

A Discourse Analysis on the Swedish Non-Ratification of the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention

A Critical Postcolonial Perspective

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Abstract

ILO 169 – Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention - is an international treaty that deals exclusively with the rights of indigenous peoples. Sweden is a country that normally commits to human rights and international treaties. However, it is still one of the countries that has not ratified ILO 169. By conducting a critical discourse analysis with a postcolonial approach, this study problematizes and gives a new perspective to the Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169. The Swedish – Sami relationship is part of the darker chapters of the Swedish history. This study aims to understand parts of this relation from a postcolonial perspective. The postcolonial approach is built on postcolonial theories and the concept of internal colonialism. The focus of this study is the governmental report SOU 1999:25 as well as the latest parliamentary discussion concerning a Swedish ratification of ILO 169. This study gives a new perspective of how the Swedish non-ratification is affected by the process of internal colonialism that is characterized by irresolution. The capitalist market forces and history writing as a grand narrative also seem to have an effect on the Swedish non-ratification.

Key words: ILO 169, Postcolonialism, Internal Colonialism, Sweden, Sami, Sápmi.
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1 Introduction

During the festival Global Citizen in New York, the Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Löfven held a speech where he said: ‘‘We may be a small country, but we will do our part for the greater good, the greater cause’’ (Vimeo 2016). Sweden constantly pushes that it is a humanitarian superpower and a United Nations (UN) friendly state (Government 2016). There is however a contradicting story. Sweden repeatedly receives criticism for the treatment of the indigenous peoples Sami from international organisations and the UN Human Rights Committee (SVT 2016). Part of this criticism concerns the non-ratification of ILO 169 – The Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention.

The Swedish – Sami relationship is arguably part of the darker chapters of Swedish history. Though, for many people these events belong to the past, as the Sami have been forgotten in the public political arena. There is also a very small amount of political discussions and academic research on the issues of the Swedish – Sami relationship. Why has not Sweden, a country that normally commits to international treaties and focuses on human rights abroad, ratified ILO 169? This is the contradicting story of the Swedish global identity that this study will give a new perspective on.

ILO 169 is a treaty that deals exclusively with the rights of indigenous peoples from a variety of different aspects (ILO C169). The difference between a declaration and a treaty is that a treaty is binding. A ratification of ILO 169 would have to pass legislation to pursue it. Therefore, it has been easier for Sweden to commit to declarations, such as the UN Declaration of Indigenous Peoples (A/RES/61/295). The Swedish government announced that Sweden’s intention was to ratify ILO 169 already when the convention was released in 1989 (ILO C169). Several governmental reports later, and the ratification has still not happened. For nearly 30 years, Swedish governments have consistently argued that a ratification of ILO 169 should not be hastened (Lundmark 2008, p. 430).

This study aims to understand why Sweden has not ratified ILO 169 from a postcolonial perspective. As will be shown in the literature review, it has been argued that there is a need to further understand the modern Swedish – Sami relationship through colonial lenses. The Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169 has not been researched to any greater extent before, nor from a postcolonial perspective. This study aims to fill this gap in the previous research as well as contribute to raise awareness on Swedish Sami politics.

1.1 Research Question

The research question is: Why has Sweden not ratified ILO 169?

The aim of this study is to give a critical postcolonial perspective of the research problem. The purpose of this study is to understand the clash between the image of Sweden as a country that normally commits to international treaties and understand why Sweden has not ratified ILO 169.

I will conduct a critical discourse analysis in order to give a postcolonial perspective. The study is structured under seven parts, starting with a literature review that leads up to the decision of using postcolonial theories. This is followed by a section that presents the theoretical approach of postcolonialism and internal colonialism. The critical discourse analysis is then presented together with the operational indicators and empirical material. The study is then put in a context under the contextualisation. Lastly, a postcolonial analysis is conducted followed by concluding discussions and examples of areas for further research.

2 Literature Review

This section provides a brief overview of previous research. It also suggests where more research is needed and how the theoretical approach for this study has been decided. The literature review starts with exploring explanations of the research problem in theories on why states commit to international treaties. Following is a section on how previous research has dealt with the problem of a Swedish ratification of ILO 169. Lastly, the literature review draws from a broader spectra of previous research on the Swedish – Sami relationship.

The main research regarding Sami people, Sápmi¹ and the Swedish – Saami relationship focuses on a historical approach (e.g. Lundmark 2002; 2008; Mörkenstam 1999). Though there is contemporary research (e.g. Dahre 2004; Lantto & Mörkenstam 2016; Lawrence 2014; Semb 2012), it is not done in any greater numbers. Even though the Sami community is going through a form of renaissance in visibility through popular culture², the need for more academic research is still vast.

Theories of why states do commit to international treaties can possibly help us understand the Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169. Even though the state in question easily could ratify an international agreement, it has been suggested that they can be discouraged because of possible effects within the country (Hathaway 2007, p. 597). As will be shown, there are some arguments that this might be the case in Sweden. It is also argued that it is more likely for countries to ratify a convention if neighboring states do so (ibid). Norway were among the first countries to ratify ILO 169, whereas Sweden and Finland still has not done so. Norway's ratification of the convention does not seem to have an impact on Sweden. Norms and ideas has also been argued to be a crucial part of why states comply with international agreements (Simmons 1998; Franck 1990). This does not seem to be the case in Sweden since Sweden normally do commit to international agreements. These theories have been tried on the case of Sweden, and it was argued that they could not explain the Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169 (Semb 2012).

There is previous research on the Swedish ratification of ILO 169 (Joona 2005; Semb 2012), though only in a limited amount and from few perspectives. An aspect

¹ The traditional land of Sami. When referring to the region I will use the name Sápmi in this study to stress that the discussion is concerning the traditional lands of Sami people.

² The singer Sofia Jannok, the movie Sami blood and the NRK live stream of Reindeer movement to mention a few.

that has been argued might affect the non-ratification is that there is no unified perception of the wanted outcome in the parliament (Semb 2012, p. 145 -147). A fear of what a ratification may do to the relationship between the Sami people and the non-indigenous habitants also seems to be of concern (ibid). Semb's research gives interesting suggestions of what can be part of the cause to the Swedish non-ratification. However, these suggestions need further evidence. This study's postcolonial approach will also contribute with a new perspective.

