

Speaking is Silver, Silence is Gold

A decolonial study examining Swedish exceptionalism and colonialism and the struggle of the Sámi people in Swedish elementary school textbooks from 1930-2013.

Key Words: Sámi, Sweden, Silence, Exceptionalism, Decolonial theory

Name: Lovisa Warpman

Master: Global Studies

Major: Political Science

Supervisor: Jens Bartelson

Wordcount: 19526

Abstract

The narrative regarding Sweden and the self-understanding often excludes its colonial past and instead presents a “moral superpower”, deeply connected to the welfare state. While the nation has described itself as exceptional, the Sámi people have struggled for rights, acknowledgement and visibility over a long period of time. Previous research on the subject has repeatedly been studied with a postcolonial theory and method. The thesis aims to fill an academic gap by using a decolonial theory and a decolonial discourse analysis to answer the questions: (1) How and why are the Sámi people silenced in Swedish history? (2) In what way is the silence connected to Swedish exceptionalism?

By studying textbooks used in Swedish schools between 1930 and 2013 and comparing the narratives to the Preparations for the Truth Commission by Sametinget, the study follows how coloniality/modernity has changed and with it silence. The study finds that Swedish exceptionalism is constructed upon modernity/coloniality and that the silencing of Sámi knowledge is crucial to continue the narrative of modernity, namely exceptionalism. While criticism is directed outwards against colonialism, Swedish colonialism is silenced and continues to naturalise power relations in Sweden.

Table of Content

1 Introduction	1
1.1 Research Questions	2
1.2 The Problem to be Examined and Academic Motivation for the Study	2
2 Previous Research and Background	4
2.1 Swedish Exceptionalism and Colonialism	4
2.2 The Sámi Knowledge Production and Sweden	6
2.3 Sweden - Nomadic Schools and The Lapp-bailiff	7
2.4 Research on Textbooks	8
3 Theory and Method	9
3.1 The Decolonial Theory	10
3.2 A Decolonial Discourse Analysis	13
3.3 Silence - How to Make Silence “Talk”?	16
4 Ethical considerations	18
5 Material	19
5.1 Swedish Textbooks	19
5.2 The Preparations for the Truth Commission by Sametinget	22
6 Analysis	23
6.1 Introduction to Colonialism and the Explorers	23
6.1.1 The Explorers and Others' Colonialism	24
6.1.2 The Explorers and Swedish Colonialism	28
6.2 Introduction to The Story of Norrland and the Industry	30
6.2.1 The Explorers of Norrland	30
6.2.1.1 Settlers	32
6.2.2 The story of Norrland and industrialisation	35
6.3 Introduction to The Sámi and Sweden	38
6.3.1 Racism and Stereotypes - Sweden and Sámi	39
6.3.2 The Silencing of the Sámi as an Indigenous People	43
7 Conclusion	45
8 References	49
9 Appendix	60

1 Introduction

European national identities have often been formed together with colonialism and imperialism, not only impacting the countries and people it colonised but shaping the very core of identity and culture in Europe. The Nordic European countries, though not particularly active in global colonisation, actively promoted Europe as the centre of the global world and gained from global colonialism (Loftsdottir, Jensen, 2012, p. 2). The narrative regarding Sweden and Sweden's self-understanding often excludes its colonial past and instead presents a "moral superpower", deeply connected to the welfare state (Jansson, 2018, p. 85). The term exceptionalism originates from the US and can be defined as an imagination of a state as morally clean and exceptional from other nations (Ruth, 1984). The Swedish welfare model which emphasises taking care of all inhabitants is deeply connected to a strong stand for human rights and gender politics and has been an important part of the national identity of Sweden. The Swedish self-narrative has in a large number of studies been linked with exceptionalism, described as a "moral superpower" (Jansson, 2018, p. 86, Ruth, 1984, Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert, Knoblock, 2019). However, the Sámi people have over the years been excluded, stereotyped, and not recognized as a people until 2011 in Sweden (Sametinget, 2020). Over the years, and at the same time as the Swedish welfare model gained global recognition, the Sámi people have not been included in the Swedish welfare and instead been victims of forced sterilisation, forced assimilation, scientific racism, and compulsory transfers of Sámi villages when the state took over their land (Heath, 2015, p. 76-77).

The case of Sámi and Sweden is situated in ongoing global conflicts between indigenous people and the state which colonised their lands. Over the last 50 years, indigenous people from all over the world have mobilised to achieve change regarding policy and institutions (Alcantara, Nelles, 2014). While Sweden internationally is outspoken about the rights of indigenous people, the Sámi in Sweden have frequently criticised Swedish policy and international organisations such as the UN have directed criticism toward the Swedish approach to national indigenous rights (Lantto, Mörkenstam, 2008).

In 2004, Therese Karlsson, examined textbooks used in Swedish schools from 1994 and onward, and found that the representation of the Sámi often is one-sided, not including Sámi women or did not include any information about the Sámi at all (Skolverket, 2006, p. 11).

Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert and Knobbloch (2019, p. 294) wrote in their study “Do We Need Decolonial Feminism in Sweden?”, that further elaboration is needed regarding how the colonial project in Sweden has been rechannelled symbolically, discursively, and epistemically. Aiming to fill this gap in academic literature this paper will focus on the Swedish self-narrative, and how this narrative could have silenced history and the very battle the Sámi have been struggling with over the years. In the 1930s the narrative of Sweden as a “moral superpower” started to gain recognition (Ruth, 1984, p. 66). By examining textbooks used in elementary school between the years 1930 and today and comparing them to a document called the *Preparations for the truth commission* by Sametinget with a decolonial theory and method, I will answer the research questions presented below.

1.1 Research Questions

- *How and why have the Sámi people been silenced in Swedish history?*
- *In what ways is the silence related to Swedish exceptionalism?*

1.2 The Problem to be Examined and Academic Motivation for the Study

As written by Mohanty (2003, p. 7) “*Decolonization is a historical and collective process*”, which is why I hope my research will provide an insight into how the Swedish narrative could have silenced and shaped history to promote a specific narrative of exceptionalism while silencing others. The exceptionalism in Sweden, which portrays the state to be a role model for other states regarding human rights, makes issues and hegemonies in Sweden more difficult to voice and easier to ignore (Alm et al., 2021, p. 2). At present time, the conflict between the Sámi people and the Swedish state is ever ongoing. As I am writing this, in 2022, the Swedish state just endorsed a new law to consult the Sámi population on decisions in matters that will affect them in any way (Regeringskansliet, 2022). Furthermore, a conflict in northern Sweden on whether or not to open a new mine, Gállok/Kallak, in Sápmi has aroused anger (Sametinget, 2022), and continues to represent an old dilemma: either Sweden gets more development and potential jobs in the north, or the rights of the Sámi population as an indigenous people should be respected (Niia, Sjöstedt, 2022). The Swedish government approved the Gállok/Kallak mine on March 22 in 2022, however, before it will be actualised

it will have to go through several steps in regard to how it will influence the environment and if it is economically sustainable (Holgerson, 2022).

Studies concerning Swedish exceptionalism and how it relates to colonialism have recently increased and become more common (Fur, 2008, Fur, 2013, Keskinen et al, 2009, Körber, 2019). Fur (2013) describes how debates in Sweden situate the nation in European colonialism, in relation to what is silenced and present in the debate. Fur finds that the narratives of Swedishness and colonialism have been separated and made it possible for Sweden to appear as a mediator and an advocate of minority peoples' rights. Furthermore, Fur argues that studies on Swedish colonialism have gone from “no colonialism to postcolonialism” while skipping the process of decolonisation. Keskinen et al. (2009) scrutinise the Nordic states and their narratives of not being included in colonialism and instead describe them as “complicit” in colonialism. Kuokkanen (2000) provides essential insights into the need for decolonising and avoiding the continuation of applying a “white lens” when studying indigenous groups which continue to uphold colonality and instead conduct studies with an “indigenous paradigm”.

The study of the relationship between Sámi and Sweden and how it has been represented in history has been studied before (Lindmark, 2013, Fur, 2008, Ojala, 2020, Wårkberg - Granquist, 2014, to name a few). However, as argued by Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert and Knoblock (2019), the decolonial theory opens new ways of understanding the process of colonisation and avoids, as also put by Kuokkanen (2000), the use of a “white lens” when studying the relationship. The history of the colonisers for the colonisers has become a “truth” which controls the “Other” (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2020). The narrative has become a master discourse, and I intend to reread and deconstruct the imperial history of Sweden in collaboration with the critique from the *Preparations for the Truth Commission*.

The thesis will contribute to the academic discussion by adding the connection between the self-narrative of Sweden and the colonisation of Sápmi with the help of the matrix of modernity/coloniality. Furthermore, the silencing of the Sámi throughout history will be compared to how colonialism of other countries and the industrialisation of Norrland is described in the studied textbooks. Assuming that education sets the scene of knowledge production for the years to come, the paper aims to understand how certain knowledge has been silenced from Swedish history and shaped around the Swedish narrative of being a

Moral Superpower. The Truth Commission preparation report conducted by Sametinget will provide the research with other knowledge and criticism from one part of the Sámi community, to present a counter narrative and find which silences are imposed in the narrative of the textbooks from the “eyes of the colonised”. However, it will not be understood as an “universal truth”. History in itself is a powerful discourse, in which Europe has been able to proclaim a universal truth (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2020, p. 76). By applying a decolonial approach and lifting criticism from the Sámi community, I will disrupt this universal truth.

For the power to decide what is trivial - and annoying - is it also part of the power to decide how “what happened” becomes “that which is said to have happened”. (Trouillot, 1995, p. 115)

2 Previous Research and Background

2.1 Swedish Exceptionalism and Colonialism

Exceptionalism in Sweden and the way Sweden is constructed both inside and outside of the state's borders are often connected to ideals of gender equality, secularism and LGBTQ rights. A shining beacon of modernity, which presents Sweden as an ideal nation for everyone being invited to be part of Swedish society. The Swedish state as a role model has a long history and is not only imperialistic but excludes many darker moments in time in which Sweden has had a big role (Alm et al, 2017, p. 2). The concept of Sweden as a moral superpower started to become more widespread during the 1930s, when “Folkhemmet”, in English directly translated as “the people's home”, which is connected to the idea of the Swedish welfare state, started to be assembled. The perceived newness of the Scandinavian idea of the state, with the compromise between socialism and global capitalism, gained international recognition when Marcus Child wrote the book *Sweden: The middle way* in 1936, and when Winston Churchill won a Nobel Prize in 1953 and described the Scandinavian states as role models (Jansson, 2017, p. 86). In the ambition to become a moral superpower, Sweden and colonialism became a laughing matter, presented as projects which failed and were not comparable with other nations such as England and France. Instead, Swedish colonialism, for example in St Barthélemy and Cabo Corso, became ridiculed, described as soft in comparison to other colonies and made invisible (Fur, Hennessy, 2020).

Colonialism concerning the northern part of Sweden has rather not been mentioned at all. Even today, the use of colonialism between Sweden and the Sámi population is contested and could be understood as controversial. The overall knowledge of the Swedish public concerning Swedish colonialism is limited, and not until recently has it started to be mentioned in schools and universities (Ojala, 2020, pp. 164-165).

Mörkenstam (2019), discusses how states, and especially Sweden, negotiate between different discourses in relation to what he calls organised hypocrisy and the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Population (UNDRIP). The Swedish state declared the Sámi population in Sweden a people with a right to self-determination in 2006, and voted for the UNDRIP in 2007, however, it has not yet ratified C169. From an international perspective, Scandinavia has often been described as less physically violent in comparison to other conflicts between states and indigenous people, however the structural violence of the state has impacted the Sámi population in various ways (Kuokkanen, 2019, p. 8). In 1886, The Grazing Act was established, declaring that the Sámi people were recognised as the original people on the land of Northern Sweden, but since the Sámi as a nomadic people did not cultivate the land, the land was owned by the state (Mörkenstam, 2019). Similar to how many colonial powers have argued before, the idea of *Terra Nullius*, made sure that the only way to claim the land was to cultivate it in the same way as the Europeans (Boucher, 2009, p. 117), and seems to have been used in Sweden. Not until 1981 did the legislation concerning ownership of land change when the Swedish Supreme Court decided that nomadic people could own land, due to a legal dispute called “Skattefjällsmålet”. Furthermore, during the same time, around the 1980s, more and more connections were made to the colonisation of Latin America, and the indigenous population there, with colonialism in northern Sweden and the Sámi population (Fur, Hennessy, 2020). Sweden declared in 1986 that the inclusion of Sápmi as Sweden could and should not be understood as colonialism, since the exploitation of Sámi land was made in steps over a long period of time (SOU:1986:36:163-164).

When the UN declared in 2007 the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, many indigenous people around the globe celebrated that it would give an opportunity to finally govern issues that affected their lives. It was the first international instrument in which indigenous people had been part of preparation (Seurujärvi-kari, 2010, p. 7). Mörkenstam (2019) finds that there is a discrepancy between the talk and the decisions made by the Swedish state, where the talk is represented by an agreement that more rights should be

legally transferred to the Sámi population while the decisions seem to be in favour of extractive industries. However, he also argues that because of an international indigenous rights regime, indigenous people have gained a tool which they can use against the state to claim their rights.

2.2 The Sámi Knowledge Production and Sweden

Important to note when discussing Sámi and Sweden, is that Sámi people live across borders, and should not be understood and declared as a homogenous group of people. There are nine different Sámi languages, and the culture and way of living follow the same pattern. There is a problem with defining indigenousness, as the concept covers people living in rainforests to urban cities, but what unites them is the experience of colonialism as well as coloniality and modernity projects (Virtanen et al, 2021, p. 2). The Sámi ethnicity evolved between 2000 to 3000 years ago, and existed long before the creation of the states of Scandinavia (Östlund et al., 2020, p. 188). The Sámi are the most researched group of indigenous people in the world and have for a long time been subjects under the “western eye” (Virtanen et al, 2021, p. 2). The silencing of Sámi's knowledge and languages has continuously been criticised by Sámi scholars. Sametinget, or The Nordic Sámi Council, is the first transnational indigenous organisation established in 1956, with Sámis later on also being the first member of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1975. The Sámi have been active global participants and putting up resistance for a long time (Seurujärvi-kari, 2010, p. 7).

Sámi activists and scholars have repeatedly questioned the self-narrative of the Swedish state. When the Nordic Sámi Institute was established in 1974 and institutionalised Sámi research, the discussion of the decolonisation of indigenous people globally started to grow. The institutionalisation of Sámi knowledge, made possible by powerful political Sámi movements, was established and together with the development of indigenous methodologies, placed Sámi researchers as subjects rather than objects in research (Porsanger, Seurujärvi-kari, 2021, pp. 34, 53). Bergman Rosamond (2020) writes about the Sámi artist Sofia Jannok, and her attempt to decolonise the Swedish narrative and denaturalise the dehumanisation of her people by using her music as a tool. Jannok especially criticises the way that the Swedish school system does not articulate the oppression and violence against the Sámi and uses her music as a tool. Furthermore, the projects of assimilation and silencing of the different Sámi languages have been met by decolonisation of the library, by starting

Sámi libraries where books written by Sámis are kept. Instead of being objects in history, these kinds of movements of resistance produce the Sámi as subjects (Sequieros, 2017).

Sametinget has recently, as previously mentioned in the introduction, started to investigate and write a Truth Commission report concerning the Sámi population and the Swedish state. The aim of the report is to highlight the lack of knowledge of what the Swedish state has put the Sámi population through during many years of colonisation. Sametinget argues that without a real investigation of the past, stereotypes and colonial understandings of the Sámi will be difficult to battle in the present (Sametinget, 2021). An understanding that I agree with and aim to contribute to, in this thesis.

2.3 Sweden - Nomadic Schools and The Lapp-bailiff

The policy of Sweden is different from the other countries in which the Sámi live, especially in one sense, the fixation on reindeer husbandry. When the Reindeer grazing act of 1886 was implemented it showcased what later on would define the policy of Swedish Sámi politics - that reindeer husbandry would take the central stage. The only land that was set aside for the Sámi people was land used for reindeer herding (Lantto, Mörkenstam, 2008, p. 29). While the Swedish state made certain that the Sámi people had the monopoly on reindeer husbandry, they at the same time established rights only as connected to Sámi villages and not individual rights for Sámi people (Mörkenstam, 2005, p. 436). These Sámi villages exclude the majority of the Sámi people from their rights as indigenous people (Dahre, 2004, p. 450). Furthermore, with the Reindeer grazing acts the Swedish state divided between “real” Sámi who lived a nomadic life and the rest of the Sámi, who were deemed as not “real” (Lantto, Mörkenstam, 2008, p. 30). Up until 1760 Sámi land which was taxed for, could be inherited, bought and sold without any specification of what the land should be used for. However, during the 19th century, many changes in the politics regarding land happened, and Sámi land was suddenly understood as belonging to the crown. The connection to reindeer herding and rights of land started to be established and in 1820, provincial governments even wrote that they understood that they had the right to remove a tax paying Sámi from their land if they lost their reindeer herd (Kvist, 1994, pp. 204-207).

Sweden was the first state of the Nordic countries which established education for the Sámi population, as early as the 1800th century. The first sámeskuvla (in English Sámi school),

started earlier than the Swedish compulsory school “folkskolan”, and was specially intended for children from Sámi reindeer herding families. These schools had the purpose of partly separating and segregating reindeer Sámi from the Swedish population while also separating them from the other Sámi who did not participate in reindeer husbandry. The main goal was to make sure that the reindeer Sámi culture was to be protected, while the other Sámi were to be assimilated into Sweden (Aikio-Puoskari, 2009). When I discuss textbooks used in Swedish schools, it is therefore important to notice that the Sámi children had different experiences than the majority of the Swedish children.

