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Sustainable Development – New Solution or Old Sorrows?

Indigenous Voices on the Frontlines towards Environmental Justice in Norway.

Master's thesis in Natural Resources Management
Supervisor: Frode Flemsæter
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Preface

This master's thesis is an original, independent, unpublished work by the author, Freya Rixen-Cunow. It is the product of an over one year long process of developing my conceptual framework and undertaking qualitative research which included several field trips within Norway. It is part of completing my Master's degree in Natural Resources Management at NTNU, Trondheim.

My motivations to engage with this topic of environmental activism, sustainability and justice are diverse. Two aspects were especially decisive choosing this thematic area. At first, my own engagement in questions of education, human rights, power structures and environment. Second, the observation of what and how is taught about sustainability at universities, which and whose narratives generally dominate, but also how those narratives slightly begin to change. Thus, despite manifold doubts of working on questions encompassing an indigenous dimension as a non-indigenous researcher, I focused on the topic nonetheless to explore more deeply the vast entanglements of human life and nature. It has not always been easy, yet I am very grateful for the opportunity of dedicating my academic pursuits to this field.

Tråante, 15. Mai 2019

Freya Rixen-Cunow

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And at last, thanks also to you, reader. Your interest is this works purpose.

Abstract

The call for sustainable development marks a major thread in almost all institutions, organizations, governments and the international community alike. In Norway, this led to the so called *green shift*. It includes, among other things, the development of renewable energy projects, in particular wind energy. Those projects, however, are in conflict with the reindeer pastoralism of the Sámi people, as it diminishes the exercise of their traditional way of life. As a consequence, local and indigenous communities resist the new and positively intended changes which threaten them in the name of the greater good. This raises questions of how just the green shift is, considering especially the underlying historical, cultural, sociopolitical and economic structures.

Based on the concepts of environmental justice and just sustainabilities, the aim of this thesis is twofold: firstly, to elucidate the links between sustainable development, social justice and indigenous environmental activism, and secondly, to examine activists' perspectives and experiences of sustainability and justice in regard to the Norwegian green shift. For this purpose, data were collected through both in-depth interviews mainly with people engaged in environmental issues and identifying as Sámi, and the participation and observation of several meetings.

It has been shown that the informants generally evaluated the process of the green shift as contrasting with their values, knowledge, awareness, perceptions of justice and equity, identity and indigenous rights. The concept of sustainable development has been found to have lost its credibility for the activists. It fails to include not only justice at several dimensions, but also lacks different perspectives and (post) colonial and ethical considerations. Furthermore, instead of benefitting all four theoretical pillars society, culture, economy and environment alike, economy was identified as major beneficiary of the green shift. Thus, the Norwegian sustainable development is not to the same degree sustainable and just for everyone. Indigenous environmental activism is herein acting as a disturbing factor – in a positive way. This is, as it points out the weaknesses of the current discourse. This thesis outlines that what is called *sustainable development* and *green energy* by the global community, is phrased quite differently by affected indigenous communities and environmental activists.

Sammendrag

Etterspørselen etter en bærekraftig utvikling er blitt en stor del av nesten alle institusjoner, organisasjoner, regjeringer og det internasjonale samfunnet. I Norge førte det til det såkalte *grønne skiftet*. Det inkluderer i stor grad utvikling av prosjekter innen fornybar energi, og spesielt innen vindkraft. Disse prosjektene er i konflikt med den pastorale reindriften til samene, og minsker deres mulighet til å leve ut sine tradisjonelle levemåter. Som en konsekvens av dette har lokale og urfolkssamfunn motsatt seg de nye og positivt mente påbudene, som truer dem 'til det beste for felleskapet'. Dette setter spørsmål ved hvor rettferdig det grønne skiftet er, spesielt når underliggende historiske, kulturelle, sosiopolitiske og økonomiske strukturer tas i betraktning.

Bygget på et rammeverk av miljø rettferdighet og rettferdig bærekraft, er målet med denne avhandlingen todelt: for det første, å belyse koblingene mellom bærekraftig utvikling, sosial rettferdighet og urfolks miljøaktivisme, og for det andre å undersøke aktivistenes perspektiver og oppfatninger av bærekraft og rettferdighet i sammenheng med det grønne skiftet i Norge. For å oppnå dette har jeg samlet inn data gjennom dybdeintervjuer, hovedsakelig med mennesker som er engasjert i miljøproblematikk og identifiserer seg som samisk, i tillegg til å være med på og observere under flere møter.

Jeg fant at informantene generelt sett mente at prosessen med det grønne skiftet stod i kontrast til deres verdier, kunnskap, bevissthet, oppfatninger av rettferdighet og likestilling, identitet og urfolksrettigheter. Selv om bærekraftig utvikling i teorien skal fokusere like mye på de fire pilarene samfunn, kultur, økonomi og miljø, er det hovedsakelig det økonomiske som har drevet det grønne skiftet. Derfor konseptet bærekraftig utvikling har mistet sin kredibilitet for aktivistene. Det unnlater ikke bare å inkludere rettferdighet og likestilling i flere dimensjoner, men ogsa ulike perspektiver og (post)koloniale og etiske betraktninger. Dermed er ikke den norske bærekraftige utviklingen bærekraftig og rettferdig for alle. Urfolks miljøaktivisme opptrer her som en forstyrrende faktor – på en positiv måte. Dette fordi den påpeker svakhetene ved den nåværende diskursen. Denne avhandlingen viser at det som kalles *bærekraftig utvikling* og *grønn energi* i globale samfundet, blir omtalt veldig annerledes av berørte urfolkssamfunn og miljøaktivister.

Zusammenfassung

Die Forderung nach nachhaltiger Entwicklung stellt heutzutage einen zentralen Punkt in nahezu allen Institutionen, Organisationen, Regierungen und der internationalen Gemeinschaft dar. In Norwegen führte dies zur sogenannten *grüne Wende*. Diese umfasst v.a. den Ausbau von erneuerbaren Energien, insbesondere Windenergie. Solche Projekte stehen jedoch im Widerspruch zur Rentierhaltung der Sámi, da hierdurch die traditionelle Lebensweise beeinträchtigt wird. Infolgedessen widersetzen sich lokale und indigene Gemeinschaften den neuen und positiv beabsichtigten Veränderungen. Es stellt sich daher die Frage, wie gerecht die grüne Wende im Hinblick auf die historischen, kulturellen, gesellschaftspolitischen und wirtschaftlichen Strukturen ist.

Basierend auf den Konzepten der Umweltgerechtigkeit und der gerechten Nachhaltigkeit verfolgt diese Arbeit zwei Ziele: Erstens sollen die Zusammenhänge zwischen nachhaltiger Entwicklung, sozialer Gerechtigkeit und indigenem Umweltaktivismus beleuchtet werden und zweitens sollen die Perspektiven und Erfahrungen von Aktivisten in Bezug auf Nachhaltigkeit und Gerechtigkeit in Norwegen untersucht werden. Zu diesem Zweck wurden Interviews mit Personen geführt, die umweltaktivistisch involviert sind und sich als Sámi identifizieren. Darüber hinaus wurden durch die Teilnahme an mehreren Treffen Daten gesammelt.

Es hat sich gezeigt, dass die Informanten die grüne Wende als Widerspruch zu ihren Werten, ihrem Wissen, Bewusstsein, ihrer Wahrnehmung von Gerechtigkeit und Gleichheit, Identität und ihren Rechten als Ureinwohner bewerten. Das Konzept der nachhaltigen Entwicklung hat seine Glaubwürdigkeit für die Aktivisten verloren, insbesondere da es nur geringfügig Fragen von Gerechtigkeit, verschiedene Perspektiven und (post)kolonialen Dimensionen berücksichtigt. Statt alle vier theoretischen Säulen von Gesellschaft, Kultur, Wirtschaft und Umwelt gleichermaßen zu nutzen, wurde die Wirtschaft als Hauptnutznießer der grünen Wende identifiziert. Die nachhaltige Entwicklung in Norwegen ist daher nicht für alle Menschen im selben Maße nachhaltig und gerecht. Indigener Umweltaktivismus wirkt hier, in positiver Weise, als Störfaktor und weist auf die Schwächen des gegenwärtigen Diskurses hin. In dieser Thesis wird dargelegt, dass das, was von der globalen Gemeinschaft als *nachhaltige Entwicklung* und *grüne Energie* bezeichnet wird, von betroffenen indigenen Gemeinschaften und Umweltaktivisten anders formuliert wird.

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List of Abbreviations

EJ	Environmental Justice
EJM	Environmental Justice Movement
EJP	Environmental Justice Paradigm
JS	Just Sustainabilities
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NTNU	Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)
PoC	People of Color
SD	Sustainable Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America

Glossary

Activism	Activism takes mostly non-violent, political action to trigger a change to the unsatisfying situation. It is an action that uses campaigning to bring about political or social change.
Colonialism	The historical process of geographical expansion, including the spread of western ways of thinking and acting such as agricultural practices, educational and economic systems and the conquest of the 'others'.
Discrimination	Treating different categories of people unjust or prejudicial, often based on social categories.
Intersectionality	A key analytic framework to identify, theorize and talk about the relationship between different overlapping social categories which are fundamental for structural identities, such as gender, ethnicity, race, sexuality, culture, class, education, ability, age, and so forth.
Pastoralism	The practice of raising and herding livestock, thus animal husbandry. Originally often linked to nomadic live forms, but it takes many forms on different scales.
Power	The ability or/and capacity to act in a particular way and to influence others in terms of decisions and events, thus being influential. Power can be hold by individuals as well as groups, organizations or governments. Therefore, it can also mean political and/or social authority and control. Power structures concern especially the structure of distribution of this power/ capacity/ authority in a community.
Privilege	A special advantage or right that a person is born into or gains during their lifetime. The formal and informal institutions of society are supporting it which is why it is automatically given to all members of a dominant group.
Racism	The belief that one's own race or ethnicity is superior to another, resulting in discrimination and/or prejudices towards people because of different races and ethnicities.
Resistance	To refuse to comply with or accept something. A state of dissatisfaction with a situation, which can be expressed both violent and non-violent.
Social justice	A political and philosophical concept which describes that all people of a society should have equal access to opportunities, privileges, health, wealth, well-being and justice.

1. Introduction

1.1. Contextualization & Relevance

"So what value creation has reindeer husbandry in this area?", he asks. "It would be interesting to know for those who live here, as we need to live from something". Some murmuring occurs during the input, followed by applause here and there. I'm at an open meeting where residents of a Norwegian township receive information and can ask questions concerning the plans of a wind park construction on the mountain plateau close to their home. The above question is asked during the open debate and addressed to the leader of the local reindeer grazing district, who was, next to company-, planning-, building- and municipality-members, invited to present the reindeer herders perspective on the planned project. Calmly, the district-leader takes the microphone and answers: "It is no surprise that this question rises here today. It is something, that reindeer husbandry faces constantly – what is your value creation – and I have criticized my own organization for not taking it up more seriously. So, seen in the larger context, reindeer herders add no wealth to the municipality. But there is nevertheless value creation in husbandry. Only this wealth creation is not about the growth of capital, it is about the survival of reindeer husbandry in the future. During the planning process, it was proposed that we should be open for bargaining; But I don't operate a shop with pastures. I'm not allowed to sell anything. Even if I can get some natural goods and a good pension out of it. What about my descendants? Am I allowed to sell my entire inheritance if I'm not sure if my descendants can also carry out reindeer husbandry in the future? I think that's a good enough answer". Even more applause in the room and nodding of those, who relate to what was said.[1]

This was one of the scenes during this project's fieldwork, which I will never forget. It almost summarizes the whole topic in a few sentences, while still mirroring its full complexity. To understand the reasons, why all those people met that day in that room, talking about wind parks, reindeer husbandry, value creation, and responsibilities, I have to take a few steps back in history to the starting point. In the very beginning of this story stands an idea. It is the idea of *sustainable development*. It is on everyone's lips, this call for sustainability. If anyone has managed to ignore or forget about the concepts rapid spread since the 1980s, it should

[1] To present this story I made use of narrative freedom and neither cited the complete conversation nor utterly literally. Also, it is translated by me from the original language, Norwegian. The story is picked up again later with quotations conforming to academic standards and embedded in more theoretical context.

definitely be on their agenda now, following the global school strikes by thousands of teenagers since autumn 2018. What world and national state leaders have failed to consistently act upon, has become the fighting cause for the new generation of young people around the globe. Their calls, to stop with the continuation of supposedly destructive actions which leave the planet environmentally and socially fragmented, echo across the streets (e.g. Carrington, 2019). Never before we have faced so many global challenges – we are confronted with strongly interlinked social and environmental challenges such as climate change, loss of biodiversity, food in-security, pollution, unequal resource distribution, financial crisis and global migration amongst flora, fauna and humans. Most of those challenges are directly or indirectly influenced by human activities like resource exploitation and ways of consumption. Even though humans depend on intact ecosystems and ecosystem services for their well-being and security, we affect them to an extent and in a pace that threatens their ability to recover (Folke et al., 2002; Rockström et al., 2009; Steffen et al., 2015). Already for decades, researchers, environmentalists, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and indigenous peoples have drawn attention to the devastating consequences of human's behavior on earth. Today, already four of the nine planetary boundaries have been transgressed, namely climate change, loss of biosphere integrity, land-system change and altered biogeochemical cycles, contributing to an increasing vulnerability of humanity and to changes which lie beyond our scope to deal with (Rockström et al., 2009; Steffen et al., 2015). This is also underlined by the most recent report released by *The Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services* which not only warns that the global species extinction rates and nature's decline are unprecedented, but current responses are also insufficient (IPBES, 2019).

Thus, solutions are needed; a shift away from the recent practices and towards long-term, resilient, inclusive, socio- and eco-friendly approaches to preserve the earth for todays and future generations. And the solution has a name: Sustainable development – economic growth without environmental destruction. The discourse, which started already in the 1960s, continues to be a topic of considerable importance. *Sustainability* and *sustainable development* are today common terms, used by almost all institutions, organizations, companies, governments and the international community. The most cited and standard definition of sustainable development is from the *World Commission on Environment and Development,* better known as *Brundtland Commission*, in 1987. In their report *Our common future* it is defined as *"[a] development that meets the needs of the present without*

compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'' (WCED, 1987, p. 41), based on the four pillars of economy, society, culture and environment.

The strife towards sustainable development has in the meantime also reached Norway, the country "*powered by nature*" (VisitNorway, 2019, n.p.), as it is commercialized for tourism purposes. In 2019, its capital Oslo was announced the European Green Capital by the *European Commission*, especially for its approach to nature conservation and tackling climate change (European Commission, 2019). The attention to sustainable development led in the Norwegian state to an increased political focus on the development of sustainable technologies, especially the construction of renewable energies. This development is known as the *green shift*[2]**.** As the *Ministry of Climate and Environment* states, the aim is not only to make a positive contribution to the world's environmental challenges, especially the climate change, it is also a chance to stay competitive and create a new economic model which is less dependent on fossil fuels, both as energy and source of income (Ministry of Climate and Environment, 2014). For the realization of those goals which serve 'the greater good', politics, economy, academia and society have to play their part.

However, the term of sustainable development is at the present so widely used that some argue it has lost its central meaning (Kates, Parris, & Leiserowitz, 2005). Its flexibility in usage holds therefore the danger of being misunderstood or misused, even reproducing old problems and creating new inequalities, leaving those behind that have been, and still are, fighting hardest for sustainability in the first place. This involves often times minorities, such as local and indigenous communities, which are most affected by the consequences of unsustainable resource management and practices. To protect their land and with it their traditions, culture and knowledge, indigenous peoples worldwide resist destructive developments affecting them. They demand to be heard and fight on the frontlines of environmental justice movements.

Scoping this topic down to Norway again, puts the focus on the last remaining indigenous community of northern Europe- the Sámi (also spelled Saami and Sami), which constitute an ethnic minority in Finland, Russia, Sweden and Norway (Riseth, 2003). The Sámi, like many other indigenous communities worldwide, are involved in several resource conflicts which threaten their livelihood, in particular their traditional reindeer herding. The husbandry has

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[2] Norwegian: *grønne skifte*. Within this work, 'green shift', 'renewable energy projects', 'green energy construction', 'green development' and other similar terms are often used interchangeable, always referring to the actions in the context of the Norwegian sustainable development.

been an important part of their livelihood since prehistoric times, not only as source of income but also as main carrier for traditional heritage, language and knowledge (Anaya, 2011; Riseth, 2003). However, in recent times, "*Sami and Sámi traditions of life face almost impossible pressures from development*" (Jull, 2003, p. 35). Losing land at high pace to new developments, including a large number of renewable energy projects in the name of the green shift, is among the main factors. While the global community is striving for and celebrating green and sustainable development as *the* solution to many of the growing global environmental problems, the Sámi are not as keen on these so-called solutions. In the contrary- they are resisting the consequences of those calls for sustainability, which promote, among other, the construction of renewable energy projects in their homelands. The fight against exploitative practices resulting from any kind of development is for indigenous minorities often closely linked to the fight for their rights and lands as well as the preservation of their identity, community, values, knowledge and traditional ways of living. Including a wider focus with such questions around social justice and equity, however, is often lacking also in sustainable development projects. Such projects focus most often on ecological sustainability on the one hand and economic development on the other. As AGYEMAN et al. (2002) outline though, *"sustainability cannot be simply a 'green' or' environmental' concern"* (p. 78), but "*justice and equity must move centre stage in sustainability discourses, if we are to have any chance of a more sustainable future*" (Agyeman, 2008, p. 752).

The *environmental justice* discourse and its allied concept *just sustainabilities* pay attention to those issues and help to contextualize the experiences of environmental impacts linked to (racialized) injustice. The environmental justice paradigm evolved during the 1980s from a grassroots movement driven by low-income, People of Color (PoC) and indigenous peoples (Agyeman, Schlosberg, Craven, & Matthews, 2016; Bullard & Johnson, 2000; Evans, Bullard, & Agyeman, 2012; Mohai, Pellow, & Roberts, 2009; Schlosberg, 2013). It combines issues of environmental and social justice to "*bring attention to the crucial relationship between a functioning environment and the attainment of social justice for all*" (Agyeman et al., 2016, p. 336). Hence, the concept allows to recognize how certain actions and developments not only perpetuate historical injustices but also construct new ones. Next to racial discrimination, also economic and sociopolitical factors are identified as possible explanations for injustices (Mohai et al., 2009). The injustices are furthermore seen to take place on different dimensions, including for instance a geographical, intra- or intergenerational dimension (Agyeman et al., 2016; Mohai et al., 2009). Intergenerational

responsibilities are also tackled within the sustainable development discourse. For example, renewable energy is generally seen as a major driver for the transformation towards a more sustainable future and it is argued that if we do not act now, future generations might face even worse consequences. But then again – on whose costs takes the development place *today* and with which consequences?

1.2. Study interest and Research questions

Based on the above outlined background, I attempt with this work to investigate the role that indigenous environmental activism takes within the ongoing sustainable development discourse. The topic is examined through a qualitative case study which focuses in particular on the perspectives and experiences of Sámi and non-Sámi environmental activists in the context of the green shift, with special focus on the perceptions of injustices. Thus, the concepts of environmental justice and just sustainabilities are used as underlying theoretical frameworks.

A set of research questions are guiding the thesis. First of all, the research explores how is sustainable development perceived and conceptualized by environmental activists in Norway? Furthermore it is asked what are the implications and various entanglements of environmental activism in the context of the Norwegian green shift? To frame the broad scope of this question, it is further supported by two subquestions. Firstly, what are the underlying causes for and major consequences of the engagement in environmental issues? And secondly, how is the engagement in environmental issues of Sámi people embedded in the efforts to preserve identity, community and traditional ways of life? At last, the thesis aims to investigate to what degree does the green shift, in particular the green energy development, represent an environmentally just practice?