Lundmark argues that the main issue for a ratification is a lack of interest from the government. A sign of this is how slow the process has been. It took ten years after ILO 169 was released before the first Swedish report was finished (Lundmark 2008, p.424). Still no action has been taken and the state continues to emphasize that the ratification should not be hastened (ibid). The Sami are a minority group, and are not considered to be 'important' voters for the parties in Sweden. Lundmark argues that the fear of losing votes from other groups in Sápmi puts the Sami politics out of the general discussion and political interest (Lundmark 2008, p. 430-431). The politicians' concern of winning elections might have an influence on the non-ratification.

There is a greater body of research on other aspects of the Swedish - Sami relationship. A great deal of the modern research relates to environmental issues and the expanding industries (Agresta 2014; Langston 2013; Lawrence 2014). Though there is a lot of research through a historical perspective focusing on the colonial relationship in the early 20th century, Lawrence (2014) states that there is hardly any contemporary research regarding the modern relationship through a colonial lens. Lawrence argues that more research is needed in order to understand this relationship satisfactorily.

This study aims to fill the gap of research, as well as to give a postcolonial perspective on the Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169. In the following section, this study's theoretical and conceptual framework of postcolonialism and internal colonialism will be drawn.

3 The Postcolonial Approach

This section outlines the postcolonial approach for this study. The approach is drawn from postcolonial theories together with the concept of internal colonialism. Internal colonialism is used in order to understand the postcolonial theories within one nation-state rather than the more classical usage of a global south/ global north perspective. As shown, there is a need to further understand the Swedish – Sami relationship through a colonial approach. Using postcolonialism provides a critical perspective of the Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169.

Postcolonial studies are vulnerable for generalisation because of the heterogeneous nature of colonialism. It is therefore important to form the approach with own perspectives for the context of each study (Loomba 1998, p. xiii). This theoretical framework together with the following section on the method is my quest of forming this approach. Since there has not been much research of postcolonial studies in this context before, I have built my own approach drawn from several authors. Due to the many similarities between feminist and postcolonial theories, I have also been inspired by critical feminist theories and discourse analysis. The approach will be structured around four main themes. These themes are chosen from the theories in order to customise the theoretical framework for this study: (1) Contestation of an Ongoing Process of Irresolution, (2) The Exploitation of Land and Resources, (3) The ‘Alternative’ Story and Self-Determination, and (4) Postcolonialism as a Hierarchy.

3.1 Contestation of an Ongoing Process of Irresolution

Oxford Living Dictionary defines colonialism as:

The policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically.

(OLD)

The control and exploitation over another region by conquest have put the peoples who originally lived in those regions and the newcomers in multifaceted and traumatic relationships (Loomba 1998, p. 2). This is the entrance to postcolonialism

where we first need to make a distinction between postcolonialism in opposition to post-colonialism. This is done in referral to a view of postcolonialism as an ongoing process rather than something that has occurred after colonialism (Ghandi 1998, p. 3-6).

This study looks beyond the traditional form of colonialism and understands the postcolonial theories through the concept of internal colonialism. Internal colonialism refers to how the colonising state is built upon the territories of the formerly free, now colonised people, situated within one nation-state (Tully 2000, p. 39). Internal colonialism is a process and system that both sides see as temporary. The system leads to a slow process, where small changes are made to keep it intact. Tully argues that “It is the irresolution, so to speak, of the relation: a matrix of power put in place and continuously provoked by and adjusted in response to the arts of resistance of indigenous peoples” (Tully 2000, p. 40).

Ghandi states that “postcolonialism is more sensitive to the long history of colonial consequences” (Ghandi 1998, p.3). The modern society should from a postcolonial perspective be understood with a consciousness of history and with a recalling of the colonial past (ibid, p.8). In order to do this, a background to the Swedish Sami politics is given later (see 5. Contextualisation). One has to analyse the causality of the ongoing process of irresolution, which means that the history influences today’s politics, as well as normalises today’s discourse. Having said that, this study does not want to analyse the history of a colonial relationship. Rather, the aim is to problematize the modern Swedish – Sami relationship as pictured by the non-ratification of ILO 169.

Postcolonialism is critical in its nature, meaning that it works as a contestation of the legacy of colonialism and the colonial domination (Loomba 1998, p.12). In other words, the perspective given in this study will contest the dominating narrative in order to understand the effects of a possible postcolonial relationship. Postcolonialism as a contestation falls in line with the emancipatory approach of this study. Alva (1995) formulates this quest and describes postcolonialism as a form of subjectivity of oppositionality to the colonising discourse. The aim is to be in a contestation of, and emancipation from, the colonial hierarchical relationship.

3.2 Exploitation of Land and Resources

The essence of the system and process of internal colonialism is the appropriation of land and resources, as well as the jurisdiction over indigenous peoples (Tully 2000, p. 39). The exploitation that has happened together with the capitalist expansion, as well as with the resistance from indigenous communities, are signs of the unresolved system that is internal colonialism (ibid, p. 43). Arguably, Tully’s

thoughts on the capitalist expansion and the economic exploitation are instinctually linked with Marxist views. Despite that postcolonialism and Marxism has a complex history, Marxist thoughts can still be of value in a postcolonial approach. Loomba suggest that “as capitalism advances, money and commodities increasingly displace, stand in for, and are mistaken for human values” (Loomba 1998, p. 26). Tully argues that the system of internal colonisation is unresolved – can it be resolved or does the capitalist market mislead our, in this case the Swedish, values?

The openness of trying to combine approaches is vital for postcolonial studies in the quest of understanding the past as well as understanding the present (Loomba 1998, p. 254). The usage of internal colonialism arguably makes the combination of Marxist thought and postcolonial theories easier, mostly because of the internal colonialism’s focus on exploitation of land and resources. Ghandi suggest that despite the complex relation, postcolonial theories and Marxism does not have to be in conflict. Instead we can see Marxism as “a set of categories that we can work with, through which we might understand ourselves—and our implication in the history of capitalist/European imperialism— differently” (Ghandi 1998, p. 74). Even if Marxism historically has not been sufficient in explaining colonialism, or not been compatible with postcolonialism because of its Eurocentric base (Loomba 1998, p. 249), it is vital for this study to understand the case within the economic system and how the case is shaped by that system.