2.4 Research on Textbooks

Textbooks have been discussed and studied in academia for a long time, especially regarding objective knowledge and if it is possible to produce such knowledge (Danielsson Malmros, 2012, p. 32). In Sweden, from 1938 until 1991, the Swedish school ministry had a bigger role in what kind of textbooks were allowed to be used in Swedish schools. Because of this, Swedish textbooks give an insight into what the state at certain times thought was common and important knowledge for students to learn (Åström Elmersjö, 2017, p. 10). By studying textbooks on history - one can follow how society at that specific time chooses to understand the past to fit current ideals and norms (Åström Elmersjö, 2017, p. 11). However, a textbook is always, as discourses are always, in conflict. As discussed by Apple (1992, p. 8), a textbook connected to a nation’s narrative, will be the playground for any desired change in the narrative. Textbooks are products of constant conflicts and negotiations and reflect both the contradictions and continuities of a dominant culture. Groups of people that do not belong to the dominant culture have for a long time fought to get more of their knowledge represented and take the centre stage. A notion that often ends up with the knowledge being mentioned, but not developed in-depth.

Similar studies as the one I am writing have been conducted in other places of the world. A study in Vancouver on early childhood education finds that the discourse concerning multiculturalism has silenced the history of colonialism, and indigenous history and instead focused on the multicultural society as a symbol, without being based on practice or policy (Diaz-Diaz, 2021). Kamoea (2005, 2000), writes about school textbooks in Hawaii and indigenousness. She describes a school system with few resources, where the same textbooks are used over many years, and tells a history of the “savage” native Hawaiian culture versus

the “civilised” Westerners. She finds that the textbooks mainly legitimise colonists' actions and the colonisation of Hawaii, influencing even Hawaiian children to think about their culture and heritage in another way and echo what the textbooks declare as the truth.

When I spoke with the classroom teacher about my concerns regarding the students' reports of brutal Hawaiian killings and human sacrifice, the teacher replied, "I know it might sound gory, but it's true." She pulled out a copy of her class' Hawaiian studies textbook, *The Hawaiians of Old*, and read aloud from a chapter entitled "Hawaiian Life Had Many Rules" (Kamoea, 2005, p. 28)

The importance of a textbook in portraying objective knowledge and truth can therefore be understood as crucial and will influence children and teachers alike in how they understand the world. On the other hand, it could be argued that students are not passive readers accepting everything written in textbooks. Nor are teachers bound to the exact content the textbook includes, but will also negotiate their role in the classroom (Apple, 1992, p. 10). The stories one can find in textbooks and in archives are constructed through conflict, and it should be understood as a place of knowledge production rather than knowledge retrieval. Either way, the textbook is political and attempts to provide the student with objective knowledge. The textbook is then, the knowledge deemed to be necessary by society, and will be an incomplete reflection which showcases a society's state of knowledge and stereotypes (Otele, 2019, p. 227). In order to decolonise the colonality of knowledge, I will use decolonial theory and the discourse analysis, described in the next section of the thesis.

3 Theory and Method

The paper aims to criticise knowledge as objective and track how certain knowledge has been used to establish a narrative of Sweden as an exceptional state where human rights are constantly respected, while at the same time silencing the Sámi population and their knowledge in historical narratives. To be able to answer the research questions, I will use decolonial theory and a decolonial discourse analysis when analysing the textbooks. The decolonial theory will present answers as to why the silence is present and how it is related to Swedish exceptionalism, while the decolonial discourse analysis will be used to find out what is silenced in the textbooks.

3.1 The Decolonial Theory

In contrast with postcolonial scholars, where even the term “postcolonial” implies that we now live in a world where coloniality has ended, decolonial theorists argue that coloniality is a substantial part of the present global world system related to modernity (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2012, p. 37). The decolonial theory does not focus on *colonialism* as the political system in which the world was divided, but rather on *coloniality* which implies a system of power which has continued to exist long after the last colony gained independence from the colonisers. Coloniality does not only include racial regimes which could be observed present today but also the domination and hegemony of knowledge and modernity (Adams, Estrada-Villalta, 2017, p. 39). The repression of different modes of knowledge, and how to produce knowledge, symbols, and meaning came to be entirely defined by the coloniser, in other words, Western Europe (Quijano, 2007, p. 169). Decolonisation then attempts to empower, liberate and undermine assumptions where imperial power is naturalised (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2012, p. 63). It aims to end the discursive and material oppressions that still are produced and reproduced around non-western subjects, and to study how Others have and are silenced and neglected of agency. Knowledge is highly criticised as objective, as some knowledge has been ignored (Blue Swadener, Mutua, 2014, p. 5). The main ambition for choosing this theory is to unsettle, challenge and showcase diverse knowledge (Eriksen, 2018), which suits my own aim with writing this thesis.

A decolonial theory attempts to not study objects, but problems and especially problems which have been built by the modern/colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2009, p. 131). It is impossible to separate modernity from racism, patriarchy, discrimination against non-European knowledge and economic exploitation and aim to criticize this by examining ideologic power structures that construct those very images (Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert, Knoblock, 2019, p. 291).

The decolonial theory descends from the 1600th century as the starting point of modernity when the Atlantic world was changed forever due to the beginning of the colonisation of Latin America, which brought capitalism and imperialism together (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2012, p. 39). Modernity is here understood in a different light, compared to what often is described from a European perspective, which rather focuses on events such as the french revolution, class struggle and the industrial revolution. Modernity has been understood from a

European perspective as a European phenomenon. While the decolonial theory agrees with this notion, they add that while the West is put in the centre of modernity it could not have been established without the periphery, which is crucial for its self-definition (Mignolo, 2007, p. 454). The system of Europe and its colonies should rather be understood as a product of modernity (Restrepo, 2018, p. 4).

Quijano (2000) argues that the epoch of modernity, and the mental implications it had, created two fundamental axes to a new model of power. Namely, that “race” based on biological components became the main social hierarchy and that labour, resources and products gained a new structure in the global capital market reinforced and linked to the division of races. The understanding of coloniality needs to be understood in a reframing of history and modernity. While Europe and modernity have become inseparable and essential in constructing the European identity, in the embrace of modernity, colonialism and coloniality were hidden in the shadows of the new European identity and simply declared as “modernity” (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2012, p. 37). In this system of identities connected to labour, Europeans, or more clearly defined Western Europeans, became the geocultural centre. In the new global system, Europeans did not only feel superior to all, but naturally superior. History became a battlefield in which Europe relocated the colonised populations to the past, and Europe as the centre of rationality and modernity (Quijano, 2000). In this way, decolonial thought views globalisation and the Colonial Matrix of Power as created together and corresponding with each other (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2012, p. 41).

From this point of view, intersubjective and cultural relations between Western Europe and the rest of the world were codified in a strong play of new categories: East-West, primitive-civilised, magic/mythic-scientific, irrational-rational, traditional-modern —Europe and not Europe.” (Quijano, 2000, p. 542)

These ideas are based on two principle myths, firstly, that the history of human civilization started in nature and culminated in European civilization and secondly, that race and the structural divisions between them are natural and not based in the history of power (Quijano, 2000, p. 154). Development in relation to modernity, used to justify different political and economical interventions, aims to counter underdevelopment which in this sense could be understood as everything not western. Behind the concept of modernity, coloniality is constantly looming as a “hidden weapon” justifying various actions to erase “barbarism” and

tradition (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2012, p. 38). Connected to the myths presented by Quijano (2000), history came to be understood as linear. In the creation of linear history the Other is commonly absent or, if present, only mentioned as an object, which “denies the idea of social totality”. By excluding anyone other than western Europeans, while at the same time conducting the whole of Eurocentrism on the basis of colonialism, the only rational knowledge is produced by European culture, as everyone not European are deemed to be objects (Quijano, 2007).

The frame of the thesis will be built on the Colonial Matrix of Power. The Colonial Matrix of Power, has four interconnected spheres, and during the many years it has held a hegemonic position in the global world it has changed and rhetoric has differed (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2009, p. 135):

- 1) *The struggle for the economic control (i.e. the appropriation of land, natural resources and exploitation of labor);*
- 2) *The struggle for the control of authority (setting up political organizations, different forms of governmental, financial and legal systems, or the installation of military bases, as it happens today);*
- 3) *The control of the public sphere — among other ways, through the nuclear family (Christian or bourgeois), and the enforcing of normative sexuality and the naturalization of gender roles in relation to the system of authority and principles regulating economic practices. It is based on sexual normativity and dual “natural” gender relations;*
- 4) *The control of knowledge and subjectivity through education and colonizing the existing knowledge, which is the key and fundamental sphere of control that makes domination possible.*

To understand the modernity/coloniality matrix of power and use it in the thesis, two other concepts must be defined and discussed, namely, *imperial differences* and *colonial differences*, which are the base for the power of the modernity/coloniality matrix and further nuances the theory. Imperial discourses are built on differences in people, languages, religion, economy and political organisations of the colonies. To be able to dominate, it is crucial to build a discourse that portrays the coloniser as the one in the right, and the actor of progress,

while the colonised is portrayed as “behind” by declaring them savages, weak, barbarians or primitive etc. Imperial differences, furthermore, establish a hierarchy between empires (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2012 p. 42). Imperial differences then challenge the homogeneous understanding of colonisers, as it challenges the view of the “West” versus the “Other”. In the expansion of empires, there were winners and losers, both internal to Europe, for example, Spain, and external, such as Russia and the Ottoman empire (Tlostanova, 2019, p. 170). Sweden, because of the nation’s imperialism in the Baltic region, the colonialism of both Sápmi and internationally, placed Sweden at the centre of imperialism/colonialism (Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert, Knobbblock, 2019, p. 291). In the 1800th century, however, Sweden lost a considerable amount of power and went from being an imperial power to exist in the periphery of European power and modernity. Not until after the second world war did Sweden regain some power in Europe, especially connected to its role in international aid (Jensen, 2009, p. 171.) In combination with the imperial difference, the colonial difference justifies a racial hierarchy between humans. The erasure of differences and replacement with values in which the hierarchical order is built, is built by colonial differences (Mignolo, Tlostanova, 2012 p. 42). The logic of colonality that holds the matrix of colonality and all the spheres together, has changed over the 500 years it has been active, but always presented in a positive light; Salvation, progress, modernization and democracy. Decolonial thinking, then, is based on unveiling the colonality matrix of power and through that unveiling escaping from the logic of modernity and colonality (Mignolo, 2012, pp. 14-17).

3.2 A Decolonial Discourse Analysis

As decolonial theory provides both a method and a theory, the thesis will utilise a discourse analysis from a decolonial perspective (Míguez Passada, 2018). Decolonial thinkers have for a long time criticised discourse analysis, both discourse analysis generally described as British and French, for being Eurocentric (Sousa Santos, 2012, p. 63, Melo Resende, 2019, p. 27, Gallien, 2020). For decolonial thought, language is of utter importance as well as grammatical formations, which is similar to classical discourse analysis, however for it to be decolonial it needs to take distance from the modernity/colonality matrix and place itself in a subject-subject relationship. Furthermore, a decolonial discourse analysis based in the theory focuses especially on “what was said and not said, how it was said and the sensations and perceptions that mediate the people, who are raising their experiences, their pains, their joys,

their expectations, etc.” (Míguez Passada, 2018). In this thesis both the Sámi, represented by the work in preparations for the Truth Commission by Sametinget, and Sweden, represented by the history textbooks are understood as subjects and not objects.

In comparison to what Foucault called “disciplinary power” and demonstrated by the panopticon construction, the concept of “coloniality of power” is broader and inscribed in a much wider net of power and knowledge in relation to the coloniality/modernity matrix (Castro-Gomez, 2002, p. 276). There are similarities with decolonial theory and postcolonial theory, Mignolo’s work was originally influenced and constructed in correlation with thoughts by Foucault, however Foucault understood knowledge as originally produced in a European context, and through that also ignored and divorced it from its colonial context (Martín Alcoff, 2007). Sousa Santos (2018) directs a critique of Foucault’s work, as this “other-side” or as Sousa Santos names it - the abyssal line, is ignored in the theory by Foucault. The ignorance produces the idea of the universal while continuing to ignore the colonial side of the line. Similarly, as raised by Spivak (1988) when she asked “can the subaltern speak?”, she criticised the way in which Europe constantly is presented as the subject while the Other is declared as its shadow and understood from their differences. Instead of focusing, as Foucault would, on what is unsaid, the decolonial theory imposes one to ask “what’s the unsaid of the unsaid” (Sousa Santos, 2018).

Three concepts that need to be developed further in the method, which later on will guide the discourse analysis, are *The Coloniality of Power*, *The Coloniality of Being* and *The Coloniality of Knowledge*. All of these concepts are interconnected with each other in the colonial matrix of power.

Coloniality of Power is the concept which describes the appropriation of land, exploitation of labour, control of knowledge, finance, authority, sexuality and gender (Mignolo, 2005, p. 33), in other words it constitutes the colonial matrix of power. It is the global network in which capitalism thrives, and where imperialism is the structure. The concept enables decolonial thinkers to see beyond colonialism as an era of modern history, and instead understand the power relations that keep on structuring the global world (Pearl Dastile, Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013, p. 110). The concept of coloniality of power, enables the method to go deeper into how the world became divided into the zone of the being, the ones in charge of global power

structures and gaining from modernity, and the non-being which becomes invisible and suffering from the modernity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019 p. 16).

Maldonado-Torres (2007) conceptualised the Coloniality of Being as it can be understood both as a radicalisation and a naturalisation of the so-called “non-ethics-of-war”. The non-ethics-of-war refers to damnation of people simply based on race, on which genocide, slavery and domination have been naturalised. To exemplify, Pearl Dastile & Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013, p. 112) describes in their work on decolonisation of Africa, that some events which have been naturalised and normalised in Africa are hunger, the epidemic of AIDS/HIV, living in shacks and violence, to name a few, this makes them appear as these events are “constitutive of the ontology of being African”.

The Coloniality of Being, as argued by Maldonado-Torres (2007), when revisiting the famous quote of Descartes “I think - therefore I am” should rather be understood from the Western perspective, in the modernity/coloniality matrix of power, as “I think (others do not think, or do not think properly), therefore I am (others are-not, lack being, should not exist or are dispensable)”. In this distinction the coloniality of knowledge “Others do not think” and the coloniality of being “Others are not” is portrayed (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 252). Maldonado-Torres, explains the concept of coloniality of being, which in its essence is a being who is not there. They are either invisible or extremely visible and exaggerated.

The coloniality/modernity matrix has changed over the 500 years as previously mentioned during the theory section. As described by Grosfoguel:

During the last 510 years of the “Capitalist/Patriarchal Western- centric/Christian-centric Modern/Colonial World-System” we went from the 16th Century “christianize or I shoot you,” to the 19th Century “civilize or I shoot you,” to 20th Century “develop or I shoot you,” to the late 20th Century “neoliberalize or I shoot you,” and to the early 21st century “democratize or I shoot you.” (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 29).

All these actions have been able to be conducted with violence and militarism and hidden in the rhetoric of modernity. As the Others, the Coloniality of Being, has been naturalised as in a constant state of violence (non-ethics-of-war) (Maldonado-Torres, 2007), the rhetoric of modernity is presented as saving the other from its own barbarism (Grosfoguel, 2007). The other side of history where the “Western Being” instead has been narrated as: “firstly we were

On ‘this side of the line’ (Euro-American zone), the trajectory was rendered this way: We went from the sixteenth century ‘rights of people’ to the eighteenth century ‘rights of man’ ... and to the late twentieth century ‘human rights’” (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 214).

The Coloniality of knowledge, where western knowledge always is privileged, while simultaneously erasing memories, history and language of the colonised, by trying to create “Good Zombies” (Tlostanova, Mignolo, 2009, p. 137). European knowledge was made seductive, as it granted power, and became a universal model for culture (Quijano, 2007, p. 169). In this way, coloniality survives and passes on in books, and in the academy to assist the imperial and colonial projects (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013, p. 11).

As the thesis takes a standpoint on colonialism, exceptionalism and silence, these can be understood as intertwined in the Swedish narrative. The next part of the thesis will describe how the silencing can be further studied with decolonial discourse analysis in the case of Sápmi, the Sámi and Swedish textbooks used in history education.

3.3 Silence - How to Make Silence “Talk”?

As previously mentioned and repeated in the thesis there seems to be a consensus among researchers studying Swedish exceptionalism and colonialism that silence or a “Swedish amnesia” often is apparent (Körber, 2019, Fur, 2013, Thomasson, 2020, Naum & Nordin, 2013). As said in the preparations for the Truth Commission by an interviewee:

Sweden is a pioneer in terms of silence, cover-up, whitewashing, falsification and disinterest. The guiding star has been concepts such as ‘speaking is silver, silence is gold’ and ‘a Swede keeps his mouth shut’ (Sv: “en svensk tiger”). (Preparations for the Truth Commission, 2021, p. 46)

Therefore, this discourse analysis will need to address silence and make it “talk”. Silence is a difficult notion to study, as it “indicates a normality, and simply ‘how things are’” (Kronsell, 2006, p. 109). Social studies often study what is said, and silence then is more difficult to grasp, how can one study what is not said? (Sue, 2015, p. 116). Silence has become a more common area to study in discourse analysis, even though it traditionally has been ignored (Huckin, 2002, p. 348). There seems to have been a consensus that the interesting parts of political society are what is talked about, while the silent topics are of little importance. Silence has often been equated with powerlessness, and “breaking the silence” has thus been

understood as a way to counter oppression. However, by establishing speaking up as a way to liberation, one also ignores or oversimplifies the violence of silence (Ferrari, 2019).

