Vitboken – kyrkans tema under veckan", *Kyrkans Tidning*, 16 March (2017).
- Ruin, Pähl. "Sweden is stepping out of the colonial closet", *Baltic Worlds: A Scholarly Journal and News Magazine* 10:1–2 (2017) pp. 4–10.
- Rydving, Håkan. "Samisk kyrkohistoria: En kort översikt med fokus på kvinnor som aktörer", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 315–339.
- Sann mot sig själv – öppen mot andra: Samtal om religionsteologi i Svenska kyrkan* (Uppsala 2011).
- Schreiter, Robert J. *The ministry of reconciliation: Spirituality & strategies* (New York 1998).
- Schreiter, Robert J. "Reconciliation as a new paradigm of mission", *Winter 2005 Periodic Newsletter – Catholic Mission Association* (2005) pp. 1–4.
- Sjögren, David. *Den säkra zonen: Motiv, åtgärdsförslag och den särskiljande utbildningspolitiken för inhemska minoriteter 1910–1962* (Umeå 2010).
- Sjögren, David. "Kyrkstaden Fatmomakke i historisk belysning: Platsens betydelse, och dess andliga, politiska och kulturella verksamhetsformer från 1700-talets slut till 1900-talets mitt", in Daniel Lindmark, Björn Norlin & David Sjögren (eds.), *Kyrkliga strukturer och platsbundna kulturer: Vilhelmina pastorat 200 år* (Umeå 2014)
- Sjögren, David. "Att göra upp med det förflutna: Sanningskommissioner, officiella ursäkter och vitböcker i ett svenskt och internationellt perspektiv",

- in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 123–152.
- Sjögren, David. “Tema historiker i försoning”, *Historisk tidskrift* 136:3 (2016) pp. 377–382.
- Skum, Line M. “Land is life – life is land: Om urfolksrettigheter og forsoning sett i et diakonalt perspektiv”, in Tore Johnsen & Line M. Skum (eds.), *Erkjenne fortid – forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (Stamsund 2013) pp. 139–151.
- Smedes, Lewis B. “Stations on the journey from forgiveness to hope”, in Everett L. Worthington Jr. (ed.), *Dimensions of forgiveness: Psychological research and theological perspectives* (Philadelphia 1998) pp. 341–354.
- SOU 1924:58. *Fattigvården bland lapparna* (Stockholm 1924).
- Sparrock, Sylvia. “Vägar framåt: Från kolonisering till försoning”, in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *Samerna och Svenska kyrkan: Underlag för kyrkligt försoningsarbete* (Möklinta 2017) pp. 157–186.
- Stenmark, Mikael. *Religioner i konflikt: Relationen mellan kristen och muslimsk tro* (Stockholm 2012).
- Stoor, Krister. “Svenska kyrkan och jojken”, in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 711–734.
- Sundin, Per. “Behövs inget kyrkligt förlåt till samerna”, *Dagen*, 28 June (2017).
- Sundström, Olle. “Svenskyrkliga förståelser av inhemsk samisk världsåskådning: En historisk översikt”, in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 531–588.
- Swedenmark, Linnea. “Ett förtryck som dödar”, *Aftonbladet*, 17 July (2016).
- Tegborg, Lennart. *Kyrkoherden – ämbetsmannen 1809–1930: Ett drama i tre akter* (Uppsala 1994).
- Thomasson, Lars. “Lappförsamlingarna i Jämtland-Härjedalen 1746–1941: Gemenskap eller segregering?”, in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 855–884.
- Tutu, Desmond & Mpho Tutu. *The book of forgiving: The fourfold path of healing ourselves and the world* (New York 2014).
- Tyrberg, Karl-Johan. “Försoningsprocessen mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: Initiativ och insatser 1990–2012”, in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 43–78.
- Uddenberg, Nils. *Renarna, markerna och människorna: Om svenska samers syn på natur, djur och miljö* (Nora 2000).