By exploring those questions, I intend in a broader sense to pay attention to oftentimes un- or underrepresented perspectives and experiences in natural resources management and sustainability paradigms. The thesis' intention is not to diminish the concept of sustainable development or the strife for a green shift, and it is also not a pro vs. contra discussion on those paradigms or renewables energies. The intention is rather to outline the links between sustainable development, environmental activism and justice. I thereby aim in general to contribute to a broader, more inclusive and just sustainability-debate, which does not forget about its own complexity and challenges while rushing towards the supposed target. The Sámi resistance against the effects of the green shift gives such an insight to the 'other side' of the

sustainable development discourse and demonstrates the need for conversations on the equity and justice within *green* and *sustainable* development.

1.3. Reflections and terminological clarifications

I furthermore want to begin this thesis with outlining that I am overall very conscious about the sensitivity of the works' subject, in a social, political and historical context. As I am writing from a western-European, white, female position, I would like to emphasize, that I do not speak 'on behalf' of indigenous peoples and neither mean in any way to treat the Sámi or any indigenous communities culture, ways of living, history or engagement disrespectfully or reproduce stereotypes and colonial structures. For instance, I do not want to evoke stereotypes of "*'ecological Indian[s] or any other variety of the Noble Savage*", as KUOKKANEN (2010, p. 62) phrases it. Yet, as academia in itself contributes to the reproduction of historical uneven power structures, I perceive it as crucial while working on this topic, to make colonial entanglements – within the topic, as well as within the act of research – visible throughout the work. Critical reflection therefore constitutes a major part of the thesis.

In this regard I'd also like to make a note on terminology. Throughout this work, I use terms such as 'indigenous', 'traditional', 'global north' and 'global south', 'oppression', 'colonization', while being conscious about their contested, complex and relational nature. For example, I am aware that there exist 'global north'' in the 'global south' and vice versa. Or that 'traditional knowledge' of indigenous peoples encompasses more than the romantic idea of living in harmony with nature. I am nevertheless using certain terms in order to highlight the existence of differences between these categories, although they are both diverse and contain differences within.

For example, during the process of the thesis, I often received the question '*but what do you mean by 'indigenous' and 'western' and why are some communities indigenous and others not?'*. It might not come as a surprise that this question was exclusively asked by non-indigenous people from the western world, and I cannot blame them as it can be a difficult term to understand when not relating to it personally. Thus, I do not consider myself to hold a position from which I truly understand the meaning of indigenity. To the complexity of the matter contributes furthermore, that it is not possible to define *indigenous* or *western* in exclusive terms (Olsen, 2016). KUOKKANEN points in that regard out, that "*Indigenous peoples in the world resist one, fixed definition for Indigenous peoples"* (p. 412). Moreover, "*in many indigenous settings, as it is in Norway with the Sámi, it is not always that easy to*

distinguish between indigenous (Sámi) and non-indigenous (Norwegian)" (Olsen, 2016, p. 31). Generally, *indigenous* is a political term, a label of identity which varies against the background of the social, historical and political context. Also *western* as term can only be understood in relation to something else. And while no common fixed definition exists, do all

> "*Groups identifying as indigenous typically exercise political and cultural self-determination through their own laws, rights, and governing capacities—often having to navigate ongoing forms of colonialism, such as settler colonialism, colonial legacies, and numerous legal, political, bureaucratic, and social barriers imposed by nations, international organizations, subnational and municipal governments, corporations, and groups of private citizens*" (Whyte, 2016, p. 1).

It is hereby problematic, that the term *indigenous* is collectivizing a large number of distinct communities with diverse political and geographical situations, values, beliefs and practices (Kuokkanen, 2000). Thus, the term is rather an umbrella, enabling communities and people to find themselves together over common experiences of being colonized (L. T. Smith, 2013). Furthermore, is the connection to land and water – its sacredness, as relatives, ancestors or places of origin – seen as important variable connecting indigenous communities (Brave NoiseCat, 2017). Indigenous peoples are generally also referred to as 'First peoples', 'Native peoples', 'First Nations', 'People of the Land', 'Aboriginals' or ' Fourth World Peoples' (L. T. Smith, 2013).

I am furthermore using the terms *activism*, *engagement* and *resistance* almost interchangeably, intending to speak of a form of engagement or activity performed by an individual or a group of people. While activism is a broader and commonly used term for efforts taken to achieve changes in social, political, economic or environmental reforms (see glossary), I was made aware during the research, that some informants felt uncomfortable with using the term. Therefore, I have been trying throughout the work to speak rather of *engagement.*

1.4. Outline

In order to contextualize my study, I start with the presentation of the theoretical framework (chapter 2), which encompasses an introduction to the sustainable development paradigm as well as to the concepts of environmental justice and just sustainabilities. I than present the background for the case study (chapter 3), focusing briefly on indigenous environmental activism and afterwards on the Norwegian context. Hereby, the green shift and relevant points regarding the Sámi are presented. The following chapter 4 represents a transition from

theoretical background to methodology by concentrating on power structures linked to indigenous peoples and coloniality in and around research. As already mentioned, marks the reflection on power structures a red thread throughout the work, which is why this chapter has been completely dedicated to it. Chapter 5 addresses solely the methods, outlining in detail how the qualitative research was conducted. It is followed by the presentation of the findings from the fieldwork (chapter 6). Eventually, the results are situated in the context of the empirical background and discussed with regard to the underlying research questions (chapter 7). I chose this approach of separating findings and discussion, to give the informants' voices and experiences a well-defined own space. At last, the conclusion (chapter 8) brings together all the threads, focusing especially on broader connections and implications of this works outcome.

2. Theoretical perspectives

You cannot get through a single day without having an impact on the world around you.
What you do makes a difference, and you have to decide
what kind of difference you want to make.
– Jane Goodall

As anyone who ever dealt with the concepts of sustainability, sustainable development (SD) or environmental justice (EJ) knows, fills their broadness and complexity a whole bookshelf. As a preliminary note to this chapter I therefore want to emphasize, that due to space limitations I only provide a brief overview on the general understanding, evolvement and gaps, and focus on the aspects of main importance to this work. Despite the large variety of views upon those matters, I concentrate on theories, scholars and empirical views within the frameworks of the concepts, which have a higher relevance for and correspond to my research interest and aim of the thesis. To ease the complexity of the theoretical framework, it furthermore has been simplified summarized in Fig. 1 to visualize the most relevant aspects and some of their main connections of importance in the context of this thesis. *Green shift* and *green colonization* are terms which are introduced in chapter 3: The case study. While the figure is far from being complete, it still offers a general overview, guiding through the following chapters.

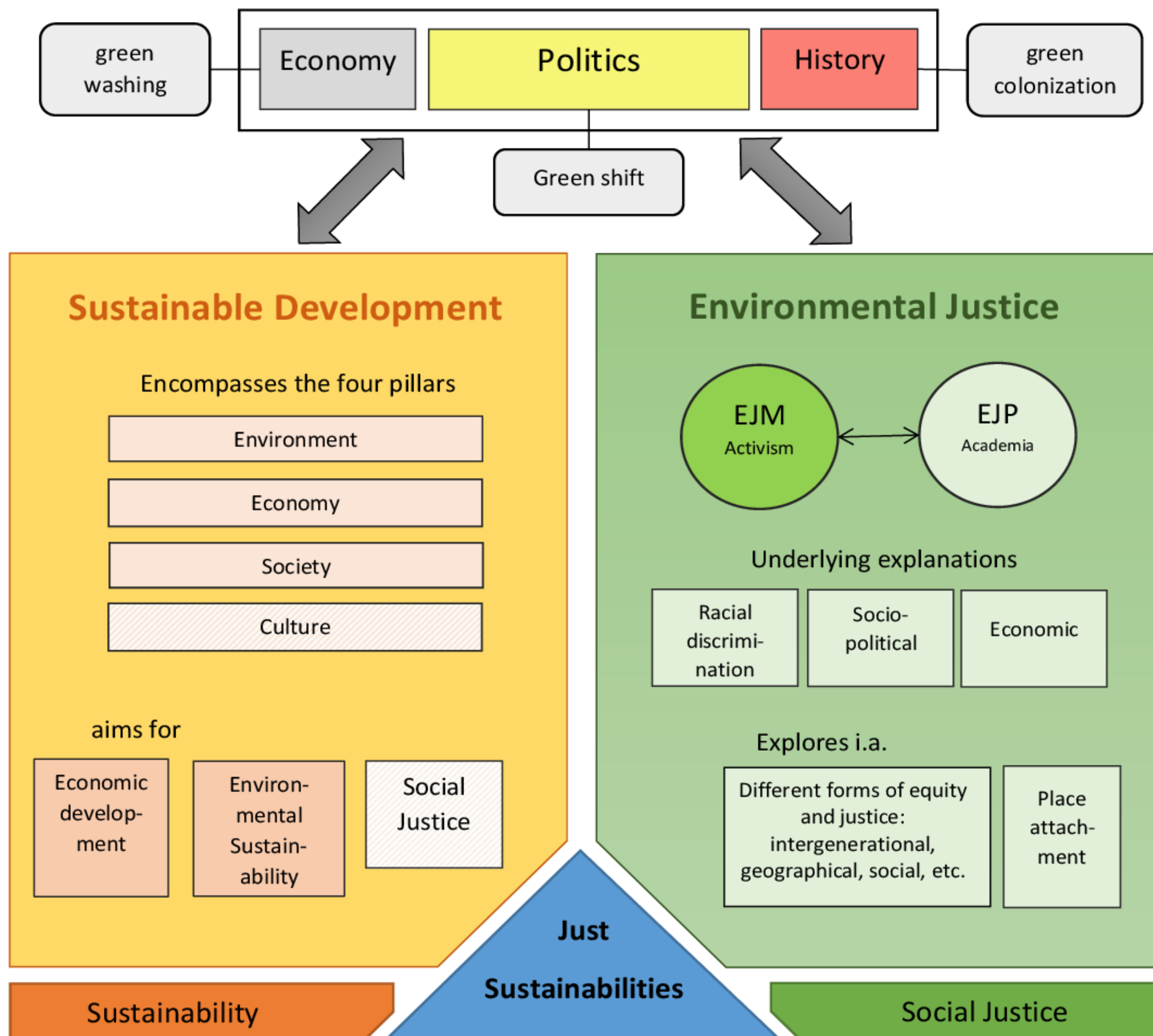

Fig. 1: Overview of the theoretical framework

2.1. Sustainable development

2.1.1. Development of the concept

Sustainability and *sustainable development* are terms often used interchangeable in both academic and popular discourses, even though they are no synonyms (Dessein et al., 2015; Harvey & Braun, 1996). While sustainability as idea and practice emerged already 250 years

ago within German forest management[3], the discussions about the world's limits during the 1972 *UN Stockholm Conference* and the Club of Rome's publication of *Limits to Growth* (1972), mark usually the beginning of its introduction and rapid rise as term and concept in modern times (Agyeman et al., 2002).

SD became the 'action-oriented variant' of sustainability (ibid.). The most widely cited definition for SD is presented in the so called *Brundtland Report* from 1987 which asserted that the only way to solve the global environmental problems is by a combination of ecology and economy. In the report, SD it described as "*[a] development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs''* (WCED, 1987, p. 41). An overall common understanding and definition of the concepts is, however, missing. This broad 'definition' is at the root of many controversies and considerable disagreement among scholars in different disciplines, over how the definition should be operationalized or how sustainability should be measured (Banerjee, 2003). Nevertheless, many have adopted this or a similar formulation as definition, sometimes with small changes (Atkinson, Dietz, & Neumayer, 2007). The lack of a clear definition did also not stop the debate around SD from expanding – rather contrary, it might even have contributed to its vertical and horizontal expansion. After all, SD is hitting the zeitgeist as it concentrates on some of the most recent concerns: development and environment (Kates et al., 2005).

Development is generally understood, among other connotations depending on discipline and context, as transformation which embraces a new way of being and thinking and leaving the old ways behind (Neumann, 2014). Seen in an international context, a common conceptualization understands development especially as a program that intends to improve the lives of people in the global south through a larger integration of their national economies into a world capitalistic system. A significant change took place in the 1970s in international development thinking, when the importance of the environment in relation to economy was discovered (ibid.). *Environment* as a term can embrace manifold meanings, as it is further outlined in chapter 2.2.1. In the context of SD, it is important to mention that discourses of development construct a particular view of the *environment* or *nature.* Even though those

[3] For readers who are proficient in the German language, the book *Die Entdeckung der Nachhaltigkeit: Kulturgeschichte eines Begriffs* by ULRICH GROBER (2013) offers interesting insights to the terms history. Based on today's over-usage of the term of sustainability and the danger of its vanishing, the book explores the terms emergence and original meaning in the context of modern resource management and its forms of possibilities today and in the future. I am aware, however, that the origins of the term might be also found based on many other examples or even further back in time.

terms – nature and environment – replaced one another over time, they should not be used interchangeably. While *nature* was in European traditions referred to as wild place, often hostile force, *environment* describes a somewhat more manageable and goal directed place (Banerjee, 2003). This mirrors the attempt to 'rationally' manage resources, which is integral to the western economy (Neumann, 2014).

The connection between development and environment than, was officially first acknowledged on the 1972 *Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment,* where this discovery resulted in its combination: SD. At its core lies the aim to describe a process of economic growth without environmental destruction (Banerjee, 2003). The 1972 *Stockholm Conference*, followed by the 1980 *World Conservation Strategy of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature*, formed together the roots for the work of the *World Commission on Environment and Development*, better known as *Brundtland Commission* 1987, which than argued in its report *Our common future* for the inseparability of those two concepts and provided the definition introduced before (Kates et al., 2005; Neumann, 2014). Next to economy and ecology, also society was presented as one of the three pillars of SD. In the years after the *Brundtland report*, culture was furthermore identified as fourth pillar, as all problems linked to economy and society have cultural activity at their roots (Dessein et al., 2015) (cf. Fig. 2). Yet, it remains difficult until today to incorporate culture in SD policies and science, possibly because of the difficulties to distinguish society and culture. They are, after all, interlinked in many ways, but as DESSEIN et al. (2015) argue, allow their different constituencies to distinct them in regard to SD. Overall, the concept was created in the attempt to explore the relationship between development and nature, and place it on the global political agenda (Banerjee, 2003; Holden, Linnerud, & Banister, 2016). With the *United Nations Conference on Environment and Development* 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, the so called *Earth Summit*, the debate reached even the highest instances of global institutions. The Earth Summit is until today considered as one of the most

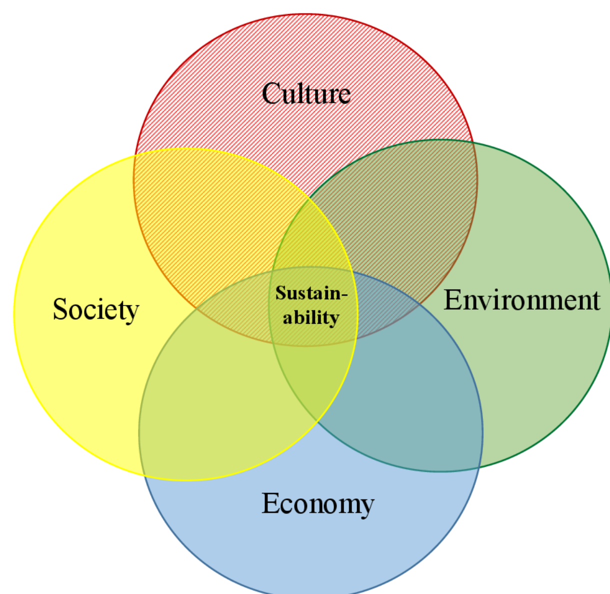

Fig. 2: The four pillars of sustainable development

important and groundbreaking meetings in the history of SD. In the years after, the concept, goals and movement spread rapidly. In 2000, the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDG) were adopted by the UN member states on the Millennium Summit in New York for a period of 15 years – stating amongst seven other goals, to "*ensure environmental sustainability*" (UNDP, 2018, n.p.). After the 2012 meeting of the UN member states and the General assembly, the MDGs from 2000 were followed up by the *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDG), which were implemented in 2015 for another 15-year-period until 2030. The now 17 goals focus more on the combination of social, economic and environmental interests and actions in global partnership (UN, 2018b).

2.1.2. Sustainable development and power structures

Through this multitude of conferences, goals, policy and activists attention, SD evolved in the years since the 1980s from a term to a concept, a goal, political interest and even to a movement and trend which is today central to countless national and international organizations, institutions, businesses, cities, businesses, groups and planners (Kates et al., 2005). Companies, businesses and organizations that move with the times, put on it. It is a question of branding, competition ability, and also new markets. But even more – it is a matter of survival. As SEN (2013) states in this regard, it is

> "*not so much that humanity is trying to sustain the natural world, but rather that humanity is trying to sustain itself. It is us that will have to 'go' unless we can put the world around us in reasonable order"* (p. 6)

Despite this notion and the much broader definition of SD, most often is economic development and/or ecological sustainability meant, as also the premise of the MDGs showed. Especially when highlighting economic prosperity, other aspects of SD are often excluded, accompanied by social and cultural inequalities and environmental unbalance (Dessein et al., 2015). Thus, as until today, most SD projects focus on either economic development or ecological sustainability. They thereby lack a wider focus including also morality, social justice and equity, which is fundamental not only for sustaining humanity but also the natural world (Agyeman et al., 2002; Evans et al., 2012; Howitt, 2002; Jull, 2003) (Fig. 1). WALKER & BULKELEY (2006) and HOLDEN et al. (2016) argue for instance, that social equity, or social justice, is a key theme of SD and if the *Brundtland report* is taken as primary source for the conceptualization of SD, equity and justice are central to the broader understanding of it. Those attempts, however, seem to have been 'lost on the way'. Some scholars even argue,

that the lack of ethics and justice in the concept allows a continuation of historical unequal power structures, including the expropriation of rights and resources (Banerjee, 2003; Shiva & Mies, 2014). Throughout history, practices around development have been informed by colonial thought – first to 'civilize', then to 'develop' and now for environmental 'protection', resulting in disempowerment for the affected communities (ibid.). Thus, SD comes with a moral responsibility to not only provide a political meaningful understanding of sustainability in the context to power and history, but also ensure ethical and just activities (Lertzman & Vredenburg, 2005; Parson & Ray, 2018). The links between environment and justice are more detailed explored in chapter 2.2. on environmental justice and just sustainabilities, while power structures are discussed in chapter 4.

Generally, as already outlined in the introduction, SD is widely seen to be the solution and tool to sustain human- and eco-systems. But who decides, when anything is sustained? And are the efforts already taken enough, considering that the survival of future generations is at stake? In the light of the increasing pressure, increasingly also the role of minorities and their knowledge is recognized. Scientists began in the end of the last century to explore the *traditional ecological knowledge* of local and indigenous communities and understand it as valuable source and addition to modern science, sustainable management approaches and the cross-cultural dialogue on SD[4] (Berkes, 1993; Lertzman & Vredenburg, 2005; UNESCO, 2019). Yet, the brief section on indigenous peoples – 'Empowering Vulnerable Groups' – in the *Brundtland report* is only little known (Jull, 2003; WCED, 1987). In the report, indigenous people's connection to the land is highlighted. It is for example stated that "*[t]heir very survival has depended on their ecological awareness and adaptation*", and furthermore: "*[I]t is terrible irony that as formal development reaches more deeply into rain forests, deserts, and other isolated environments, it tends to destroy the only cultures that have proofed able to thrive in these environments*" (WCED, 1987, pp. 114-115). It is also declared that local communities must be given a significant voice in the decisions taken about the resource use in their area and traditional rights should be protected (ibid.). In early years after the *Brundtland report*, indigenous peoples issues were much highlighted in public events about SD. This has changed in the early years of the 21st century, despite the fact the

[4] See as example for Sámi traditional knowledge for example PORSANGER & GUTTORM (2012): "Working with Traditional Knowledge: Communities, Institutions, Information Systems, Law and Ethics." It shall hereby be outlined though, that indigenous values, worldviews and knowledge should not be viewed as a commodity to be used for the services to science and sustainable development though. Rather, they can adhere also a great chance for indigenous communities, as they can be a source of rights (Howitt, 2002).

important role of indigenous peoples in SD has been affirmed on the 2002 *Johannesburg Summit* (Jentoft, Minde, & Nilsen, 2003; Jull, 2003).