As I study hegemonic norms of Swedishness, connected to exceptionality, which become norms that are so familiar it is difficult to question the notions, especially for a person like myself being Swedish and growing up with these norms. Furthermore, Swedishness and colonialism have for a long time been a silenced topic, where Sweden instead has been understood as an “objective observer” or “neutral state” in regards to colonialism (Fur, 2013, Palmberg, 2009). As the state is part of creating the silence, connected to the previous section of Swedish exceptionalism - how to study it and make silence “talk”?

Annika Kronsell (2006) writes about hegemonic masculinity in the Swedish army, and describes the difficulties of studying masculinity, especially in a military setting, as it often remains hidden and silenced while also continuing to be practised daily. In this way, men become “people” while females are the only mentioned gender. Kronsell argues that the study of silence requires a double reading with a text that is critical and a method which is relying on deconstruction. To study silence, Kronsell argues that there is a need to “make the familiar strange” (Kronsell, 2006, p. 110).

To connect the concept of silence with decolonial theory and decolonial discourse analysis, I want to focus on the previous statement “To make the familiar strange” by (Kronsell, 2006). Míguez Passada (2019) discusses how to combine discourse analysis and decolonial theory and describes how language can be studied to touch upon how “discursive logic materialises the coloniality”. In other words, discourse analysis combined with decolonial theory is used to uncloak and disrupt metanarratives of modernity that silence others and presents a single narrative as the only truth (Míguez Passada 2019). Coloniality/Modernity, and the concepts presented in the method section, does not only focus on material oppression, but also on invisibility and silence.

To return to what Kronsell (2006) argues is necessary when attempting to disrupt silence, decolonial theory puts importance on lifting knowledge which is not only European or “Western”. The thesis then will attempt to showcase the silencing of Swedish colonialism by comparing the narrative of the textbooks to the Preparation of the Truth Commission made by Sametinget. Furthermore, by deconstructing the metanarrative of Swedish exceptionalism

connected to the matrix of modernity/coloniality, the silences of the “darker side of modernity” will become apparent.

4 Ethical considerations

The material used in the thesis, the textbooks, is public material and therefore will not be a problem concerning privacy or handling the material in a certain way (Guillemin, Gillam, 2004, p. 271). The Preparations for the Truth Commission is also public material, and the people who are interviewed and whose quotes are presented remain anonymous. However, connecting back to my theory and a discussion provided by Tlostanova, Thapar-Björkert and Knoblock (2019, p. 294), is it really a good way to proceed to study the Swedish narrative again? Am I once again taking away the voice from the Sámi population in doing this thesis (Darder et al., 2014, p. 4)? This question is difficult, however, the aim of the paper is mostly to understand the contradictory narrative and Swedish exceptionalism in relation to what the Sámi have been fighting against throughout history. The interest of the study is focused on the Swedish self-narrative, and how this narrative could have and is silencing history and the very battle the Sámi have been struggling with over the years. My hope is that this paper can show how the history could have been narrated to suit Sweden and therefore raise further criticism towards how the story is told today.

As a white, academic, middle-class woman growing up in Sweden, I also need to think about what my role in this process is and how I, as a researcher, am affected by, and contribute to, establish, discourses myself. In other words, reflexivity demands that I need to be as critical of my own research as I will be of the examined material (Guillemin, Gillam, 2004, p. 275-277). As I am an “outsider” of the Sámi community while simultaneously being an “insider” of Sweden, I must be careful of producing either subjects as a homogenous group of victims/oppressors. I do not have the knowledge as a person belonging to the Sámi community might have, for a Sámi, what I find in this thesis might seem obvious. Furthermore, I am aware of the criticism directed at European academics when the study aims at “being the voice of the colonised” and on being focused on the “pain of the voiceless” which takes over the narrative (Tuck, Yang, 2014, p. 227, 229). This thesis instead calls attention to power, and how it has been used in a Swedish-Sámi context.

The material from the textbooks has been translated from Swedish to English by myself and the original quotes can be found in the appendix at the end of the thesis. As the textbooks use words which can be understood as both harmful and offensive, I have decided to replace these words. The choice is based on the notion that I do not want to reproduce the narrative of coloniality. The word “Lapp”, which is an offensive word for Sámi, will from here on instead be called the L-word, the only exceptions being when they are used to describe a Swedish policy and in the Preparations for the Truth Commission. The Preparations for the Truth Commission is translated by Sametinget into English, and I will therefore not have these quotes in the appendix.

5 Material

5.1 Swedish Textbooks

The textbooks used in history education studied in the thesis, so far, have been used in Swedish elementary schools between 1930 and 2013. The reason for choosing the elementary school as the area to study is that elementary school from the beginning has been obligatory and connected to what the state wanted and wants its citizens to know about the nation (Åström Elmersjö, 2017, p. 24). Textbooks in history for elementary school can vary and sometimes be divided into different time periods. I have chosen especially to find books which describe the time from the beginning of the 1600th century until today as this period is important both from a decolonial perspective, and when the colonisation of Sápmi went into an intense period in Sweden.

I have attempted to find textbooks that have been republished many times, as this shows that they could have held a dominating position in the Swedish education system. My search for these textbooks is structured on the paper written by Gustafsson (2017), which showcases which textbooks have been used for the longest time in the Swedish school and which authors have held a dominating position. However, in Gustafsson's study, the scope ends in 2000, so the choice of the books by Lennartsson (2013) and Hildingsson (2001) is based on the fact that they held dominating positions in the years before 2000 with other textbooks.

Swedish textbooks used in history education have changed patterns over the many years this study takes place. The choice of what textbooks to examine therefore needs to be influenced by knowledge of the Swedish school system. As Gustafsson (2017) explains, before the 1950s, it was common to use “classics” in history education, textbooks that were written as far back as the 1890s. For example Grimberg’s “Sveriges historia för folkskolan” and Odhner's “Lärobok i fäderneslandets historia” were used between the years of 1870-1958. These books, since they were republished and reused in school for a long time, probably have had a big impact on how students learned to understand the narrative of Sweden. During the 1950s, textbooks in history suddenly changed course, and the older dominating textbooks were replaced by newer ones. The textbooks after the 50s are dominated by more authors, but here we also find some authors being republished for a long period of time.

The textbooks used in Swedish schools are, as previously mentioned, regulated by the Swedish school ministry. When the Swedish textbook committee started in 1938, the committee was still following the education plan from 1919, which did not change until 1955. In time, the Swedish school authority has changed the Swedish education plan many times - in 1962, 1969, 1980, 1994 and 2011, however, the textbook is more complex than simply understanding it as changing with the education plans (Åström Elmersjö, 2017, pp. 55, 26). These education plans change what a history book should include for it to be appropriate for educational purposes in Swedish schools. History textbooks both mirror the overall political view of the society but are also affected by the educational plans made by the Swedish school ministry (Ammert, 2016). I have, therefore, channelled my search for textbooks based on the changes in the education plans.

Name - Author	Name - Book	Publ. -year	Publicist	Co-writers
Grimberg, Carl	Sveriges Historia för folkskolan	1930	Norstedt & Söners Förlag (Svenska bokförlaget)	Von Schéele, Frans - Anders Haglund - Anna Lessel
	Sveriges Historia för folkskolan 2	1956	Svenska bokförlaget Norstedts Stockholm	Wirsén, Ragnar - Ragnar Svanström

Odhner, Carl Theodor	Lärobok i fäderneslandets historia	1941	Svenska bokförlaget Norstedt & Söner	Westman, Karl Gustav
Berg, Yngve	Vår historia II - Nya Tiden	1952	Almqvist & Wiksells, Uppsala	
Björkblom, Sixten	Historia för grundskolan	1963	Magnus Bergvalls Förlag	Lennart Dûsing, Paridon von Horn
Kahnberg, Alf	Genom tiderna - Mellanstadiet	1977	LiberLäromedel, Lund	Lindeberg, Gösta, Andersson Einar
Thorén, Karl-Gustav	Historia 3	1978	Natur och Kulturs läseböcker för mellanstadie	Åberg, Alf
Eklund, Torsten	Ur folkets liv	1985	Natur och kultur	Thorén, Karl-Gustav - Alf Åberg
Thorén, Berit	Läsebok i historia 3	1990	Natur och Kultur	Thoren, Karl-Gustav - Alf Åberg
Häger, Bengt-Åke	Genom tiderna	1992	Dialogos	Göransson, Göte, Lindeberg, Gösta, Kahnberg, Alf,
Hildingson, Kaj	Levande Historia	2001	Natur och kultur	Åsgård, Ingrid - Kristina Holm
Lennartsson, Åsa	Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid.	2013	Sanoma utbildning	Sundström, Jan - Jan Palmenfeldt

Now, in 2022, a new reform of education plans for the Swedish school is planned, which will be implemented in the autumn of 2022. In the description of what changes will be done in regards to history education, the subject of national minorities has been edited. The main responsibility of the education about the Sámi and the historical perspective will now instead be taken over by the subject of social science (Skolverket, 2022).

So, why then study history? The decolonial perspective argues that one of the most apparent results of the coloniality/modernity matrix of power is that the coloniality of being is viewed as ahistorical. Tuhiwai Smith (2021, p. 76) distinguishes history as the master discourse in which the coloniser can control the Other. History from the colonisers' perspective has excluded stories of what happened and therefore it is of utter importance to deform the history by including the history of the other.

5.2 The Preparations for the Truth Commission by Sametinget

The Truth Commission report, which will be finished in 2025, is conducted by Sametinget, and I will for now only have the preparations of this commission. I am aware that my role as a researcher, being Swedish and only attending a Swedish school, could impact how I understand history. Furthermore, the decolonial approach suggests that it is not enough to simply tell the stories of the colonisers and how they represent the “others”, without also bringing the history told by the colonised into the light. Therefore, the Truth Commission will help me gain information that I have not earlier been recipient to in my own education, and compare the two to further find what silences are present in the textbooks. The material is not understood as a universal truth in this thesis, it is rather a counter-narrative. I do not apply the decolonial discourse analysis to the material by Sametinget, the reason for this is that this material is used to showcase different “truths”. It is a way to touch upon the silences that are present in the textbooks. However, there exist many more truths and silences which this thesis will not be able to cover.

As history is power, it is crucial to showcase alternative histories, and by revisiting the history produced in a Swedish context the aim is to transform and showcase the colonised view of history (Tuhiwai-Smith, 2021, p. 38). This does not mean, once again, that I will understand the report as a universal truth. As described in my theory section, there are no

universal truths, but rather some truths have been silenced by the coloniality/modernity matrix of power.

6 Analysis

I have sorted the analysis into three themes which have been based on theory and sorted from an inductive approach. The three themes are connected to each other, but to make it more clear, both for me as a researcher and for the readers, I will be sorting them accordingly and then discussing them together in the conclusion. The three themes are; *Colonialism and the Explorers*, *The story of Norrland and the Industry* and *The Sámi and Sweden*. Swedish exceptionalism will run through all of these themes and be more thoroughly discussed in the discussion. By comparing the narrative of oversea colonialism with the colonisation of Sápmi in Sweden, the aim is to understand in what ways history has been silenced in relation to coloniality/modernity, while simultaneously silencing the Sámi people.

6.1 Introduction to Colonialism and the Explorers

In this section, colonialism and explorers showcase how the textbooks handle colonialism in general, and Sweden in particular. The section dives into how the textbooks describe the triangle trade, Columbus and the “discovery” of America and the other explorers during this time. I noticed that there was a total silence of descriptions of colonialism in the older books, Grimberg from 1930 and Odhner from 1941. As I will discuss further in the next section regarding *The story of Norrland and the Industry*, they tend to focus on Sweden and the colonial impact of the North in the older textbooks, without actually referring to colonialism. Compared with the same book by Grimberg, but republished in 1956, the colonial expansion suddenly is mentioned (Grimberg, 1956, p. 110). The textbooks in elementary school, at least the limited section I have researched, changed after the second world war, shifting focus from only Sweden to also including more about Europe and North America. However, Sweden was involved in international colonialism and the silence in the older books has importance for the research as well. The first section of this theme will delve into how colonialism of others is described. The next will focus instead on the role of Sweden in colonialism.

6.1.1 The Explorers and Others' Colonialism

If one starts with the oldest book mentioning colonialism and explorers at all, Berg (1952), the problem seems to mainly be focused on the lack of knowledge in Europe during the 1500th century. Hence, the story of explorers such as Columbus and Vasco da Gama is presented as individuals wanting to break free of the superstition of the European people. Their journeys and “discoveries” are described as scientific achievements, or as a way of spreading new knowledge. The connection to modernity/coloniality is in this context not difficult to notice, as modernity is born out of the “discoveries”.

They did not venture far out to sea out of fear. They thought the earth was flat as a pancake. Anyone who went too far out to sea could reach the edge of the earth and fall off. [...] Columbus discovers America. A few years earlier, another navigator had set sail to find the sea route to India, but he had sailed west. Some learned men claimed that the earth was as round as a sphere. If a ship would sail straight to the west, they must at last arrive at the coast of India. (Berg, 1952, pp. 13-14)

In the 13th-14th centuries, the Spanish and Portuguese were the most enthusiastic explorers. Later, it was the English, Dutch and French who made the most important discoveries. (Björkblom, 1963, p. 109)

The discourses presented by Berg (1952), Grimberg (1956) and Björkblom (1963) are deeply rooted in the narrative of modernity and the silencing of colonialism and coloniality is apparent, as the colonised are not mentioned at all. Both Berg and Björkblom emphasise that these travels were the start of important discoveries, and do not mention how these “discoveries” impacted the people already living there. In the narrative, Coloniality of Beings are simply erased, written as there were no people living in the discovered places, instead the focus is entirely on the “explorers”. In the textbooks by Berg (1952) and Grimberg (1956), the paragraph following the chapter labelled “Colonialism” respectively “Trade and Navigation” are followed by a chapter about Swedish knowledge production and how it reached its glory days. The discourse then showcases how this stage in history led to European modernisation and what today is understood as objective “knowledge”.

From the 70s onward, a change can be seen happening in how colonialism is portrayed in the textbooks. The change can be noticed already in Björkblom (1963), when a more critical view of colonialism is portrayed, presenting problems not only as in “lack of knowledge” and the “discoveries” as important for Europeans but also as problems for the people being

colonised. However, in the textbook by Björkblom (1963), it is not as obviously stated as in the later textbooks.

"Uncharted territory" - The geographical discoveries of Columbus, Vasco da Gama and Magellan had brought new countries to light, and new trade routes had soon opened up. [...] In the 18th century, however, maps gradually became more like our maps. At the same time, life changed for the inhabitants of the areas that became known. There were several reasons for this. (Kahnberg, 1977, p. 7.)

Words such as “explorers” and “discoveries” are here in Kahnberg 1977 used without problematization. The imperial project is therefore still not questioned openly but taken for granted. The big difference from the earlier books is the mentioning of people already living in the places being “discovered”, however, the criticism and problems for these people are not as outspoken. Instead, what often can be found when colonialism is mentioned, is descriptions of how certain aspects of colonialism needed to happen to be able to produce the sought after effect of colonialism. When the people being colonised are mentioned, since the story is centred around the triangle trade, Native Americans and Africans are described in the textbooks as means to an end.

Already in the 17th century, the Spaniards had begun to grow sugar cane in the Caribbean. Both the climate and the soil were well suited, and sugar production increased on the main islands, Jamaica and Haiti. But growing sugar cane demanded a people who could do hard, monotonous work. The Spanish had solved this problem earlier by using N-Word slaves. The people of Africa now became a commodity. (Kahnberg, 1977, p. 10)

In the West Indies, the English immigrants initially used Indians to work on the plantations. But since the Indians could not cope with the heavy work, the English began to use N-Word slaves instead. (Eklund, 1985, p. 83)

Both of the quotes are situated in a discourse which criticises the slave trade. However, both also naturalise how certain people become a commodity and present the slave trade as a solution to a problem. The naturalisation of the slave trade as a solution to the Western problems, and the established identity of the colonality of being as either “too weak” or perfect for “monotonous work” clearly places Europeans as the only thinking subject while the others become objects. The same discourse can also be found later on in Häger (1992), however in the textbook by Häger the criticism is more apparent.

If one compares how the book by Kahnberg in 1977 established the impacts of colonialism on the colonised as “Life changed for the inhabitants” with the quote from a textbook by Lennartsson (2013) the difference in representing both the colonisers and the colonised is obvious.

From the 15th century onwards, Europeans discovered that the world was much bigger than they had first thought. America, Australia and Africa had previously been completely unknown to them. The fact that there were, of course, already people living on the 'newly discovered' continents, was of little concern to the Europeans. In each continent, they found precious things to take home. (Lennartsson, 2013, p. 89)

A change in problematization can be seen where the criticism towards colonialism is more apparent. By citing “newly discovered” there is a change in rhetoric from the textbooks before, where these words were used without any real criticism. Furthermore, instead of describing knowledge of these new places as a problem for everybody, there is a change in describing the lack of knowledge for Europeans in particular. As the problem changes towards being “colonialism” and not “European superstition”, which can be understood from the older books, the role of Sweden in colonialism drifts further out of focus. A change in how the Coloniality of Being is related to the history of Sweden has happened, from merely being mentioned or simply being presented in a photo (Björkblom 1963), to now being central to the narrative.

In the textbooks by Lennartsson (2013) and Häger (1992) the criticism, which could be seen starting to be established already in the 70s in Kahnberg, has taken over the narrative. In the description of colonialism, the slave trade and the killing of native Americans have become the central story. The critical view of colonialism and its effects includes another part of history that before has been silenced, the slave hunters in Africa and the wars between the different tribes of Native Americans. By including the narrative of slave hunters and the tribe wars in North America, the story is told in a different way. Already in the book by Thorén (1978), the discourse can be seen formulated when Thorén describes the life of Livingstone and his exploration of inner Africa where he meets Slave hunters for the first time. The focus on people such as Livingstone, Linné and similar explorers and how they intended to civilise and spread Christianity is used without any criticism in the textbook. When the slave trade is described, the root of all the problems seems to be linked to the slave hunters in Africa.

