

Summary and recommendations

1. From lack of knowledge to paternalism? Diversity as an end and means in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report.

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Summary:

The article is based on an analysis of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report from 2023, a comprehensive political and historical document. Three claims are made: Firstly, it is claimed that Norway is in an epistemological-political crisis in the Sami political field, characterized by both a lack of basic knowledge and disagreement about the knowledge basis for politics.

Secondly, it is argued that "diversity" in political language about the Sami and other minorities has taken on a paternalistic form, where minorities are seen instrumentally - both as ends and means in social projects.

Thirdly, this new paternalism is linked to the lack of knowledge, in that the absence of solid data makes the debate more symbolic than rights-oriented, and solutions are sought through value-laden diversity goals that in practice can have a disempowering effect on minorities. The article also places the Norwegian situation in an international context, and draws on theories from Will Kymlicka and Brian Barry to show the fundamental problems with an instrumental concept of diversity in minority policy. While diversity is often promoted as an end and means for democracy and social development, it is argued that such arguments tend to undermine individuals' right to free choice and equal treatment.

- Ethnic or cultural diversity cannot be a political end or means in a liberal democratic society. The reason is that it necessarily implies an instrumental view of minorities. A number of public documents on minority policy uncritically use an instrumental concept of diversity that does not belong in Norwegian minority policy. Greater awareness of the implications of the diversity rhetoric is needed.
- Norway should develop better data bases on ethnic minorities. Many documents in this field spend a lot of space mapping past misuse of data. This historical knowledge is important, but it should not be used to deter or delay initiatives to build better systems for collecting and using data about minorities.

2. Media coverage of the Parliament's consideration of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report

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Summary:

The Norwegian Parliament considered the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report on November 12, 2024. A total of 17 points were adopted as a settlement with the Norwegianization policy. In this article, we look at the media coverage of the Parliament's consideration in November 2024. That is, both the days before and the days after consideration.

The article shows the extent of traditional media coverage, both on radio, on television and in print and online newspapers. The study is based on quantitative media data.

The analysis of this data shows that media coverage had two peaks, a smaller peak when the Control and Constitutional Committee presented its recommendation, and a larger peak when the Parliament considered the recommendation. The analysis also shows that local and regional media in the north had the issue on the agenda for longer than media in the south, as well as national media. The figures show that media attention levelled off and remained at a relatively low level towards the end of

- The government develops a media and communication strategy on reconciliation policy and reconciliation policy measures aimed at knowledge needs in the majority society. Norwegian (possibly Sami) educational institutions are involved in this
- The government prioritizes a targeted effort to educate and retrain journalists about Sami issues.
- A study should be carried out of Sami and Kven language media reports that deal with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Parliament's consideration of its report, with regard to both scope and content.
- A study should be conducted of the importance of social media for the dissemination of and debate on Sami issues, including a study of the importance of social media for understanding and knowledge of truth and reconciliation.
- As the Sami and Kven media play a particularly important role in the dissemination of issues of Sami or Kven relevance, these media should ensure further development.

3. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's personal stories. Who participated, and what did they say?

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Summary:

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report contains a good deal of demographic information about the people who have shared their personal stories and provided input to the commission. In addition, the report contains a quantitative analysis of the themes people raised in the personal stories and in input to the commission. The commission has also cross-tabulated the themes to see which themes are mentioned in connection with each other. This information is used in this book chapter.

The personal stories are an important part of the commission's report. It is therefore interesting to analyze who the informants were and what they told. The total number of informants was 766 people. Among them, there is metadata for 522 informants. An analysis of this metadata shows that there was a preponderance of women who contributed. The age composition among the informants was very skewed, with a clear preponderance of older people and few participants from the younger generations. In addition, there is a clear preponderance of Sami and a correspondingly few Kvens and very few Forest Finns who have contributed. The material shows that a large proportion of the informants have only one ethnic identity (85 percent). They are either Sami, Kven or Forest Finn, while few state a multi-ethnicity where in addition to being Sami, Kven or Forest Finn they also have a Norwegian identity or, for example, a Sami and Kven identity. Informants with only a Norwegian identity are almost completely absent from the material.

Among the most frequently mentioned themes in the informants' stories are language, upbringing and education, reindeer herding and violence, analyzed in more detail to look at the other themes these main themes are mentioned in connection with. Some examples from the personal stories are cited to show the real-life events that hide behind the numbers in the report.

Recommendations:

The archive material of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is both rich in content and multifaceted. As of today, this material is not available to either the public or researchers more than two years after the commission concluded its work and handed over the material to the Arkivverket.