- Vassenden, Anders. "Hvorfor en sosiologi om norskhet må holde norskheter fra hverandre", *Sosiologi i dag* 41:3–4 (2011) pp. 156–182.
- Westman Kuhmunen, Anna. "Bassebåjke: Heliga platser i landskapet", in Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *De historiska relationerna mellan Svenska kyrkan och samerna: En vetenskaplig antologi* (Skellefteå 2016) pp. 629–656.
- Widqvist, Stefan S. "Hög tid att svenska staten följer den Svenska kyrkans exempel", *Värmlands folkblad*, 28 March (2017).
- Woolford, Andrew. "Negotiating affirmative repair: Symbolic violence in the British Columbia treaty process", *The Canadian Journal of Sociology* 29:1 (2004) pp. 111–144.
- Worthington Jr, Everett L. "The pyramid model of forgiveness: Some interdisciplinary speculations about unforgiveness and the promotion of forgiveness", in Everett L. Worthington Jr. (ed.), *Dimensions of forgiveness: Psychological research and theological perspectives* (Philadelphia 1998) pp. 107–138.

INTERNET SOURCES

- "Arbeid med sannhets- og forsoningskommisjon om fornorskning og ur ett begått mot det samiske folk", Sami Church Council, SKR 32/16, <<https://kirken.no/globalassets/kirken.no/samisk-kirkeliv/dokumenter/samisk-kirkerad-sakspapirer/mars2017-snasa/0517-forsoning/arbeid-med-sannhets--og-forsoningskommisjon-om-fornorskning-...pdf>>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- Ballo, Olav Gunnar. "Gener i Oslo og Finnmark", *Dagbladet* 29 November 2011, <<http://www.dagbladet.no/2011/11/29/kultur/debatt/debattinnlegg/skole/etnisitet/19208762/>>, accessed 12 October 2013.
- Brandsfjell, Helen Blind. *Språkspärr – "Jag tar tillbaka mitt språk"*, <<https://www.sametinget.se/54510>>, accessed 7 October 2016.
- "Conference 20–21 June on Reconciliation in Indigenous Contexts", <https://kirken.no/nb-NO/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/samisk-kirkeliv/interasjonalt/indigenous_reconciliation_conference>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- Davidsson, Elisabeth Lahti. "Lapp skall lapp vara": En vitbok som visar hur den samiska identiteten kapades", *dagensbok.com*, 9 January 2017, <<http://dagensbok.com/2017/01/09/lapp-ska-lapp-vara-en-vitbok-som-visar-hur-den-samiska-identiteten-kapades/>>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- "Det hendte i 1998: En årskavalkade trykket i Årbok for Den norske kirke", <https://kirken.no/globalassets/kirken.no/aktuelt/arkiv-1991-2013/hendt_i_den_norske_kirke_1998.pdf>, accessed 18 September 2016.
- "Filmer från symposium om Svenska kyrkan och samerna", <<https://www>>.