Perhaps he was the first European to perceive Africans as fellow human beings and equals. [...] Along the way, Livingstone encountered long lines of captured N-word being driven to slave markets along the coast. When he returned, he told the English authorities what he had seen and urged them to eradicate the slave trade. (Thorén, 1978, p.p, 180-181)

As the textbook, similarly to Kahnberg (1977), is not as critical of colonialism as the textbooks later on, the narrative of the civilised white explorer who suddenly sees the slave hunters' horrible acts is not too surprising. However, the narrative in the colonial/modernity matrix of power portrays how the English authorities can be presented as good and civilised, while simultaneously, the slave trade exists based on their need for workers. By declaring that the real problem already exists in Africa the darker side of modernity can be obscured. The silencing and attempts to show how the real “evil” in colonialism already existed in Africa seems to take more space in the textbooks the further away Sweden drifts from the story of colonialism. In Lennartsson (2013) a whole chapter is devoted to describing “An African village”. The chapter describes how people in a village in western Africa, previously called “the slave bay”, lived. The text focuses on how the men and women did different tasks, how they lived during the dry season and wet season and how they celebrated harvest feasts. The chapter after is named the “slave trade” and starts in this way:

Then, early one morning, a disaster strikes the village. It is surrounded by warriors from another tribe. The strangers have rifles, and anyone who resists is quickly killed. All healthy men, women and children are captured and tied with ropes around their hands and necks. [...] The prisoners are forced to walk along narrow jungle paths down to the coast. There they are herded together in large pens, waiting to be sold to some European trader. (Lennartsson, 2013, p. 92)

At the end of the chapter, the textbook provides the students with some questions - where the main focus is not on how the colonialism impacted Africa - but rather on how the African community was divided between men and women, questions of “how they made a living” and how come that other tribes started wars and kidnapped people as slaves. The last question in the chapter is about the slave trade, which is the only question where Europeans and their influence can be connected to the scene presented in the quote above. The same narrative is present in Häger (1992) where slavery is described as an old phenomenon in Africa. The colonality of being have in the context been normalised in the state of Non-ethics-of-war, which both helps to avoid some of the blame for the international slave trade while also

presenting Europe as the leaders towards modernity - as they saw an opportunity and took it, rather than being a considerable reason for the slave trade.

6.1.2 The Explorers and Swedish Colonialism

Sweden seems to have had and has a passive role in colonialism if one is to trust the textbooks. Swedish colonies are sometimes mentioned, for example, Cabo Corso in current-day Ghana, in Eklund (1985) and “Nya Sverige” (New Sweden) in North America is mentioned in many books - Eklund (1985), Björkblom (1963), Berg (1952). However, St. Barts is not mentioned in any of the books, which is interesting since the colony had importance to the Swedish economy and was a Swedish colony for almost 100 years between 1784 and 1878, and the slave trade was not abolished in Sweden until 1847 (Thomasson, 2020). What is noticeable, however, is the presentation of the Swedish colonies, when they actually are mentioned.

Many other countries in Europe engaged in similar slave trade. Sweden also had a small colony in Africa, called Cabo Corso, located where Ghana is today. A Swedish trading company bought the colony from an African N-word King in 1650. The idea was that the company would trade in slaves, gold and ivory. But after only 12 years, the Swedes were driven out of their colony, which the British later took over. Denmark also had a colony, which they managed to keep until 1850. Researchers have estimated that during the 150 years of the slave trade in this small colony, the Danes bought and sold about 100,000 young Africans, both men and women. (Eklund, 1985, p. 84)

Here, a Swedish colony is mentioned, but very fast the discussion changes to what other countries in Europe did. Furthermore, when a Swedish colony actually is presented, it is a colony which only lasted for 12 years compared to St. Barts which was a colony for almost 100 years. The narrative of “Nya Sverige” when mentioned is described similarly, however, the textbooks also described that the Swedes became fast friends with the Native Americans (Eklund, 1985, Björkblom, 1963). The narrative of the “Moral Superpower” is present in the context when Swedish colonies are mentioned, all the other colonies and narratives which could have disregarded this image are instead silenced.

What can be followed in the history textbooks is that when the problem representation changes and becomes more critical of the “explorers” and their “discoveries”, which can be seen happening in the textbooks from the 70s and onward, Sweden seems to take up less space in the description of colonisation. As the books which were written later on, by Häger

(1992), Hildingson (2001) and Lennartsson (2013) do not mention a Swedish colony at all, something seems to have changed in the narrative.

Instead of describing Swedish colonies, the main focus when Sweden is introduced in the chapter describing colonialism is in almost all the books, the East Indian Company, and its trade with China (Lennartsson, 2013, Grimberg, 1956, Berg, 1952, Häger, 1992, Björkblom, 1963, Hildingson, 2001, Kahnberg, 1977, Thorén, 1978, Eklund, 1985). These parts of the textbooks describe international trade and the dangers for the crew working on the ships. A change can also be connected to the fact that these companies are separated from the state in the newer textbooks. The older textbooks have a tendency to not make this distinction as apparent but describe how one needed to get approval from the state to undertake the specific international trade (Grimberg, 1956). The newer books do not bring up the West Indian Company at all, Grimberg (1956) seems to be the only one that actually discusses the company and its trade with slaves. In contrast to the quote in Grimberg (1956), Häger (1992) distinguishes the companies from the European states and blames colonisation on private companies.

East India Company. In the 1730s, a shipping company was founded in Gothenburg, which was named the East India Company. The East Indies were used to refer to the countries east of India, and the East India Company's ships sailed to the city of Canton in China. [...] Apart from the East India Company, there were several other large shipping companies, including the West India Company, which operated in the West Indies and America. They had the privilege of slave trading in Africa. Even the Swedes participated therefore in this trade. Furthermore, sailing continued in Spain and the Mediterranean, with constant battles against pirates. (Grimberg, 1956, p. 112)

It was not the governments of London, Paris and other European capitals that sent out ships and founded colonies, but private companies. The East India Companies have gained the most fame. They traded with countries in the Far East. (Häger, 1992, p. 87)

The quote above in Grimberg (1956) is the only time which mentions in a very clear way that Sweden was involved in the slave trade. After 1956, there are some fleeting descriptions, such as the quote presented earlier by Eklund (1985), but as can be understood from the text, the responsibility of Sweden in the slave trade is nothing compared to the responsibility of Denmark. Instead, the main focus is on both the East Indian Company and “Nya Sverige” when Swedish colonialism is discussed. However, as previously mentioned after Eklund (1985) “Nya Sverige” disappears completely from the story, together with other Swedish

colonies which give the illusion of Sweden appearing as less involved than the other European countries in the international colonial expansion and exploitation of the people living there.

6.2 Introduction to The Story of Norrland and the Industry

This section will describe and analyse the way Norrland is presented in the textbooks. The theme has been divided into two sections, as there are mainly two different narratives presented in the textbooks when Norrland is mentioned, one that describes Linné and his travels and the first settlers in Sápmi which is connected to how explorers are narrated in relation to colonialism outside of Sweden, while the other one will instead be focusing on the industrialisation of Norrland. Even though the two sections are connected to each other, they are different and often separated in the textbooks themselves.

6.2.1 The Explorers of Norrland

The story of Norrland seems to have a similar narrative and representation of problems for a long time, up until the 1980s. Over and over again, the same sentence is used to describe Norrland before the industrialisation - without value and as a wasteland (Berg, 1952, Grimberg, 1930, Grimberg, 1956, Odhner, 1941, Kahnberg, 1977). The only time that Norrland could be mentioned, apart from this sentence, is to describe Carl von Linné and his “exploration of Lappland” and in the narrative concerning the settlers of Norrland.

Linné is given a section in all the textbooks analysed in this study, while Sápmi is mentioned in the majority of these descriptions as an “exotic place”. Interestingly enough, but perhaps not surprising, the Sámi people are rarely mentioned in these contexts. Instead, Linné could be presented in a painting with the traditional dress of the Sámi (Grimberg, 1956, p. 117), or somewhat mentioned meeting Sámis during his travels, but overall, Sámis give the impression of acting as background actors to Linné's “exotic” journeys into Sápmi (Grimberg, 1956, Thorén, 1978, Hildingsson, 2001). Similar narratives and representation of problems as the section before, *Explorers and Others Colonialism*, are represented in the description of Sápmi and the North.

Now he has been commissioned by Parliament to explore "the plant kingdom, the animal kingdom and the stone kingdom". He is to find out what can be of use to Sweden. There are no maps, so he rides in an almost unknown country. (Hildingson, 2001, p. 96)

"Almost the whole world is known." Linneaus wrote in his application. "But within the borders of Sweden, there is an almost unknown area." As far as was known, it was rich in plants and animals, but also valuable minerals and metals. (Lennartsson, 2013, p. 82)

Interestingly enough, these paragraphs are written in textbooks closer to the present day, while it very much has similarities with how the older textbooks described the explorers and discoveries of Latin- and North America and Africa. As previously described, this view has changed when it comes to describing colonialism in other places in more current textbooks. Here from Berg in 1952:

In the 19th century, there were still many areas of the globe that were little known. Inner Africa and Asia, as well as the polar regions, for example, were still 'white spots' on the map. To support science and provide the industry with new supplies of raw materials, daring men set out on voyages of discovery to the unknown regions. They braved heat and cold, they endured all sorts of hardships, and many of them sacrificed their lives for the benefit of mankind. (Berg, 1952, p. 242)

Hence, a similar narrative can be found when Linné makes his travels to Sápmi as when other European "explorers" made their journeys to Africa, America and Asia in the older textbooks. In both stories, the "explorers" are doing their journeys in the name of science. And in both narratives, there are no descriptions of the people already living there, and how these explorations affected them. If one applies the concept of the modernity/coloniality matrix of power, the travels by Linné are presented in this way as linear progress towards modernity and development, and the journey towards what Sweden is today. The narratives in many of the books are centred around the notion that no one knows anything about the deep forests and mountains in the north and Linné is, in that context, introduced as the main character of the knowledge- and science development in Sweden. In the discourse, he is presented as:

The most famous scientist in Sweden and one of the most outstanding in the world was Karl von Linné (Odhner, 1941, p. 101)

His name will forever bring glory to Swedish science. (Grimberg, 1956, p. 117)

Linnaeus - a Swedish genius. [...] Linnaeus could read nature like a book. (Häger, 1992, p. 82)

The fact that Linné continues to be understood as a very important figure throughout Swedish history is obvious in the textbooks, and his travelling to Sápmi is presented as adventurous and very important for both science and for Sweden overall. What is curious, at least in the textbooks written closer to the present time, since those books show more criticism of racism and colonialism, is that Linné's contribution to racism (Tesfahuney, 1999, p. 72), is not mentioned at all. Connected to the matrix of modernity/coloniality the embrace of modernity in the story concerning Linné and his contributions to science overshadows the influence of coloniality and its implications for people around the globe. If one compares how the newer books describe explorers such as Columbus (Lennartsson, 2013), the discourses concerning him are less silenced of coloniality than Linné in a Swedish context, where modernity continues to overshadow the coloniality in the matrix.

The exceptionalism of Sweden and of Linné is in the discourse upheld by the silencing of Sámi knowledge. By declaring that the north was a “white spot” on the map, the people that have been living there for thousands of years and their knowledge are disregarded as non-knowledge.

Today we see conflicts on many levels, including between locals and samebys. If Sami history had been widely known, I believe that some conflicts could have been avoided. By just scratching the surface, I think it often becomes a case of "fighting fire with fire" because you have never dug deep into what actually creates conflicts. It is about the right to land and water, predatory issues and other rights. The Swedish state has great responsibility in why Sami community is divided today.

(Preparations for the Truth commission, 2021, p. 25)

As discussed by an interviewee, Sámi history has been ignored and through the ignorance conflicts could be silenced. By not mentioning any conflicts between the Swedish state and the Sámi people when this “white spot” on the map was “discovered”, the silencing can continue to uphold a dominating discourse of the exceptionalism of Swedish and Western knowledge production.

6.2.1.1 Settlers

When the settlers came and the farmers settled here, the farmers were allocated the forest around from the L-word tax lands - which then became commons. And these commons are now extorting the samebys/ reindeer herders. The Sami communities do not find it so easy to say no in consultations, then

the commons can say "let's take that part instead", which can be great grazing areas – i.e. extortion tactics. (Preparations for the Truth Commission, 2021, p. 30)

The settlers in Sápmi are given various amounts of space in the textbooks. In some, they are mentioned as victims of the big forestry companies, when the companies bought their land to utilise the forest in the industry (Grimberg, 1931, Grimberg, 1956, Odhner, 1941). In two of the textbooks, a narrative of the settlers in Sápmi is present in more detail. The two textbooks are “Historia 3” by Karl Gustav Thorén et al. in 1978 and “Ur folkens liv” by Torsten Eklund et al. in 1985. Important to notice is that the co-writer for the book by Eklund in 1985 are Karl-Gustav Thorén and his previous co-writer Alf Åberg. These books could then be argued to be deeply influenced by each other. Yet, the narrative concerning the relationship between Sámis and settlers in Sápmi has many differences in the textbooks.

At the end of the 18th century, many young people began to move into the Lapland areas and found new settlements there. They came from the villages along the northland coast. It was the poorest who set off first. They didn't want to spend their whole lives as maids and servants for others. Up in the wilderness, they hoped to find some land of their own to farm. [...] His closest neighbours were a few L-words who lived down by the lake during the summer. He sought them out and made friends with them. [...] Now he wrote to the governor and asked to make Strömnäs a settlement. The governor gave him permission to do so. For 15 years he would not have to pay taxes for Strömnäs, and no one would be able to take the area away from him. (Thorén, 1978, p. 25-26)

But life in the wilderness was just as hard and difficult as in the soldiers' village. [...] As the influx of settlers increased, there was conflict between the Sami and the settlers. The settlers were primarily farmers, but they were allowed to hunt and fish for domestic purposes. But the Sami complained that many of the new settlers fished in their old fishing grounds and let their animals graze on their land. The settlers also complained. They said that the Sami reindeer ate the hay that the settlers would have for their animals. The authorities mostly sided with the settlers when disputes arose between them and the reindeer-herding Sami. The Sami had to bow to the new order and withdraw from the disputed fishing waters and pastures. Many left their old way of life and became settlers themselves. (Eklund, 1985, pp. 104-105).

As Sweden was constantly at war, when silver was found in Nasafjäll in 1634, the Swedish state hoped that Norrland could be established as a colony and be exploited for its natural resources. By encouraging settlers to move to Sápmi, the state wanted to integrate the region closer to the Swedish crown (Ojala, Nordin, 2015, p. 11). As noticeable in the quotes, the focus of the story is once again on the settlers and the Sámi are more or less invisible. In a

similar manner to how “Nya Sverige” is described in the section regarding *Sweden and Colonialism*, Thorén (1978), describes the difficulties of the settlers while the indigenous population, in this context the Sámi, are described as friends of the settlers. No conflict is mentioned here, instead the naturalisation of a settler moving to a new place and claiming the land as their own is apparent. As the text makes it clear that “No one would be able to take the area away from him” the silence concerning who he took the area from is hidden. It is presented in a similar way, as will later on be discussed in *Norrland and industrialisation*, that Norrland was empty before Swedes arrived and started to exploit the area. The exoticisation of Sápmi and the presentation as the opposite of the rest of Sweden is noticeable when Thorén describes the struggles of the settlers, and the settlers’ only company being the “L-words”.

The quote by Eklund (1985), written just a few years later, has on the other hand made the concept of Swedish settlers in Sápmi more complicated. Here, Eklund actually describes a conflict and describes how the Swedish state often benefited the settlers instead of the Sámi. However, the conflict is placed in the past and not described as something that has continued ever since the first settlers moved into the region. If one compares the narrative with how the colonisation of North America is described, it is interesting that the Swedish state can be described as acting as an intermediary between Swedish settlers and the Sámi people. Clearly, the Swedish state had a policy when the state promised settlers 15 tax free-years, and the description of the state as a negotiator between two parties instead of the driving force in the conflict is hiding colonialism and coloniality.

Up until the 1800’s, all citizens of the Lappmarks shared the same rights. In pace with the increasing colonization of the Lappmarks, the Sami were forced to witness as the pioneers settled down on the Lapp tax lands. Conflicts occurred between the pioneers and Sami about fishing lakes and grazing grounds. In general, the Sami won these conflicts in the 1700’s, but the pioneers won more often later in the 1800’s. As a measure to protect their land, some Sami even took up farming. Many Sami have been described as “pioneers” despite that they were often Sami who registered homesteads on their tax land to secure their land. (Preparations of Truth Commission, 2021, p. 57)

To deconstruct and disrupt silences, the preparations for the Truth Commission provide the narrative presented in both Thorén and Eklund with another story. The Sámi paid taxes for their land to the Swedish state, and as Sweden gave away of land to Swedish settlers with a promise that they would not have to pay taxes for 15 years, it really showcase how the

colonial expansion in Norrland has been naturalised as a problem between the meeting of two different cultures rather than colonialism of land that was paid for by people already living there. The silencing of Sápmi as a colony echoes through all the textbooks studied in the thesis, which will be discussed further in the analysis.

6.2.2 The story of Norrland and industrialisation

The story of Norrland is, in many places in the textbooks before 1980, represented as a success story, which helped turn a very poor Sweden rich. As stated in the SOU:1986:36 (p. 163-164), the Swedish state does not acknowledge Sweden's activities and appropriation of land in Sápmi as colonialism, since Swedish people and Sámi people lived side by side for a long time before the area started to be exploited. If one studies the narratives in the oldest textbooks, Norrland seems to be understood as empty and unpopulated before industrialisation and the railroads made it possible to extract natural resources from the area.