In the next section, the ideas of alternative stories and grand narratives are discussed. I argue that the need to be sceptical of grand narratives works in the same way when analysing the economic and capitalist system, which are part of the dominant discourse.

3.3 The ‘Alternative’ Story and Self-Determination

Postcolonialism’s scepticism towards grand narratives comes from how these narratives silences minorities and the ‘other’ voices. The alternative story and self-determination are connected in the sense that self-determination can offer the possibility of making the alternative story heard. Postcolonialism challenges the dominating discourse, and the way it can marginalise and silence other voices (Bhambra 2009, p. 14). I therefore argue that it is important to understand the Swedish state’s argumentation as the grand narrative. It is vital in this study is to problematize this narrative and see the ‘alternative’ stories.

Griffiths (1994) stresses the need to understand the voice of the subaltern, in this case the Sami, as contained in the discourse of the dominant society. States still continue to fear the native voice, and throughout history the native voices have been

silenced. When constructing the voice of the silenced, it is done within the dominant discourse. One therefore has to be aware of how the alternative story is influenced by the colonial past and present (Griffiths 1994, p. 238-239).

In the analysis of the empirical material it is vital to understand postcolonialism as something that not only can help us understand the present, but also help us reconstruct the past and understand the past as part of the formation of the modern time (Bhambra 2009, p. 14). Postcolonialism has previously been used mostly in a historical sense. When absorbed into the modern world, postcolonialism can contest the absorption of colonial institutions into the “disparate cultural and socioeconomic practices which define our contemporary ‘globality’” (Loomba 1998, p. 257). Postcolonialism helps contest the dominant discourse, and the critical feminist discourse analysis is used in order to find the silences and lift those in the postcolonial analysis.

Self-determination is often seen as in conflict with the nation-state, subordinate to territorial integrity (Tully 2000, p. 55-56). Instead, self-determination should consist of decolonisation and recognition of indigenous peoples as free and self-governing – as well as having shared jurisdiction of land and resources with a mutual consent (ibid). As shown, the subaltern voice needs to be understood as contained in the dominant discourse, the same is valid for understanding self-determination. The self-determination does not have to be in conflict with the nation-state, but contained within the current discourse this is how it is often perceived. Cornassel (2008, p. 125-126) argues that there is a need to rethink the current indigenous-right discourse. The critical connection to traditional way of life, homeland, animal life, etcetera, is vital for the future generations of indigenous peoples. The paradigm discourse today shifts the focus from these critical connections to discussions on political rights and self-determination.

3.4 Postcolonialism as a Hierarchy

Postcolonial studies have had a focus on discrimination based upon race. When the field of feminist colonial studies rose, it brought the concept of gender hierarchy to postcolonial studies (Chowdry & Nair 2002, p. 19). Both women and colonised peoples have been subjected within systems and ideologies that has justified the exploitation of them (Loomba 1998, p. 40). The postcolonial and feminist theories aim for the same goal of systematically deconstruct the gender hierarchy and power structures that might be both visible and hidden

The idea of how the masculinized side of a states identity has been privileged and the feminine have been discriminated, works in the same way in the relationship between states and indigenous peoples (Beier 2002, p.90). The description of

indigenous peoples is commonly used in ways as of describing them as helpless, uncivilized, and as groups that need to be taken care of. The dominating society's relationship in a racial colonial discourse is therefore in much similarity with the masculine feminine relationship in critical feminist theories. The aim of decolonising knowledge in postcolonial studies is part of the wider project of critical theories, trying to change or decentralise what is today seen as dominant and/or mainstream (Chandra 2012, p. 491). In opposition to Waltz' (1959) classical description of international relations (IR), where IR is described as a system of anarchy, other IR scholars describe IR as a hierarchy, among them critical feminist (Chowdry & Nair 2002, p. 19; Donnelly 2006; Tickner 2014). In the postcolonial description, the indigenous peoples or people from Africa and Asia are feminised in contrast to the European identity (Chowdry & Nair 2002, p. 19). To understand this relationship as a hierarchy, the concept of masculinities and femininities further enhance the practical approach for this postcolonial theoretical framework.

4 Critical Discourse Analysis

The chosen method for this study is a critical discourse analysis that is strongly intertwined with the theoretical and conceptual framework. This section presents the method that is inspired by Fairclough (1992). Due to the similarities between postcolonial-, critical feminist- and post-structuralist theories, I also draw inspiration from critical feminist & post-structuralist discourse analysis (Lazar 2007; Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic 2015; Baxter 2003; Eng & Boris 2016; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000).

In discourse analysis, the different approaches come as a package with theories and epistemological, as well as ontological, standpoints. It is important to remember how the theory and method should be closely intertwined (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips 2000, p. 8). This study is a so called emancipatory study, the method and the theoretical framework are drawn from this. That means that the aim is to be in emancipation from and contestation to the dominating discourse. Lazar states that the meaning of an emancipatory study in a feminist context is “a radical social transformation based on social justice that opens up unrestricted possibilities for both women and men as human beings” (Lazar 2007, p. 153). The aim of systematically breaking down and acknowledging power structures is an important task of both feminist and postcolonial theories. These power structures are in the postcolonial approach described as the alternative stories opposing the dominant discourse, as well as understanding the postcolonial relationships as a hierarchy.

Baxter (2003) outlines a feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis that is skeptical of a universal cause and the western grand narratives, which closely links to fundamental postcolonial ideas. Baxter stresses the need for self-reflection throughout the study, which also means an openness in the analysis as well as in the choices of empirical material (ibid, p. 58-61). I approach this study with a postcolonial perspective and with a curiosity of how postcolonial theories and the concept of internal colonisation, together with a critical discourse analysis systematically can deconstruct power structures and understand hierarchies in the empirical material. Who has the dominant voice and who are allowed to speak and function in the empirical material? These will be important aspects to analyse from the postcolonial approach.

My epistemological standpoint comes from the postcolonial theories, I believe that knowledge is constructed and contextualized. This view of self-reflexivity and openness follows me throughout this study. What is also important to mention in this context are my own biases and the self-reflexivity of being aware that I am a

citizen of the dominant society of this study – Sweden. I am not an indigenous person and the study will be done from a non-indigenous perspective.