2.1.3. (Un-)balances and limitations

On the whole, the non-existent overall definition as well as broad understanding allow an almost flexible adaptation of the widely used, common terms. This leads amongst different sectors and scholars not only to popularity, but increasingly also to criticism. "*Sustainable development has been mainstreamed*", as NEUMANN (2014, p. 43) puts it. Hence, its meaning cannot only be filled by whomever is defining it, but an uncritical usage of the concepts could also be used by powerful actors to hide unequal power relations (Parson & Ray, 2018): "*[I]f anyone can redefine and reapply the term to fit their purposes, it becomes meaningless in practice, or worse, can be used to disguise or greenwash socially or environmentally destructive activities*" (Kates et al., 2005, p. 20). So even though attentions now shift more and more away from a solely environmental focus in sustainability and a solely economic focus in development towards the inclusion of values, goals and justice, there remains in general a limited awareness of its inherent power structures and the fact that traditional notions of capital, income, and growth continue to inform this 'new' paradigm (Banerjee, 2003; Kates et al., 2005). A common term for such practices which allow to display practices as more environmentally friendly and green than they are, is *green washing* (cf. Fig. 1). It appears especially in the context of companies and industries seeking to serve the global demand for green products and development, while continuing with raising their market shares, thus with the paradigm of growth (Chen, Huang, Wang, & Chen, 2018).

As thought of by the *Brundtland commission*, economy should be a part of the solution, rather than part of the problem. This has for example led to the development of a concept of a 'new climate economy', which identifies SD as only possibility for growth in the 21st century and appreciates the new markets evolving from it (New Climate Economy 2018). However, this equating of sustainable development with sustainable growth has not just led to enthusiasm but also confusion and critiques around the concepts application (Lertzman & Vredenburg, 2005). It is mentioned that the paradigm is redressed as 'sustainable', 'green' or 'inclusive' while continuing to focus on growth: "*development simply became another name for economic growth*" (Banerjee, 2003, p. 150). In its core though, 'growth' implies an increase in size, whereas 'development' refers to a qualitative change – leaving one to be sustainable and the other not (Lertzman & Vredenburg, 2005). Some scholars therefore argue, economic

growth should not be a major dimension of SD: During the Post-Growth conference in Brussels in September 2018, 238 academics have reached out with this message to the European Union and its member states, demanding under consideration of the obvious and proved negative impacts on the environment by current practices, a focus on wellbeing and stability, rather than economic growth ("The EU needs a stability and wellbeing pact, not more growth," 2018). The research-community also argues for exploring a post-growth future and criticizes the SDGs for including economic growth as a goal, despite the contradiction between growth and sustainability (ibid.). HOLDEN et al. (2016) see the necessity, if SD is to succeed, to acknowledge environmental limits, thus the planetary boundaries (see introduction) and constrain human behavior, including economic behavior. PARSON & RAY (2018) detect furthermore the consideration and inclusion of indigenous sovereignty, EJ and anti-colonialism as foundational for what ‘sustainability’ is.

Overall, the concepts of sustainability and SD remain open and draw much of their power from even this ambiguity that allows them to be an evolving idea which can be applied to various situations and challenges across time and space (Dessein et al., 2015; Kates et al., 2005). As sustainability means different things to different people, institutions and organizations, asking critical questions about the concept and its usage is a crucial practice – What are the costs, especially socially, culturally and ecologically, of SD? Can a more ecologically sustainable and social just alternative actually derive? And who is responsible?

The previously outlined need for action and an increased inclusion of equity and justice in the debate surrounding environmental sustainability and SD, is reflected in the concepts that are introduced in the following. The development of the concepts of *sustainable development* and *environmental justice* took place parallel to one another, reflecting the needs of people that didn’t feel included or represented in the concepts of sustainable development and environmental sustainability as they were (Atkinson et al., 2007).

2.2. Environmental justice & Just sustainabilities

2.2.1. An overview: The development of environmental justice

The EJ concept has its origins in an analysis of the correlation between hazardous waste landfill locations and the racial and socioeconomic demographics of the surrounding communities. After several hundred demonstrators were arrested in Warren Country, North

Carolina, in 1982 for protesting a toxic waste facility, members of the US House of Representatives requested an analysis. A year later, the report "*Siting of Hazardous Waste Landfills and Their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities*" was published, followed in 1987 by the report "*Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States*", in which the terms *environmental racism* and *environmental justice* were introduced. Both reports outlined, what many grassroots activists have known for decades: that especially communities of color and low-income were exposed to toxic environments. Hence, not all communities are treated the same (Agyeman et al., 2016; Bullard & Johnson, 2000; Mohai et al., 2009). This unequal distribution of risks and bads linked to class and race touched thereby on social justice questions and experiences of oppression, as it were not only poor communities, but also communities of color (Schlosberg, 2013; Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010). BULLARD argued, that the reasons for the higher exposure could be found in *historic and contemporary forms of institutional racism* (Bullard, 1990). Today, a large number of studies confirm the higher burdens of environmental bads of ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, PoC and low-income communities (Mohai et al., 2009). The outcome of the reports in the 1980s, however, provoked research and activism alike. They were fundamental not only to the birth of the environmental justice paradigm (EJP), but also the environmental justice movement (EJM).

In the following, the reports and emerging movement also inspired the *Principles of Environmental Justice* which were defined by the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in 1991 in Washington DC. By this, the seeds for a new discourse were sown, inspiring researchers, policy makers and activists (Agyeman et al., 2016). The 17 principles serve until today as a defining document for the increasing amount of EJM by addressing a large variety of EJ issues, for example mutual respect, self-determination, inclusive decision-making, informed consent, social and environmental education, responsible consumption and conscious decision making – to just name a few[5] (Environmental Justice "The Principles of Environmental Justice (EJ)," 1991).

The EJP is the first environmental discourse that is constructed by people of color and tackles concepts such as fairness and justice, access to resources, civil and human rights and self-determination in regard to environmental issues, which have been missing in "*mainstream (white, male, wealthy) environmental discourses*" (Taylor, 2000, p. 534). Thus, while

[5] A full overview over the principles of Environmental Justice drafted by the delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit held on October 24-27, 1991, in Washington DC can be found in the Appendix.

environmental sustainability movements are largely white, educated and middle class, the EJM is largely driven by low-income, PoC and indigenous peoples, as research has shown (Agyeman, 2008; Mohai et al., 2009). In contrast to other mainstream environmental organizations or environmental sustainability, the EJ concept and movement have been pluralistic frameworks from the beginning, with an emphasis on human rights and social justice and allowing to integrate class, race, gender, environment and social justice concerns (Agyeman et al., 2016). Indigenous EJ claims in particular are often also embedded in larger struggles to preserve their identity, community and ways of life and to continue with their traditions, practices, culture and relationship to nature. The demands for EJ go by that beyond distributional equity (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010).

Already in the late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, African American Communities, Native Americans, Latino and Asian Pacific Islander communities worked for the implementation of EJ in their communities and linked the issue successfully also to other topics than toxic waste, for example transportation and economic development (Agyeman et al., 2016). The concept of EJ has expanded and broadened its coverage geographically, topically as well as disciplinarily considerably in the past 20 years, going far beyond its original application (Schlosberg, 2013). As the EJP originates in academic studies and activism alike, it is characterized by a good relationship between academic work and the EJM, which has been to the benefit of both (Schlosberg, 2013) (cf. Fig. 1). However, while the EJP expanded in practice even faster than its representation in literature, the research around old and new branches of theory and practice is still constantly increasing and the concept evolves multiple interpretations (Agyeman et al., 2016). One interpretation concerns for example the understanding of the term *environment* in 'Environmental justice'. Its general understanding as solely as wilderness and 'big outside' has been critiqued and was (re)defined as place "*where we live, work, play, go to school, as well as the physical and natural world"* (Bullard, 1999). Hence, the conceptual broadening did not exclude concerns linked to wilderness, nature and landscape. Quite the contrary: "*From the start, the environmental justice movement brought indigenous perspectives on the relationship between human being, non-human nature, and culture into conversation*" (Schlosberg, 2013, p. 39), thus acknowledging the inseparability of humans to both the natural/physical as well as cultural environment.

2.2.2. Justice and Place attachment

With the broadening of the concept, also a number of different conceptions of the *justice* in 'Environmental justice' appeared. Justice can generally be defined as '*Who gets what, where, when and how'* (D. Smith, 1994, p. 26). It is, however, far more complicated than that (Brown, Flemsæter, & Rønningen, 2019). While the original understanding of *justice* in 'Environmental justice' focused on equity, in form of distributive justice, the discussions soon started to focus also on processes of the recognition of cultures and races. Thereby are the disrespect, devaluation, degradation or insult of some people versus others tackled (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010). It follows, that the EJM is also concerned *"with the lack of respect for, and basic recognition of, indigenous ways of life*" (Agyeman et al., 2016, p. 325). Also the capabilities, as well as participatory and procedural justice are taken into account. By this the authentic inclusion and political participation are meant – "*speaking for ourselves, or a seat at the table*", as SCHLOSBERG (2013, p. 40) phrases it. Overall, injustice in the EJM is addressed both on individual and community level (ibid.) and is furthermore concerned with questions of justice between generations – what is unjust now, might be just in the future – and the geographical dimension of justice. For example, a local development might be perceived as sustainable and just, while the conflicts are solely transported to another, often remote, place (nationally/internationally), thus creating a new injustice. Hence, environmental inequalities through consumption and production can be co – or dislocated (Agyeman et al., 2016; Mohai et al., 2009).

Other important discourses within EJ are in regard to this thesis the ones around identity and attachment. As the 'environment' within EJ stands not only for the 'distant' landscape and nature, but as place where we live, work and play, questions after the connection between the people and places rise naturally. The connection of EJ and identity, community, space, place and attachment gain increased attention in EJ literature, as noted by AGYEMAN et al. (2016). It is emphasized that place and identity are intrinsically linked to another, as people are attached to the places they live, both individually and collectively. They are shaping the places and being shaped by them, on a physical, political and environmental level, through experiences and interactions (ibid.). AGYEMAN et al. (2016) argue that an interruption of the attachment can harm both individual, and collective well-being and thus have an impact on the peoples identity and even taking away or limiting their capacity to "*negotiate[e] a future for themselves and their children*" (Broto et al., 2010, cited in Agyeman et al., 2016, p. 334). Hence, it can be conceptualized as an environmental injustice. Overall, EJ and just

sustainabilities (JS) are taking increasingly the importance of places and the attachment of residents to them into account, adding to the spatial and cultural dimension of environmental injustices (cf. Fig. 1). GROVES (2015) calls this injustice even a 'colonization of attachment'.

2.2.3. Underlying causes & disciplinary expansions

Even though it is probably impossible to pin down all underlying causes for the occurrence of environmental injustices, a number of several major explanations can be outlined (Mohai et al., 2009; Schlosberg, 2013). These encompass not only causes which can be categorized as *racial discrimination explanations*, but also as *economic explanations* and *sociopolitical explanations* (cf. Fig. 1).

The original focus on *racial discrimination explanations* has been widely debated. Some argue, racist attitudes and actions are "*a thing of the past*" (Mohai et al., 2009, p. 415). However, actions still might result in discriminatory outcomes, linked to past discriminatory actions. In this regard it is furthermore agued, that "*present day racism and the quest for white privilege still motivates policy decisions that result in racially unequal outcomes"* (ibid.), not only materially, but also culturally, juridical, and psychologically. The *economic explanations,* or market dynamics explanations, argue that industrial interests are not intentionally discriminating towards racial or ethnic minorities, but that companies simply try to maximize profits and reduce costs around their business (Mohai et al., 2009; Schlosberg, 2013). This is then also closely linked to *socioeconomic explanations,* which argue that companies and governments are seeking for the path of least resistance to develop their industries. Poor and minority communities are identified as easier targets, as an opposition and effective collective resistance often tends to appear in communities with greater financial resources, higher education and better connections. This is more often the case for white, middle-class communities (ibid.)

This wider understanding of environment, justice and underlying causes for injustices, suggests naturally also a disciplinary expansion of the discourse, as already mentioned before. Thus, the injustices faced by indigenous peoples and communities of color are not only linked to man-made or technological hazards like toxic waste, but also multiple other issues such as consumption, climate change, resource extraction or sustainability (Agyeman et al., 2016). The central idea, however, that social injustices are reflected in environmental conditions, does remain. Nevertheless did the widening focus inspire the creation of new frameworks that take the idea of EJ further – as climate justice, indigenous justice, food justice and energy

justice (Agyeman et al., 2016). Because climate change and its impacts have an increasing relevance for impacted communities of the global south, low-income communities and indigenous peoples, especially climate justice has evolved to be a major thread of the EJ discourse and movements (ibid.).

However, a major critique towards EJ concerns the consequences: It can be already difficult to document EJs at all, but how to 'follow-up'? So what should be done after the documentation and how to actually implement the knowledge for more just practices? (Mohai et al., 2009) Also regarding the broadness and constant development of the term, critical questions were articulated whether the EJ vocabulary and lens actually add anything useful to the already existing paradigms in place or if it is rather an unhelpful attempt to disrupt the values and discourse of SD (Walker & Bulkeley, 2006). The authors follow up by arguing though, that by seeking to understand causes and consequences of environmental inequities as well as solutions to them, EJ may enable critical engagement with the relations between economy, environment and society and thereby support the potential of sustainability. The authors consider equity as a main focus in research and policy as both welcome and necessary but call for mindfulness to not let the broadness of the term lead to a reduction of its meaning (ibid.).

2.2.4. Reframing sustainability – the role of justice in sustainable development

Motivated by the above outlined discourses around EJ, the related frame and paradigm *Just sustainabilities* emerged as an allied concept of EJ, which is by some and next to climate justice seen as major thread of EJ in the future (Mohai et al., 2009). As SCHLOSBERG (2013) writes, there has been a growing number of groups using the EJ and sustainability frameworks to create and implement more just and sustainable practices. EJ and sustainability still are, however, often seen as separated concepts. The discourses have indeed developed parallel, and even though they have touched in several points, their values, framing, ideas and understanding have been insufficiently interpenetrated (Agyeman et al., 2002). This is problematic, because environmental degradation worldwide is actually "*almost always linked to questions of social justice, equity, rights and people's quality of life in its widest sense*", as AGYEMAN (2008, p. 752) points out. The scholar therefore brought together the different concepts about environment and justice and argues for the inseparability of environmental quality and human equality (Agyeman, 2008; Schlosberg, 2013) (cf. Fig. 1). Hence, the concept of (environmental) SD is meaningless, unless the development is culturally and

socially just. This includes not only the focus on inter-generational equity as in environmental sustainability, but also the intra-generational equity – the equity or social justice now. AGYEMAN calls this lack of focus in environmental sustainability the 'equity deficit' (Agyeman, 2008). Also PARSON & RAY (2018) note, that a truly just environmental sustainability should be democratic, provide the possibility to make land-use decisions free from political and economic pressure, and foster self-sufficiency and intergenerational equity.

Under consideration of those aspects, AGYEMAN (re)framed the common SD definition (cf. chapter 2.1.1.). SD means in his opinion *"to ensure a better quality of life for all, now, and into the future, in a just and equitable manner, while living within the limits of supporting ecosystems"* (Agyeman, Bullard, & Evans, 2003, p. 2). Regarding the use of the plural in just sustainabilit*ies*, the authors furthermore acknowledge " […] *that the singular form suggests there is one prescription, one template or model for sustainability that can be universalized. The plural, however, acknowledges the relative, place- and culturally bound nature of the concept*" (Agyeman, 2012, p. 5). The JS framework was and is therefore evolving in the mindset of securing a long-term sustainable world, which presupposes that a sustainable society is also an equitable society (Agyeman et al., 2003), not only locally but also nationally, and internationally, as well as both within and between generations and between species. Hence,

> *"sustainability cannot be simply a 'green' or' environmental' concern, important though 'environmental' aspects of sustainability are. A truly sustainable society is one where wider questions of social needs and welfare, and economic opportunity are integrally related to environmental limits imposed by supporting ecosystems"* (Agyeman et al., 2002, p. 78).

Thus, the concept of JS is thought of as a counterbalance, a practical common ground, combining a variety of concerns – living within ecosystem limits, quality of life, present and future generations, justice and equity – which are not comprehensively represented in the green sustainability paradigm or EJP (ibid.). Overall, as AGYEMAN et al. (2016) conclude, EJ and JS are employed to analyze injustices which continue to impact mostly the lives of the already most vulnerable. To achieve a truly sustainable future, a paradigm shift is needed, moving justice and equality in a central position in sustainability discourses. The concepts help reframing new issues and "*help to bring attention to the crucial relationship between a functioning environment and the attainment of social justice for all*" (Agyeman et al., 2016, p. 336). It is therefore, that those concepts were chosen as theoretical framework of this work to look upon the conflicts around the SD within Norway.

3. The case study – Background

"I århundre har det vært reinens land,
ikke en stor og sterk strømmens mann.
En ny og hvit mann sprer sine tre vinger,
Og jager bort århundre og fremtidige minner"
– Sara Emilie Jåma

3.1. Indigenous environmental activism

Worldwide, indigenous peoples make up five per cent of the population, oftentimes constituting minorities in their homelands (Mikaelsson, 2016). They are, however, occupying or using 22% of the global land area (UNESCO, 2019). While self-determination and land rights are vital for their survival, indigenous people suffer disproportionately higher rates of poverty, health problems, crime and human rights abuses – in both developed and developing countries (Mikaelsson, 2016). As just described in the chapter before, indigenous communities are also more vulnerable to land us changes, which contribute even more to their marginalization: "*There is a direct correlation between exploitation of land and exploitation of people*" (Bullard & Johnson, 2000, p. 571). This includes not only the suffering of economic disadvantages through the loss of their homelands, but especially a cultural loss (Jentoft et al., 2003). This disproportionalities can oftentimes directly or indirectly be linked to coloniality, which is comprehensively looked upon in chapter 4, especially under consideration of researches' position within this development. However, SMITH (2013) points out, that *"[t]he past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages and social practices – all may be spaces of marginalization, but they also have become spaces of resistance and hope"* (p. 4). Hence, those experiences of inequalities and threats to indigenous peoples – to their rights, lands and culture – have been a powerful catalyst to mobilization of indigenous resistance and in some cases to the formation of movements, by which native communities fight the forces threatening them by fragmenting, displacing and assimilating (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010; Whyte, 2016). Thus, the resistance serves as 'weapons of the weak', meaning that the indigenous communities defend their interests against more powerful and dominating actors (Scott, 2008).

The movements than forward claims for land, autonomy, and political participation, but focus also on the uses of land and natural resources, traditional ecological knowledge, and the impacts of development on indigenous communities – and embrace by that diverse concepts

of EJ (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010). As outlined already briefly in chapter 2.2., it is often PoC and indigenous people who are fighting through activism and resistance on the frontlines of EJMs, aiming for the acknowledgement of their rights, culture and knowledge. *Project Drawdown's* report on solutions to reverse global warming actually acknowledges indigenous resistance towards unsustainable resource extraction as crucial contribution to fight climate change, and ranks indigenous peoples land management at #39 out of #100 approaches to solutions. Returning traditional land is thereby seen as logical and important measurement – not only under consideration of land-based livelihoods, but also regarding the history of colonization and social marginalization ranks (Project Drawdown, 2017). And JULL (2003) describes that "*only determined resistance by indigenous peoples in hinterlands to industrial nation-state-thinking and projects will save these large regions for the world and for themselves*" (p. 37). Worldwide, Indigenous communities stand increasingly up against injustice and unsustainable land- and resource use management and practices, demanding to too be heard over other voices of economic and political interests. These efforts have been supported by the foundation of different movements, such as the *Indigenous Environmental Network* (1990), *idle no more, RAVEN*, or especially with an EJ focus emerged the *Black Environmental Justice Network*, and *Asian and Pacific Environmental Network for Economic and Environmental Justice* (Agyeman et al., 2016; Mohai et al., 2009). A growing number of alliances between those EJ, indigenous rights organizations but also non-indigenous NGOs and movements can be recognized in the past decades, often around the impacts of climate change. One famous example is hereby the resistance of the Native American Sioux against the Dakota Access pipeline (also known as NoDAPL or Standing Rock) in the US with its peak in 2016/2017 that reached high international attention (Whyte, 2017). Thanks to shared interests of different environmental and social movements, indigenous and non-indigenous- and media attention, *Standing Rock* became one of the most known resource conflict, regarding oil, water and land, in recent years. With regard to the good networking of indigenous activists, T. HOUSKA (2017) from the Couchiching First Nation said in her TED talk about Standing Rock: "[…] *it's incredible what you can do when you stand together. It's incredible, the power that we have when we stand together, human resistance, people having this power, some of the most oppressed people you can possibly imagine* […]" (min. 8:35).