Natural resources in remote rural areas, such as the ore fields of northern Sweden, could now be exploited. In areas that had previously been wasteland, there was suddenly life and movement. In Kiruna, for example, it is said that in 1899 there was only one cabin. A few years later, after the ore railway was built, a society with a population of 7000 had sprung into existence. Now Kiruna is a town of about 20 000 inhabitants. (Grimberg, 1956, p. 172)

If one connects the narrative of coloniality of power to the rhetoric here represented as development, end of poverty and progress, the discourse can be understood as a narrative of modernity which hides the coloniality. “There was suddenly life and movement” totally silences the existence of Sámi people in the region and instead presents how a “wasteland” could become developed.

Since the improvement of the infrastructure, the rich iron ore fields in Lapland could be processed, and these ore fields have, during the good years, been able to export ore worth more than 200 million SEK. [...] A hundred years ago Sweden was a poor country, and even fifty years ago wealth was very unevenly distributed among our people. Through the rapid development of industry, Sweden's natural resources have been put to good use, and the majority of Swedes have gained greater income. (Berg, 1952, pp. 269, 271)

Norrland in the older books, is deeply connected to Swedish industrialisation and to the state Sweden later on becomes. As can be understood from the quote in the textbook by Berg

(1952), the extraction of natural resources in Norrland which made industrialisation escalate, also made the Swedish population more evenly rich. The exceptionalism in Sweden and the narrative of “folkhemmet” could in this way be understood as connected to the story of Norrland and industrialisation. By partly silencing and excluding Sámi people from the narrative of Sweden, while instead describing how Sweden modernised and constructed a more equal society because of the very settler-colonialism that made Sweden rich, the silence leaves a story of modernity and development. A common narrative is a description of Norrland as the “country of the future” - or in Swedish a “Framtidsland”.

Is Norrland a country of the future? [...] In Western Europe, wood was needed for support in mines, houses and for ships. The vast forests of Norrland had previously had no value to speak of. [...] When industry arrived, the forests became valuable. (Kahnberg, 1977, p. 112)

(1854)Norrland, which had previously played a rather insignificant role in Sweden's economy, became the country of the future through the railways. The wealth of forests, ore and water power in the north could now be exploited. (Berg, 1952, p. 205)

It was the railways that gave the northern mines their value. It was they who brought to life "the slumbering millions of Norrland". (Grimberg, 1930, p. 292)

The story of Norrland as a wasteland, and how these parts, later on, became “alive” and “valuable” have a lot of similarities with how North America was described in the chapters concerning *colonialism and explorers*. The “country of the future” connects once again to the narrative of modernity, it indicates the Eurocentric and universalist narrative of where development is supposed to happen, where it yet has not. From being a “wasteland” the area did not become anything valuable or civilised until the Swedish people started to extract natural resources from Sápmi and moved to the area. In the preparations for the truth commission, the industrialisation of Norrland is represented in an entirely different way, where instead the confiscation of tax-paid land is discussed once again.

My expectations are that the Truth Commission will investigate how it was possible for the State to confiscate large land properties for which Sami owned and paid taxes, without paying any compensation or that it was possible for rights holders to appeal. (Preparations for the Truth Commission, 2021)

I believe that the State should give back land to the Sami whose ancestors had Lapp-tax land. I also believe that the state should give back hay meadows and other land that has been stolen. There should

be several investigations into what land is referred to as 'State' which has actually been unfairly given State ownership. (Preparations for the Truth Commission, 2021)

Not one of the history books studied in the thesis mentions the problem of land and state ownership. The taken-for-granted notion that Sápmi always has been located in Sweden is a narrative which continues over the 83 year period in which this study is located. What however can be noticed is an abrupt change in the textbooks written closer to the present day, in how they describe Norrland/Sápmi. They have inserted the fact that there lived people in Norrland/Sápmi before the industrialisation happened or before Linné and the settlers came. Precisely as in the chapter concerning *The Explorers and Others Colonialism*, the Sámi is here more present and the narrative includes that the Swedish state's exploitation of natural resources in Norrland also was an exploitation of the Sámi.

In northern Scandinavia, there were natural resources that governments wanted to exploit. There were silver ores, forests and waterfalls. The Swedish government demanded that the Sami transport ore from the silver mines without compensation. (Lennartsson, 2013, p. 72)

The chapters which the other textbooks had, describing how Norrland became important for the Swedish industry and for the country itself, as in the connection to the Swedish “folkhemmet” and the “land of the future”, seem to have disappeared around the 80s. The disappearance seems to be conducted in a similar notion as when Swedish international colonialism was silenced when the people previously invisible became visible in the narrative.

Instead of mentioning the industrialisation of Sweden and Norrland as the driving force towards creating “modern Sweden”, the newer textbooks tend to focus on industrialisation in other parts of Sweden and relate it to the production of new knowledge. For example, Hildingsson (2001, pp. 50-53, p. 99) avoids mentioning Norrland in connection to industrialisation and focuses instead on industries in Falun, Stjärnsund, Skåne and Norrköping. Similarly, Lennartsson (2013, pp. 78-79) focus on Christopher Polhem and Mårten Triewald and their inventions to make the mining industry more effective. The sudden silence of Norrland as a “country of the future” is similarly noticeable in Häger (1992) and Eklund (1985). Björkblom (1963) mentions how the railroads led to Sweden's strong economic stance on the international market but he does not specify Norrland in the context. In conclusion, the older books by Grimberg (1930), Grimberg (1956) Odhner (1941) and

Berg (1952) have a narrative which can be followed up until the 70s in Kahnberg (1977), however not as apparent, and the narrative is totally silenced from the 80s and onward. Instead, what can be noticed in the newer textbooks is the separation of the Sámi people, Sápmi and industrialisation. While the Sámi were totally silenced in the older books, they seem to be inserted in the newer books instead of the industrialisation of Norrland and its big implications for the Swedish economy.

The silencing of these discourses could either mean that they have become so familiar that they no longer need to be described, or that the authors want to avoid narrating the same story of Norrland as a “wasteland” as in the previous textbooks, since the total silencing of the Sámi people is no longer possible. However, the stories do not criticise the way in which Sweden industrialised and colonised Sápmi, which will be discussed in the next part of the analysis.

6.3 Introduction to The Sámi and Sweden

In all the books I have examined, the total number of pages even mentioning the Sámi are very few. The textbooks where the Sámi are mentioned are Lennartsson (2013, pp. 72-75), Häger (1992, pp. 56-57), Eklund (1985, pp. 104-105), Thorén (1978, pp. 8-10, 25) and Grimberg (1956, only one picture of Linné in traditional Sámi clothes). So, in total, ten pages and one picture mention Sámis in the Swedish history textbooks studied in this thesis. The total silence regarding the Sámi in Grimberg (1930), Odhner (1941), Berg (1955), Björkblom (1963), Kahnberg (1977), Thorén (1998) and Hildingsson (2001), is interesting in itself. How come there is no mention of the Sámi? At the time as the textbooks by Grimberg (1930) and Odhner (1941) were written, Sweden imposed the “Lapp-Bailiff”, and the policy which declared that a “Lapp shall remain a Lapp”. Furthermore, the racial biological institute was most active during the years 1930 to 1940 (McEachrane, 2018, p. 478). Relating back to the theory of Coloniality of Being (Maldonado-Torres, 2007), we can assume that the silencing and total ignorance of Sámi living in Sápmi before Sweden started to exploit its natural resources, is once again modernity hiding coloniality. Instead, the whole colonisation of Sápmi is presented as progress - as modernity, as discussed in the chapter concerning *Norrland and Industrialisation*.

6.3.1 Racism and Stereotypes - Sweden and Sámi

As Linné was the one person that seemed to be in focus in all textbooks and Lapland sometimes was mentioned, in some instances, they have included how Linné described the Sámi, such as in the textbook by Thorén (1978). Here they, unfortunately, use the word “L-word”, which is present in many of the textbooks and seen in the newest one as well (Lennartsson, 2013), however, Lennartsson mainly used the word to describe how Sweden had defined Sámi throughout history.

Lapland was different with its beautiful forests, wide rivers and big waterfalls. He (Linné) was up in the mountains studying the L-words and their reindeer husbandry. The L-words were skinny, and Linné thought it was because they ate less porridge than the farmers and had to run so hard in the mountains. The L-words were born to toil, and he felt sorry for them. Several times a year, the L-words came down to the church villages to attend services. They had their own huts by the church. But at Pentecost, Linné did not see a single L-word at the church. The pikes were at their best in the river, and the L-words could not tear themselves away from fishing. (Thorén, 1978, p. 9-10)

The mentioning and differentiation of Linné and the Sámi in regards to modernity/coloniality are obvious here. While the Sámi “cannot tear themselves away from fishing” Linné went to church and declared the Sámi people as “born to toil”. As previously described in the theory section, the coloniality/modernity matrix of power has been used in the matter of “Christianize or we shoot you”, “civilise or we shoot you”, a similar narrative can be showcased in the previous quote. It is not a surprise that the Sámi population have been put through similar patterns by Sweden, however the non criticism of presenting it in a textbook in the late 70s showcase how the criticism of Sweden in Sápmi has not yet surfaced. Instead, Sámis are almost described as children in regards to the very rational scientist Linné.

In the preparations for the Truth Commission, the discussion often brings up the division of Sámi, partly between Swedes and Sámi, but also the dividing of Sámi between each other, and how it has made it easier for Sweden to colonise Sápmi.

It became easier to steal Sami land when racial biology mindsets gained a foothold in Sweden. Sami were not suitable for owning land. (Preparations for the Truth Commission, 2021, p. 45)

The total erasure of Sámi being present in the oldest books is replaced by textbooks from the 80s, which instead present the Sámi as the opposite of the rest of the population of Sweden,

as previously seen in the quote by Thorén (1978). Here, the discourse portraying the Westerners, or more correctly Swedes, as civilised while the Sámi is not, is apparent again.

The mountain Sami made long migrations with their families and reindeer herds during spring, summer and autumn. The Forest Sami did not make such long migrations. In winter, all the Sami lived in their tented huts in the coastal forests. The Sami had their own religion and worshipped strangely shaped stones called seitar. But Swedish priests proselytised among them and by the early 18th century the Sami had become Christians. The government set up special schools where Sami children were taught to read, write and count. (Eklund, 1985, p. 104)

The narrative of a linear progression of incorporation and assimilation of the Sámi into Swedish society by attending Swedish schools and converting to Christianity is described. There is not much of a critique towards Sweden in the quote, which in the newer textbooks becomes more apparent. When Swedish school is mentioned, the different schools depending on if Sámi were categorised as reindeer Sámi or not by the Swedish state is silenced.

The constant repetition of the different Sámi categories is something that is apparent in the very few pages actually devoted to describing Sámi in Swedish history. In connection to the decolonial theory, the Coloniality of Being is always exaggerated or silenced, while at the same time being forced to assimilate to Western modernity. The Truth Commission report lifts that the division between Reindeer Sámi/Mountain Sámi, Forest Sámi and Fishing Sámi, which has partly been used by Sweden to limit rights as an indigenous people to only one of the groups while the others were silenced, has affected the community deeply. The exaggeration of Sámi as the only “real Sámi” if they conduct reindeer husbandry, has created power dimensions in the community. While the exaggerated Coloniality of Being, in this case the Sámi who lived off reindeer husbandry, the silenced Sámis who were not categorised as “real Sámi” were equally put through racist remarks and domination from Swedish society.

My father was not a nomad, and went to school with the Swedish children, he took off his Sami clothes and hid them under a stone because he was always bullied. He had the identity with the Sami children but had to go to Swedish school where the Sami children were persecuted. 85% of Tärnaby are Sami, it's sad. It was the racial biology mindset. Some did not receive adequate education in the nomad school. Closer to Sorsele, there was this idea that if you were 25% Lapp you had a slightly higher status but if you were fully Sami it was a shame (low status). You counted each other's percentages. The whole discussion is completely absurd, but it stems from racial biology. In the church books, the

ethnicity of 'Lapp' is written and it is also under the box "disability" (Truth Commission, 2021, p. 45)

From the preparations of the Truth Commission, one can understand that the division of the Sámi and the difference in rights has become a big issue. The silence and the naturalised division of different kinds of Sámi in the textbooks become more apparent when they start to be mentioned in the textbooks. In Lennartsson (2013) the chapter devoted to explaining the history of the Sámi starts by describing the reindeer husbandry and how Sámis lived, then after the Sámis which lived of reindeer husbandry are described the chapter divides the “rest” of the Sámi and explains that there were Sámis which lived on fishing and hunting in the forest. The same narrative is presented in Häger (1992):

In the inner part of the country were the " Lapland ". The Sami lived there. Most of the Sami were engaged in reindeer husbandry. The mountain Sami followed the reindeer that lived in the mountains in the summer and in the forest in the winter. The forest Sami had reindeer that roamed the woodlands all year round. During the 18th century, the state began to encourage young Swedes to settle by lakes and in the river valleys of Norrland and farm there. Many forest Sami also became farmers. (Häger, 1992, p. 56)

The story is very simple and avoids mentioning the policy in which Sámi people in Sweden were not understood as Sámi unless they owned reindeer. However, Häger (1992) mentions that forest Sámi also have survived on reindeer husbandry, but then describes that many of them “became farmers” while silencing the reason for this change. The naturalisation of the division of the Sámi people continues to impose both an exaggerated version of the colonality of being - the reindeer herding Sámis as the only Sámi while they also continue to be stereotyped.

The Reindeer Grazing Act of 1928 and its discriminatory effect. The majority of Sami end up in humiliation, emptiness without identity, ownership or livelihood. This has created divisions between Sami. The Swedish state's "Divide and Rule" technique has had excellent results. (Preparations for the Truth Commission, 2021, p. 26)

As previously touched upon in the chapters regarding the *settlers in Norrland*, the state of Sweden is rarely mentioned, and if the state is mentioned as an actor in a conflict the role is often as an intermediary between settlers and Sámi people. Lennartsson (2013) is the only textbook which presents some more obvious critique of how Sweden has acted towards the

Sámi when Sápmi was exploited for natural resources. The first part of the quote has already been presented in the last chapter, however, Lennartsson also adds:

In 1751, the governments of Sweden and Denmark (Norway was part of Denmark) decided that the Sami should pay taxes in the country where they stayed during the winter. Previously, they had often had to pay taxes in both countries. (Lennartsson, 2013, p. 72)

The Truth Commission must deal with 1. How the right to land and water has been deprived of Sami who are not affiliated to samebys created by Swedish legislation. 2. How legislation pertaining to Sami rights has discriminated against Sami outside reindeer husbandry. 3. How the county administrative board has, through regulations, deprived Sami outside samebys of the right to fish, ptarmigan snaring; burnt and demolished cultural remains. 4. How Sami rights were dismantled when the Lapp tax lands were abolished (Preparations for the Truth Commission, 2021, p. 30).

As previously mentioned, the Preparations for the Truth Commission rather understands the tax land as something that should have secured the right of the land for the Sámi people. Lennartsson (2013) mentions taxes but chooses to discuss how unfair the system against the Sámi was since they had to pay double taxes, and how that, later on, was sorted out by Denmark and Sweden. Once again, Sweden is presented as a progressive actor rather than a coloniser.

The silence of Sámis even existing in Swedish history is apparent and when they exist they are presented in a “frozen place” in time. The continuation of history does not seem to apply to the Sámi community. The constant silencing of political figures, Sametinget, culture, the different laws imposed by Sweden, racism, or any problems of ownership of land are obvious in all the textbooks. Instead the narrative continues to present the Sámi as a people living off reindeer husbandry and being nomads, while naturalising categories imposed by the Swedish state. While the story of Sweden is represented as a progress towards development and modernity, the few pages devoted to the Sámi people seem to exist mainly to present them as “exotic” and showcase their “way of life”. In conclusion, the last questions provided for the students at the end of the chapter describing the Sámi community in Lennartsson (2013) showcase in a very effective way how the Sámi are described in all the textbooks where they are not entirely invisible:

1. Why were the reindeer kept on the mountain slopes in summer?

2. In which ways could the Sami who lived in different places make a livelihood?
(Lennartsson, 2013, p. 75)

6.3.2 The Silencing of the Sámi as an Indigenous People

As far as is known, there have been Sami in northern Scandinavia for as long as there have been people living there at all. (Lennartsson, 2013, p. 72)

The lack of mentioning the Sámi as an indigenous population and the avoidance of mentioning how long the Sámi have lived in Sápmi continues to be upheld even when the Sámi are starting to be mentioned in the textbooks. As the quote by Lennartsson (2013) shows there is a tendency to elude the subject of time when the Sámis are mentioned, and their position in Sweden. The only time a textbook author has dared to mention a period of time in which the Sámi has lived in Sápmi is in the book by Eklund (1985):

Inland, large areas spread out where the Sami have lived as nomads and reindeer herders since the 9th century. (Eklund, 1985, p. 104)

As discussed in the background, the exact time Sámis have lived in Sápmi is not entirely known. However, if one compares to how the textbooks describes the Native Americans and their position against the colonisers the narrative is very different. In a comparison of how many times the Native population of America are mentioned to the ten pages Sámis are mentioned in the textbooks: Berg (1952, p. 129), Björkblom (1963, p. 8, 15), Kahnberg (1977, pp. 13-15), Eklund (1985, pp. 84, 87), Häger (1992, pp. 89-92), Lennartsson (2013, p. 94) showcase the tendency to focus outward, while silencing the indigenous people of Scandinavia.