- svenskakyrkan.se/forskning/filmer-fran-symposium-om-svenska-kyrkan-och-samerna->, accessed 5 January 2018.
- “Final Conference Program”, Conference 20-21 June on Reconciliation in Indigenous Contexts, Trondheim, <https://kirken.no/nb-NO/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/samisk-kirkeliv/internasjonalt/indigenous_reconciliation_conference/indigenous_reconciliation_conference/updated-program/>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- “Förttydligande om Svenska kyrkans arbete för samernas rättigheter”, press release from the Church of Sweden 26 November 2014, <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/1201360>>, accessed 24 October 2016.
- Hasbar, Sara. “Ett steg mot försoning mellan kyrkan och samer”, *Fria tidningen*, 30 June 2016, <<http://www.fria.nu/artikel/123675>>, accessed 19 January 2018.
- “Hovrättens dom i Girjasmålet”, press release from the Court of Appeal, 23 January 2018, <<http://www.hovrattenovrenorrland.domstol.se/Om-hovratten/Nyheter-och-pressmeddelanden/Hovrattens-dom-i-Girjasmålet/>>, accessed 3 October 2018.
- Human rights challenges in Sweden: Joint submission for Sweden's second universal periodic review* (2014), submitted by the Church of Sweden, the Sweden Finnish Delegation, Swedish Finn Youth Organization, National Association of Swedish Tornedalians, Tornedalian Youth Organization, Sami Youth Organization, and the Swedish Federation for Yiddish, June 2014, the Church of Sweden's homepage, <<https://internwww.svenskakyrkan.se/flersprakigkyrka/rapporter>>, accessed 24 October 2016.
- Hübinette, Tobias. “Om Svenska kyrkans vitbok om samerna”, 24 May 2016, <<https://tobiashubINETTE.wordpress.com/2016/05/24/svenska-kyrkan-samer-kolonialism-rasforskning/>>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- “KM sak 13/97, Urfolk i den verdensvide kirke med utgangspunkt i samisk kirkeliv”, <<http://docplayer.me/10530494-Urfolk-i-den-verdensvide-kirke-med-utgangspunkt-i-samisk-kirkeliv.html>>, accessed 18 September 2016.
- “KM 11/03, Om lov om rettsforhold og forvaltning av grunn og naturressurser i Finnmark fylke (Finnmarksloven)”, <https://kirken.no/nb-NO/om-kirken/slik-styres-kirken/kirkemotet/dokumenter_vedtak/kirkemotet-17.11.2003---22.11.2003-lillehammer/>, accessed 23 May 2015.
- “Kyrkolivsutskottets betänkande 2015:5, ILO-konvention nr 169”, <<https://sve-rigesradio.se/diverse/appdata/isidor/files/2327/6970e7b7-affd-4815-8d9b-bbadffaba4a4.pdf>>, accessed 2 December 2016.
- “Kyrkomötets protokoll den 17 november 2015”, Svenska kyrkans hemsida, <<https://www1.svenskakyrkan.se/1368197>>, accessed 2 December 2016.
- “Laponiatjuottjudus”, Laponia's homepage, <<http://laponia.nu/om-oss/laponiatjuottjudus/>>, accessed 26 October 2016.

- Lindmark, Daniel & Olle Sundström, “The Church of Sweden and the Sami – a white paper project: Background, assignment, organisation and results”, <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=1692954>>, accessed 19 January 2018.
- “Lyxig kunskap på Silvermuseet”, *Arjeplogsnytt*, 30 September 2015, <<http://www.arjeplogsnytt.se/modules.php?name=Content&op=showcontent&id=3428>>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- Marginalized and ignored: National minority children’s struggle for language rights in Sweden 2013* (2013), the Church of Sweden’s homepage, <<https://internwww.svenskakyrkan.se/flersprakigkyrka/rapporter/>>, accessed 24 October 2016.
- Öhman, May-Britt. “Tyst om markfrågan i Svenska kyrkans ‘Vitbok’”, *Feministiskt perspektiv*, 25 October 2016, <<https://feministisktperspektiv.se/2016/10/25/tyst-om-markfragan-i-sve/>>, accessed 26 October 2016.
- Ojala, Carl-Gösta. “Kulturarv, historisk arkeologi och samisk historia”, 8 September 2017; <<https://kulturmiljonorrbotten.com/2017/09/08/kulturarv-historisk-arkeologi-och-samisk-historia/>>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- “Ordförklaringar”, the Swedish Sami Parliament’s homepage, <<https://www.sametinget.se/8392>>, accessed 6 October 2016.
- Rapport från Sáagastallamat, en konferens om samerna och Svenska kyrkan, i Kiruna den 11–13 oktober 2011* (2012), <www.svenskakyrkan.se/default.aspx?id=899745>, accessed 20 October 2016.
- “Representantforslag 154 S (2010–2011) fra stortingsrepresentantene Gjermund Hagesæter, Per-Willy Amundsen, Åge Starheim og Jan-Henrik Fredriksen”, <<http://stortinget.no/Global/pdf/Representantforslag/2010-2011/dok8-201011-154.pdf>>, accessed 23 May 2015.
- “Samerna och den svenska rasismen – seminarium på Bokmässan 2015”, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gSo7UMu1Nc>>, 5 December 2017.
- “Sametingets syn på mineraler och gruvor i Sápmi”, antagen av Sametingets plenum 20/5 2014, the Swedish Sami Parliament’s homepage, <<https://www.sametinget.se/gruvpolicy>>, accessed 6 October 2016.
- “Stiftens skogar”, the Church of Sweden’s homepage, <<https://www.svenskakyrkan.se/stiftensskogar>>, accessed 6 October 2016.
- “Svenska kyrkan lyfter försoningsfrågor på urfolkskonferens”, press release from the Church of Sweden, 20 June 2016, <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/se/svenska_kyrkan/pressreleases/svenska-kyrkan-lyfter-foerso-ningsfraaagor-paa-urfolkskonferens-1446398>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- “Svenska kyrkan vill bidra till repatriering av samiska kvarlevor”, press release from the Church of Sweden 17 November 2017, <<https://via.tt.se/pressmeddelande/svenska-kyrkan-vill-bidra-till-repatriering-av-samiska-kvarlevor?publisherId=1344892&releaseId=1896272>>, accessed 19 January 2018.