So while forming alliances and strengthening environmental activism movements, indigenous communities are reaching out more and more to the global community with their messages, calling for a just transition and their self-determination and rights (Indigenous Environmental

Network, 2018). This is, despite the fact that a number of organizations, treaties, agreements, laws and conventions exist which relate to the protection of indigenous peoples' intellectual, cultural and physical property. For example the *World council of indigenous peoples* (1975), the *ILO Convention nr. 169 on indigenous and tribal people* (1989), *UN Convention on Biological Diversity* (1992), *UN Forum on Indigenous Issues* (2000) and the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007), to just name a few. The major problem, however, is that the agreements regarding indigenous rights are by many governments sometimes only intended to display "*good but lofty intentions*" (Jentoft et al., 2003, p. 4). So although a whole range of laws and commitments for their protection exist, indigenous peoples have to continue to fight for their implementation. Indigenous ways of life continue to struggle under colonialism, neocolonialism, nature conversation and global changes, such as land use changes, all around the world- poorly supported by national and international legal-institutional frameworks (Löf & Stinnerbom, 2016). The situation of the reindeer herding in Scandinavia provides herein an illustration of indigenous struggles and activism in the highly developed global north.

3.2. The green shift in Norway

In recent years, Norway experiences a strong focus on the development of green and sustainable technologies. As stated by the MINISTRY OF CLIMATE AND ENVIRONMENT (2014), the development is Norway's answer to the global climate change problematic end environmental challenges. Those challenges require a restructuring and transition towards a growth and development which tolerates nature's limit. Products and services therefore need to become increasingly sustainable and renewable, if the oil-nation Norway wants to contribute and stay competitive. This new focus of SD is called the green shift and constitutes a measurement to the goal of making Norway a low-emission society in 2050 (Ministry of Climate and Environment, 2014) (cf. Fig. 1). The green shift, which became in 2015 even the word of the year in Norway (Språkrådet, 2015), includes several parameters, such as the electrification of the transport sector, improved city planning, a sustainable natural resource and land management and a low climate emission industry. By that, as some researchers highlight, it does encompass not only new sustainable technologies but to a large degree also the society. They demand a transition which also has broad social changes as a goal, including consumption patterns and behavior (Andersen et al., 2019).

To reach the goal of a greener consumption, the green shift focuses to a large extend on the expansion of renewable energies, which benefits both – the climate goals *and* economic development. As GULLBERG, OHLHORST & SCHREURS (2014) state, achieves Norway through its main energy supply from hydroelectricity already a low carbon electricity system: 95-99% of the electricity originates from hydropower. However, there is seen to be a large potential for further development of renewable energy, mostly to replace fossil fuels, e.g. in transport, and for the export to other European countries (Gullberg, Ohlhorst, & Schreurs, 2014). Within the development of renewable energy, the focus lies especially on wind power. It is today the major growing renewable energy source in the otherwise hydropower dominated Norway. As the minister of the oil and energy department explains in his speech, is wind is a promising source to achieve the futures climate and economic goals, while hydropower remains the backbone of the Norwegian energy industry (Søviknes, 2018). With its long coasts and large amount of mountains and wind, Norway offers the best wind energy conditions in Europe, which is why currently there are 41 operating onshore wind farms, mainly spread along the coast, and 11 under construction, as it can be seen at Fig. 3. (WindpowerNet, 2019).

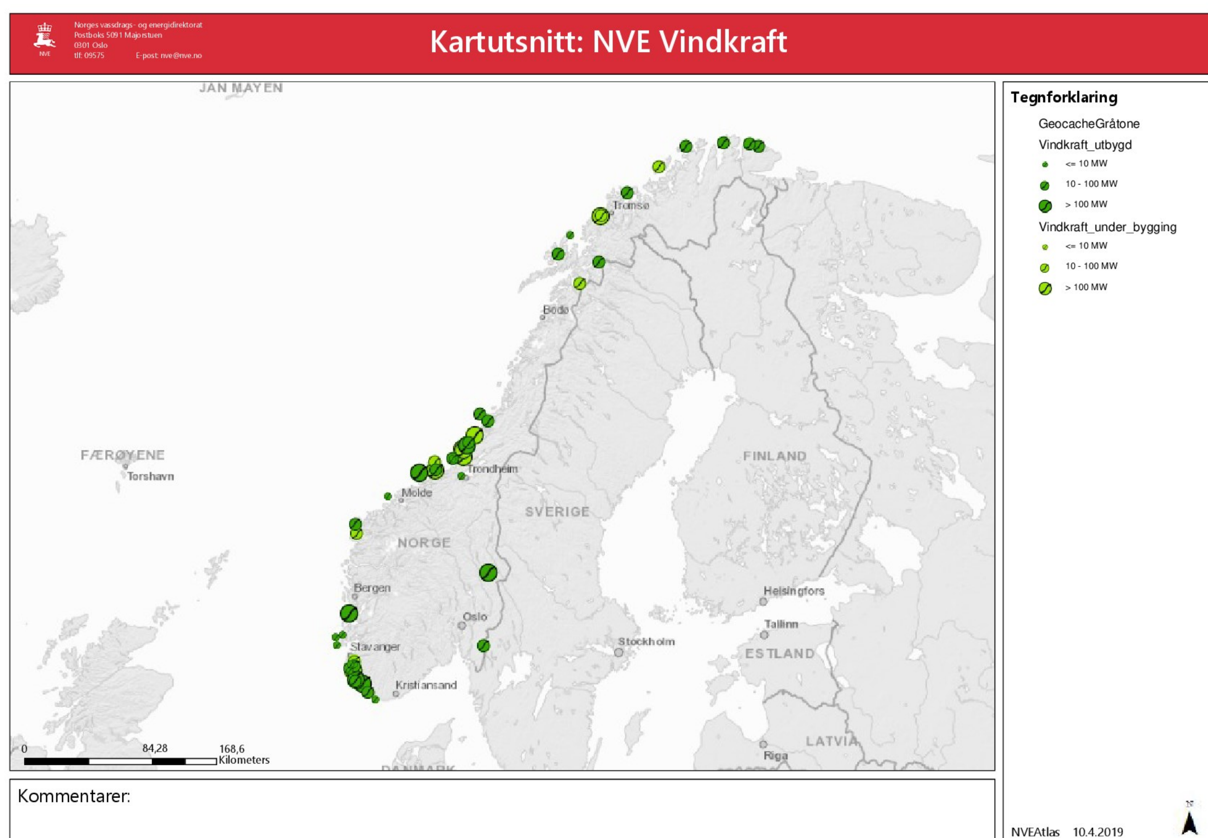

Fig. 3: Windenergy in Norway, currently operating and under construction.

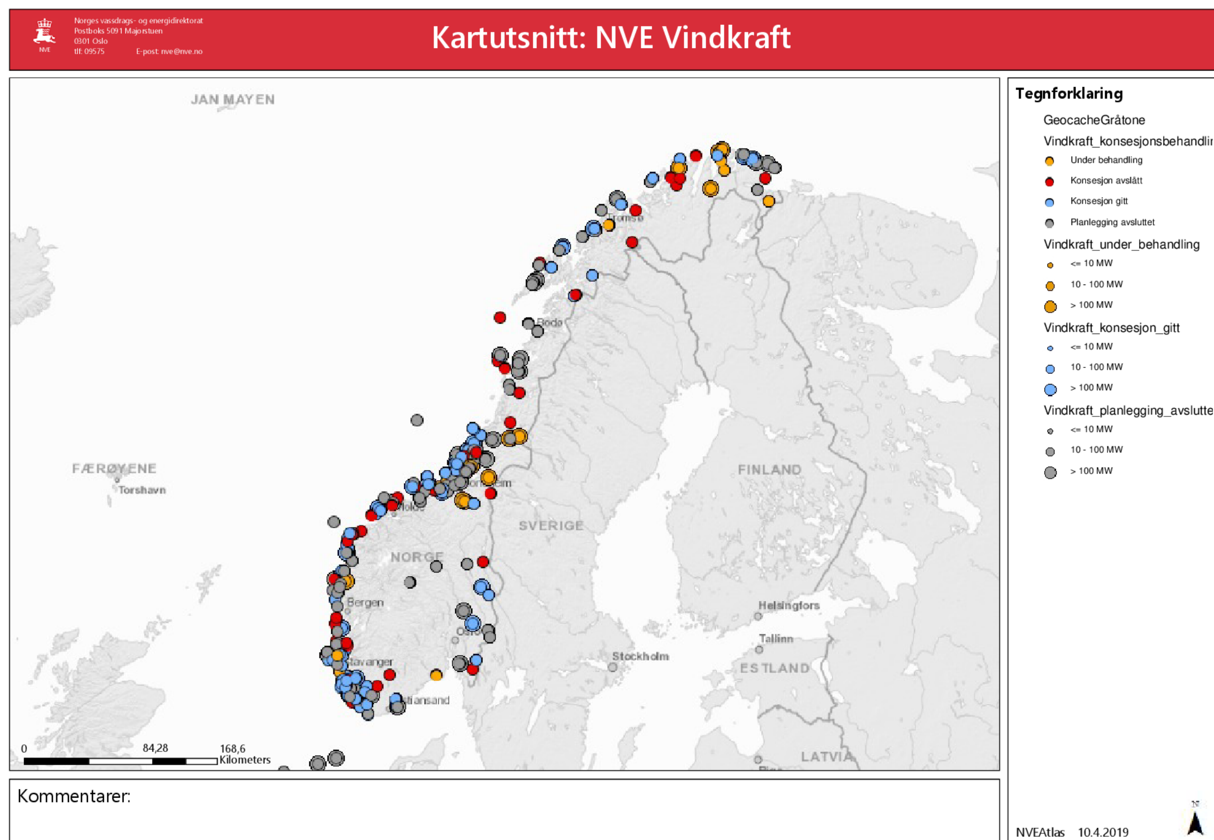

Fig. 4: Windparks in Norway under planning, including windparks with concession in process or given, and with pending or finished planning processes.

Fig. 4 shows at contrast to this the larger amount of wind parks which are under planning. In addition forwarded *The Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate* (NVE) on the 01. April 2019 a proposal for a national framework for wind power planning on land. In this report, 13 areas in Norway are pointed out as most suitable for developing wind power on land. Thereby are also natural diversity, landscape, outdoor life, cultural monuments and reindeer husbandry taken into consideration (NVE, 2019). An important factor for the big interest in renewables, and especially wind power, are the falling construction prices and increasing energy prices (Diesen, Thue, & Fleischer, 2019). Renewable energy gives partly an answer to one of the major questions of the oil-nation Norway: "*what shall we do after the petroleum?*" (Diesen et al., 2019, n.p.).

After the oil peak in 2016, even Norway's leading oil- and gas company, the former Statoil, renamed itself into Equinor and started to focus on a broader range of energy production, especially investing in renewable energy (Equinor, 2018). By that, they also answer to the international expectation towards Norway to continue being a major electricity exporter (Gullberg et al., 2014). Hence, the green development supports new business branches, new

working possibilities and a new value creation in Norway, strengthening the countries position as energy-nation (Gullberg et al., 2014; NORWEA, 2015; NRK Radio, 2019a). The boom in the Norwegian wind industry is thus also attracting a large amount of international investors. International cooperation such as Google, Hydro, Blackrock, Luxcara, Axpo and facebook invest in Norwegian wind energy (literature review) – based on long-term contracts and with a guarantee from *The Norwegian Export Credit Guarantee Agency* (GIEK) [6]. Such long term agreements vary often from 10-15 years and promise high profits and cheap energy, while contributing to the global green shift (Diesen et al., 2019). At this point, most of the Norwegian wind power is owned completely or partly by international owners (Diesen et al., 2019; Wiederstrøm, 2018). The reasons for the Norwegian state to enter those agreements, are quite similar: economic growth while contributing to the decarbonization and renewable energy future plans of continental European states (Gullberg et al., 2014; NORWEA, 2015).

However, the development is not free of conflicts as it touches on many complex dilemmas. Usually, "*[t]he wind power industry distinguishes itself from other resource industries because it aims to provide sustainable energy*", as LAWRENCE (2014, p. 1045) assesses. But while NORWEA (2015) states in its brochure, that 73% of the Norwegian population is positive towards this sustainable wind energy on land, the plans and projects face a growing amount of resistance from different stakeholders. More and more Norwegian citizens, affected locals, researchers, environmental organizations and businesses, also from within the energy sector, change their opinions, speak out against the plans and call for alternatives, such as an increased focus on offshore wind energy (Adresseavisen, 2019; Diesen et al., 2019; Hope, 2019; Wiederstrøm, 2018). To this point, much of the development takes or will take place in large natural environments with pristine nature, mainly on mountain plateaus and near to the coast. Some argue, having a visible energy production at some places is a necessary price to pay to keep up with increasing energy needs while facing the climate change. Others speak out for nature protection and evaluate wind parks impact for the climate as questionable (Aslaksen & Porsanger, 2017; Fjellheim, 2016; Radio, 2019a). As GULLBERG et al. (2014) suggest, it could therefore be seen as a question of renewable energy vs. nature conservation. Objections are increasingly raised that the wind energy will turn nature into an industrial area, influencing sheep and reindeer herding, recreation, health and tourism negatively (NRK Radio, 2019a; NRK Radio, 2019b).

[6] GIEK is a professional creditor which provides financing and risk cover for Norwegian export contracts. It furthermore advises the government and promotes Norwegian exports and investments by providing long-term guarantees on behalf of the Norwegian state (GIEK, 2019).

3.3. Sápmi, Indigenous rights, resistance and coloniality

3.3.1. Sápmi & reindeer husbandry

As outlined in the Introduction, the Sámi are the last remaining indigenous community of northern Europe. Sápmi[7], the traditional Sámi homelands, spans across Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. It can roughly be differentiated between South Sámi, Umeå Sámi, Lule Sámi, North Sámi and East Sámi regions. An overview is given by the map (Fig. 5). In Sápmi live approximately 70.000-100.000 people identifying as Sámi (Anaya, 2011)[8].

Fig. 5: An overview over Sápmi, 2017. ©Anders Suneson /tecknadebilder.se och samer.se

Although Sápmi is divided by national borders, the Sámi continue to be united by shared languages and culture and a common identity. Over time, the influx of settlers in the northern areas changed the composition of the population, leaving the Sámi people, except in two regions in the Scandinavian north, as a numerical minority in their homeland. Traditionally, the Sámi relied not only on reindeer herding, but also on hunting, fishing, gathering and trapping. However, reindeer herding has been, and still is, of central importance (ibid.). It is recognized as an indigenous livelihood and still common practice. Only people of Sámi decent are allowed to own reindeer, with few exceptions (Johnsen & Benjaminsen, 2017). The

[7] Sápmi is the North Sámi word for the Sámi's homeland

[8] The numbers vary notably to different sources. This is, because there exists, except for in Russia, no official registration anymore of who has Sámi background or identifies as Sámi (Gaski & Berg-Nordlie, 2019a)

pastoralism takes place all over Sápmi and in Norway it covers around 40% of the mainland. In total, there are around 3000 people registered as reindeer owners in Norway (Ministry of Agriculture and Food, 2017). Reindeer husbandry is more than an occupation, though – it also serves as a cultural imperative, as Sámi culture, traditions and language are to a large extend based on and linked to the reindeer pastoralism (Anaya, 2011; Brown et al., 2019; Johnsen & Benjaminsen, 2017; Lund, 2018; Rønningen & Flemsæter, 2016). It is therefore not just economically, but also culturally of high importance for the Sámi people.

In Norway, reindeer herding was recognized as an industry in 1968 and falls under the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. Negotiations about regulations, prices, etc. between the ministry, as representative for the state, and Sámi organizations take place yearly (Riseth et al., 2011; Rønningen & Flemsæter, 2016). The grazing rights are crucial for reindeer herding and were manifested through different laws and acts, of which the *Reindeer Herding Act* is the most important. The Act, first implemented in 1978, regulates the industry and decides on political reforms. It was renewed in 2007 with the vision to improve the efficiency through increased self-management and participation (Johnsen & Benjaminsen, 2017). A good Nordic cooperation between the different countries is furthermore important, as reindeer herding takes place across the different nation state borders (Ministry of Agriculture and Food, 2017). However, as ANAYA (2011) outlines in *the UN Report on the Situation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous People in Scandinavia*, *"[t]he history of Sámi people in the Nordic region is marked by the progressive loss of their lands and natural resources, especially lands that are essential to reindeer herding"* (Anaya, 2011, p. 13). Also the ministry asserts that "[*w]ith time, the Reindeer rangelands have become reduced."* (Ministry of Agriculture and Food2017, n.p.). The reasons are not solely geopolitical changes, though, but also linked to increased settler presence and colonization, as it is more detailed outlined in the following chapters.

Today, there is additionally the impacts of climate change, growing carnivore populations, increasing industrialization and competition over land and resources, that put increasingly pressure on the natural-resource based practice of reindeer herding (Anaya, 2011; Löf & Stinnerbom, 2016). Climate change is a crucial factor when it comes to the future viability of reindeer husbandry. Due to the thesis' context, it is mainly focused at the socio-political factors of influence, though. Especially the husbandries incompatibility with modernization processes on the outfields at focus. These encompass amongst other the second home development, infrastructure development, conservation strategies or industry development

such as mining and green energy construction like hydropower plants or windmills (compare Fig. 3, 4 & 5) (Brown et al., 2019; Rønningen & Flemsæter, 2016). Those developments have a huge impact on the environment, for example by changes in river runs or the composition of biodiversity, and thereby put pressure on the migration patterns of reindeer (Rønningen & Flemsæter, 2016). Regarding the construction of wind parks, a major argument is as well the increased disturbance, and the fact that generally too little knowledge about long-term impacts and effects on reindeer exist (Larsen, 2003)[9].

Overall, reindeer husbandry experienced extensive changes in the last 60 years, especially on a technological, economic and political level, which resulted in a growing concern for land-use conflicts and overgrazing (Johnsen & Benjaminsen, 2017). For this and other reasons, already in 1992 the term of sustainability was taken up in reindeer herding politics with a white paper on a 'sustainable reindeer husbandry', which stated that the husbandry should be ecological, economical and culturally sustainable (Riseth, 2014). However, many factors are involved in the success of this ambitions, amongst others the formal framework of laws and rights.

3.3.2. Indigenous rights in Norway

Especially since the 1970s and 80s a number of different conventions, constitutions and laws were implemented regarding the Norwegian Sámi population and especially reindeer herding. In 1988, Norway recognized the Sámi people as indigenous peoples (Magga, 2007) and as indigenous peoples who have lived on the land since long before the formation of the Norwegian state, the Sámi have a special right for protection (Regjeringen, 2003). Generally, the Sámi in Norway hold legal land use rights, which they gained through historical herding practices, but no fixed property ownership (Bull, 2001; Riseth, 2003). Thus, their presence and reindeer herding are tolerated as 'user rights', as long as no other interests 'for the greater good' appear, forcing them to make way to other forms of usage. This process is institutionalized as 'Norwegian expropriation law' and recorded in the Norwegian constitution under §105. The law also states, that if the states' best interests means that anyone has to give up their movable or immovable property for public use, they should have full compensation (Stortinget, 2014). This legal requirement is also stated in the beforehand introduced *Reindeer Husbandry Act*.