Critical discourse analysis is sometimes criticised for being overly political and not academic. Lazar states that we can argue against this and because of how the critical discourse analysis structurally breaks down hierarchies and takes power structures in to account, it actually covers an even broader set of aspects for the academic research than other methods do (Lazar 2007, p. 146). I argue that the critical discourse analysis is useful for this study because of the need for understanding the non-ratification in a new perspective that is given together with the postcolonial approach.

Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic (2015) state that ‘‘Discourse is more than language. It is a system of exclusionary practices and structures: not just labels, but assumptions, absences and social expectations’’ (ibid, p. 314). In the context of this study this is interpreted as how we from a postcolonial perspective can understand what is missing or left out. What reasons are there to why Sweden has not ratified ILO 169? What is the problem representation? These are important aspects of the analysis that will be examined with the colonial perspective as shown earlier.

In order to make this outlined method as concrete as possible, inspiration is drawn from Bacchi’s (2009) *What’s the Problem Represented to be?* (WPR). This is done in order to analyse the problem representation in the reasons to the Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169. WPR is used as part of the operational indicators in order to make the analysis more concrete and open by working cumulative from previous research. WPR consist of six questions. However, the whole method of WPR is not used. This is because not all questions are relevant for this study and therefore it has been more suitable to form my own approach. The next section will present the empirical material (4.1) followed by the section on operational indicators (4.2) that further discusses the approach for this study.

4.1 Empirical Material

There is no blueprint on how to select the empirical material in a critical discourse analysis. Fairclough (1992, p. 227) states that the selection has to be based on (1) the research problem, (2) the researcher's knowledge on what is suiting, and (3) whether or not you have access to the material. WPR stresses the importance of examining related texts to the main material (Bacchi 2009, p. 20). The aim in this study is to have a relatively narrow selection of empirical material in order to have a deeper analysis where the theoretical framework is in focus³.

I argue that a strategic point of departure is the governmental reports concerning a Swedish ratification of ILO 169. The focus for analysis is SOU 1999:25, which is the only report that deals exclusively with the Swedish ratification of ILO 169. The argumentation has been the same since 1999 which makes this document a sufficient source of analysis. Since no political action has been taken, the report will be complemented with the latest parliamentary discussion on the issue to understand today's argumentation for the non-ratification (prot. 2014/15:89, 12§).

There are more recent reports that deals with some areas of ILO 169 (SOU 2005:116; SOU 2006:14). These reports have been carefully read but will not be further analysed. The new reports have solved some issues that arose in SOU 1999:25. However, since these two reports are done, this study goes back to SOU 1999:25 to examine the other reasons for the non-ratification.

The analysis will be structured around two parts. The material presented above is the basis for the major part of the analysis (6.1 The Swedish Non-Ratification). The second part is a complementary part of analysis (6.2 A Solution to the Problem?). In the parliamentary discussion there are several referrals to the Sami Convention (Nordisk Samekonvention). The convention's articles on land rights will be examined in the second part of the analysis.

³ All empirical material used in this study is written in Swedish. I have carefully made all translations. The references in the analysis will be to the original document in Swedish.

4.2 Operational Indicators

This section outlines the operational indicators for this study. As stated earlier, WPR is used to make the critical discourse analysis as concrete as possible. In order to keep the tight connection between the method and theory, I have formed my own approach with a basis in the critical discourse analysis and a clear foundation in the theoretical approach.

The analysis will be structured around two sections and a total of five questions will constitute as operational indicators. Three of them will be based on the questions in WPR⁴. Together these operational indicators will form a postcolonial perspective. The questions will be structured as subheadings for each section of the analysis. The reason for not using the whole approach of WPR is to be sure to have operational indicators that give a postcolonial perspective. WPR helps provide the foundation of the problem representation, the other operational indicators broaden the horizon with a clear connection to the postcolonial approach.

The first part of the analysis (6.1 The Swedish Non-Ratification) will be structured around four questions, the first three are from WPR:

- 1) What's the problem represented to be?
- 2) What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?
- 3) What is left unproblematic in this problem representation?
- 4) What are the dominant voices? Who do they represent?

The second part (6.2 A Solution to the Problem?) has a more open-ended purpose. The aim is to see to the Sami convention and understand how it works in comparison and in relation to ILO 169.

⁴ The WPR approach used in full contains of six questions for the empirical material. Three questions will not be used in this study: (1) How has this representation of the 'problem' come about? (2) How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced? (3) What effects are produced by this problem representation? (Bacchi 2009, p. xii). These three questions are not used in order to give space for operational indicators that are customised for this study. I argue that these three questions would not work as sufficient to answer the research question. Therefore, my own approach is formed.

5 Contextualisation

Bacchi suggests that in order to understand one's research problem and the material that will be examined, one has to understand the context of which it is situated in (Bacchi 2009, p.21). This section aims to put this research in a context. Focus is put on the historical aspects of the Swedish – Sami relationship. What have also become clear when conducting this study is how the case of the non-ratification of ILO 169 is a symptom of a much larger problem representation, therefore the contextualisation is broadened to contextualise this.

An important part of ILO 169 is self-determination. There is no clear understanding in international law of what self-determination implies (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2016, p. 40 – 42). The Sami Parliament is since 1993, the elected institution for Sami self-determination in Sweden. The function and the role of the Sami parliament as a state agency makes the parliament's possibilities of self-determination utterly limited (ibid).

Conflicts and structural racism against Sami people is relatively common, this can be pictured by the car decal "Save a wolf – Shoot a Sami"⁵ from early 2000's that was spread in Sápmi (SVD 2004). There are also internal conflicts between Sami, which have had an effect on the Sami parliament's possibilities. This is partly due to the historical Swedish Sami politics which made a difference between the Sami who were reindeer keepers and the ones who were not (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2016, p. 43).

The history of Swedish colonialism has been a slow process and not a violent overtaking (Lundmark 2008, p. 127). Before Swedish involvement, the Sami were relatively well off. The result has though been the same as in other parts of the world - indigenous peoples have lost their land (ibid), arguably an internal colonisation (Tully 2000). Sami rights have slowly been taken away and at the same time, the politics have been paternalistic and the aim has been to take care of the Sami that has been seen as a lower race (Lundmark 2002, p. 31; 2008, p. 39). The slow process of internal colonialism has arguably created a lot of the conflicts and hate speeches that are present in Sápmi today where the decal Save a wolf – Shot a Sami is one example. Many of the conflicts have their origins as far back as the 19th century when the competition for natural resources was intensified (Dahre 2004, p. 451).