- Svenska samernas riksförbund, press release 14 April 2015, <<http://www.sapmi.se/pm/pmSvenskakyrkanFSC.pdf>>, accessed 6 October 2016.
- “Tråante 2017 – Samene og kirken”, Church of Norway homepage, <<https://kirken.no/seminartraante2017>>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- TRC Canada. “Mandate for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission”, <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/pdfs/SCHEDULE_N_EN.pdf>, accessed 18 September 2016.
- “Urfolkens dag firas i Tärnaby”, *Västerbottens-Kuriren*, 5 August 2016, <<https://www.vk.se/1782970/urfolkens-dag-firas-i-tarnaby>>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- “Urfolkens dag på Mobackagården”, Storumans kommun/Luspie homepage, <<http://www.storuman.se/Nyheter/urfolkens-dag/>>; accessed 5 January 2018.
- “Urfolksdeklarationen”, the Swedish Sami Parliament’s homepage, <<https://www.sametinget.se/urfolksdeklarationen>>, accessed 4 October 2016.
- Våga vara minoritet: En rapport om minoritetsrättigheter i Sverige 2012* (2012), the Church of Sweden’s homepage, <<https://internwww.svenskakyrkan.se/flersprakigkyrka/rapporter>>, accessed 24 October 2016.
- Wejryd, Anders. “Urfolkens framtid hotas av klimatförändringarna”, *Dagens Nyheter*, 9 August 2013, <www.dn.se/debatt/urfolkens-framtid-hotas-av-klimatforandringarna>, accessed 24 October 2016.

RADIO AND TV PROGRAMMES

- “Kalla fakta”, broadcasted on TV4 13 October 2015.
- “Människor och tro”, broadcasted on SR P1 22 June 2017, <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/avsnitt/908488?programid=416>>, accessed 11 January 2018.
- “Resten av Sverige”, part 2, broadcasted on SVT 2 October 2016, SVT Play, <<http://www.svtplay.se/video/10458349/resten-av-sverige/resten-av-sverige-avsnitt-2?info=visa>>, accessed 17 October 2016.
- “Samer engagerade i kyrkfrågor besvikna över ILO-beslut”, Sameradion & SVT Sápmi, <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=6023209>>, accessed 22 May 2015.
- “Stiftet misslyckades – samiskt centrum nedlagt”, Sameradion & SVT Sápmi, <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=6205704>>, accessed 10 October 2016.
- “Svenska kyrkan och samerna – från förtryck till försoning”, SVT Forum, <<https://www.svt.se/nyheter/svtforum/svenska-kyrkan-och-samerna-fran-fortryck-till-forsoning>>, accessed 5 January 2018.
- “SVT Opinion Live”, broadcasted on 7 April 2016, <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=6406449>>, 19 January 2018.

“Tilbakeslaget og de fem hersketeknikkene”, NRK (2012), <<http://tv.nrk.no/program/dnpr64000012/tilbakeslaget-tromsoe-og-defem-hersketeknikkene>>, accessed 23 May 2015.