You still read more about Indians than Sami in Swedish schools. Greater ignorance in southern Sweden, some still do not even know that the Sami are Sweden's indigenous people. (Truth Commission, 2021, p. 40)

In the search for how the Sámi people and colonisation of Sápmi are described in relation to Swedish exceptionalism, the quote from the Preparation of the Truth Commission is correct in many cases of the studied textbooks. The amount of space given to the native population of America and the struggles they had when meeting the Europeans is almost the same amount

of text but over a longer period of time. The main difference is that the native population in North America are more often described as actors who try to defend their land from the colonisers, a notion which is not present when the Sámi are mentioned in any of the textbooks. Furthermore, the avoidance of mentioning how long the Native Americans had lived in the area is not as apparent.

America had been their homeland for thousands of years (Kahnberg, 1977, p. 13)

During the 18th century, the European colonists in North America conquered more and more of the Indians' land (Lennartsson, 2013, p. 94)

The Indians were driven away or exterminated by the firearms of the whites. Just as dangerous as the firearms were smallpox and other diseases, which were new to the Indians and to which they had no resistance. The whites also brought liquor, "firewater" as the Indians called it. The liquor destroyed many Indians. They became alcoholics. The Indians were often at war with each other. But throughout the 17th century and into the mid-17th century, there were confederations of Indians in the Great Lakes region. They fought the white invaders and managed to hold them off for a time. (Häger, 1992, p. 89)

In one of the textbooks, Häger (1992), the only parallel between the colonisation of North America and Sápmi is made in all the textbooks studied in the thesis. The chapter about Native Americans and their conflicts with the colonisers, but also wars between themselves, is followed by some questions for the class to discuss, one of them being:

Describe how the whites affected the lives of the Indians. Also, make a comparison of how the Sami were treated in our country. See page 56 (Häger, 1992, p. 92)

As previously shown in the last chapter concerning *Racism and Stereotypes*, we can notice the difference in how the Sámi are described in Häger (1992) with how the Native Americans were described. The question provided and the parallel between the colonisation of North America and Sápmi is once again promoting Sweden as a moral and exceptional actor. However, the parallel is the only one in all the textbooks which presents some connections between the colonisation in other parts of the world and the Swedish colonisation of Sápmi. By asking the question, while Sweden is presented as moral, it also presents the Swedish expansion into Sápmi as colonisation for the first and only time in all the textbooks studied.

7 Conclusion

In this section, I will answer the research questions and connect the different themes from the analysis. A decolonial approach to knowledge can never claim to produce absolute truths or universal solutions, and this conclusion should rather be read as a way of moving forward and towards something new. The research questions were: *How and why have the Sámi people been silenced in Swedish history? In what ways is the silence connected to Swedish exceptionalism?*

As understood from the analysis, the Sámi people are silenced in various ways in Swedish history. In the older textbooks, the Sámi people are made entirely invisible, even when Sápmi is mentioned. Instead, the “industrialisation of Norrland” is presented as a success story of modernity, where there are no problems or conflicts represented. By excluding the existence of the Sámi people, the coloniality of the Swedish state’s actions can simultaneously be hidden and only produce a story of modernity. When “Norrland as a success story” disappeared at the end of the 70s, the Sámi people suddenly were included in Swedish history. What can be understood from the change, is that when the Sámi people are present in the narrative, Norrland as an untapped resource can no longer be upheld and is silenced instead. The change shows the resistance of the Sámi community, which has been discussed in the background, in how the story of Norrland as a “wasteland” could no longer be maintained. On the other hand, it shows how the narrative changes to exclude coloniality. While the Sámi people are mentioned and devoted a couple of pages in the textbooks from the 80s and onward, they are never described as indigenous, no present conflict between the state and the Sámi can be traced in the narratives, and they are described as apolitical and ahistorical, while they continue to be naturalised and divided in the community. So why this silence?

By conducting the research in Swedish textbooks and following the narrative over time, I have been able to follow the silences and see how coloniality/modernity transforms in Sweden. Instead of placing coloniality and the struggles of the Sámi community in the past, the thesis shows that these issues are ever present. The silence in the textbooks seems to be changing and “travelling” where it needs to, in order to cover narratives that could disrupt the narrative of the exceptional moral superpower Sweden. As the concept of modernity changes, coloniality must be silenced.

To view the narrative concerning Swedish exceptionalism in a decolonial light, the construction of Sweden as a moral superpower, highly civilised, democratic and leader in development clearly embraces the narrative of modernity in which western identity is constructed. The imperial differences construct Sweden as different from other European powers, such as England and France, as Sweden's failure at being at the centre of European imperialism in the past can today instead be recast as a conscious choice in which Sweden as a nation was too peaceful and kind to achieve the same imperial mark on the world. As seen in the first part of the analysis, others' colonialism is described with much more criticism than what later on can be found when Sweden touches upon its own, the closer the textbook is written to the present day the more apparent the criticism is. The narrative concerning Carl von Linné and the comparison to other explorers such as Columbus may be the most obvious example of the way the narrative hides the Swedish coloniality while uplifting modernity, while simultaneously criticising others' colonialism and coloniality. The erasure of Swedish colonialism and silence is coloniality, since that erasure produces Sweden as modernity itself.

A similar change happens in the textbooks over time when discussing the international colonial expansion and the colonisation of Sápmi. The coloniality of beings have, from being totally invisible, suddenly taken up a bigger part of the narrative while simultaneously changing how Sweden relates to colonisation. The change of narrative did not only bring colonised people into the picture but simultaneously made Sweden appear less involved in any colonialism. When the colonised are described, and how their lives were affected in a negative way by the colonisers, the narrative of modernity needs to change. Instead, other dimensions were brought up, such as the slave hunters in Africa, the inner conflicts between Native Americans, Sweden's trade with China in the East Indian Company and the overall friendly Swedes described in relation to colonialism. In the case of Sápmi and the Sámi, the focus on how the Sámis made their livelihood and being presented as frozen in time and apolitical and ahistorical can further contribute to the silence of Swedish colonialism in Sápmi and of the Sámi people.

The coloniality/modernity matrix of power establishes four spheres - the control of natural resources, authority, the public sphere and knowledge as described in the theory section. All of which are connected to each other in the matrix. In the case of Sweden and the Sámi, the control of natural resources has, as seen in the analysis, been important for Swedish economic growth. While silencing the coloniality of being, the Sámi, and exaggerating only a small part

of the Sámi community, Sweden could maintain control over large areas of land. Coloniality of power is visible here with the naturalisation of Sápmi as being inside Swedish borders, and claiming the Swedish right to the land and the power in deciding which laws should be implemented. The coloniality of knowledge, furthermore establishes a connection to the control of economic resources, as it naturalises and legitimises the coloniality of power. By never mentioning the Sámi people as indigenous and describing any conflict, other than between settlers and Sámi or presenting a conflict which has been solved by the state, the narrative can silence any conflict over the ownership of land.

As mentioned in the material section, the next school plan in Sweden will be the first which states that it must be written which people are minority and indigenous people in Sweden, however, it also moves Sámi people away from the history education and instead places their history only in social science. A move which could make it easier to silence Sweden's colonial past and the conflict between the Sámi and the state concerning land in the present. If the Swedish school continues to disregard Sámi's knowledge and history as non-knowledge and ahistorical, the narrative of exceptional Sweden cloaked in modernity can continue, and with it the coloniality of power.

As now discussed, Swedish exceptionalism seems to be deeply centred in the coloniality/modernity matrix of power, which deems it necessary to hide the shadows that disrupt this narrative. The theory of the organised hypocrisy described by Mörkenstam, already touches upon this, when he describes the two-faced state which could argue for the rights of indigenous people while simultaneously making decisions such as the Gállok/Kallak mine now in 2022. A decolonial theory provides the answer to the riddle: how come Sweden can say one thing and then do another? Since Sweden struggles to continue to be a European power and mainly has managed to become one through the role of being a European moral superpower, while also having to uphold a strong capitalist economy - the dilemma is ever present. Without Sápmi, no more control over natural resources which managed to build Sweden as an economic power, and without exceptional Sweden no more control over the narrative in which the power of modernity exists. By placing Sweden and Sámi in the imperial and colonial differences, we can understand how the coloniality of power establishes a complex net of dimensions in which the conflict exists. By understanding Swedish exceptionalism in the theory of the decolonial, the whole narrative is placed in the concept of

modernity - which produces Sweden as the modern developers in the conflict while the Sámi people can be understood as agents working against development.

The coloniality/modernity matrix developed by decolonial scholars have and should be used in the future to further elaborate on how conflicts between states and indigenous populations are understood. As a way to break from the trap of modernity - it is not enough to discuss human rights, which are based in the coloniality of power, instead what is needed is a “rethink” of knowledge to be able to touch upon the structure of violence. What I have been able to present in this thesis, is a way to understand and place how certain knowledge and people become invisible to continue to uphold modernity in the coloniality/modernity matrix and a way to disrupt these narratives by placing Sweden in the colonial matrix of power.

Further studies are needed which goes deeper into placing and understanding Sweden and the Sámi people by using the concepts of coloniality/modernity. Due to the limitations of the studied material in this thesis, further studies could delve deeper into a wider range of material and contribute to what I have found. Furthermore, the study of Swedish knowledge production could be expanded to universities, and other places where knowledge is produced. A continuation of working together with the groups often excluded in a Eurocentric history-telling would be a good way to move further and to disrupt the coloniality of knowledge, power and being.

8 References

- Adams, Glenn - Sara Estrada-Villalta, 2017, *Theory from the South: a decolonial approach to the psychology of global inequality*, Current Opinion in Psychology 2017, Vol. 18, pp. 37–42
- Aikio-Puoskari, Ulla, 2009, “The ethnic revival, language and education of the Sámi, an indigenous people, in three Nordic Countries (Finland, Norway and Sweden)”, in (Eds.) Tove Skutnabb-Kangas - Robert Phillipson - Ajit. K. Mohanty - Minati Panda, *Social justice through multilingual education*, Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Alcantara, Christopher - Jen Nelles, *Indigenous Peoples and the State in Settler Societies: Toward a More Robust Definition of Multilevel Governance*, Publius: The Journal of Federalism, Vol. 44, No. 1, Winter 2014, pp. 183–204, <https://doi.org/10.1093/publius/pjt013>
- Alm, Erika, – Linda Berg – Mikela Lundahl Hero – Anna Johansson – Pia Laskar – Lena Martinsson – Diana Mulinari – Cathrin Wasshede, 2021. “Introduction”, (Eds.) Erika Alm – Linda Berg – Mikela Lundahl Hero – Anna Johansson Pia Laskar – Lena Martinsson – Diana Mulinari – Cathrin Wasshede, *Pluralistic Struggles in Gender, Sexuality and Coloniality Challenging Swedish Exceptionalism*. [Electronic]
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-47432-4> Downloaded: 4 January 2021
- Ammert, Niklas, 2016, *Historieläromedel: En forskningsöversikt*, HumaNetten, No. 37, Autumn 2016
- Bazinet, Trycia, 2019, “Denaturalizing Settler-Colonial Logics in International Development Education in Canada”, (Eds.) Julie Cupples, Ramón Grosfoguel, UNSETTLING EUROCENTRISM IN THE WESTERNIZED UNIVERSITY
- Bergman Rosamond, Annika, 2020, *Music, mining and colonisation: Sámi contestations of Sweden's self narrative*, Politik Volume: 23 Issue 1 (2020)
- Bergström, Göran – Linda Ekström, 2018. *Tre diskursanalytiska inriktningar* - Boréus, Kristina (Ed.), Textens mening och makt. Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Blue Swadener, Beth – Kagendo Mutua, 2014, *Decolonizing Performances: Deconstructing the Global Postcolonial*, Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln & Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ed.), *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, 2014, [Electronic] <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781483385686> Downloaded: 11 November 2020

Boucher, David, 2009, *The Limits of Ethics in International Relations: Natural Law, Natural Rights, and Human Rights in Transition*, Oxford: Oxford Research

Castro-Gomez, Santiago, 2002, The Social Sciences, *Epistemic Violence, and the Problem of the "Invention of the Other"*, *Nepantla: Views from South*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 269-285

Dahre Johansson, Ulf, 2004, *Rädda en varg, skjut en Same: Den historielösa jämlikheten och föraktet för Samer i Sverige*, NORDISK TIDSSKRIFT FOR MENNESKERETTIGHETER- Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 448-461.

Danielsson Malmros, 2012, *Det var en gång ett land...: Berättelser om svenskhet i historieläroböcker och elevers föreställningsvärldar*. Aarhus: ScandinavianBook.

Darder, A. – L.F. Mirón – N. K. Denzin – Y. S. Lincoln – E. Guba – Y. S. Lincoln – E. Guba – V. Olesen – L. Parker – D. Deyhle – S. Villenas – K. C. Nebeker – G. C. Spivak, 2014, “Part I | Locating the Field: Performing Theories of Decolonizing Inquiry”, (Eds.) Norman K. – Denzin, Yvonna – S. Lincoln – Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, [Electronic] <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781483385686> Downloaded: 11 November 2020

Diaz-Diaz, Claudia, 2021, *(In)visible encounters with indigeneity: a way towards decolonizing pedagogies in early childhood education*, *Children's Geographies*

Eriksen, Gregers Kristine, 2018, *Education for sustainable development and narratives of Nordic exceptionalism: The contributions of decolonialism*, *Nordidactica – Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education* Nordidactica 2018, Vol. 4

Ferrari, Martina, 2019, *Questions of Silence: On the Emancipatory Limits of Voice and the Coloniality of Silence*, *Hypatia*, Vol. 35, No. 1, pp. 123-142.

Forde, Christine - Deirdre Torrance - Alison Mitchell - Margery McMahon - Julie Harvie, 2022, *Education governance and the role of the headteacher: The new policy problem in Scottish education*, Management in Education 2022, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 18–24

Fur, Gunlög, 2008, *Tillhör Samer den Svenska Historian?*, HumaNetten, No. 22

Fur, Gunlög, 2013, “Colonialism and Swedish History: Unthinkable Connections?”, in (Eds.) M. Naum and J.M. Nordin, *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, New York, Heidelberg, Dordrecht, London: Springer

Fur, Gunlög - John L. Hennessy, 2020, *Svensk kolonialism, Sverige och kolonialism eller svenskar och kolonialism?*, Historisk tidskrift, Vol. 140, No. 3. 2020

Gallien, Claire, 2020, *A Decolonial Turn in the Humanities*, Journal of Comparative Poetics No. 40, Mapping New Directions in the Humanities, 2020, pp. 28-58

Grosfoguel, Ramón, 2007, *Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality*, TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2011

Guillemin, Marilys – Lynn Gillam, 2004, *Ethics, Reflexivity, and "Ethically Important Moments"* in Research, Qualitative Inquiry. Apr2004, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 261-280.

Gustafsson, Jörgen, 2017, *Historielärobokens föreställningar - Påbjuden identifikation och genreförändring i den obligatoriska skolan 1870–2000*, Studia Historica Upsaliensia Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Heath, Anne, 2015, *Särskiljandets logik i en kolonial och en antikolonial diskurs*, Edda, Vol. 110, pp. 335–350

Holgersson, Josefine, 2022, “Här är stegen till gruvbrytandet i Gallók”, SVT, Uploaded: March 23, 2022, Updated: March 25, 2022. [Electronic]
<https://www.svt.se/nyheter/sapmi/har-ar-stegen-till-gruvbrytning-i-gallok>

Huckin, Thomas, 2002, *Textual silence and the discourse of homelessness*, Discourse & Society, 2002, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 347-372.