⁵ Own translation. In Swedish: Rädda en varg – Skjut en same.

Historically, there has been a belief that the only way for the Sami to survive is to work with reindeer keeping. ‘‘A Lapp should be a Lapp’’⁶ was the politics that was enforced during early 20th century (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2016, p.50). In other words, a Sami should be like the state thinks a Sami is, that is a person working with reindeer keeping. All rights and ‘protection’ was aimed towards the reindeer keeping Sami (Mörkenstam 1999, p. 147). This historical definition of a Sami has had long-ongoing consequences both for Sami identity, but also as previously shown in relation to the Sami parliament and the internal conflicts today.

The postcolonial approach urges for an understanding of the colonial past in order to understand issues in the present. The aspects that have been covered so far are the most vital for this study. Nevertheless, the history of the Swedish - Sami relationship is long and has encountered events such as scientific racism (Lundmark 2002, p. 104), forced conversion to Christianity (Lundmark 2008, p. 87-95), forced movement (Ibid, p. 342) and special schools for the Sami people (Lundmark 2002, p. 268). What is relatively safe to say is that the Swedish Sami politics has never had a clear goal. Different steps have had different argumentations, nevertheless, Swedish Sami politics have been part of shaping the Sami identity in a way that is hard to break free from (Mörkenstam 1999, p. 113).

The Nordic governments together with the Sami parliaments are since 2011 negotiating a Sami Convention. The purpose is to secure self-determination and to determine their social, cultural and economic development (Sametinget). In January 2017 the final document was presented. The Sami Convention has received mixed feedback, concerns are being raised that the Sami Convention is an attempt from the governments to provide a substitute to ILO 169, and that it might undermine the right to self-determination (Sveriges Radio 1 2017; NSD 2017). The Sami Convention will be further examined in the analysis (6.2).

In 2009, Girjas Sami village filed a court suit against the Swedish state, concerning whether the Sami village should have exclusive hunting and fishing rights (Samer.se). In 2016 the court ruled in favour of Girjas Sami village (Tingsrätten 2016, T 323-09). The decision has been appealed, which means that the final decision is yet to come. It has been argued that the decision will be guiding for other similar cases on land, hunting and fishing rights (Sveriges Radio 3). During the court negotiations the Swedish state referred to the non-ratification of ILO 169 and that Sweden did not have any international obligations to give the Sami any more rights to the land than other groups (Tingsrätten 2016, T 323-09, p. 16). In reports from 2017, it has also been shown how most of the exploitation in Sápmi is done

⁶ The original saying was: ‘‘Lapp bör vara Lapp’’. Where Lapp is an old word for Sami, nowadays seen as a racist word that should not be used.

on the most important lands for reindeer keeping (Sveriges Radio 4). Both of these events will stand as examples of how a strengthening in land rights and self-determination could be needed for the Sami in cases like this. This will be further developed in the next section that is the analysis.

6 A Postcolonial Analysis

This section gives the analysis of the empirical material. The theoretical framework together with the critical discourse analysis helps me to systematically go through the empirical material to give a postcolonial perspective. The analysis is structured around two main sections, where the first one is the main analysis and the second complements with a broader perspective.

6.1 The Swedish Non-Ratification

This section of the analysis deals with the governmental report SOU 1999:25 and the latest parliamentary discussion on a Swedish ratification of ILO 169. The section draws from four questions, the operational indicators, asked to the empirical material.

6.1.1 What's the problem represented to be?

The aim of this question is to show how the argumentation for a non-ratification has been put forward in SOU 1999:25 and in the parliamentary discussion (prot. 2014/15:89, 12§). It is important in this section to be aware that there might be different and contradicting arguments that all have to be discussed here (Bacchi 2009, p. 4). This section will lay as a foundation for the rest of the analysis, and the other sections draws, as well as further theorise from this foundation.

I argue that Sweden already today meets the requirements of the convention in most regards. The stumbling-block is the regulations on Sami rights to land.⁷

(SOU 1999:25, p. 15)

In summary, my assessment is that Sweden can accede to the ILO Convention No. 169, but that this should not take place until a number

⁷ Own translation.

of steps relating to the Sami right to land have been effected. According to my reckoning this process will take approximately five years.⁸

(SOU 1999:25, p. 30)

As the quotes above indicate, the argued problem with a ratification mainly concerns land rights. The issue is what land is concerned and where shall the 'borders' of this land be? SOU 1999:25 argued that there was a need to clarify this by doing another report, which was finished in 2006 (SOU 2006:14). SOU 2006:14 (p. 505 – 514) offered a proposal to what lands that should be of concern and also argued the need for an institute that could facilitate negotiations when conflict on land rights occurs. The other aspect that was seen as an obstacle is the right to hunting and fishing, therefore another report on these issues was also suggested and finished in 2005 (SOU 2005:116).

SOU 1999:25 states that Sweden can ratify ILO 169 after these two complimentary reports were done together with some other minor steps. The last report was finished in 2006. At the time of writing it has been 18 years since SOU 1999:25, but the ratification has still not happened, even though SOU 1999:25 also stated that ILO 169 technically could have been ratified already in 1999. The issues could have been solved as they occurred, as in Norway (SOU 1999:25, p. 256).

In order to understand where this process is at today, I have examined the latest parliamentary discussion on the ratification of ILO 169 to see how the responsible minister answers to when and if the government will ratify the convention:

One cannot give answers that do not exist. These are ongoing processes, and that is also part of taking responsibility in a government⁹.

(prot. 2014/15:89, 12§, anf. 72)

The questioner is of course not satisfied with that but wants answers on exactly what and when. But the questioner will not get that, not now, partly because it right now is a work in progress, partly because that politics – if one should be successful – also is about playing your cards right and in the right order. It would be stupid of me to skip ongoing processes.¹⁰

(prot. 2014/15:89, 12§, anf. 69)

⁸ This text selection was translated to English in the report.

⁹ Own translation

¹⁰ Own translation

The Sami's own elected body, the Sami Parliament, is the channel for Sami self-determination. That is why we are working together with the Sami Parliament and together with Norway and Finland in the production of, and the work with the Nordic Sami Convention. It will hopefully be one of several tools that is needed for the Sami self-determination to come into its own.¹¹

(prot. 2014/15:89, 12§, anf. 72).