[9] For more information and a variety of reports see the webpage of the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences on "Vindkraft I driftsfas och effecter pa renar och renskötsel", where a variety of research reports are presented (Skarin, 2018).

The Sámi user rights are furthermore and even more concretely covered since 1988 by article §108 (former article 110a, changed in 2014) in the Norwegian Constitution, which is next to *the Sámi Act* the principle foundation for Sámi policy in Norway (Anaya, 2011; Regjeringen, 2003). The article is stating that it is the state authorities' responsibility to create conditions enabling the Sámi people to preserve and develop their language, culture and way of life (Stortinget, 2014). *The Sámi Act* has been adopted in 1987 and was the first contemporary legislation which addressed Sámi issues in Norway. It furthermore ensures compliance with the Constitution (§ 108) and establishes the 1989 inaugurated *Norwegian Sámi Parliament*, or *Sámediggi*, with functions of an political body as well as carrying out administrative duties (Anaya, 2011; Regjeringen, 2003). The Norwegian state furthermore agreed to protect indigenous rights, hence Sámi rights, by ratifying the *ILO Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries* as first country worldwide in 1990 (Anaya, 2011; Ravna, 2014). Next to cultural rights, the convention acknowledges also the right for self-determinations and ensures the right to use land and resources in the way needed for their traditional livelihood. Shortly after, the Sámi language was recognized as equal language to Norwegian and got, in a defined area of administration, equated in the public context (Knutsen Duolljá & Gaski, 2019). Another step towards increased rights was the *Finnmark Act* in 2005 with which 96% of the northern Norwegian area Finnmark was transferred to its inhabitants and is now managed by an own agency. The act reflects an important development, as it potentially a good example for a practice to secure indigenous land rights (Anaya, 2011). The Norwegian state also adopted the "*The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*", Article 27, in 1999 as internal Norwegian law, prohibiting any form of discrimination towards minorities (Regjeringen, 2003) and voted in favor of adoption of the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* in 2007. And last but not least, Norway is also a party to the *Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (1995) and its *Charter for Regional and Minority Languages* (1992) (Anaya, 2011; Ravna, 2014). The list is long and can surely be added up by several other agreements, commitments, boards and organizations (see e.g. Regjeringen, 2003). And yet, the human rights committee forwards in its 2018 report regarding indigenous peoples in Norway a number of concerns, for example about lasting discrimination towards Sámi-speaking people, lacking participation or informed consent and a missing strong legislative framework ensuring land and resource rights. Also the *Nordic Sámi Convention*, which has been proposed and adopted by all Sámi parliaments to strengthen Sámi rights, has not been adopted by the Norwegian government (UN, 2018a).

So even though Norway has gradually developed protections for Sámi lands, activities and resource use, the laws and policies with respect to natural resource use and development do in general not provide sufficient enough protections for Sámi rights and livelihood (Anaya, 2011; Ravna, 2014). JULL (2003) outlines in respect to this, that

> "*Governments, for their part, have been happy to talk about balanced development and respect for the environment – in which Norway had always looked particularly good in international comparison […] – but they have been very evasive in recent times about recognizing Sámi rights to land, water and resources despite accepting a Constitutional commitment.*" (p. 35)

As mentioned before, are those rights to land, water and resources fundamental to assure the material basis of the Sámi's traditional livelihood. As a consequence, those threats, challenges and experiences of injustices going on in Sápmi, have led to a powerful mobilization and resistance (Cocq, 2014).

3.3.3. Environmental activism & resistance

The organized resistance amongst Sámi against an increasing state colonization and settler presence on Sámi land has its origins in the early 1900s. Elsa Laula Renberg, one of the first and most famous Sámi activists, founded different Sámi associations and gathered over a hundred Sámi from Norway and Sweden in 1917 in Tråante[10] to stand up and organize resistance against their oppression (Erikson, 2017). In the 1970s arose a wave of Sámi resistance against hydropower projects, of which the most famous was the conflict around the Alta River in Norway from 1978-1981 (Gaski & Berg-Nordlie, 2019b; Otte, Rønningen, & Moe, 2018; Ravna, 2014). Local people, Nature preservation organizations and Sámi joined together in protesting the flooding of the land. But soon it also turned into an indigenous struggle, a fight for the Sámi's culture, language and livelihood. The Alta-case is therefore often linked to a cultural and legal awakening in the 1970s and 80s (Ravna, 2014), in which the Sámi claimed their rights as indigenous. Those were, also as a consequence of high media attention nationally and internationally through the activism, acknowledged by the Norwegian Parliament in 1988 Furthermore led the resistance to the foundation of the Sámi Parliament in 1989 (Magga, 2007; Sámediggi, 2018). While the Sámi have been involved in land use conflicts due to colonization and agricultural expansion for hundreds of years (Fjellheim, 2012 in Rønningen & Flemsæter, 2016), the Alta-dam resistance marks the beginning of the fight for Sámi rights in modern times in Norway and against 'green' energy projects

[10] Sámi name for Trondheim

(Fjellheim, 2016). The resistances' slogan *'let the river live'*[11], has ever since been used in combination with several conflicts, especially in recent years after its slightly changed comeback as '*let the mountain live'* in 2014.[12] As repeatedly mentioned before, today often animate modern development projects, for instance energy production, tourism activities, second-home-development or nature conservation, the indigenous communities to organize resistance. Those developments, which are often promoted by the government, do not only take place in the traditional reindeer herding areas of the Sámi, threatening to diminish areas available for grazing, but also ignore their needs and rights to a large extend (Anaya, 2011; Riseth, 2007). Thus, the conflicts over green energy projects such as wind parks in traditional Sámi land, are not isolated local disputes, but "*cut into the heart of Indigenous claims to self-determination and resource sovereignty*" (Lawrence, 2014, p. 1037). As several activists outline, is the resistance not an anti-renewable-energy-movement, but in its wider sense a pro-nature, pro-sustainability and pro-indigenous rights movement (Fjellheim, 2016; NRK Radio, 2019a; NRK Radio, 2019b).

A well know example of indigenous resistance and activism in Norway in recent years concerns the planned wind park at the peninsula Fosen on the coast of central Norway, close to Tråante. Since April 2016 Europe's biggest onshore wind park is built in this area. Even though the project was in the beginning assessed as not worthwhile and causing too intense consequences for the husbandry in the area, it was after pressure from the government nevertheless implemented (Fjellheim, 2016). In a newspaper article compares OPOKU (2017), leader of the green party in Trondheim at that time, the land use conflict around Fosen with the situation at *Standing Rock* in the US (cf. chapter 3.1.). She points out certain similarities between *Standing Rock* and *Fosen* in the treatment of indigenous communities and property rights by official authorities. Simultaneously to the 'NoDAPL'-movement, the southern Sámi started fighting against the Fosen building plans, especially in the Storheia area. After a number of resistance actions (see for example Lervik, 2018) and several rounds in the justice system (see e.g. Holstad, 2017), the resident families ultimately turned, in collaboration with the Sámi Council, to the UN Human Rights Committee. The Committee requested the Norwegian state in December 2018 to suspend the construction while the case is under further consideration by the Committee (NRK Radio, 2019b; Thobroe, 2018). However, while amongst others Faculty of Law-professor RAVNA argues that the UN human rights committee has generally a great legal significance, the government under Erna Solberg rejected the

[11] Norwegian: *La elva leve*
[12] South Sámi: *baajh vaeride arrodh*; Norwegian: *la fjella leve*

recommendation eventually by arguing the decision is not legally binding (NRK Radio, 2019b). The Fosen-case can be seen as representative example for a large number of other conflicts around land use in Norwegian areas inhabited and used by Sámi peoples – the newspaper are full of similar cases (e.g. Martyn-Hemphill, 2017). Like during the Alta-resistance 1979-81, Sámi communities join also in the increasing struggles against new development projects oftentimes forces with environmental organizations. The difference to the Alta-movement sees COCQ (2014) only in the even greater international attention, which is mobilized through social media like facebook and Twitter.

So even though the Sámi do not experience state colonization and settler presence anymore in the same form as in the early 1900s, they face today an increasing pressure on the remaining reindeer herders through land use changes in the name of modernity and SD (Brown et al., 2019), some argue, this development can still be phrased as colonization process.

3.3.4. Power structures and colonial entanglements

To get an understanding of power structures and colonization in a Norwegian context and its consequences today, a brief look into the past is required. About colonization in Norway is usually in the context of *Norwegianisation*[13] spoken. By this are the states' policies meant, with its most active period in the early 1900s, which were aiming to assimilate the Sámi population into the Norwegian cultural majority and manage natural resources in the 'proper' way (Lund, 2018; Midtbøen & Lidén, 2015; Ravna, 2014). MAGGA, the first president of the Sámi parliament, describes in his biographical article that as a consequence of the hundreds of years of being a discriminated minority, being Sámi meant staying lowermost in the social hierarchy (Magga, 2007). From the 1960s onwards though, questions of fair and equal treatment and the term 'decolonization' appeared (ibid.). It led to the acknowledgement of Sámi language and culture and is currently one of the major topics for Sámi communities in the Nordic countries – reflected by the efforts to decolonize education, minds and lifestyles. Also the Norwegian government has today officially recognized that the Sámi have suffered through the discrimination and imposed assimilation and apologized for the poor treatment of Sámi people in the past (Anaya, 2011).

Much more work is yet to be done, though, not only for the indigenous communities but the society as a whole, to meaningfully engage with their colonial histories and recognize on-going injustices also in the present (Lawrence, 2014; Lawrence & Raitio, 2016). While

[13] Norwegian: *Fornorskning*

Norway performs in comparison to other countries with Sámi population to some extend better (Anaya, 2011; Midtbøen & Lidén, 2015), in comparison to other countries of the global North, for instance Canada, Australia and New Zealand, it has been rather slow in identifying and restoring Indigenous land rights (Riseth et al., 2011). Many administrative practices are until today, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by Norwegianisation (Lund, 2018). Additionally, racism and discrimination still are a common experience for Sámi peoples. BALTO & ØSTMO (2012) conclude on this subject: “*we still find that conflict, racism, discrimination and favouritism in the Nordic countries persist*” (p. 1). And MIDTBÖEN & LIDÉN (2015) furthermore summarize in their report ‘Discrimination of Sámi, national minorities and immigrants in Norway’, that the legal status as indigenous peoples not in itself prevents the occurrence of discrimination. Research shows, that actually every third women and every fourth men identifying as Sámi experiences ethical discrimination (Midtbøen & Lidén, 2015).

Bringing the focus back to environmental issues, it is therefore not surprising, that terms such as ‘colonization’ and ‘decolonization’ are used to describe the conflicts, which encompass (historical) experiences of discrimination, linked to an exploitation of resources in traditionally indigenous territories (Lund, 2018; Nymo Riseth, 2018). This is despite the fact that huge sums of compensation, as required through the expropriation law, are offered to reindeer owners (Bjørklund, 2019; Holmestrand, Myrskog, & Åsen, 2019). For example, called also KESKITALO the plans for a wind park in the area Finnmark in a NRK-article a “*green colonization*” (Aslaksen & Porsanger, 2017, n.p.) (cf. Fig. 1). And the windmills at Fosen have been referred to as “*new white man with three wings*” (Fjellheim, 2016, n.p.). Since April 2018, the term ‘colonialism’ is also used more and more at social media as #colonialism and #ThereIsNoPostColonial (Nymo Riseth, 2018).

PARSON & RAY (2018) call the practices linked to allegedly sustainable resource management ‘sustainable Colonization’, arguing that corporations and states use the concept of sustainability for covering up their continued resource colonialism: “*Today, colonial practices focus on establishing industry, taking land, eradicating indigenous peoples, and doing so in the name of progress*” (p. 69). Although they reflect upon tar sand production and its impact on indigenous communities in Canada, their findings still provide valuable indicators and similarities to other cases of environmental activism, in which is fought against the appropriation of indigenous peoples’ land in order to access natural resources for energy production.

4. Challenge maahtoe

"One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intentions notwithstanding."
− Paulo Freire

Critical reflections on power and ethical considerations have been, and often still are, well hidden in the end of chapters reflecting on the methodology and methods. However, questions around ethical research and power relations are now more than ever discussed by human geographers. Especially during the last two decades, processes of critical reflexivity and discussions around ethics in research related to indigenous peoples and decolonizing theories became more common and accepted (Dowling, 2016; Drugge, 2016; Tunón, Kvarnström, & Lerner, 2016). In that regard and in the context of this work's topic, a separate chapter is dedicated to the links between Geography, Ethics and power structures within and through research. This allows me to make the belief system visible which is underlying this research to a large extend in both its theory and methodology, and to make sense of it in relation to geography. This chapter can therefore be understood as partly theoretical background and partly methodology or method, thus functioning as bridge between those two chapters.

4.1. Geography, colonial entanglements, cross-cultural research and responsibilities

Research and universities have a long history of supporting colonial expansion all around the world and some even argue universities have been established as institutions to support colonizing processes (Kuokkanen, 2007). Geography as a discipline has herein amongst others widely been involved in the production of knowledge of indigenous peoples during the colonization and occupation of their territories (Johnson & Madge, 2016; Lawrence & Raitio, 2016). Colonial research was mainly done "on" and "about" indigenous peoples to construct and perpetuate colonialism and colonialist power structures (Johnson & Madge, 2016). It was thereby not just about the 'collection' of knowledge, but also about "*re-arrangement, re-presentation and re-distribution*" (L. T. Smith, 2013, p. 62). As a consequence, the research contributed to a particular understanding of indigenous peoples as inferior and was used to exploit and dispossess indigenous peoples from their lands (Kuokkanen, 2000; Lawrence & Raitio, 2016; L. T. Smith, 2013). It has objectified indigenous peoples as "others", justifying the very concept of race and racism, creating and maintaining power and privilege. Colonial

research promoted western ways of thinking and acting, which encompasses not only the hetero-patriarchal gender system, capitalist property relations and modes of production, but also educational practices and the very notion of what counts as valid knowledge, as it denies respect for alternative ways of knowing (Howitt & Stevens, 2016; Louis, 2007; L. T. Smith, 2013; Stein & de Andreotti, 2016). It is therefore important to remember that research is not only responsible for the production of knowledge, but can also cause a lot damage in the societies from whom the knowledge or information were extracted.

Such a Colonial research has been the dominant mode of cross-cultural research in geography and unfortunately much academic work, in Geography and almost all other disciplines, remains colonial to some degree until today, despite various critiques (Howitt & Stevens, 2016). Some leading scholars represent the perspective that geographers are generally too little involved with their research and that researchers have a moral obligation to contribute to a more just society (Lawrence & Raitio, 2016; Valentine, 2005). For example, CLOKE outlines the significance gap between the theory and everyday practice of geographies of ethics (Valentine, 2005) and DOREEN MASSEY highlights the need for geographers to engage beyond their research and construct popular and political geographical imaginations (Massey, 2000 p. 133 cited in Valentine, 2005). She outlines the 'dilemma' of not acting after knowledge but getting lost in theoretical practices and losing sight of the world impacted by it. Those impacts than, can easily be of moral and ethical dimensions. Many scholars therefore see the need for more self-criticality and responsibility in the discipline and argue to incorporate ethics "*in the heart of geography curriculum*" (Kearns et al., 1998 in Valentine, 2005, p. 486). KUOKKANEN (2010) argues in this regard that "*the academy in general is very reluctant, in spite of its profession of knowledge, to expand its narrow and exclusionary epistemic foundations, and thus, to take its responsibilities in producing knowledge*" (p. 62). Thus, research is inherently political and must respond to the (political) context in which it is conducted. This is,

> *"[i]n the case of research in Indigenous communities, […] a context in which the legacies of colonialism – and the role of research in the colonization of Indigenous communities and territories – is not a thing of the past, but of the continuing present"* (Lawrence & Raitio, 2016, p. 117).

As presented in chapter 3.3.4., this does also account for the Sámi people in Norway, where the Norwegianisation, a political objection supported by academia, until today has concrete

consequences in form of discrimination and the perpetuation of dominant narratives[14] (Lund, 2018; Midtbøen & Lidén, 2015). As STORDAHL et al. (2015) argue, should this still existing power imbalance between academia and indigenous communities be taken seriously and "*must be decolonized*" (Louis, 2007, p. 131). To recognize and deal with this responsibility and the various entanglements around relations of power, is very much at the core of decolonial and indigenous methodologies.

Even though I do not introduce decolonial or indigenous methods as my applied methodological framework in this research, I had generally the ambition to relate to indigenous methodologies, for example by taking a sensitive stance towards its approaches and include theoretical perspectives and practices, to the extent possible for me. I by that address "*methodology as approach to knowing rather than only a set of research techniques*", as suggested by HOWITT & STEVENS (2016, p. 61). It is by this not my intention to question verified scientific methods, knowledge production and already existing knowledge or the general attempt of research practices. Rather, I intend to constantly question and explore my own position and intrinsic power structures in processes of research, especially when it comes to certain topics.

Overall, efforts towards using research also as instrument to dismantle power structures and decolonize contemporary research within the discipline take already increasingly place and encompasses to a large degree the reflection on how research is done (Johnson & Madge, 2016; Löf & Stinnerbom, 2016; Swadener & Mutua, 2004). This paradigm shift is seen by many to have started in the mid-1990s, especially with L. T. SMITH'S influential book *Decolonizing Methodologies*, in which she argues that "*research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions*" (2013, p. 5). Her book identifies research rather as a "*significant site of struggle*" (ibid., p. 2) between western knowledge-production and the resistance of indigenous peoples. A variety of other actors ever since have shaped alternative ways to think about research processes, often using terms as decolonizing methodology (L. T.

[14] One example can be outlined concerning the power and consequences of established dominant narratives. As BENJAMINSEN et al. (2015) outline, reindeer herding policies are until today based on the shared consensus of politicians, ministries, media and science, that the size of reindeer populations are at the root of a number of problems and therefore need to be reduced This narrative has been in place for decades, without taking further factors into account, thus invisibilizing other factors which go beyond the maximization of profit (ibid.). The authors conclude, that the narrative of overgrazing is a myth and largely decoupled from its supposed scientific basis. Explanations should rather be sought in long-standing government's agendas, powerful interests and the narratives perpetuation through prejudices and media (ibid.).

Smith, 2013; Swadener & Mutua, 2004) or Indigenous Research and Methodologies (Chilisa, 2011; Drugge, 2016; Kovach, 2010; Louis, 2007) to distinguish them from previous research.

Decolonial research is generally described as a process to break down unequal power relations and structures (within politics, society, academy and economy) which construct and maintain (neo-)colonialism. This deconstruction happens for example by the use of research findings that value rights, knowledge, perspectives and concerns of "*the other*" (Howitt & Stevens, 2016, p. 47). Decolonizing practices in research include in general e.g. a critical self-reflexivity, awareness and sensitivity, being informed and open for feedback from participants, seek local support and community supervision (usage of appropriate methods, how to share knowledge etc.) (Howitt & Stevens, 2016; MacNeil, 2014). Generally, it is of major importance to understand that all research entails appropriation, so that both indigenous people and researchers must be able to benefit from the research process and its results (Kuokkanen, 2010; MacNeil, 2014). LOUIS (2007) states in this regard critically that *"[i]f research does not benefit the community by extending the quality of life for those in the community, it should not be done. Geographers need to start building ethical research relationships with Indigenous communities"* (p. 131).

Indigenous and decolonial methodologies are relatively rising within the western research methodological discourse, especially within qualitative research (Kovach, 2010). While they gained likewise much and increasing attention, legitimacy and prestige over recent decades (Drugge, 2016), also criticism has been raised by scholars which are concerned that research, no matter if with a decolonial lens or not, continues to operate as tool for colonization and domination and thus needs to be treated with caution (Löf & Stinnerbom, 2016). Hence, doing research in indigenous studies, especially as non-indigenous scholar, remains problematic as it puts the researcher in a position where ethical guidelines are already (potentially) transgressed from the beginning (Olsen, 2016). While some researchers therefore call for leaving indigenous issues to indigenous researchers, others argue that also cross-cultural research by outsiders on indigenous issues can be important and add valid perspectives, if researched with caution (Howitt & Stevens, 2016; Swadener & Mutua, 2004). As OLSEN (2016) phrases it: "[…] *colonization works in different ways. Hence, decolonization has to work in different ways as well*" (p. 41).