- Jansson, David, 2018, *Deadly exceptionalisms, or, would you rather be crushed by a moral superpower or a military superpower?* Political Geography, Vol. 64, May 2018, pp. 83-91.
- Jensen, Lars, 2009, *Scandinavia – A Peripheral Centre*, Kult 6 - Special Issue Epistemologies of Transformation: The Latin American Decolonial Option and its Ramifications. Fall 2009.
- Kaomea, Julie, 2005, *Indigenous Studies in the Elementary Curriculum: A Cautionary Hawaiian Example*, Anthropology & Education Quarterly, Mar., 2005, Vol. 36, No. 1, Indigenous Epistemologies and Education: Self-Determination, Anthropology, and Human Rights (Mar., 2005), pp. 24-42
- Kaomea, Julie, 2000, *A Curriculum of Aloha? Colonialism and Tourism in Hawai'i's Elementary Textbooks*, Curriculum Inquiry, Autumn, 2000, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Autumn, 2000), pp. 319-344
- Keskinen, Suvi - Salla Touri - Kuura Irni - Diana Mulinari, 2009, *Complying with colonialism: Gender, race and ethnicity in the Nordic region*, Routledge: London, 2009
- Kronsell, Annika, 2006, "Methods for studying silences: gender analysis in institutions of hegemonic masculinity", in (Eds) Brooke A. Ackerly - Maria Stern - Jacqui True, *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2006
- Kuokkanen, Rauna, 2000, *TOWARDS AN "INDIGENOUS PARADIGM" FROM A SAMI PERSPECTIVE*, The Canadian Journal of Native Studies XX, Vol. 2, No. 2000, pp. 411-436
- Kuokkanen, Rauna, 2019, *Restructuring Relations: Indigenous Self-Determination, Governance, and Gender*, Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: March 2019
- Kvist, Roger, 1998, *Modern Swedish Saami Policy*, Department of Saami Studies, Umeå University
- Körber, Lill-Ann, 2019, *Sweden and St. Barthélemy: Exceptionalisms, Whiteness, and the Disappearance of Slavery from Colonial History*, Scandinavian Studies, Volume 91, No. 1-2, Spring/Summer 2019, pp. 74-97

- Lantto, Patrik - Ulf Mörkenstam, 2008, *Sami Rights and Sami Challenges - The modernization process and the Swedish Sami movement, 1886–2006*, Scandinavian Journal of History, Volume 33, No. 1, 2008
- Lindmark, Daniel, 2013, “Colonial Encounter in Early Modern Sápmi”, in (Eds.) Magdalena Naum and Jonas .M. Nordin, *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, New York, Heidelberg, Dordrecht, London: Springer
- Loftsdottir, Kristín – Lars Jensen, 2012, “Nordic Exceptionalism and the Nordic “Others”” in (Eds) Kristin Loftsdottir - Lars Jensen, *Whiteness and Postcolonialism in the Nordic regime: Exceptionalism, Migrant Others and National Identities*, London, New York: Ashgate
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson, 2007, *On the Coloniality of Being*, Cultural Studies, Volume 21, Issues 2-3, pp. 240-270
- Martín Alcoff, Linda, 2007, *Mignolo's Epistemology of Coloniality*, CR: The New Centennial Review, winter 2007, Vol. 7, No. 3, Singularities of Latin American Philosophy, pp. 79-101
- McEachrane, Michael, 2018, *Universal Human Rights and the Coloniality of Race in Sweden*, Hum Rights Rev (2018) Vol. 19, pp. 471–493 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12142-018-0510-x>
- Mignolo, Walter D., 2005, *The Idea of Latin America*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2005
- Mignolo, Walter D., 2011, *Epistemic Disobedience and the Decolonial Option: A Manifesto*, Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World, Vol. 1, No. 2.
- Mignolo, Walter D., 2012, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*, London: Duke University Press, 2011
- Mignolo, Walter D. - Madina Tlostanova, 2009, *Learning to Unlearn - Decolonial Reflections from Eurasia and the Americas*, The Ohio State University Press, 2012.
- Míguez Passada, María Noel, 2018, “Discourses Analysis by a Decolonial Perspective”. In (Ed.) Lavinia Suciu, *Advances in Discourse Analysis*, London: IntechOpen

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, 2003, *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*, Duke University Press, 2003. [Electronic]
<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/lund/detail.action?docID=1167891> Downloaded: 11 November 2020

Mörkenstam, Ulf, 2019, *Organised hypocrisy? The implementation of the international indigenous rights regime in Sweden*, THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS 2019, Vol. 23, No. 10, pp. 1718–1741

Naum, Magdalena - Jonas .M. Nordin, 2013, *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*, New York, Heidelberg, Dordrecht, London: Springer

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo, 2013, *Why Decoloniality in the 21st Century?*, The Thinker Vol. 48

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J., 2019, *Discourses of Decolonization/Decoloniality*, Papers on Language and Literature; Edwardsville Vol. 55, No. 3

Niia, Anna-Karin - Mikaela Sjöstedt, 2022, “Manifestation i Gállok mot gruvplanerna”, SVT, Uploaded: 5 February 2022 [Electronic]
<https://www.svt.se/nyheter/sapmi/manifestation-i-g-llok-mot-gruvplanerna>

Ojala, Carl-Gösta - Jonas M. Nordin, 2015, *Mining Sápmi: Colonial Histories, Sámi Archaeology, and the Exploitation of Natural Resources in Northern Sweden*, Arctic Anthropology, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2015), pp. 6-21

Ojala, Carl-Gösta, 2020, “Mines and missions: Early modern Swedish colonialism in Sápmi and its legacies today”, in *Currents of Saami pasts: Recent advances in Saami archaeology* / (Eds) Marte Spangen, Anna-Kaisa Salmi, Tiina Äikäs, Markus Fjellström, Archaeological Society of Finland, 2020, pp. 160-176

Otele, Olivette, 2019, ““LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ” Debunking the myth of egalitarianism in French education”, in *Unsettling Eurocentrism in the Westernized University* (Eds.) Julie Cupples and Ramón Grosfougel, 2019

Palmberg, Mai, 2009, "The Nordic Colonial Mind", in (Eds.) Suvi Keskinen - Salla Tuori - Sara Irni - Diana Mulinari, *Complying with colonialism: Gender, race and ethnicity in the nordic region*. Taylor & Francis Group.

Pearl Dastile, Nontyatyambo - Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013, *Power, Knowledge and Being: Decolonial Combative Discourse as a Survival Kit for Pan-Africanists in the 21St Century*, *Alternation* Vol.20, No. 1, 2013, pp. 105 - 134

Porsanger, Jelena - Irja Seurujärvi-Kari, 2021, "Sámi dutkama máttut: The Forerunners of Sámi Methodological Thinking", (Eds.) Pirjo Kristiina Virtanen - Pigga Keskitalo - Torjer Olsen, *Indigenous Research Methodologies in Sámi and Global Contexts*, Leiden; Boston: Brill

Quijano, Anibal, 2000, *Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America*, *Nepantla: Views from South*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 2000, pp. 533-580

Quijano, Anibal, 2007, *COLONIALITY AND MODERNITY/RATIONALITY*, *Cultural Studies* Vol. 21, Nos. 2 3, 2007, pp. 168-178

Regeringskansliet, Kulturdepartementet, 2022, "En konsultationsordning för det samiska folket" - Pressmeddelande [Electronic]
<https://www.regeringen.se/pressmeddelanden/2022/01/en-konsultationsordning-for-det-samiska-folket/> Uploaded: February 3, 2022

Restrepo, Viviane de Melo, 2018, *Decolonizing critical discourse studies: for a Latin American perspective*, *Critical Discourse Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 26-42

Ruth, Arne, 1984, *The Second New Nation: The Mythology of Modern Sweden*, *Daedalus* Vol. 113, No. 2, *Nordic Voices* (Spring, 1984), pp. 53-96

Sametinget, 2020, "Samer", [Electronic] <https://www.sametinget.se/samer> Downloaded: 11 November 2020

Sametinget, 2021, "Behövs en sanningskommission?", [Electronic]
<https://www.sametinget.se/sanningskommission> Uploaded: 2021-08-26

Sametinget, 2022, "Sametingets yttrande till regeringen", [Electronic]

<https://www.samediggi.se/164675> Uploaded: 2022-02-02

Seurujärvi-kari, Irja, 2010, *WE ARE NO LONGER PREPARED TO BE SILENT' THE MAKING OF SÁMI INDIGENOUS IDENTITY IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT*,

Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society, Vol. 35, No. 4, Winter 2010

Sequieros, Paula, 2017, *The Sámi Library, North of the North: colonialism, resistance and reading in a public library*, Sociologia: Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 115 - 134

Skolverket, 2006, Rapport 285, *I enlighet med skolans värdegrund? En granskning av hur etnisk tillhörighet, funktionshinder, kön, religion och sexuell läggning framställs i ett urval av läroböcker* [Electronic]

<https://www.skolverket.se/download/18.6bfaca41169863e6a6582a4/1553961645390/pdf1659.pdf> Downloaded: 3 January 2021

Skolverket, 2011, *Kunskapsöversikt: Skolan och medborgarskapandet* [Electronic]

<https://www.skolverket.se/download/18.6bfaca41169863e6a659412/1553963771753/pdf2596.pdf> Downloaded: 3 January 2021

Skolverket, 2022, *Nationella Minoriteter i Kursplanerna* [Electronic]

<https://www.skolverket.se/undervisning/grundskolan/aktuella-forandringar-pa-grundskoleniva/andrade-laroplaner-och-kursplaner-hosten-2022/nationella-minoriteter-i-kursplanerna>

Downloaded: 6 April 2022

Skrak, Henrik, 2019, *Folket moget förklarar: Det demokratiska genombrottet i svenska läroböcker 1920–2010*. Lund: MediaTryck

Statens Offentliga Utredningar (SOU) (1986:36). *Samernas folkrättsliga ställning: delbetänkande av Samerättsutredningen*, Statens Offentliga Utredningar 1986:36 . Stockholm: Liber/Allmänna förlaget, 1986.

Sousa Santos, de Bonaventura, 2018, *THE END OF THE COGNITIVE EMPIRE - the coming of age of epistemologies of the south*, Duke University Press: Durham and London 2018

Spivak, Gayatri, 1988, *Can the Subaltern Speak?*, in C. Nelson - L. Grossberg (Eds.) *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*, Macmillian Education: Basingstoke, 1988, pp. 271-313

Sue, Christina A., 2015, *Hegemony and Silence: Confronting State-Sponsored Silences in the Field*, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 2015, Vol. 44(1) 113–140

Tesfahuney, Mekonnen, 1999, *Monokulturell utbildning*, *UTBILDNING & DEMOKRATI* 1999, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 65-84

Thomasson, Fredrik, 2020, *The Caribbean Scorpion: The Saint-Barthélemy Archive and Swedish Colonial Amnesia*, *Small Axe* 24(2), 53-66.

Tlostanova, Madina – Suruchi Thapar-Björkert – Ina Knoblock, 2019, *Do We Need Decolonial Feminism in Sweden?*, *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 290-295 [Electronic] <https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2019.1641552>
Downloaded: 13 November 2020

Tlostanova, Madina, 2019, “The postcolonial condition, the decolonial option, and the post-socialist intervention”, in (Ed.) Monika Albrecht, *Postcolonialism Cross-Examined - Multidirectional Perspectives on Imperial and Colonial Pasts and the Neocolonial Present*, 2019, London: Routledge

Trouillot, Michel-Rolf, 1995, *Silencing the past - Power and Production of History*, Boston: Beacon Press: 1995

Tuck, Eve - K. Wayne Yang, 2014, “R-Words: Refusing Research”, In (Eds.) Django Paris - Maisha T. Winn, *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities* (pp. 223- 248), Los Angeles: Sage Publications

Virtanen, Pirjo Kristiina - Torjer Olsen - Pigga Keskitalo, 2021, “Contemporary Indigenous Research within Sámi and Global Indigenous Studies Contexts”, (Ed) Halla B. Holmarsdottir, *Indigenous Research Methodologies in Sámi and Global Contexts*, Leiden: Brill

Wårkberg, Urban - Karin Granquist, 2014, *Decolonizing technoscience in northern Scandinavia: the role of scholarship in Sámi emancipation and the indigenization of Western science*, Journal of Historical Geography, Vol. 44, pp. 81-92

Åström Elmersjö, 2017, *En av staten godkänd historia Förhandsgranskning av svenska läromedel och omförhandlingen av historieämnet 1938–1991*, Nordic Academic Press: Lund

Östlund, Lars - Ingela Bergman - Camilla Sandström - Malin Brännström, 2020, "The Legal Application of Ethnoecology: The Girjas Sami Village versus the Swedish State", in (Ed.) Nancy J. Turner, *Plants, People, and Places: The Roles of Ethnobotany and Ethnoecology in Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights in Canada and Beyond* edited, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020

Studied material:

Berg, Yngve, 1952, *Vår Historia II - Nya tiden*, 2nd Ed. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell

Björkblom, Sixten - Lennart Dûsing - Paridon von Horn, 1963, *Historia för grundskolan*, Stockholm: Magnus Bergvalls Förlag

Eklund, Thorsten, Karl-Gustav - Thorén - Alf Åberg, 1985, *Ur folkens liv*, Stockholm: Natur och Kultur

Grimberg, Carl - Von Schéele, Frans - Anders Haglund - Anna Lessel, 1930, *Sveriges Historia för folkskolan*, 8th Ed. Stockholm: Norstedt & Söners Förlag (Svenska bokförlaget)

Grimberg, Carl - Ragnar Wirsén - Ragnar Svanström, 1956, *Sveriges Historia för folkskolan* 2, 5th Ed. Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget Norstedts Stockholm

Hildingsson, Kaj - Ingrid Åsgård - Kristina Holm, 2001, *Levande Historia*, Stockholm: Natur och Kultur

Häger, Bengt-Åke - Göte Göransson - Gösta Lindeberg - Alf Kahnberg, 1992, *Genom tiderna*, Lund: Dialogos

Kahnberg, Alf - Gösta Lindeberg - Einar Andersson, 1977, *Genom tiderna - Mellanstadiet*, Lund: Liber Läromedel

Lennartsson, Åsa - Jan Sundström - Jan Palmenfeldt, 2013, *Historia: Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid*, Stockholm: Sanoma utbildning

Odhner, Carl Theodor - Karl Gustav Westman, 1941, *Lärobok i fäderneslandets historia*, 23th Ed. Stockholm: Nordstedt

Preparations before a truth commission on the violations of the Sami people by the Swedish State, 2021, Marie Enoksson Author, Sametinget, [Elektronic]
<https://www.sametinget.se/160524>

Thorén, Berit - Karl Gustav Thorén - Alf Åberg, 1990, *Läsebok i historia 3*, Stockholm: Natur och Kultur

Thorén, Karl Gustav - Alf Åberg, 1978, *Historia 3*, Stockholm: Natur och Kulturs läseböcker för mellanstadie

9 Appendix

Author, Year	Book	Page	Original text	Translated text
Berg, 1952	Vår Historia II - Nya tiden	13-14	Långt ut på haven vågade man sig inte. Man trodde då, att jorden var platt som en pannkaka. Den som reste för långt ut på haven kunde komma fram till jordens kant och falla ner. [...] Columbus upptäcker Amerika. Några år tidigare hade en annan sjöfarare seglat ut för att finna sjövägen till Indien, men han hade seglat västerut. En och annan lärd man påstod nämligen, att jorden var rund som ett klot.	They did not venture far out to sea out of fear. They thought the earth was flat as a pancake. Anyone who went too far out to sea could reach the edge of the earth and fall off. [...] Columbus discovers America. A few years earlier, another navigator had set sail to find the sea route to India, but he had sailed west. Some learned men claimed that the earth was as round as a sphere. If a ship would sail straight to the west, they must at last arrive at the coast of India
Björkblom, 1963	Historia för grundskolan	109	Under 1400-1500-talet var spanjorerna och portugiserna de ivrigaste upptäckarna. Senare var det engelsmännen, holländare och fransmän som företog de viktigaste upptäckterna.	In the 13th-14th centuries, the Spanish and Portuguese were the most enthusiastic explorers. Later, it was the English, Dutch and French who made the most important discoveries.
Kahnberg, 1977	Genom tiderna - Mellanstadiet	7	“Okänt område” “Genom de geografiska upptäckter som Columbus, Vasco da Gama och Magellan hade gjort, hade man lärt känna nya länder, och nya handelsvägar hade snart öppnats. [...] Under 1700-talet blev dock kartorna så småningom mera lika våra kartor. Samtidigt kom livet att förändras för de invånarna i områden som blev kända. Det fanns flera orsaker till detta.	"Uncharted territory" - The geographical discoveries of Columbus, Vasco da Gama and Magellan had brought new countries to light, and new trade routes had soon opened up. [...] In the 18th century, however, maps gradually became more like our maps. At the same time, life changed for the inhabitants of the areas that became known. There were several reasons for this. (Kahnberg, 1977, p. 7.)
Kahnberg, 1977	Genom tiderna - Mellanstadiet	10	Redan under 1600-talet hade spanjorerna börjat odla sockerrör i Västindien. Både klimat och jordmån passade bra, och produktionen av socker ökade på de största öarna, Jamaica och Haiti. Men odlingen av sockerrör fodrade ett folk som kunde utföra ett hårt och enformigt arbete. Det problemet hade spanjorerna tidigare löst med hjälp av negerslavar. Afrikas folk blev nu en handelsvara.	Already in the 17th century, the Spaniards had begun to grow sugar cane in the Caribbean. Both the climate and the soil were well suited, and sugar production increased on the main islands, Jamaica and Haiti. But growing sugar cane demanded a people who could do hard, monotonous work. The Spanish had solved this problem earlier by using N-WORD slaves. The people of Africa now became a commodity.
Eklund, 1985	Ur folkens livet	83	I västindien använde de engelska invandrarna till en början indianer vid arbetet på plantagerna. Men då indianerna inte orkade med det tunga arbetet, började engelsmännen istället använda negerslavar.	In the West Indies, the English immigrants initially used Indians to work on the plantations. But since the Indians could not cope with the heavy work, the English began to use N-Word slaves instead.
Lennartsson, 2013	Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid.	89	Från 1400-talet och framåt upptäckte Europeerna att världen var betydligt större än de först hade trott. Amerika, Australien och Afrika hade tidigare varit helt okända för dem. Att det förstås redan bodde människor på de “nyupptäckta” kontinenterna, tog Europeerna väldigt liten hänsyn till. I varje världsdel hittade de dyrbarheter att ta med hem.	From the 15th century onwards, Europeans discovered that the world was much bigger than they had first thought. America, Australia and Africa had previously been completely unknown to them. The fact that there were, of course, already people living on the 'newly discovered' continents, was of little concern to the Europeans. In each continent they found precious things to take home.