As shown in these quotes, not that much has happened in the process of a ratification since SOU 1999:25 was released. Instead, the minister shifts focus to the Sami convention as another example that will protect Sami rights. The Sami Convention will be discussed further later (See 6.2).

I argue that the process of a Swedish ratification of ILO 169 shares striking similarities with the process of internal colonialism (Tully 2000). The minister comes back to that this process takes time, and the issues can not be solved hastily. One can argue that ILO 169 could be part of a solution of the system of internal colonialism. However, instead of actually dealing with the problems of the system, small adjustments are being made in order to answer to the resistance (ibid). The resistance to the Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169 is met with irresolution, this time as waiting for the Sami convention. The critics are temporarily silenced in the wait of another potential part of a 'solution'. Arguably, the way in which the ratification of ILO 169 is dealt, keeps the system of internal colonialism intact.

Corntassel (2008) states that there is a need to rethink the indigenous-right discourse. With the aim of getting Sweden to ratify ILO 169, all efforts from the Sami are put on this, and similar 'rights' issues. The efforts for Sami people should more preferably be targeted to the critical connections for Sami culture, that is the connection to traditional way of life and homeland. Arguably, there is a need for indigenous rights to be settled quickly, so that the Sami culture will not fade away in the political struggles for their right of existence.

This postcolonial study needs to enter a form of subjective oppositionality to the dominating discourse (Alva 1995, p. 245) and to the argumentation that has been put forward. As shown the argumentation is a form of non-argumentation where no clear standpoint is held. Normally in this part of the study there would be clear arguments of why Sweden has not ratified ILO 169 so these can be analysed. The problem representation is instead a process, arguably of irresolution that is internal colonialism. This also opens up a suspicion of underlying problem representations which will be further analysed later (6.1.3). The next section of this study aims to

¹¹ Own translation

understand what presupposition or assumptions that underlies this problem representation.

6.1.2 What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?

As shown in the previous section, the problem representation of the Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169 is arguably vague. The purpose of this section is to understand this non-argumentation and to find the knowledge that is taken for granted; what meanings have to be in place for this argumentation to happen? (Bacchi 2009, p. 5). As the material examined is given from the Swedish state's perspective, I argue that the problem representation is positioned within the dominating discourse. Discourse is, as stated in the method, more than language: it is values, assumptions and social expectations (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic 2015, p. 314). It is these values, assumptions and social expectations this section aims to problematize.

It is important to point out that these conflicts of interest are the consequences of a row of circumstances for which neither party can be blamed. The origin of the circumstances is far back in time. During the course of history – from mid 18th century and far into 20th century the state has actively encouraged settlers and others to cultivate areas where the Sami for a long time used the land alone for reindeer keeping, hunting and fishing. This has led to a rivalry for the land followed by the resulting conflicts.¹²

(SOU 1999:25, p. 251)

The quote above is a reference to the conflicts that are present in Sápmi, as described in the contextualisation. What becomes relevant in this quote is the way the report refers to interest conflicts. To describe the present conflicts as interest conflicts is based on an assumption that there are different groups with different interests present in Sápmi. Arguably, the Sami are one of these groups. What is forgotten is that the Sami are not a group, they are a people and therefore other rights (i.e. collective) are in place. Peoples have collective rights, and it should not be confused with the rights of minority groups. Private land owners and private interests are often prioritised before human rights, in this case that is collective land rights. As will become clear in this analysis (see 6.1.3) is how the capitalist expansion as described by Tully (2000), has led to the interest in the lands of

¹² Own translation

indigenous peoples and its profits have been prioritised over human rights (Loomba 1998, p. 26).

The Sami are an indigenous people. They are not only Sweden's, but Europe's only indigenous people. The Sami are unique, and the Sami culture is something very special.¹³

(prot. 2014/15:89, 12§, anf. 69)

Let me emphasise that Sweden has ratified the central UN-conventions there are to protect human rights. All individual Sami benefit from the same sort of protection that all individuals in Sweden have from these conventions.¹⁴

(prot. 2014/15:89, 12§, anf. 66)

In these quotes, one can find traces of both an enforcement of the dominant discourse, a hierarchal relation and how it has been formed by the colonial past. Arguably, the state has an invisible role in enforcing the dominating discourse where the conflicts are possible. The second quote above gives further understanding to how it can be argued that it is disregarded that the Sami are a people. Human rights for individuals in Sweden are not sufficient since these do not give collective rights to the Sami as a people. Both the underlying meaning of this, and the way the minister talks about the Sami people in the first quote as if they were owned by Sweden and exoticised as unique, reinforce a hierarchical relation. The assumptions that makes this reinforcement possible can arguably be traced back to the history of Swedish Sami politics. In other words, the present has been formed by the colonial past (Bhambra 2009, p. 14).

By understanding the Swedish - Sami relationship as a gender hierarchy, we can understand the Sami as feminised (Beier 2002, p. 90). In other words, the Sami people throughout history have been described as a group that needs to be taken care of (Lundmark 2002, p. 268). This feminisation of the Sami is still occurring, maybe not as openly, but it is still enhancing the dominant discourse that is characterised as a hierarchy. One of the bigger problems of this might be the self-determination. The Sami people are not given the possibilities to determine over themselves to a satisfactory extent. They do not have a say when land is exploited. The lack of self-determination reinforces this hierarchical relation with the state, and is also reinforced when the state postpones the decision of ILO 169 and thereby keeps the process of internal colonialism intact. The un-problematized view of

¹³ Own translation

¹⁴ Own translation

history lead to decisions based on faulty arguments. Only when history is understood as several stories with complex connections where the dominating discourse has contained the native voice (Griffiths 1994), can we deal with history and adjust the policies and ratify the conventions to start changing the paternalistic hierarchical relationship.

There is no clear argumentation of why a ratification has not taken place. The assumptions of this non-argumentation seems to be a view of history as a single story and the hierarchical relationship that distracts from the real problems. The foundation of the problem is also how it is constantly forgotten to treat the Sami as one of two official peoples in Sweden. This vague argumentation remains more or less throughout the discussions on ILO 169 (SOU 1999:25; SOU 2006:14; prot. 2014/15:89, 12§), as well as in other issues (Tingsrätten 2016, T 323-09). The next section, will continue to analyse what is being left unproblematic, and analyse whether there are other underlying factors that might have an impact on the non-ratification.