- The Arkivverket should make this material available in the Digital Archive as soon as practically possible. This applies to both the open part, which should be openly accessible to the public, and the restricted archive, which should be access-controlled according to guidelines for access set by the commission.
- The Arkivverket should inform researchers and research institutions about the extensive material they manage after the commission, and how researchers can access this material.
- The Arkivverket also has a moral obligation to inform Sami, Kven/Norwegian Finns and Forest Finns about how they can access the open archive after the commission.
- Researchers and research institutions should prioritize research based on the commission's material because this material is unique. For example, there are 95 stories about violence, 307 stories about reindeer herding, 275 stories about authorities and administration, 607 stories about identity and 719 stories about discrimination. The archive can be said to be a great resource for researchers who want to research the topic of Norwegianization and injustice towards Sami, Kven and Forest Finns.

4. The majority population on Norwegianization and reconciliation.

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Summary:

According to the mandate of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the mapping of the consequences of the Norwegianization policy should include, among other things, the relationship between the majority population and the Sami, Kven/Norwegian Finns. This particularly applied to the consequences of the Norwegianization policy in the form of discrimination and the spread of prejudice against the Sami and Kven/Norwegian Finns. The Commission should also lay the foundation for continued reconciliation between the Sami, Kven/Norwegian Finns and the majority population.

In order to say something about the place of the majority population in the settlement of the consequences of the Norwegianization policy, knowledge about this part of the population is needed. This study examines the majority population's knowledge of and familiarity with the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In addition, we examine the majority population's perception of the level of knowledge about the Norwegianization policy in Norwegian society, including whether knowledge changed during the commission's working period or after the report was submitted. Questions about reconciliation and the commission's final report will also be part of the data base.

The data material is taken from five population surveys that were conducted in the period 2021-2023, where the respondents were mainly from the majority population. The surveys were conducted as part of the TRUCOM research project, and were conducted by Digsscore, UiB. The respondent base was around 2,000 people in each of the five rounds.

- The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's division into a rights pillar for language and culture, and one for land and water, should be used as the basis for political reconciliation work.
- The need for reconciliation measures that address the consequences of the Norwegianization policy in terms of the management and use of land and resources must be acknowledged.
- The pillar on land and water must be seen in light of the Storting's previous decisions on Sami land rights and resource utilization and public land use, and be operationalized based on indigenous peoples' rights.
- Regular population surveys should be conducted on the majority population's knowledge and knowledge needs, attitudes, expectations and support for reconciliation efforts.

5. Those affected must be heard – who are the Sami teachers in primary school?

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Summary:

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report pointed out that the school and the role of the teacher were central to the Norwegianization policy that was carried out in Norway, which led, among other things, to language loss, lost schooling and limited learning outcomes for Sami students. In our time, however, the school is considered an arena for language revitalization measures in which Sami teachers are central actors. This article presents results from a survey that includes 123 Sami teachers who have local teaching about

and in Sami. The survey centers around Sami teachers' background and experiences from Sami-language teaching. The article highlights factors related to teachers, their educational background, how long they have worked in school, the student base they meet and whether they work within or outside the administrative area.

The results show that Sami teachers mainly have teaching competence in the subject(s) they teach, and a significant proportion also have further education. This does not apply to Sami teachers in initial education where only 40% have teaching competence. The gender distribution is similar to the ratio in Norwegian schools, and in the 2021-2022 school year, two-thirds of the informants taught in schools within the administrative area. Most teachers have short and long experience as teachers, 1-5 years and 21 years or more, respectively.

If we assume that the most experienced teachers will retire within the next 10-15 years, that the current number of students is stable and that all teachers should have teaching qualifications, it is reasonable to estimate that we will need at least 15-20 new teachers in schools each year in the future. This does not take into account the increasing number of students receiving distance learning, which requires more teachers than on-site teaching.

In order for us to be successful with the state's revitalization policy and measures in primary and secondary schools, it is crucial to recruit more Sami speakers to teacher education. In order to safeguard the rights of students in primary and secondary schools

in accordance with the Education Act, it is also necessary to ensure to a greater extent that they have formal and relevant education, including for second language education. This is of great importance if second language education is to be successful as a language revitalization measure. The increase in the number of students outside the administrative area requires the development of alternative ways of organizing education for this group of students. Bilingualism, language revitalization and indigenous perspectives must be the cornerstone of all measures aimed at the education of Sami teachers and Sami education in and outside the administrative area.

- Alternative measures should be investigated as soon as possible to increase the recruitment of Sami speakers to teacher education programmes.
- Overviews should be prepared of the competence situation of those who teach Sami as a first language, Sami as a second language and those who teach Sami in various school subjects in primary and lower secondary schools.
- Alternative qualification courses must be considered for those who do not have formal education, but teach Sami as a first language, Sami as a second language, Sami or both.
- Relevant and competence-giving further education must be offered for teachers who teach Sami as a first language, Sami as a second language and Sami initial education from a bilingualism, language revitalisation and indigenous peoples perspective.
- Alternative organisational methods and training models than the current ones should be developed for the increasing number of students who live outside language development- and language revitalisation municipalities with dispersed settlements.