In Norway, the debate led in recent years to a growing network of anti-colonial organizations and groups in academia, to reflect about and possibly 'challenge maahtoe'[15] – challenge knowledge. Much focus lies thereby amongst others on the researcher's historical roles in Norwegianising the Sámi community and today's acknowledgement of Sámi rights and knowledge (as described in chapter 3.3.). First voices were raised already in 1970s requesting that research on Sámi should take its point of departure in Sámi perspectives, values and needs (Drugge, 2016) In 1997, the Sámi Parliament in Norway came to the decision that ethical guidelines for Sámi research should be developed. Yet, general guidelines are still to be created (Mikaelsson, 2016; Stordahl et al., 2015). An attempt for guidelines especially on health research has been started in 2016, and led to a proposal in form of a report in 2017 (Sámediggi, 2017). The proposal identifies health research as especially sensitive as it is linked to historical traumata due to race research. Also the prior discussion on structural oppression is reflected throughout the proposal:

> "*In the past, research was carried out not only with a lack of knowledge about and focus on the Sámi's lifestyle and culture, but also with a discriminatory, racist view of the Sámi as being primitive and inferior. This view of the Sámi was prevalent in several disciplines, leaving a deep impression on many, and causing Sámi communities to distrust researchers*" (ibid. , p. 8).

As most ethical research guidelines, also this version is a call for a respectful and responsible research relationship, mutual benefits, self-determination including appropriate permission and informed consent, non-exploitive and non-extractive research; mindfulness and respect for community ethics and protocol (Kovach, 2010; Sámediggi, 2017; Tunón et al., 2016). Overall, many challenges and uncertainties remain and continue to be discussed in colonial/decolonial/anti-colonial/ neocolonial spaces.

4.2. Ethics and Power structures within and through research

As outlined in the chapter above, research in the past was used to exploit indigenous communities and perpetuating a status quo for dominant societies (Lawrence & Raitio, 2016).

[15] English: Challenge Knowledge; South Sámi: Maahtoem Evtiedidh. NTNU's slogan was altered into the duo-lingual version 'Challenge maahtoe' to title a seminar in February 2019 by the Sámi Student organization Trondheim (Saemien Studeenth Tråantesne; SST) and the Norwegian Students' and Academics' International Asistance Fund (Studenternes og Akademikernes Internasjonale hjelpefond; SAIH), which focused on reasons and necessity to decolonize the Norwegian academia from a students' perspective. As a consequence, NTNU launched its logos also in north- and south Sámi language, as can be noticed on the title page of this thesis.

Now, the ultimate goal of a researcher in a western research tradition is usually to be a neutral part of the knowledge production chain, a detached describer of reality, an objective and outside observer. Getting involved is seen as inappropriate and raises dangers of being political, subjective and biased (ibid.). In this context, LAWRENCES & RAITIO (2016) observed during their research, the paradox that *"supporting the status quo was considered apolitical and neutral, while challenging it was considered highly political, inappropriate and biased"* (p. 126). Usually, direct involvement and engagement in research is referred to as 'scholarly activism', 'action research' or in a milder form 'situated engagement' (ibid.). However, DOWLING (2016) argues therein, that a "*dispassionate interpretation is difficult, if not impossible"* (p. 39), as every researcher brings personal histories and perspectives into research. By this also power enters research in a number of ways.

Visible and invisible, as well as direct and indirect power structures and relations within and through research play a central and important role when it comes to the creation of knowledge (Hay, 2003). In the previous chapter, the disciplinary power of science itself has been explored. But also the researcher as a person, me in the case of this thesis, and the informants, and everybody around us hold positions of power. Furthermore, power is not only created through the stories told by informants and interpretations made by the researcher. The way a story is told about the informants matters as it can be indirectly powerful by influencing the way of how the research subjects are being thought of (ibid.). Thus, using specific terms and phrases crucially can impact how informants are being perceived. During the fieldwork I was for example made aware that some informants didn't like to use the term 'activist' for themselves, as they indicated something negative and radical with it which they didn't want themselves or their work to be associated with:

> *"I still feel that 'activist', the word, becomes a stamp that is negatively charged [...] If I hear the word 'activist' – that are people who are quite extreme in their opinions and actions [...] I am much more for dialogue and rather having an open dialogue and speaking loudly about different issues and this I do not connect with the same thing that is activism. […] There were many who meant it [the term] positive. But I am still not quite comfortable with being called an activist"* (# 8).

I have taken this feedback seriously and therefore tried to rather use the term 'engagement'. However, I did not manage to abandon the term *activism* completely, as the term is not only universal in use but also indicates clearly the political and social dimensions of the engagement (see Glossary). As stressed before, power-knowledge relations are inherently political**.** Thus, it is important to be aware of the responsibility in representations to avoid

recreating stereotypes (Crang & Cook, 2007; Dowling, 2016), for example about ‘activists’ or indigenous minorities.

Regarding the researched topic, the research also hides the danger of raising psychological upsetting issues, for example in connection to history and traumatic experiences of the Sámi. This can create so called “*’psycho-social’-harm*” (Hay, 2003, p. 27), as it would be phrased by non-indigenous qualitative researchers. For indigenous researchers however, it is, as discussed previously, not just the topic that is researched, but the act of research itself that is upsetting, as indigenous people have been oppressed in many ways by theory (L. T. Smith, 2013). Human geographers usually respond to such issues of power by an active inclusion of participants in the conducted research and with a constant reflexivity (Dowling, 2016), which also constitutes an important part of decolonizing and indigenous methodologies. Critical reflexivity is generally understood as process of constant reflection and modification of the process, if possible. This requires to regularly ask and answer questions during the research process, which, seen in the bigger picture, serve to unpack and reflect upon the positions we encompass and from which we describe and make sense of the world around us and take decisions. Hence, critical reflexivity has much to do with questions of positions. It is herein important though, to acknowledge the own position rather than denying it (ibid.), which is why I reflect more detailed about my position in relation to my work in the following chapter.

4.2.1. Critical reflexivity – Positioning & social relations

From the very beginning of my master’s thesis process, and even more by dealing with the topics entanglements, I have been very aware about the sensitivity of my work in a historically, social, cultural, political and structural way. I therefore tried – and often struggled – to be in a constant critical reflexivity and think about questions such as: Whose research is it? What problems might my position cause? How am I perceived? Am I happy with the situation? How is the relationship to the studied community? For whom is this work? Whose interests does it serve? Who benefits from it? How do I justify my actions to others? How to communicate results and for whom? Do I reproduce racist/sexist/other structural stereotypes? (partly inspired by the questions suggested by Dowling, 2016, pp. 37, 42).

It seemed simple at first to answer who is conducting the research, framing it and carrying it out – me, the author of this thesis, of course. However, those question go far deeper, as they required a detailed and honest self-reflection. When it comes to my positions as a researcher and author, it is furthermore important, to keep the difference between *positionality* and

personality in mind. As described from MOSER (2008) *positionality* (Who am I?) is not the only aspect shaping the outcome and experiences of a research, but to a large extend also the individual *personality* (How am I?) of the researcher. Also HOWITT & STEVENS (2016) argue that personal qualities matter: *"[T]he importance of the perception of our character should not be underestimated"* (p. 65). Hence, aspects of the personality, like social skills or emotional responses play also an important role, which has often been overlooked in literature on positionality (Moser, 2008).

So, what does that mean for myself and my research? As mentioned in the introduction, am I coming from and writing out of the context of the so called 'developed' western world and as a non-indigenous person. Being born and raised as an able-bodied, white, female person in Germany and living my whole life in different countries all belonging to the 'western world', I experienced so far a large amount of benefits and privileges that come with my nationality, cultural background and outer appearance. However, I am also aware of and sensitive to intersectional forms of discrimination as well as the plurality of identities every person holds, myself and the informants included. In human geography this is linked to the concept of being an *insider* or *outsider,* which is defined by overlapping characteristics, such as racial, socio-economic, gender, ethnic and others (Dowling, 2016). Thus, also growing up on the countryside in a farming environment or a family history shaped by several wars, is, amongst many others, significant. With those multiple roles and identities come different experiences, which all play in one way or another a role in the research done.[16] I generally acknowledge, that through my background and western education, I am socialized in a certain way and holding a set of certain perspectives that influence my work, how I question, interpret, describe and present results and thereby produce or also reproduce certain types of knowledge. As I am furthermore concerned with and active in environmental, solidarity, human rights and justice issues, my background as activist in a student organization likewise inspires and influences the outcome of this work. However, I believe it is actually a positive asset which serves not only a better understanding of the topic, but also made it possible for me in the first place to gain access to it.

My position naturally also influences how I am perceived. This became for example quite visible during the fieldwork, where I often was asked for my German perspective on renewable energy, and how the German role in Norwegian energy development is exactly. I

[16] For limitation reasons I do not reflect upon the large variety of roles and their impacts. A growing literature offers hereby an exciting variety of insights and valuable sources.

unfortunately had to disappoint the asking people most of the times, being not an expert in German-Norwegian entanglements of renewable energy, nor having detailed knowledge about the green shift in Germany. In that regard, being an international researcher in a national local context, I sometimes felt like lacking a connection to a Norwegian way of thinking and acting. In some occasions, as noted in my fieldwork diary, I felt looked at suspiciously at the public meetings, where I was presumably perceived as not being local, speaking with an accent, thus neither being Norwegian nor Sámi, being from a university and/or being of young age. During one conversation I received the feedback though, that my non-Norwegian background was perceived as positive feature, as I was thought to be more neutral and unbiased in Sámi-questions. In the end, at least that is for sure, *"neither you, your participants, nor the nature of your interactions will remain unchanged during the research project"* (Dowling, 2016, p. 41).

For whom than is the work, whose interests and benefits does it serve? The answers are somewhat ideological as well as honest. First of all: The work is meant for everybody who sees the relevance of it and takes the time to read it. As stated before, I do hope to contribute to a broader and more inclusive debate around sustainability and seek to highlight the relevance of an EJ discourse. However, assuming the work gets accepted, it will be primarily myself, the researcher, who benefits – leading me to a number of personal challenges.

4.2.2. Personal Challenges

I will not only benefit personally from this research by gaining a university degree, but probably also leave Norway with it, moving to some place around the world, and probably profit from the experience and degree in future work relationships. This is, while now being aware that such a 'helicopter approach' – coming and leaving without following the work up in long-term – is not appropriate for work linked to an Indigenous community (Johnson & Madge, 2016). I am actually wondering, if it is ever appropriate, no matter in what kind of research or community. Anyway, another internal conflict, which is linked to the latter, encompasses the question of how much impact a master student has with the work completed after all? Thus, what can I really give back? And also: How to avoid the risk of approaching my research too naïve? Or too biased?

Almost permanently during the research, I also experienced how energy and time consuming critical reflexivity is. Just as HOWITT & STEVENS (2016) emphasize, should the time, care, emotional commitment, self-reflection, learning and stress that cross-cultural research can

entail, not be underestimated. Where my supervisor started to think I am too shy to talk to people, I was in the middle of a time-intensive process of positioning myself, staying in contact with key figures and informants and slowly building up trust on both sides: For me, to continue the process and for my informants to talk with me. However, OLSEN (2016) outlines that it can also be important to keep a critical distance, which can be another way of showing respect to the community from which data were extracted.

Those intensively reflective processes of course raise questions and ethical issues not only in regard to the indigenous participants but also in relation to non-indigenous participants and academia. So what can actually be challenged and done to what extend without losing the credibility and goodwill of any of the included parties? Thinking of the two 'worst case scenarios': My research might be perceived as too one-sided and biased or as forwarding political views from an academic perspective, while my (non-)indigenous informants may perceive it as a reproduction of oppressive power structures and beneficial for the dominant majority. In the end, however, it might be as LAWRENCES & RAITIOS (2016) outline:

> "*We argue that it is impossible for researchers to remain disengaged, particularly when studying such 'hot' topics as resource conflicts and Indigenous rights. The choice between objective/neutral researchers on the one hand, and subjective/engaged ones on the other, is a false one. The choice rather, lies between researchers who acknowledge and critically reflect on their own role in (de)colonizing the (Nordic) academia, and those who do not"* (p. 132).

5. Research design and methods

"If I have one consistent message for the students I teach and the researchers I train it is that indigenous research is a humble and humbling activity"
− Linda Tuhiwai Smith

As the theoretical framework as well as the comprehensive discussion of ethics, power structures and relations underlying this work suggests, a qualitative approach has been chosen to investigate the research questions of this work (see Fig. 6).

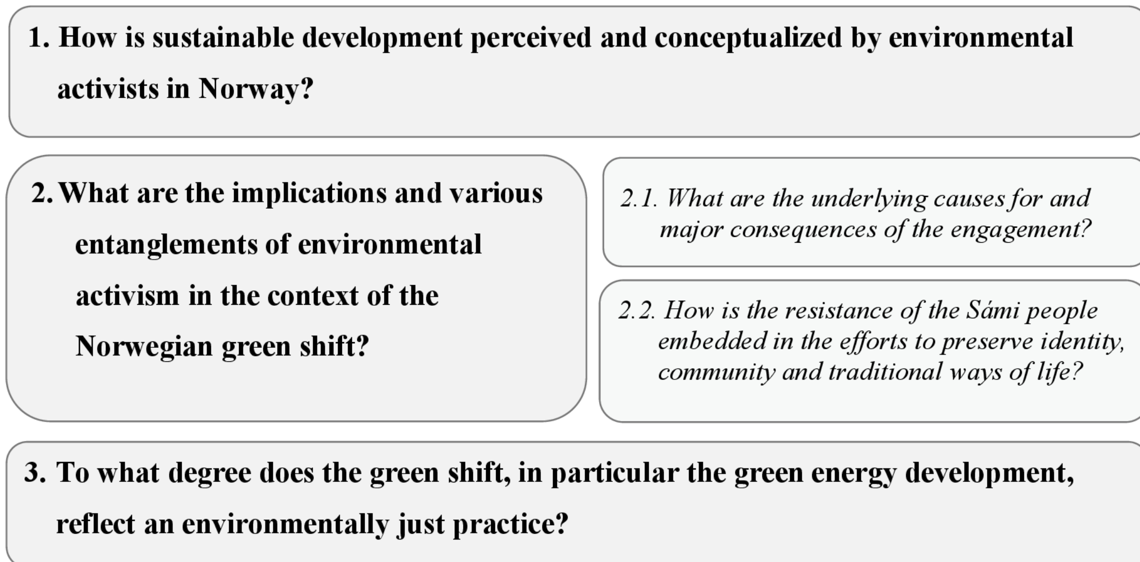

Fig. 6: Research Questions

As WINCHESTER & ROFE (2016) outline, is qualitative research either concerned with social structures or with individual experiences. A qualitative method allows to give voice to individual experiences and viewpoints which otherwise might be silenced or excluded (Hay, 2003). However, all individuals experience structures, places and events differently. It is the researchers task to balance on the one hand side the examination of structures and process and on the other hand side individuals and their experiences (Winchester & Rofe, 2016). Regarding the theoretical framework underlying this work, a qualitative methodology is most convenient. Generally, the EJ framework encompasses a broad variety of interdisciplinary approaches, theories, epistemologies and methods. The original understanding of EJ was built upon quantitative data, comparing geographical units with hazards and demographic characteristics (Mohai et al., 2009). Thus, racial and socioeconomic disparities could be expressed in numbers. However, next to a variety of weaknesses, a quantitative research on EJ also fails to address the maybe most important component: people's experience of injustice. As many EJ aspects actually consist of personal experiences and perspectives on injustice, they can only be captured with qualitative methods, if at all. AGYEMAN et al. (2016) therefore argue, that only few EJ aspects are quantifiable. Qualitative research furthermore allow to incorporate a decolonizing theoretical lens (cf. chapter 4.1.).

5.1. Study design – Data collection process

The data sampling took place through three main stages: 1) collection of background information through literature review and first talks, 2) in-depth conversations in form of semi-structured interviews with people engaged in the topics of matter and 3) participation in form of observation in several meetings. This combination provides a differentiated data collection and allows an insight to the investigated topic from slightly different angles.

5.1.1. Literature review

The literature research was focused both on scientific and non-scientific publications. Non-scientific publications encompassed especially online newspaper articles, websites, blogs and recordings of presentations or movies, as well as posts on social media in relevant groups. Those were especially useful as sources about very recent developments in Norway's green shift and the organized resistance against it. Oftentimes, content relevant articles were posted via facebook in such groups of local resistance movements who use the platform for exchange. Having access to such groups was a big asset, as they allowed to follow easily up with the happenings and provided information about connected publications daily.

The scientific sources on the other hand were focused mainly on scientific papers regarding relevant topics and were mostly found online or in NTNU's library databank by searching after a whole range of key words like 'sustainable development', 'environmental justice', 'just sustainability', 'indigenous environmental activism', and so forth. The snowball method – finding new sources through the literature used in relevant articles – was probably the main method used and extremely helpful. This is especially, as the topics explored offer an enormous source of literature. DESSEIN et al. (2015) mention for instance, that more than 108.000 peer reviewed papers about sustainability or SD have been published. This was in 2015, the number surely has risen to some degree ever since. Google Scholar, for example, offers recently more than four million entries when searching for 'sustainability', the search for 'environmental justice' results still in almost two million hits.

5.1.2. Stakeholder analysis & Information process

Sampling and participants

The informants were primarily selected due to criterion sampling and snowball sampling (Stratford & Bradshaw, 2016). The Criteria for the Criterion Sampling encompassed the

participant's self-identification as Sámi and/or their self-identification as engaged in environmental questions. Thus, I did not base the criterions on official definitions of indigenity or activism. Because the study concentrated specifically on indigenous experiences and perspectives, this particular group was in the focus when searching for informants. No attention was generally paid to the occupation, level of education, gender or age in the first place. The snowball sampling is owed to the fact that often people, who have been involved in similar topics or knew someone involved, forwarded me and helped with contacting (other) informants or inviting to meetings. Thereby acted some people (informants and non-informants) as key figures without whom it would have been impossible to get connected to informants and hence work with the topic at all. As confirmed by some informants, it was crucial to them to have been connected through a person they know or trust, before the agreed talking to me. The underlying reasons were not discussed with all informants, though, so this reflection is based only on a small insight to perspectives. I was also open to Opportunistic Sampling to include also participants during the fieldwork-process. This sampling worked out mainly through the observation process, during which I listened to public talks of involved people and took the opportunity to talk to them afterwards. As STRATFORD & BRADSHAW (2016) highlight, it is quite usual to combine different sampling strategies.

In total, eight official interviews with a length between 30 min. and 1:30 min. have been held. Three conversations were held with non-indigenous members of the organisations Friends of the Earth[17] and Nature & Youth[18] and five were held with people engaged in environmental questions and identifying as Sámi. As outlined in chapter 3.3.3., indigenous and non-indigenous environmental activists do often work together in their resistance towards the green development in Norway, so by including also non-indigenous voices I intended to identify differences and similarities in perspectives on environmental issues, explore reasons for collaboration and widen in general the researches focus.

The informants consisted of almost equally many male and female[19] participants and represented furthermore a great variety in age (between 20 and 80), which wasn't included as a variable in the light of the results interpretation, though. Also places of engagement varied

[17] „Naturvernforbundet" in Norwegian

[18] „Natur & Ungdom" in Norwegian

[19] I did not speak with the informants about gender, hence I am generally lacking knowledge about their positions. Thus, the statement about the informants' gender is based solely on my visual assumptions and is therefore limited, or stereotypical. On the whole, gender as influencing variable has been left out for limitation reasons.

largely. The main focus for most lied on South Sámi areas though, which has to be considered as variable when reading the analysis and discussion of the findings.

Moreover I also got the possibility to attend four official meetings with a variety of stakeholders linked to the green (energy) development, and a number of informal meetings with only environmental activists. I visited all meetings by the invitation of involved people and were by that given the opportunity to observe and listen to a variety of voices of which some are included in this thesis as well. During most of the public meetings the major present age group consisted of 50-80 year old people, opinions from younger people were only heard in a few cases.