6.1.3 What is left unproblematic in this problem representation?

This section aims to theorise on how we can think about the non-ratification differently. What discussions and perspectives are silenced or not heard? (Bacchi 2009, p. 12-14). In order to understand what the stumbling-block is for Sweden, one has to problematize the dominating discourse and try to understand what forces there might be that influence the non-ratification.

I argue that an interesting way of approaching this is to see to see how the capitalist market and the economic system might shape the case (Loomba 1998, p. 249). One must understand both the history of the capitalist market expansion as well as today's situation. Arguably, the past influences the present (Ghandi 1998, p. 74), but it's vital to also understand capitalism as an ongoing process that is part of the internal colonialism (Tully 2000, p. 39). Together with the slow process of the colonisation of Sápmi, there has been an increasing interest in the lands. As the years went by the colonial rule became tougher and more of a colonial relationship was built (Lundmark 2008, p. 33-35). What is arguably seen in the history of internal colonialism in Sápmi, is how human values have been down prioritised. Colonialism and the capitalist expansion have together replaced human values for money and commodities (Loomba 1998, p. 26). Nevertheless, the process of internal colonialism is ongoing, and the profits made from this process are arguably put in contrast to Sami rights.

There are significant conflicts of interest within the areas for reindeer keeping. Other groups also claim the land. This applies primarily to landowners, both individuals and for example forest companies, that

have property rights to land areas that the Sami use for reindeer keeping etcetera. In the mountainous world, over the limit of cultivation, vast part of the land is crown land.

Conflict of interest can also appear with other industries that want to use the land for e.g. mining, tourism etcetera. The state and the municipalities can also be responsible for contrarious interests toward reindeer keeping by claiming land for the construction of e.g. roads¹⁵.

(SOU 1999:25, p. 55)

Both small and big industries argue that they can not accept any strengthening in Sami rights (SOU 1999:25, p. 254). Land owners also raise concerns that a strengthening of Sami rights would make the processes of logging harder and could potentially even be put in moratorium (ibid). Some landowners, as well as the municipalities, argue that there is no need for ILO 169 and that interest conflicts can be solved within the already existing system (ibid).

I argue that these critical voices are not problematized enough. They are the essence of the dominating structure of the capitalist system, the system that arguably has been and still is fuelled by colonialism (Loomba 1998, p. 20). In the parliamentary discussion, the minister continually refers to a process that takes time (prot. 2014/15:89, 12§). One might understand this process of irresolution as a way of postponing the problem because of a fear of upsetting the market forces. These forces (as shown in the quote above) can also be contextualised in todays situations. The Girjas court decision is one example of this (see 5. Contextualisation). The state lawyers argued that Sweden does not have any international obligations, among them ILO 169, that force them to give the Sami any 'special' rights to the lands compared to other interests (Tingsrätten 2016, T 323-09). Early 2017, the Swedish Radio mapped out the exploitations of Sápmi done by different industries. The conclusion was that most of them were on some of the most important lands for the Sami and reindeer keeping (Sveriges Radio 4). If Sweden would have ratified ILO 169 the land rights and self-determination would have been strengthened, and arguably the Sami would have had a stronger say in these cases, as well as, the state would have had international commitments for Sami land rights. To solve issues within the system, as was argued by the municipalities and landowners in SOU 1999:25, is arguably favourable for the interests that are not Sami, since Sweden then can set their own rules.

Let us continue to theorise what these cases can be a sign of in relation to the non-ratification of ILO 169. The long process of internal colonialism has arguably

¹⁵ Own translation

legitimised the current relationship and policies. Historically, indigenous peoples have been seen as obstacles for development and exploitation of land (Tully 2000, p. 44). In the discussion on strengthened land rights and self-determination the dominating discourse still see them as obstacles. The implications of the history of colonialism is affecting the industries and the people's values today (Ghandi 1998, p. 74). The dominating discourse does not seem to have an understanding of the Sami as a people, and does not recognise their rights. The quest for easy profits is stronger than the will to recognize an indigenous way of living.

It is hard to break free from this discriminating discourse. Arguably what needs to be problematized is what voices that are listened to in the end. When the Sami are treated as an interest in the capitalist market, rather than a people, it opens for the structural discrimination to go on. The next section continues the problematisation of who are listened to and whose voice is of importance.

6.1.4 What are the dominant voices? Who do they represent?

The purpose of this question is to try to understand who has a say, who is listened to and who these voices represent. These questions draw from the need of self-reflection as is argued in the method (Baxter 2003). The aim is also to more clearly find the power structures present in the empirical material (Lazar 2007).

The Sami have on the other hand not had any objections to a Swedish ratification of the convention. They have instead emphasised the injustice in not being able to dispose over their own hunting and fishing rights. They claim that the state's deeds of hunting and fishing to others harm their reindeer keeping and severely limits their possibilities to hunt and fish within the reindeer keeping areas¹⁶.

(SOU 1999:25, p. 255)

As shown in the quote, the Sami have been clear that they are in favour for a ratification of ILO 169. The quotation above is the only paragraph where the voice of the Sami is lifted. In other parts of the report the Sami community are spoken about, whereas the arguments from the industries to a larger extent are lifted, as shown earlier (6.1.3). Thus, noticing this is not enough in order to reach the aim of this section. Instead, there is a need to further explore the postcolonial theories and deepen the discussions that have been brought forward earlier.

¹⁶ Own translation

As shown, the responsible minister tries to shift the attention from a discussion on ILO 169 to the Sami Convention (prot. 2014/15:89, 12§, anf. 72). What is also implied is how the Sami Parliament is the channel for Sami self-determination. Arguably, this is a way to legitimise the current policies and then leave ILO 169 to the side. Previous research has argued that the Sami parliament has very small amounts of self-determination and it is framed within a very small mandate controlled by the state (Lantto & Mörkenstam 2016). The voice of the Sami through the Sami parliament is arguably contained through the dominating discourse, as well as influenced by it (Griffiths 1994, p. 238-239).

The way in which the Sami can speak and answer to governmental reports, laws etcetera. is through the Sami Parliament. When the rules of Sami self-determination are set by the state, it automatically creates a hierarchical power structure. The state is the masculine powerful overhand that can control the Sami Parliament, that is feminised in its formation. Understanding this self-determination from the concept of masculinities and femininities helps to further understand the power structure (Chowdry & Nair 2002, p. 19), that is constructed through the Swedish Sami politics.