“Vitbok om samer lämнар snart tryckeriet”, Sameradion & SVT Sápmi, <<http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2327&artikel=6410440>>, accessed 5 January 2018.

AUTHORS AND EDITORS

Carl Reinhold Bråkenhielm, born 1945, is a professor emeritus of empirical world view studies at the Department of Theology at Uppsala University. He headed “Cusanus”, an education and research project on science and religion (with funding from the John Templeton Foundation in the US) between 2015 and 2017. He has written books and articles on theological and philosophical subjects, such as *Verklighetsbilder* (2009), and has worked as an editor with Maria Essunger and Katarina Westerlund on *Livet enligt människan: Om livsåskådningsforskning* (2013). He has edited two anthologies together with Göran Möller, *Tala om försoning* (2015) and *Liv i försoning* (2016). Under publication at Pickwick/Wipf & Stock is *The Study of Science and Religion: Sociological, Theological and Philosophical perspectives*.

Tore Johnsen, born 1969, is a theologian and ordained minister of the Church of Norway. He is currently studying for a doctorate in World Christianity at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. He has experience of Sami church life from his time as a vicar in the benefice of Tana and Nesseby and as a diocesan chaplain in the Diocese of Nord-Hålogaland. Johnsen has published a number of theological articles related to the Sami and other indigenous peoples. He is the author of the book *Jordens barn, Solens barn, Vindens barn: Kristen tro i et samisk landskap* (2007) and co-editor of the anthology *Erkjenne fortid — forme framtid: Innspill til kirkelig forsoningsarbeid i Sápmi* (2013). He chaired and was later the secretary-general for the Sami Church Council in Norway and was moderator of the World Council of Churches’ reference group for indigenous peoples. Johnsen is a Sami: his family originates from Deatnu/Tana in Finnmark, Norway.

Daniel Lindmark, born 1960, is professor of church history at the Faculty of Arts and professor of history and education at Umeå School of Education, Umeå University. His research fields include educational

history, print culture, popular religion and religious use of history. Revival movements represent a recurring theme; evangelical publicists are in focus of an ongoing project. Large parts of his research concern the religious history of the North, including Sami missionary and church history. He was in charge of the White Paper Project and edited its publications together with Olle Sundström. His most recent publications include *Gränsöverskridande kyrkohistoria* ('Cross-border Church History') (2016), *Kvinnor och andlighet i norr* ('Women and Spirituality in the North') (2018; Jan Samuelson co-editor) and *Carl Olof Rosenius betydelse* ('The Importance of Carl Olof Rosenius') (2018).

Björn Norlin, born 1976, associate professor of history and education at the Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Umeå University. In 2010, he defended his education history-oriented thesis on liberal education and the construction of collective identity among students in the schools of the 19th and early 20th century. Since then, his research has focused on current debates on history and the subject of history in Sweden, spatial, material and visual aspects of education in both contemporary and past contexts, and Sami education history and mission history. His most recent publications include the anthologies *Kyrkliga strukturer och platsbundna kulturer* (2014; together with Daniel Lindmark and David Sjögren), *Beyond the classroom: Studies on pupils and informal schooling processes in modern Europe* (2014; together with Anna Larsson) and *Engaging with educational space: Visualizing spaces of teaching and learning* (2014; together with Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor). He is also one of the editors of the reference work *Encyclopedia of the Barents region* (2016).

David Sjögren, born 1976, associate professor of history and senior lecturer in education at the Department of Education, Uppsala University. In 2010, he defended his thesis on Swedish educational policy for indigenous minorities from the turn of the 20th century until the introduction of the 9-year compulsory school system in 1962. His research since then has looked at the relationships of early elementary school teaching staff with school administration and country folk, as well as assimilation and integration aspects relating to Romani people in Sweden in the 20th century. His later research has taken place within the scope of the government's white paper project on abuse of the Romani in the 20th century, for which he was also employed as a subject expert. He co-edited and wrote in the anthol-

ogies *Kyrkliga strukturer och platsbundna kulturer* (2014) and *Norrlandsfrågan: Erfarenheter av utbildning, bildning och fostran i nationalstatens periferi* (2015).