All conversations were held in Norwegian to ensure a confidential and comfortable space for the informants in which they could express themselves freely. For the analysis and discussion, the content was translated to English.

Privacy, confidentiality and informed consent

As DOWLING (2016) outlines, enters a qualitative research a private space that needs to be dealt with respectfully. Before being able to start with fieldwork, the project therefore needed to be approved by the *Norwegian centre for research data NSD* (Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS), which took place in early November 2018.

In the framework of this work I am securing anonymity through leaving out names, places of engagement and places of my fieldwork, age, positions and other personal information which I have been trusted with during the conversations. As all quotes that are used in this work have been translated to English, it contributes to a further anonymization. Even though I personally perceive the 'labelling' of people as *informants* and the act of coding as rather impersonal[20], I decided already before conducting the fieldwork to use this method to ensure the protection of the people's anonymization. Therefore, each person I held a conversation with, is in this work referred to as #number, so #1, #2,…, #8. The speakers and information from the attended meetings are summarized and labeled as Mnumber, so M1 – M4. For further anonymization, places and names in quotes have been taken out or were replaced with other terms, such as 'mountains' or 'people'.

[20] This matter raises also questions whether to honour anonymity or acknowledge identity (Löf & Stinnerbom, 2016)

However, due to the participants identities and activities, it is difficult to ensure always 100% confidentiality. This information has been part of the *Informed consent.* To make sure that the informants' knew what they were consenting to as well as their rights, I provided them with an information letter (see appendix). As a standard procedure the most important points were also repeated in the beginning of the interview situation. Even though I had prepared a consent-papers for signing, the approval was in all cases given orally. Doing it otherwise felt, especially due to the context of working with people identifying as indigenous, rather inappropriate. I am of course aware of the protective aim of this procedure for the informants, but nevertheless assessed this specific practice as uncomfortable and inappropriate in my explicit situation, which is why I changed it after the beginning of my fieldwork. Also the consent to the recording was given orally. Consent to both participation in the research and recordings were given in all cases. Only during one conversation no recording was taken as the interview situation was similar to a walk-along-interview and it was inappropriate to interrupt that specific situation. Notes were taken immediately after the conversation instead.

Data material from the public meetings presented in this work is used with the oral consent of those speakers who were included to a larger extend. I therefore contacted the speakers oftentimes directly after the talks, shortly explained who I am and what I do, and asked for the consent to use quotes and content from their public presentations anonymously within my work.

Furthermore, possibilities for feedback were given by the offer to read the transcript of the interviews, as well as the analysis. All informants gave their feedback and consent either one or both times (inspired by Chilisa, 2011). Also irregular updates on the proceeding of the work were sent during the writing process. By this approach I wanted to continue the contact to and involvement of the informants in the research process and giving the possibility to express if they felt uncomfortable with the use of any information they had given.

5.1.3. Fieldwork

The practical fieldwork took place between October 2018 and March 2019 at different places in Norway. To gather the data I focused on ethnographic methods, or more specific on oral and observational.

Conversational method – Semi-structured Interviews

As main method, semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions to guide the conversations were conducted. Those allowed flexibility for both participant and researcher to participate in form of a dialogue and co-create knowledge. Fundamental was for me also the question of how important it is, to frame a conversation after all. As it turned out, I was due to the academic framework of the conversation sometimes expected a lot more to be in the role of an interviewer as I prepared for or wanted to be. When I got aware of it or was asked for more concrete questions, I tried to fulfill these expectations. The general Interview guideline can be found in the appendix. The form on hand was barely used though, as individual preparations took place for each talk. The guideline provides nevertheless an insight to the tackled topics. The central categories on which the conversations were based can be outlined as: sustainability; justice; changes in the landscape and the green shift; engagement and activism; causes, consequences, meanings and impact; place attachment; communication and (inter)national connections.

Before the conversations, I had the possibility to have pre-research-talks and meetings with some of the informants. This was found retrospect as very helpful and valuable to get to know each other, clarify positions and perspectives and exchange about expectations and the researches content. When possible, I prioritised face-to-face-Interviews, as the personal contact, amongst other positive aspects, allows the informant to verbalize opinions about the interview procedure and questions (Hay 2003). To be face-to-face with the informant, added also unverbalized information to the interview itself, for example through body language, which allowed me among others, to avoid or go deeper into certain topics. Due to distance and/or time-limits, however, face-to-face-Interviews were not possible with all informants. Two of the interviews had to be held via Skype and telephone.

In the beginning of the conversations, rather than asking the informants after sociodemographic information, I tried to share parts of my own story, who I am and how I am linked to the research topic (inspired by Chilisa, 2011). Sometimes this also happened naturally during the conversations. It was important to me to be open about myself and my intentions and by that create a certain amount of trustworthiness and credibility for the people participating in the conversations. The conversations where in general often dialogical and reflective. I therefore found myself repeatedly in the position of a 'co-participant', during the conversations as well as during the meetings, deepening my self-knowledge each time (Kovach, 2010). I usually tried to end the interviews on a positive note, which did not always

work out due to the topics serious implications, and gave the possibility for further topic-related input and questions around the project. As a 'thank you' for the offered insights, a small sign of acknowledgement and respect was given to the informants in the end – the informants gave something from them, so I gave something from me. I used this practice already during my Bachelors fieldwork, back then unaware of the fact that it somehow still belongs to the research process.

Observation & Fieldnotes

Due to the invitations to official and informal meetings, *Participant observation* has also been a part of the data collection process and was very useful not only to complement the conversations and contextualize the findings, but also to collect further data material. In general, I understand observation rather as process of "*taking part in the world, not just representing it"* (Crang 1997, 360 cited in Kearns, 2016, p. 314). Through the participation and observation at several meetings, I was able to engage in situations in which the topic, but not one single individual was at the focus. KEARNS (2016) refers to such situations as *uncontrolled observation*, which can include "*more than just seeing*" (p. 316), which refers especially to the act of listening. In some cases I was involved by being asked questions and giving answers or personal opinions, but I tried to mainly act as an active listener and observer, so falling into the role of an *observer-as-participant* (Kearns, 2016). The boundaries are blurry, though. And as described before, it can not only be expected from the community, but even be positive, if the researcher involves in his/her research.

Anywise, because every observation also includes social and spatial participation, power structures enter – once more – the research stage. My own position and status are thereby fundamental, including also codes of behaviour, education, gender, activities and tools. Regarding my position, for example, I felt slightly uncomfortable once in a situation, where I was introduced to an indigenous group by a non-indigenous person. Generally I felt met with goodwill though, as I have been working on a topic of importance to the communities and activists. In case of the meetings, I also felt that my repeated participation led to an increase in trust. I met the same people on different occasions, during fieldwork or privately as activist, which might has worked as a way to verify my honest interest and intentions.

Assessing the influence of my gender on the fieldwork, I find rather difficult. Personally, I haven't perceived it as negative or positive feature at any time, but I am aware that for the informants or during the meetings it might have been of importance. In terms of tools, I used

mainly a notebook, once a laptop and twice recording during the official meetings, to preserve the observed and spoken as good as possible. In addition, I carried a fieldwork diary which I filled with notes about the general process and personal impressions and feelings whenever the situation allowed it (mainly after the meetings).

5.2. Approaches to data analysis

5.2.1. Transcription

To be able to study the informant answers as well as the presentations from the meetings more in detail, the recordings were transcribed into written form. For several reasons, I chose to focus primarily on the content of the conversations and excluded social talk or interruptions as well as simplify sentences in terms of leaving out 'ehms' or short breaks. I dispensed also with documenting bodily behavior. The reasons for this simplified transcription method encompass mainly time, understanding and usefulness.

Dialects spoken by informants or a bad quality of the recording required quite an amount of concentration and time to transcribe the audio-data. Naturally, the transcription was already an interpretive process which involved judgment and was therefore a first step into analyzing (Bailey, 2008). However, the informants became the opportunity to read and approve the transcript, revise any information or give further feedback and ask questions. By this approach I wanted to provide them with the record and make sure that I didn't misunderstood anything due to language or context matters as well as giving the possibility to express discomfort with any of the data. In total, the recordings of the conversations encompassed 6 Std. 35 min. and added up to 62 pages of transcript.

5.2.2. Clustering

To make thematically sense of the insights gained and simplify the data analysis, clusters were identified to assign the information due to keywords and content to one of the larger topics of interest. The clustering followed thereby roughly the interview guideline (see appendix). Also further topics of importance were identified through the conversations and structurally and content-wise incorporated. However, most topics overlap to a degree that made it difficult, even impossible, to separate the findings into distinct clusters. It rather led to a dynamic structure with a multitude of linkages, which mirrors the nature of this topic. The clusters used to structure the findings encompassed: *Environmental activism – background, Place & identity, Influences and effects of activism, Nature and environment, Green shift in*

Norway, Sustainability and lifestyle/ consumption/ environmental awareness, Structures of power and justice, Communication and relations, and *Other*. The outcome of the clustering is presented in chapter 6: Presentation of Findings.

5.3. Reflection on data collection and presentation

A variety of challenges and considerations can be drawn about the process of data collection and presentation. First of all, the literature analysis could have been better organized, in terms of focusing from the beginning on a balanced inclusion of different scholars. Even though I consciously included a variety of Sámi scholars and indigenous voices, I often used the most known or cited sources, while concentrating only little on texts from less cited scholars or scholars from the Global South which possibly expressed similar and relevant opinions on the matter from different perspectives.

Concerning the fieldwork, the number of official interviews was rather limited. Generally, the limited number was not perceived as disadvantage, as it allowed me to work more intensively with the informants and data. Yet, further insights could have been valuable. A clear limitation concerns hereby also the one-sidedness of the research, as I only spoke to engaged people, assuming their actions and thought mirror best the strife for EJ. Also the public meetings included mainly people engaged in one way or another – for example in politics or environmental issues or both. This clear limitation in perspectives (whom did I speak to) and topic (what did we speak about), holds the danger of reproducing homogeneity, as individual voices might not echo the voice of the group. For example: Just because I haven't met Sámi people being positive towards the green development, does not mean they do not exist. Therefore other perspectives are lacking which could have benefitted the research with dissenting perspectives. In this regard, I could have also paid more attention to the differences of indigenous/ non-indigenous views, both in data collection and data presentation. The research could also be expanded by the inclusion of quantitative data, for example about the green shift in Norway or land-use changes, and by this avoid the highly subjective positions produced by qualitative research. Furthermore, the conversations showed some differences in opinions and experiences that can possibly be linked to criterions such as occupation, level of education, gender or age, which were not taken further into account, but could be an interesting or even important asset to the study. Generally, many aspects, theories, concepts or viewpoints could have been included in the thesis. Overall, even though I tried to remain critical throughout the process, the choices I took in the end on what to include in this work,

was made with a certain lens. Following this thought, the question arises, if we can actually find something new, if we already know what we are – at least approximately – looking for?

A big challenge that appeared generally throughout the research process concerns the language. The fieldwork was conducted in Norwegian, which is neither my mother-tongue nor as fluent as my English. Therefore, sometimes it came to difficulties not only in understanding, but also in being understood. For example, now and then I had to use easier phrases during the conversations, as I missed the jargon, or ask the informant if I understood him/her correctly. The recordings were very helpful to than further understand particular phrasings. Also, as the data were translated to English, some content certainly ended up as lost in translation.

Another main reflection concerns the complexity of the topic, including its underlying concepts of SD and EJ, which easily leads to deviations. This broadness I became repeatedly aware of throughout the whole fieldwork, leaving me often very lost in the process and wondering about my personal and topical position. For example: "*Am I here as activist, observer, researcher, interested? Maybe all of it at the same time*" (from my fieldwork diary, M1). And during M4 I wrote: "*I don't actually know what exactly I do. What's my focus, what are my questions? It seems I've lost myself in the ocean this topic is...*" Hence, I repeatedly wondered what I actually do. Sometimes it felt like putting the obvious into words. Yet, I found myself in a constant struggle of not knowing how to approach the topic as well as the general inevitability of (re)creating power structures. "*I'm having mixed feelings, the work is proceeding very slowly. [...] I'm having the feeling of being so close but don't get further. […] It's not about being shy or lazy, but about treating the topic with the right respect it deserves"* (M2). In the same line I noted during M4: "*[...] right now I don't know how and why I dared choosing to work on this topic*". In retrospect those lines tell, how important self-care as a researcher is, especially when dealing with topics of strong emotions and complex topics such as colonialism, power structures and injustices. How emotion-loaded the topic is, was also reflected during the public meetings, as all of them usually ended with emotion-loaded comments and debates, and especially when opponents met, tension laid in the air. As I noted in my diary: "*The hall is loaded with opinions. Applause for some, not for the others."* (M3) And also "*it seems no one of the present came neutral or left neutral*". In terms of the data presentation, it was generally challenging to not decontextualize and fragment the data too much, while at the same time trying to not present highly contextual data to maintain confidentiality.

Generally, the process of my thesis was for me very much about the research itself and a constant critical reflexivity, in combination *with*, rather than just *about* the topic or the creation of new data. As research, researcher and researched are inseparably linked, I tried to pay attention to all of it during the whole process, more or less successful.

6. Presentation of Findings

Li oahppa čáhčái doalvvo
Kunnskap hjelper deg pa dypt vann • Knowledge will keep you from getting stuck in the mud
– Sámi Proverb

In the following are the findings of the fieldwork presented. This chapter is free (as far as possible) of interpretations but built primarily on the summarized information gained through the conversations and observations. However, a small amount of interpretation cannot be avoided, but happening naturally, for example by organizing the topics. A discussion of the findings follows separately from the presentation of the findings.

Furthermore, did throughout all conversations appear significant similarities. For practical and limitation reasons though, it has often been summarized or quoted from only one or two sources. It is thereby not my intention to undermine someone’s statements, opinions and experiences, but to represent the findings as structured and understandable as possible. Oftentimes, different interests and reasons also intersect with another, so they overlap in questions around identity, values, understanding of sustainability, perceptions of justice, etc., which is why several points are repeated throughout this chapter with a slightly differing focus. Furthermore, in the answers and observations could oftentimes a distinction in reasoning and worldviews between indigenous and non-indigenous informants be observed, which is why I present the findings sometimes slightly separated. The focus lies, however, on the perspectives of informants identifying as Sámi.

6.1. Environmental engagement: Background

6.1.1. Causes, reasons & values

The underlying causes for the informants’ engagement and activism mirror a variety of interests. For example, for all informants from the Sámi community stood the preservation of

nature and grazing lands and thereby the preservation of their culture and traditions in the foreground. The underlying background which has been outlined in chapter 3.3. on environmental activism of Sámi people, have been repeatedly confirmed by the informants during this research. Also the informants of this study perceive the resistance against the green development plans as a fight for their identity and rights, as one informant summarized: *„So the [(reindeer)] husbandries that exist today are what have been the mainstays of our culture. [...] [S]o it's a bit such a gratitude for our husbandries and that I am an activist in relation to their existence"* (# 4).[21]

When it comes to reindeer herding, a question that reindeer herders often receive within the green development discussions, is the one after the conflict – Why is green energy construction actually a problem for reindeer herding? As detailed outlined on M3, reindeer herding is highly dependent on accessibility to grazing areas. So the building of hydropower, infrastructure and wind parks, for example, does not only mean a restriction of grazing potential, but rises furthermore problems for the moving of the reindeer herds from one grazing area to another. So even though, in the context of this case, efforts by the project developers were undertaken to plan alternative moving routes, a reindeer herder explained that *"it is not given that my reindeer will follow the yellow line [(planned route)]"(*M3). It follows that further areas are possibly lost if the reindeer refuse to follow the routes planned by humans. Grazing areas are in general more and more restricted by a variety of developments, for example the expansion of cabin building, mining and skiing areas (M3, #3, #8).

> *"But the state has not considered that nature has been restricted because there is a wind park, because there comes cabin constructions, because there comes mining operations. And these drivers require large areas, creating large interventions in nature and limiting the pasture area. So clear that when the area where animals live is restricted, then there is greater press on the ground. But the state of Norway sees only the reindeer owners who are problematic, but does not see the reason for the great distress"* (# 8).

It is furthermore critically controlled where reindeer stay, so loosing further areas is perceived as extremely problematic. *"Here I have to ask my question: Where will I be allowed to be with my animals? And where shall my animals go to be allowed to graze in peace, without breaking any laws?"* (M3). It has been mentioned by several informants, that reindeer do not disturb the natural environment – "*It is shown, that the anniversary circle for reindeer*

[21] All quotes have been translated by me from Norwegian to English.

herding does not destroy anything" (#1) – but even contribute to biodiversity by eating certain types of dominant plants. As reindeer herding is dependent on an intact environment, it is an intrinsic part of the branch to take care of the natural environment at all times. The new development and the increasing human interventions are compared with that perceived as harmful (M3, #8). *"Reindeer husbandry is an organic industry that does not harm nature. They have always been there and the animals do not destroy, it is the interventions that people do that do the damage here"* (#8).

It was in this regard often spoken about values. I started this work with a short story around value creation, which I witnessed during the projects fieldwork. The scene described took place at M3, where the question arose, how much financial wealth creation reindeer husbandry creates in a certain area, in contrast to the millions of expected NOK from the planned green energy project. The speaker, not surprised by the question because reindeer herders often are confronted with alike, answered transparently that reindeer husbandry produces no monetary value to the municipalities. Continuing, it was outlined, that nevertheless a value creation takes place. This value, however, is not measurable in financial terms, as it is about the survival of their husbandry:

> "*I do not do business with the pastures. I'm not allowed to. I'm not allowed to sell anything. I myself can get out natural goods and a good pension. But what about my descendants? Am I allowed to sell all my inheritance if I can't have a guarantee that my descendants will also be able to carry on reindeer husbandry in the future?"* (M3).

This way of thought was confirmed and followed also by several other informants. One informant explained in regard to the general view on resources management in Norway for example, that *"[a]ll the resources we use have to be managed. No nature shall be left in peace. Because such nature is not worth anything"* (#2). With 'worth' is in this context monetary value meant. In the same context it was commented: *"There is more to wealth creation than only counting money. [...] I have several grandchildren which I would like to use the mountain*" (M3). Hereby the future generations and a long-term perspective are put at focus. Another point in this line is that such a green energy project, in this example a wind park, *"[...] is not something that can only be worked up, packed together when we are finished and collected some wind. [...] It is not possible"* (# 8).

So the consequences are irreversible and have to be dealt with from future generations. A speaker at M2 claimed, that there exists no respect for futures generations in today's larger

society and an intrinsically ecologically way of thinking is missing. Informant #8 summarized from a Sámis perspective:

> *"So this is an ecological way of thinking that we have inherited – we think naturally, we think animals, we think a larger whole than that we should just sell. And that's why we call reindeer husbandry a life style."*

The question of value creation and long-term perspectives was also taken up at M1, were it was commented, that "*Reindeer don't eat money. And we do neither".* The role of money and financial valuation are more detailed explored in chapter 6.4.1.

Overall, the intervention in nature is an intervention to the fundament of the Sámi people and to all people, as in the end we are all dependent on nature (#7). This point of view was supported by all Sámi and non-Sámi informants, one said for instance: *"I understand that they [(Sámi)] have their interest, culture- and husbandry-wise, and I see that we can cooperate in this issue, but my interest is that the nature is not destroyed because that we never get back"* (#2). Hereby is a clear distinction in interest expressed, which nevertheless lead to the same goals. Also justice is mentioned in combination with underlying causes for the engagement, as emphasized during one conversation: *"And it was perhaps most that I thought it was unfair, that is, the environmental problems are unfair, because it's the people who are not responsible for creating them who are being damaged"* (#3).