The ratification has still not happened, arguably the Sami voice is less important than the others. The self-determination is possible to a certain extent, but when it questions the mainstream idea of the dominating society, it seems to be a stop. To decolonise the argumentation against a ratification, the dominating voice therefore needs to be in focus (Chandra 2013, p. 491). The recognition of self-determination and shared jurisdiction over land is a vital part of solving the process of internal colonialism (Tully 2000, p. 55-56). When the minister refers to negotiations with the Sami parliament for the Sami Convention (prot. 2014/15:89, 12§, anf. 72), both parties in the negotiations are strictly framed by the dominating discourse. The self-determination and the right to land would be strengthened and protected by ILO 169. Today, however, it is on the terms set by the state and no one can be held accountable.

6.2 A Solution to the Problem?

The Sami convention was mentioned several times by the minister as a complement to ILO 169. It has also been argued to be a way of establishing a platform in order to ratify ILO 169 (Sveriges Radio 2 2015). This section will shortly present how the final draft of the Sami convention deals with land rights, which has been the main issue for a ratification of ILO 169. This complementing part is vital in order to fully understand the Swedish non-ratification since it is not a simple problem representation behind the decision of not ratifying. Understanding the Sami convention from a postcolonial perspective is also of great importance and can be seen as an inspiration for further research.

The abstracts below show how the Sami convention deals with land rights.

The states shall ensure that rights holders and all other land and water users show mutual consideration for each other's interests with consideration of the Sami usage's meaning for Sami culture, language and social life¹⁷.

(Nordisk Samekonvention, art. 29)

When the states consider to decide about, or give permission to, interference in or changed usage of the natural resources in Sami areas, the states shall attach special importance to that the interference or changed usage not shall result in palpable harm for Sami culture, language or social life¹⁸.

(Nordisk Samekonvention, art. 30)

Once again, the same language that has been used throughout the empirical material is used. The focus is on different interests, industries and Sami in Sápmi, that are competing against each other, overseeing the fact that Sami should be treated as a people and not an interest group. This opens for the exploitation of natural resources and a jurisdiction over the indigenous peoples (Tully 2000, p. 39). In the parliamentary discussion the responsible minister said that the Sami convention is directly formed for the unique setting the Sami have in the Nordic countries, compared to ILO 169 that is more general (prot. 2014/15:89, 12§, anf. 72). Arguably, this opens for the possibility of not ratifying ILO 169 and instead draft a

¹⁷ Own translation

¹⁸ Own translation

new document. What is shown here, is that it has not led to any greater rights than in ILO 169. Instead, the values are once again misled and the market forces are higher prioritised than the human values (Loomba 1998, p.26).

In the section on land rights, as shown in the quotes above, there is no referral to the Sami Parliament and self-determination. Within the dominating discourse it is still the state that is argued should set the guidelines for land rights, and when permits should be given or not. The self-determination is arguably not strengthened with the Sami Convention, rather the opposite. The colonising discourse is strengthened and the process of internal colonisation can continue. Postcolonialism is an ongoing process and we must understand it as such (Ghandi 1998, p. 3-6). The Sami Convention and the non-ratification seems to be signs of how this process is maintained. The way of positioning the state as the governor over the lands is also a continuation of the hierarchical structures that was described earlier in the analysis (see 6.1.4).

7 Concluding Remarks

This study has problematized and analysed the Swedish non-ratification of ILO 169. From the critical discourse analysis together with the theoretical approach, a postcolonial perspective of why Sweden has not ratified ILO 169 has been given. The responsible minister has referred to the Sami convention as an alternative to ILO 169. Therefore, this study has also analysed the section on land rights in the Sami Convention and given a postcolonial perspective as well as understanding to how it relates to ILO 169.

The non-ratification is based on a form of non-argumentation, where there are no clear arguments against a ratification. The postcolonial perspective has lifted two main aspects that can have affected the Swedish non-ratification. The first one is the capitalist market and how that has put human rights on test. The state's values do not stand firmly when being contested by easy profits. The second aspect is the direct effect of the process of internal colonialism characterised by irresolution. The non-ratification of ILO 169 is not a single problem, it is part of a much greater problem representation affected by the historical and ongoing colonialism.

These aspects are in their turn influenced by a hierarchical relationship and the reading of history as a grand narrative. Understanding history from the grand narrative affects the knowledge about the Sami community and culture, both for the Swedish public as well as for decision makers. By not recalling the colonial past, the assumptions that underlie the Swedish Sami politics are faulty based. The Swedish Sami politics is still based on protecting the Sami from dying out. This paternalistic and hierarchical way of seeing the relationship can work in the opposite way and rather reinforce the structural discrimination.

This study urges for a different mind-set in the discussions of the Sami politics. Despite being acknowledged as a people by Swedish law it is often forgotten that Sami and Swedes are the two official peoples of Sweden. Strengthened land rights and self-determination as in ILO 169 are not special rights for Sami, they are collective rights for the Sami people. To be able to contest the dominating discourse, Sami self-determination has to be strengthened.

However, as shown, the state and the market forces have everything to gain from not ratifying. The weak self-determination and land rights are put against industries that want to exploit the land. ILO 169 would mean a protection for Sami rights. Nevertheless, what is shown is that the state can use that they do not have these

commitments for their own favour. The Swedish global identity does not correlate with the non-ratification of ILO 169. It is easier to speak out and advocate for other countries to act, but harder to live as you learn.

It is possible to finish a decolonising process, what is needed is political will. The non-ratification is not an individual problem but the result of internal colonialism and the postcolonial relationship where the dominating society set the rules. Strengthened self-determination and land rights would possibly give the Sami the possibility to once again shift focus from political rights to what is important for the survival of indigenous cultures, which is the contact with traditional way of life and homeland.

7.1 Further Research

This study has with the postcolonial approach initiated a new way of thinking regarding the Swedish – Sami relationship. There is still a need to see other aspects through postcolonial lenses. Arguably what is of most need today would be to analyse the Sami Convention. The industries' exploitation and understanding how the Sami voice is heard in the process of opening these industries could also be possible takes for further research. It could also be interesting to further understand how a truth commission could be started in the Sami context.

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