Sylvia Sparrock (also Sparrok), Järpen, was born in 1967 in Jijnjevaerie sameby ('Jijnjevaerie Sami village') (formerly Hotagens sameby) and now works as a reindeer owner and board member at Tässåsens sameby. Her family comes from the Frostviken sameby areas and Vilhelmina norra sameby, and also from Namdalen and Børgesfjell on the Norwegian side of the border. She attended Änge Nomad School (later Änge Sami School) between 1974 and 1980 and then trained to be a nurse. Since working for Jämtland County Council and the municipality of Åre, she has been employed by the Swedish Sami Parliament (*Sametinget*) as a language consultant and supervisor at the Sami Language Centre since 2010. She founded and ran a Sami tourism enterprise, Ajvin Sijte, Anariset AB, alongside her reindeer husbandry between 1996 and 2007. She has experience of the Chernobyl disaster in 1986 and the landowner lawsuits in the Härjedalen Case and the Råtan Case. She was a member of the Sami Council in the Church of Sweden between 2006 and 2017.

Olle Sundström, born 1968, associate professor of history of religions at Umeå University, took his PhD on the thesis "*Vildrenen är själv detsamma som en gud*" (2008) on Soviet ethnographic research into the religions of the Samoyedic peoples. He has also carried out research into Soviet religious policy towards indigenous religions in Siberia. He pursued the research project "Repression of 'shamans' in the Soviet North", funded by the Swedish Research Council, between 2010 and 2012. Within this project he co-edited the volume *Ethnic and religious minorities in Stalin's Soviet Union: New dimensions of research* (2017) together with Andrej Kotljarchuk. Sundström has spent many years teaching on indigenous Sami religion, and he has also carried out research into the Lutheran missionaries' understandings of "gods" in Sami world view in the 17th and 18th centuries. Since 2009, he has been the editorial secretary for the multidisciplinary *Journal of Northern Studies*. As part of the White Paper Project Sundström has worked as an external secretary for the steering committee and as an editor — together with Daniel Lindmark — of the project's publications.

RELIGION I NORRLAND

1. Jan Samuelson (ed.), *Norrländsk kyrkohistoria i ett komparativt perspektiv* (Härnösand: Mid Sweden University, 2014).
2. Birger Olsson, *Dina och Shekem i Barsta: Ett fiskekapell i Höga kusten från 1600-talet och dess takmålningar* (Umeå: The Royal Skyttean Society, 2016).
2. Anders Persson, *Den levande närvaron av Ordet: Åtta essäer om bilden av roseniansk och laestadiansk väckelse i norrländsk skönlitteratur* (Skellefteå: Artos, 2018).
4. Daniel Lindmark & Olle Sundström (eds.), *The Sami and the Church of Sweden: Results from a White Paper Project* (Möklinta: Gidlunds, 2018).

This book presents results from a white paper project on the historical relations between the established Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sweden and the indigenous Sami people. The research project, which was launched in November 2012 and concluded in February 2017, was funded by the Church of Sweden Research Department and hosted by Umeå University. It was set up following an explicit request by representatives of the Sami community made at a hearing in 2011. Documentation of the abuse inflicted by the Church throughout history was regarded as a precondition for a continued reconciliation process.

In April 2016, a comprehensive academic report was published. The contents of this two-volume book consisting of 33 articles written by experts in the field were summarised and discussed in a popular science publication issued in February 2017. Chapters on reconciliation as concept and practice were included in this abridged version so as to make it useful in reconciliation activities in church and Sami communities.

The current book, *The Sami and the Church of Sweden: Results from a White Paper Project*, is a translation of the popular science publication, supplemented with a more detailed introduction and two updating and concluding chapters. Through this English version, international readers can inform themselves about the background, assignment, organisation, results and reception of a research project carried out within a reconciliation process.

The editors Daniel Lindmark and Olle Sundström were involved in the management of the White Paper Project. They work at Umeå University, Lindmark as a professor of church history, and Sundström as an associate professor of history of religions.



ISBN 9789178443970



GIDLUNDS FÖRLAG