Thorén, 1978	Historia 3	180- 181	Kanske var han den första Europée som uppfattade Afrikaner som medmänniskor och jämlikar [...]	Perhaps he was the first European to perceive Africans as fellow human beings and equals. [...] Along the way, Livingstone encountered long lines of captured N-word being driven to slave markets along the coast. When he returned, he told the English authorities what he had seen and urged them to eradicate the slave trade.
Lennartsson, 2013	Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid.	92	Så tidigt en morgon drabbas byn av en katastrof. Den omringas av krigare från en annan stam. Främlingarna har gevär, den som gör motstånd dödas snabbt. Alla friska män, kvinnor och barn tas till fånga och binds med rep runt händer och hals. [...] Fångarna tvingas gå längst smala djungelstigar ner till kusten. Där trängs de ihop i stora fällor i väntan på att säljas till någon europeisk handelsman.	Then, early one morning, a disaster strikes the village. It is surrounded by warriors from another tribe. The strangers have rifles, and anyone who resists is quickly killed. All healthy men, women and children are captured and tied with ropes around their hands and necks. [...] The prisoners are forced to walk along narrow jungle paths down to the coast. There they are herded together in large pens, waiting to be sold to some European trader.
Eklund, 1985	Ur folkens liv	84	Många andra länder i Europa bedrev liknande slavhandel. Även Sverige hade en liten koloni i Afrika, som hette Cabo Corso och låg där nuvarande Ghana ligger. Ett Svenskt handelskompani köpte kolonin av en Afrikansk NegerKung år 1650. Meningen var att kompaniet skulle handla med slavar, guld och elfenben. Men redan efter 12 år blev svenskarna bortjagade från sin koloni, som engelsmännen senare tog över. Danmark hade också en koloni, den lyckades de behålla till år 1850. Forskare har beräknat att under dessa 150 år som slavhandeln pågick i denna lilla koloni köpte och sålde danskarna omkring 100 000 unga afrikaner, både män och kvinnor	Many other countries in Europe engaged in similar slave trade. Sweden also had a small colony in Africa, called Cabo Corso, located where Ghana is today. A Swedish trading company bought the colony from an African Nxxxx King in 1650. The idea was that the company would trade in slaves, gold and ivory. But after only 12 years, the Swedes were driven out of their colony, which the British later took over. Denmark also had a colony, which they managed to keep until 1850. Researchers have estimated that during the 150 years of the slave trade in this small colony, the Danes bought and sold about 100,000 young Africans, both men and women.
Grimberg, 1956	Sveriges historia för Folkskolan 2	112	Ostindiska kompaniet. På 1730-talet bildades i Göteborg ett rederi, som fick namnet ostindiska kompaniet. Med ostindien menade man länderna öster om Indien, och ostindiska kompaniets fartyg seglade till staden Kanton i Kina. [...] Utom ostindiska kompaniet fanns det flera andra stora rederier, bl.a. Ett västindiskt kompani, som bedrev seglation på de västindiska öarna och Amerika. De hade privilegium på att idka slavhandel på Afrika. Även svenskarna deltog sålunda i denna trafik. Vidare fortsattes seglationen på Spanien och Medelhavet under ständig kamp mot sjörövare.	East India Company. In the 1730s, a shipping company was founded in Gothenburg, which was named the East India Company. The East Indies were used to refer to the countries east of India, and the East India Company's ships sailed to the city of Canton in China. [...] Apart from the East India Company, there were several other large shipping companies, including the West India Company, which operated in the West Indies and America. They had the privilege of slave trading in Africa. Even the Swedes participated therefore in this trade. Furthermore, sailing continued in Spain and the Mediterranean, with constant battles against pirates.

Häger, 1992	Genom tiderna	87	Det var inte regeringarna i London, Paris och andra europeiska huvudstäder, som skickade ut fartyg och grundade kolonier, utan privata bolag. Mest kända har de ostindiska kompanierna blivit. De handlade med länder i Fjärran Östern.	It was not the governments of London, Paris and other European capitals that sent out ships and founded colonies, but private companies. The East India Companies have gained the most fame. They traded with countries in the Far East.
Hildingsson, 2001	Levande Historia	96	Nu har han av riksdagen fått i uppdrag att utforska "växtriket, djurriket och stenriket". Han ska ta reda på sådant som kan vara av nytta för Sverige. Det finns inga kartor, så han rider in i ett nästan okänt land.	Now he has been commissioned by Parliament to explore "the plant kingdom, the animal kingdom and the stone kingdom". He is to find out what can be of use to Sweden. There are no maps, so he rides in an almost unknown country.
Lennartsson, 2013	Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid.	82	"Nästan hela världen är känd." Skrev Linneaus i sin ansökan. "Men inom Sveriges gränser finns ett nästan okänt område." Det var så vitt man visste rikt på växter och djur, men också värdefulla mineraler och metaller.	"Almost the whole world is known." Linneaus wrote in his application. "But within the borders of Sweden there is an almost unknown area." As far as was known, it was rich in plants and animals, but also valuable minerals and metals.
Berg, 1952	Vår Historia II - Nya tiden	242	Under 1800-talet fanns det ännu många områden av jordklotet, som var föga kända. Såväl det inre Afrika och Asien som områdena vid polerna t.ex. Var ännu "vita fläckar" på kartan. För att stödja vetenskapen och skaffa industrin nya tillgångar på råvaror drog djärva män ut på upptäcktsfärder till de okända områdena. De trotsade hetta och köld, de stod ut med allehanda ansträngningar, och många av dem offrade sina liv för att gagna mänskligheten.	In the 19th century, there were still many areas of the globe that were little known. Inner Africa and Asia, as well as the polar regions, for example, were still 'white spots' on the map. To support science and provide industry with new supplies of raw materials, daring men set out on voyages of discovery to the unknown regions. They braved heat and cold, they endured all sorts of hardships, and many of them sacrificed their lives for the benefit of mankind.
Odhner, 1941	Lärobok i fäderneslandets historia	101	Den mest kända svenska vetenskapsmannen och en av världens främsta, var Karl von Linné	The most famous scientist in Sweden and one of the most outstanding in the world was Karl von Linné
Grimberg, 1956	Sveriges historia för Folkskolan 2	117	Hans namn kommer i alla tider att skänka glans åt svensk vetenskap	His name will forever bring glory to Swedish science.
Häger, 1992	Genom tiderna	82	Linné - ett svenskt geni [...] Linné kunde läsa i naturen som i en bok	Linnaeus - a Swedish genius. [...] Linnaeus could read nature like a book.
Thorén, 1978	Historia 3	25-26	I slutet av 1700-talet började många ungdomar söka sig in i lappmarkerna och grunda nybyggen där. De kom från byarna längst norrlandskusten. Det var de fattigaste som först gav sig iväg. De ville inte hela sitt liv gå som pigor och drängar åt andra. Uppe i ödemarken hoppades de finna någon egen jord som de kunde bruka. [...] Hans närmaste grannar var några lappar, som bodde nere vid sjön under sommaren. Han sökte upp dem och blev vän med dem. [...] Nu skrev han till landshövdingen och bad att få göra Strömnäs till nybygge. Landshövdingen gav honom tillstånd till det. Under 15 år skulle han slippa betala skatt för Strömnäs, och ingen skulle kunna ta området ifrån honom.	At the end of the 18th century, many young people began to move into the Lapland areas and found new settlements there. They came from the villages along the northland coast. It was the poorest who set off first. They didn't want to spend their whole lives as maids and servants for others. Up in the wilderness, they hoped to find some land of their own to farm. [...] His closest neighbours were a few lapps who lived down by the lake during the summer. He sought them out and made friends with them. [...] Now he wrote to the governor and asked to make Strömnäs a settlement. The governor gave him permission to do so. For 15 years he would not have to pay taxes for

				Strömnäs, and no one would be able to take the area away from him.
Eklund, 1985	Ur Folkens liv	104-105	Men livet ute i ödemarken var minst lika hårt och bekymmersamt som på soldattorpet. [...] När inflyttningarna ökade blev det bråk mellan samerna och nybyggarna. Nybyggarna var i första hand jordbrukare men fick jaga och fiska för husbehov. Men samerna klagade över att många av de nyinflyttade fiskade på deras gamla fiskevatten och lät sina djur beta på deras marker. Också nybyggarna klagade. De menade att samernas renar åt upp det hö som nybyggarna skulle ha till sina djur. Myndigheterna ställde sig mest på nybyggarnas sida när det blev stridigheter mellan dem och de renskötande samerna. Samerna måste böja sig för den nya ordningen och dra sig tillbaka från de omstridda fiskevattnet och betesmarkerna. Många lämnade sitt gamla levnadssätt och blev själva bofasta.	But life in the wilderness was just as hard and difficult as in the soldiers' village. [...] As the influx of settlers increased, there was conflict between the Sami and the settlers. The settlers were primarily farmers, but they were allowed to hunt and fish for domestic purposes. But the Sami complained that many of the new settlers fished in their old fishing grounds and let their animals graze on their land. The settlers also complained. They said that the Sami reindeer ate the hay that the settlers would have for their animals. The authorities mostly sided with the settlers when disputes arose between them and the reindeer-herding Sami. The Sami had to bow to the new order and withdraw from the disputed fishing waters and pastures. Many left their old way of life and became settlers themselves. .
Grimberg, 1956	Sveriges historia för Folkskolan 2	172	Naturrikedomar i avlägsna landsändar, som t.ex. De norrländska malmfälten, kunde nu utnyttjas. I trakter som förut varit ödemark, blev det plötsligt liv och rörelse. I Kiruna t.ex. Lär det år 1899 bara ha funnits en enda stuga. Några år därefter, sedan malmbanan kom till, hade där vuxit upp ett samhälle med en folkmängd på 7000 personer. Nu är Kiruna en stad med omkring 20 000 invånare.	Natural resources in remote rural areas, such as the ore fields of northern Sweden, could now be exploited. In areas that had previously been wasteland, there was suddenly life and movement. In Kiruna, for example, it is said that in 1899 there was only one cabin. A few years later, after the ore railway was built, a society with a population of 7000 had sprung into existence. Now Kiruna is a town of about 20 000 inhabitants.
Berg, 1952	Vår Historia II - Nya tiden	269, 271	Sedan samfärdseln har förbättrats, kunde även de rika järnmalmfälten i Lappland bearbetas, och dessa malmfält har under mycket goda år kunnat exportera malm för över 200 miljoner kronor. [...] För 100 år sedan var Sverige ett fattigt land, och ännu för femtio år sedan var välståndet mycket ojämt fördelat bland vårt folk. Genom den kraftiga utvecklingen av industrin har Sveriges naturrikedomar kommit till nytta och flertalet svenskar har fått större inkomster.	Since the improvement of the infrastructure, the rich iron ore fields in Lapland could be processed, and these ore fields have, during the good years, been able to export ore worth more than 200 million SEK. [...] A hundred years ago Sweden was a poor country, and even fifty years ago wealth was very unevenly distributed among our people. Through the rapid development of industry, Sweden's natural resources have been put to good use, and the majority of Swedes have gained greater income.
Kahnberg, 1977	Genom tiderna - Mellanstadiet	112	Är Norrland ett framtidsland? [...] I västra Europa behövde man trä till stöttor i gruvor, till hus och till fartyg. Norrlands väldiga skogar hade förr inte haft något värde att tala om. [...] När industrin kom, blev skogen värdefull.	Is Norrland a country of the future? [...] In Western Europe, wood was needed for supports in mines, for houses and for ships. The vast forests of Norrland had previously had no value to speak of. [...] When industry arrived, the forests became valuable.

Berg, 1952	Vår Historia II - Nya tiden	205	Norrland, som tidigare spelat en rätt obetydlig roll för Sveriges hushållning, blev genom järnvägarna Sveriges framtidsland. Norrlands rikedomar på skog, malm och vattenkraft kunde nu börja utnyttjas.	(1854)Norrland, which had previously played a rather insignificant role in Sweden's economy, became the country of the future through the railways. The wealth of forests, ore and water power in the north could now be exploited.
Grimberg, 1930	Sveriges historia för Folkskolan	292	Det blev järnvägarna, som gävo de norrländska gruvorna deras värde. Det var de, som väckte till liv "Norrlands slumrande millioner"	It was the railways that gave the northern mines their value. It was they who brought to life "the slumbering millions of Norrland".
Lennartsson, 2013	Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid.	72	I norra skandinavien fanns naturtillgångar som regeringarna ville utnyttja. Det fanns silvermalm, skog och vattenfall. Svenska staten krävde att samerna skulle forsla malm från silvergruvorna utan ersättning.	In northern Scandinavia there were natural resources that governments wanted to exploit. There were silver ores, forests and waterfalls. The Swedish government demanded that the Sami transport ore from the silver mines without compensation.
Thorén, 1978	Historia 3	9-10	Lappland var annorlunda med sina härliga skogar, breda floder och stora vattenfall. Han var uppe på fjällen och studerade Lapparna och deras renskötsel. Lapparna var magra, och Linné trodde att det berodde på att de åt mindre gröt än bönderna och måste springa så flitigt i fjällen. Lapparna var födda att slita ont, och han tyckte att det var synd om dem. Flera gånger om året kom lapparna ner till kyrkbyarna för att besöka gudstjänsten. De hade sina egna koror vid kyrkan. Men vid pingsttiden såg Linné ingen enda lapp vid kyrkan. Gäddan lekte som bäst i älven, och lapparna kunde inte slita sig från fisket.	Lapland was different with its beautiful forests, wide rivers and big waterfalls. He (Linné) was up in the mountains studying the Lapps and their reindeer husbandry. The Lapps were skinny, and Linnaeus thought it was because they ate less porridge than the farmers and had to run so hard in the mountains. The Lapps were born to toil, and he felt sorry for them. Several times a year, the Lapps came down to the church villages to attend services. They had their own huts by the church. But at Pentecost, Linnaeus did not see a single Lapp at the church. The pikes were at their best in the river, and the Lapps could not tear themselves away from fishing.
Eklund, 1985	Ur Folkens liv	104	Fjällsamerna företog långa flyttningar med sina familjer och renhjordar under våren, sommaren och hösten. Skogssamerna gjorde inte så långa flyttningar. På vintern bodde alla samer i sina tältkåtor i kustlandets skogar. Samerna hade sin egen religion och tillbad egendomligt formade stenar, som kallades seitar. Men svenska präster missionerade bland dem och i början av 1700-talet hade samerna blivit kristna. Regeringen grundade särskilda skolor där samernas barn fick lära sig att läsa, skriva och räkna.	The mountain Sami made long migrations with their families and reindeer herds during spring, summer and autumn. The Forest Sami did not make such long migrations. In winter, all the Sami lived in their tented huts in the coastal forests. The Sami had their own religion and worshipped strangely shaped stones called seitar. But Swedish priests proselytised among them and by the early 18th century the Sami had become Christians. The government set up special schools where Sami children were taught to read, write and count.
Häger, 1992	Genom tiderna	56	I det inre av landet låg "lappmarkerna". Där levde samerna. De flesta samerna ägnade sig åt renskötsel. Fjällsamerna följde de renar som höll till på fjällen om somrarna och i skogslandet om vintrarna. Skogssamerna hade renar som strövade omkring i skogslandet året runt. Många skogssamer levde till stor del av jakt och fiske. Under 1700-talet började staten uppmuntra unga svenskar att slå sig ner vid sjöar och i älvdalen i Norrland och odla jord där. Också många skogssamer blev bönder.	In the inner part of the country were the "Lapland". The Sami lived there. Most of the Sami were engaged in reindeer husbandry. The mountain Sami followed the reindeer that lived in the mountains in the summer and in the forest in the winter. The forest Sami had reindeer that roamed the woodlands all year round. During the 18th century, the state began to encourage young Swedes to settle by lakes and in the river valleys of Norrland and farm there. Many forest Sami also

				became farmers.
Lennartsson, 2013	Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid.	72	År 1751 bestämde regeringarna i Sverige och Danmark (Norge var en del av Danmark), att Samerna skulle betala skatt i det land där de vistades på vintern. Tidigare hade de ofta tvingats betala skatt i bägge länderna.	In 1751, the governments of Sweden and Denmark (Norway was part of Denmark) decided that the Sami should pay taxes in the country where they stayed during the winter. Previously, they had often had to pay taxes in both countries.
Lennartsson, 2013	Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid.	75	Varför höll man till med renarna på fjällslutningarna sommartid? På vilka olika sätt kunde Samer som bodde på olika platser försörja sig?	Why were the reindeer kept on the mountain slopes in summer? In which ways could the Sami who lived in different places make a livelihood?
Lennartsson, 2013	Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid.	72	Såvitt man vet har det funnits samer i norra Skandinavien så länge det överhuvud taget har bott människor där.	As far as is known, there have been Sami in northern Scandinavia for as long as there have been people living there at all.
Eklund, 1985	Ur Folkens Liv	104	Innanför kusten utbreddes sig stora områden där Samerna har levt som nomader och renskötare enda sedan 800-talet.	Inland, large areas spread out where the Sami have lived as nomads and reindeer herders since the 9th century.
Kahnberg, 1977	Genom tiderna - Mellanstadiet	13	Amerika var deras land sedan tusentals år tillbaka	America had been their homeland for thousands of years
Lennartsson, 2013	Historia : stormaktstid, frihetstid, gustaviansk tid.	94	Under 1700-talet erövrade de Europeiska kolonisterna i Nordamerika allt mer av Indianernas mark	During the 18th century, the European colonists in North America conquered more and more of the Indians' land
Häger, 1992	Genom tiderna	89	Indianerna drevs undan eller utrotades av de vita eldvapen. Lika farliga som eldvapnen var, var smittkoppor och andra sjukdomar, som var nya för indianerna och som de inte hade någon motståndskraft mot. De vita förde också med sig sprit, "eldvatten" som indianerna sade. Spriten förstörde många indianer. De blev alkoholister. Indianerna låg ofta i strid med varandra. Men under hela 1600-talet och ända till mitten av 1700-talet fanns det förbund av indianfolk i området kring de stora sjöarna. De kämpade mot de vita inkräktarna och lyckades hejda dem för en tid.	The Indians were driven away or exterminated by the firearms of the whites. Just as dangerous as the firearms were smallpox and other diseases, which were new to the Indians and to which they had no resistance. The whites also brought liquor, "firewater" as the Indians called it. The liquor destroyed many Indians. They became alcoholics. The Indians were often at war with each other. But throughout the 17th century and into the mid-17th century, there were confederations of Indians in the Great Lakes region. They fought the white invaders and managed to hold them off for a time.
Häger, 1992	Genom tiderna	92	Beskriv hur de vita påverkade Indianernas liv. Gör också en jämförelse med hur Samerna behandlades i vårt land. Se sida 56.	Describe how the whites affected the lives of the Indians. Also, make a comparison of how the Sami were treated in our country. See page 56