Here again can the long-term perspective be found – who pays the price, today and in the future, for our development? In this context the critique on a missing or incomplete evaluation and presentation of the long-term consequences of wind parks was raised. Issues repeatedly mentioned regarding the consequences were furthermore not only the influences on animal behavior, but also the physical influence of noise and infrasound on humans as well as the psychological influences linked to the rapid change of local environments or the ice-throw risks in winter. Likewise, the disturbing of visual aesthetics and restrictions in movement was named, which is not just for locals perceived as a major constraint, but has possibly also consequences for tourism (M1, M3, #1, #4, #8). In general did all informants raise questions about the 'Why' – Why takes the green development place? – reflected about it, and reacted to it in one way or another.

6.1.2. Place & Identity

Both, Sámi and non-Sámi informants talked, regardless being asked about it or not, about personal connections to the places. By 'place' in this context mainly the mountains and (local)

natural environment in which the interventions take place were meant. Almost all informants affirmed the importance of the place for their engagement. For members of the Sámi community, the topic has also been closely linked to their ethnical identity.

At M2 for example, the mountains were described as living beings and fundamental to Sámi beliefs and reindeer herding, hence to their culture and traditions. The mountains have been also central in the preservation of the language, as it survived during the years of Norwegianisation to a large degree due to the reindeer herders in the mountains, where there state couldn't control everything (#4). The long history linked to those places was highlighted in general as important to be respected and preserved. The places connection to the Sámi identity clearly emerged in several interviews. For example, expressed an informant at M2 *"I need to go outside to feel home*". For the speaker, to go out to nature means to come home, to feel comfortable, safe and related to the own culture. So to get engaged for the protection of what is considered as 'home' and fundamental for the culture, is perceived less as an planned act of environmental activism than rather as a natural consequence and part of life. To live with and of the land means to take care of it, so the traditional lifestyle is kind of environmental activism in itself, as some informants phrase it (#5, #8). During another conversation it was outlined that "*[i]t is limiting to call it environmental activism, it is rather part of a larger struggle.* […] *For me, it's not really about preserving the environment, but preserving just one of many elements*" (#7). As the informant verbalized, those many elements include of course the place, the land itself: "[…] *it is, that it is land which has in a way the need for support"* (#7). A closeness to the place and direct personal relations do matter in many cases, as it strengthens the feelings of obligation for an engagement. "*But for me, it's all about the fact that it is so close by, because it's [...] Sámi area, I have friends from there [...]"* (#7). However, the direct personal impact, relations and geographical closeness are not always of major importance, as formulated by other informants: "*It's a bit difficult to explain, but it feels that even though it's not my area, it's still my area"* (#6). And „*I wouldn't be so engaged if it wasn't about reindeer husbandry, that I have to admit*" (#4). Thus, it is very much about the place and community in general, too. That the ground is what links the culture, identity and lastly activism was expressed by one informant:

> *"The belonging one has [as a Sámi] to the culture and places, to the ecology and animals, this belonging you are born with, you are brought up with, it's given by the culture. [...] I think it is hard to understand. What the meaning of the land and areas has to say. [...] It touches much more than one might has the precondition to understand, when only seen from the outside"* (#8).

And another informant emphasizes:

> "*It is, that it is my people in a way. It is the husbandry that survives. I now begin to get an understanding of it, how important it is that they continue to survive. […] But it's so few people, so we have to stand together there and help"* (#4).

The feeling of belonging and common identity, which cannot be ignored, the connectedness between the people, culture, nature and animals, marks a central thread in the indigenous activism.

> *"You cannot end your commitment because then you end your life and your heritage, you end your culture, end something that has always been there. The day a reindeer herder sets aside, he somehow sets aside his identity, and his life. […] When reindeer husbandry disappears, we also disappear"* (#8).

Here, the informant also sees the biggest difference to non-Sámi activists.

> *"And such an [non-indigenous] environmental activist can be engaged for ten years and then he becomes tired and goes 'ah shit, fuck this' and can start something else, right. […]Activists can choose how active they want to be, they can in a sense say 'now this is getting too much for me, now I don't manage anymore', and withdraw from their engagement, that is what the main difference is. Even if the engagement is the same, […] so environmental activists do have a choice. Which the Sámi do not have"* (#8).

And because the choice is missing and the struggle for the environmental protection and self-determination is such a long process and so tiring, it is important to support one another and do not let anyone stand alone, as outlined by several informants (e.g. M1, M4, #6, #7, #8). This common belonging, identity and feelings of connectedness and community are also of importance in an international context, as it is fundamental for the connection to other indigenous communities and their environmental activism (#5). As described by some informants, exist strong links to indigenous communities around the world. Through visits and personal bonds, one another's struggles are supported and it is participated in resistance fights, campaigns and meetings such as Standing Rock or the Conference of Parties (#5, #7). This exchange over global borders influences the indigenous activism to a large degree positively. The networking is made overall a lot easier through today's possibilities of traveling and communicating, especially the internet, which contributes to an increasing global exchange of indigenous communities (#5, #7). „*I think we see that it changes [...] towards such a [...] internationalization of solidarity*" (#7). As highlighted on M4, is the resistance linked to environmental destruction a fight which is fought for the whole world.

Another argument connected more concretely to the place, the mountains, is about the use of the ground by reindeer husbandry which leaves no major visible marks in the landscape. The tracks the reindeer use are not as visible as windmills, buildings, paved roads and other technical infrastructures. *"[...] [O]n the mountain [...] there is reindeer husbandry and has been there hundreds of years without leaving a trace"* (#1). So while reindeer herding does not leave any major traces in nature, it is nevertheless an interference, leaving no nature as really 'untouched' by humans. Sometimes, this is used as argument to justify further interventions. However, on M4 this argument was declared a bad excuse to push the industrial expansion. One informant reflected upon the inconsistency in this argument: *„So, in order to get these energy sources, you have to make interventions in nature, which they call untouched, while being overgrazed. (laughs) Very interesting"* (#6).

Also, even though 'untouched nature' might be a misleading term, because the Sámi people have been on the lands for thousands of years, there is still a different between the modern use of nature with heavy technical interventions like roads, power lines, mines, wind turbines etc., and the traditional use which tolerates the boundaries of nature, as summarized by informant #3. Another informant is afraid that too few actually understand this change in landscape coming with the green development:

> "*People must, in a way, almost have it [the windmills] parked in their living room for them to understand, 'ah, this here was maybe not so clever'. Because when you do not see it, when you are not close to it, you are distancing yourself from it"* (#8).

This underlines the importance of connection to the place, either geographically or mentally, as shown through the examples before. Phrasing was furthermore highlighted as another important matter. For example, as explained on M1, is the term 'wind park' extremely misleading, as it creates embellished images in people's heads. The term 'industrial wind power production' paints in comparison a more realistic picture of the developments scope.

6.2. Activism Outcome: Influences and effects on in – and outside

During the meetings and conversations it often turned out, that the informants' engagement does not only have an impact on the cases' process, but to a large extend also on the individuals themselves. In terms of the outside effects of the engagement, by which the influences on processes in the physical world is meant, most informants agreed that their engagement has a positive impact in one way or another. For example, one informant stated:

„*My voice is definitely heard. […] I get feedback from people I don't know but they have seen it on facebook. [...] So I get a response that people see and hear me also outside of Sápmi"* (#8). For many, it was difficult to evaluate though, what exactly the outcome and consequences of their actions is or will be, as it is in many cases too early to say. Some few examples show, as for example presented during M4, that a positive outcome – the prevention of development plans – is possible by environmental activism. In that regard, public markings and the use of slogans were crucial to mobilize people and attention. The slogan "*Let the mountain live*" (cf. chapter 3.3.3.) mirrors once more the beliefs and close connection to the land which is not just a source of resources, but a living being that can die (cf. chapter 6.1.1.). Also the use of social media was an important factor to increase the range of attention. Media were perceived by all informants as an important tool of activism to mediate information, present further facts, data and their point of view to the public and inspire people to engage. The use of social media was mainly driven by young people engaged, which thereby also caught political attention. The engagement of young people adds possibly another point to the success factors, which is missing in many cases, as expressed by informant #6: "[…] *It is such a shame if we are to take over, because this here are old people who meet up. But we are the ones that are supposed to take over."*

One informant also mentioned the impression that sometimes, no matter what is done, it has a very small effect. So to really get attention and the possibility for making a change, there are good data and facts, strong allies between different players, and many people needed, to show politicians the importance of the topic (#2, #3). The power of the masses is a topic that has been repeatedly brought up. On M1, it has in that context been called for more activity in terms of creating awareness and a public debate. Nevertheless, also 'just' the act of raising awareness, is an important step on the way, as some deliberated:*" [...] it is possible to be made visible, […] one does not necessarily have to do things so extensively, so large"* (#8).

> *"We bring up topics, and I notice myself, just being in this environment, where we talk about it, I than pass it on to my friends who are Norwegian for example, and talk about things. It is maybe not radical activism in which one attaches oneself [to something] and pursues large actions, but we have put it in a way on the agenda, at a low level"* (#6).

When talked about the inside-effects of the engagement, an intensified awareness and the energy-taking nature of activism played primarily a role. As told during one conversation, those two in combination can be a heavy burden to carry.

> *"I think it's possible to stop the matter here. That we can preserve the mountain. But all the time you're losing fights after fights after fights. We lose nature all the time, it gets fragmented, it goes very, very slowly the wrong way. [...][Some years ago] the knowledge was so heavy that I was depressed"* (#2).

Hence, the constant engagement can at some point lead to feelings of powerlessness, rather than empowerment. However, as expressed before from a Sámi perspective, it is oftentimes impossible to take a choice whether to be engaged or not. And especially because it is such a long and intensive process, many informants mentioned the importance to support one another (e.g. M1, M4, #6, #7, #8). Hereby plays once more the experience of a common identity a role. As it has been outlined at M4, do all the plans for green energy projects harm everybody in a way, because no matter where in Sápmi lands are lost, it is experienced as a common sorrow.

Also from a non-Sámi perspective it was experienced as impossible to not be engaged, once an 'invisible border' linked to an intrinsic awareness of justice, the value of nature and an increased amount of knowledge was crossed: "*And so I didn't manage to keep my mouth any longer. [...] 'Because it's right. It is wrong not to".* The informant also outlined that *"[s]o if there is something to believe in, then I fight. I'm not afraid to say what I mean. That's important*" (#2). Believing in and hoping for something is generally for all informants an important factor, as articulated by #6: "*It is not that one goes through life and thinks that things cannot change. Then there is no point doing anything, there is no point to engage with anything".* So even though the process of engagement is experienced as exhausting, there are outer and inner drivers that prevent the informants from stopping their engagement in the struggle. One informant mentions in this context also the importance of going out into nature as it gives energy and power back (#5). Overall, getting engaged either started out of a reflective process or started a reflective process for all informants. "*I even see it a bit like 'Yes, did I really do that?', a bit surreal. [...] Now, in retrospect, I understand that people around me call me activist, because I did an activist action"* (#8).

6.3. Sustainability and lifestyle

6.3.1. Sustainability and green development

On the meaning of sustainability and sustainable or green development, all informants reflected upon the difficulty of defining the term and highlighted its manifold and contested

usages. One informant experienced in that regard that*"[...] [E]veryone I met [...] is convinced and says that 'what I mean is right*'" (#8). In that context, also questions about the power of definition were raised, as one informant was wondering "*And who decides, what is sustainable?",* concluding with the thought, that it's probably decided by people sitting in Oslo or other places around the world far away from the 'outside' world, not talking to the local people who are affected by the decisions taken (#6). Informant #2 brought out the thought that something that is sustainable should maintain an ecological diversity. This however, is hardly achieved by a single human activity today. "*We eat up nature and diversity and ecosystems and call it sustainable*" (#2). Another informant reflected upon the childhood education to make sense of where the perception and understanding of sustainability is coming from and links it then to own experiences and a new understanding of the term:

> *"I am still trying to make up my mind about what sustainability is. Because throughout the 1990s I was told in school and the media that sustainability, that's windmills, it's hydropower, because that's energy which is always coming back, it never comes to an end. And I was convinced because the adults around me told me that 'this will provide energy and power for a looong time in the future and it's the best for everything that we have hydropower, because it is renewable energy'. So I've been taught to believe that this was the truth [...][But] [i]f I drive out to [...] [the mountains] and see what wind power plants have done with the nature and ecosystems there, than I see that what I was taught before what sustainability is, is not what the reality of sustainability is now. I see devastated nature, destroyed heritage and destroyed grazing land for different species of animals. So the lesson I had from when I was little about what sustainability is – what I have learned now, [it] is something that is not sustainable"* (# 8).

Informant #1 raised the objection that the terms *sustainability* and *SD* lost their meaning by being used too much in all occasions as well as in too many wrong occasions. This opinion is shared by all other informants.

> *„I think the sustainability term is quite empty, really. That it is difficult to relate to it because we mean different things with it, (...) it became such a positively laded term which is actually used without special agreement about what it is"* (#7).

> *„But those concepts mean nothing at all if industry interests around the world are allowed to use it all the time on everything. It's interesting – everything is sustainable, green and bioorganic and it is just a way to continue to make money at the expense of the natural environment and lastly of ourselves"* (#2).

This leads then to a delusion, as *"[...] you don't have just one intervention, but you have continuous intervention. So I feel that I am being fooled, messed around as the wind industry*

presents its sustainability" (#8). As pointed out in the last quote, and also during other conversations it has been reflected about the continuous intervention to nature and use of resources, for example due to the building of new infrastructure and the constant need of resource-intensive maintenance (#1, #4): "*They are not going to take skis up there [to the wind parks] with a backpack with tools, that's not how it works*" (#4). On M2, one informant commented in this context on the danger of green washing, which arises as one consequence of the over usage or wrong usage of the term. The speaker identified the constant need for growth of the economic system, fulfilled by the industries, as the main responsible. The form of the growth, may it be green or sustainable growth, does not matter too much as long as it offers possibilities for market growth. The speaker therefore wonders what is actually at focus – a green shift with sustainability or rather a green economy with growth? All other informants spoke as well about the connection of SD and economic growth, for example:

> *"We have no sustainable development. We use the resources equivalent to one and a half gloves every single year. But for me it is very important that we take a look on economy. We have adopted a political course called economic growth"* (#1).
>
> *"Nor is one talking about what is perhaps most important, the consumption. Everything is focused on growth. One just has to make the growth a little greener. No one is talking about "Degrowth" or reducing consumption [...]. Maybe we don't need that much energy, maybe we need to find ourselves in the society and use less. Instead of talking about a growth that is needed, we then can talk about IS it necessary?"* (#7).

So the question which arose here focused very much on the underlying causes and drivers for development and hence the call after SD. Why is the increase of energy consumption needed? Why is the exploitation of natural environments and resources a problem in the first place? What drives the climate change? As the statements above present, identified multiple informants' consumption as a major factor, with a role and responsibility not only lying within the economy, but also the society and eventually the individuals.

> "*But when the different industries say 'we are green, we are renewable, we are sustainable', then people say 'ahh ok, then it's okay', because they do not have so much knowledge that they get it's not true. It's very convenient if it's okay – 'ok, then I can continue'*" (#2).

6.3.2. Lifestyle, environmental awareness and consumption

So what was highlighted by the informant in the quote above, reflects a dilemma which several of the informants outlined during the conversations: the entanglements of everybody's everyday life and lifestyle, thus consumption, with issues of production and hence

development – somewhat being part of the problem. To have a positive feeling about the own actions, is a human need, which the green shift is offering an answer to: *"So, to say 'renewable power', that's a kind of magic formula and then it is okay, right. But is it really very environmentally friendly?"* (#2).

One informant was very concerned about the links around the world's economic system and described how it forces us to buy stuff and stuff we do not need, do not like, do not want. When asking if it was believed the production and consumption lies at the root of the problem it was answered: "*Yes, it's the consumption. [...] This here is like a circus* [...]" (#1). At the same time, the informant did never fly as much as during the years as environmental activist and sees a huge paradox in this very own acting which is also not justified by the good reasons for which is flown. Increased self-reflection because of the engagement was expressed by almost all informants during the conversations.

> "*So I live in a society where it is easy to point out and accuse others as the scapegoats, that others cause the earth's damage, there are others who intervene. But what I see and reflect upon, is that I have also influence on the environment around me, on what is sustainable and how I think about it"* (#8).

On M1, consumption has been estimated by one speaker as an artificial identity which is produced to support more growth. Growth, consumption, growth, consumption, growth, consumption. One informant argues in that regard:

> *"It is a human mode here on earth that we eat, eat, eat and take and take and take and that diversity of nature becomes poorer, poorer and poorer, while we are at the same time become more and more knowledgeable and know that this here is wrong. This is unsustainable"* (#2).

It is not a matter of needs, though. As many informants emphasize, "*We don't need everything. We have so much. We have it so good in Norway*" (#2). And *"In Norway, we have it so good. So, there is poverty, but most people have what they need*" (#3). Hereby, they linked the consumption issue directly to their own, the Norwegian context. One informant tried to explain the roots of today's common lifestyle and mentality in Norway.

> "*But in Norway, we have an overflow mentality, which evolved perhaps in the last 20, 30 years. [...] I don't know if we were sustainable before, but we had much more focus on using what we had. But when people got very, very rich they were no longer aware of what happened around them. There is no one who cares about anything as long as they can get their red wine and taco and cabin trip and their new tesla and new phone"* (#2).

Almost every Sámi informant highlighted, however, that from a Sámi perspective, those modern production and consumption patterns do not make sense. As reindeer husbandry depends on an intact natural environment, taking care of the nature has been, and is for those still exercising reindeer husbandry, a constant process (#8). Thus, sustainability is not just a one-time act, but as lifestyle closely interwoven with the mindset to not destroy or waste anything. *"[...] [T]raditionally, [the Sámi] have never taken more than nature has allowed, and that is sustainable"* (#6), and

> *"it is so weird with what you say and tell about the use and wasting and resources, because in Sámi culture and in [...] the use of reindeer, for example, all of the animal is used, there is nothing thrown. [...] Everything that can be eaten is eaten [...]. Perhaps this is such a mindset which is needed in relation to a possible green shift"* (#4).

By that, the informant pointed out, what might be missing in Norway's attempt of a green shift: long-term perspectives and the awareness of the interdependency to nature.

6.3.3. The Green shift in Norway

As outlined by a member of one of the environmental organizations, the green shift is the logical consequence to get away from fossil fuels. However, it was also highlighted, that it thereby is not possible to generalize. Every single renewable energy project comes with its own set of entanglements, advantages and disadvantages, which need to be carefully assessed to evaluate whether it is really as sustainable as promoted. In the end, every project remains to be an intervention to nature, so it's always a difficult question, as the informant concludes:

> "*So it may seem like a dilemma that one stands between climate and nature. But what I think is that you need the renewable energy, but you have to look at how the energy is produced. [...] [O]ne should not accept renewable energy for every price"* (#3).

And it was furthermore wondered: *"And so I ask myself, how much electricity do we get for destroying these areas [...]? The Green shift is very one-sided, it just means to produce electricity but ... Green shift. It's not green at all*" (#1). So as it becomes noticeable, questions are raised once more about the use and validity of the terms, as well as of values. To this point was also in conversation #4 drawn attention to.

> "*It is very easy to hide behind that it [(the green shift)] is environmentally friendly and that it is for a 'better cause' and that it is a solution that gives more than the working branches [(reindeer herding)] it replaces, maybe"*.

However, no replacement of an ‘old’ system in the name of a ‘better cause’ comes without high costs for something: “*We believe that you cannot solve the climate crisis if you at the same time destroy nature.”* (#3). Or for someone: “*So the green energy has blood on its hands, not just in relation to wildlife, but to human life. So I don't know how green it actually is, it's more painful than green”* (#8). The informant described the development not only as destructive for nature but as a painful process. This was also mentioned in other occasions. For example, on M4 it has been drawn attention to the common perception that everybody has to contribute to the green shift which is the answer to today’s challenges, a tool to save the world. However, it is only a continuation of challenges and problems under new names, including for example the act of eradicating Sámi culture. This was voiced to be a frightening situation. While the Norwegianisation happened without reasoning, indigenous rights are now ignored in the name of climate change and green development without assessing and considering all consequences (M4). One informant therefore prefers to call ‘renewable energy development’ and other such projects ‘violations’ (#5). Perceptions and experiences of (in)justices are more detailed focused on in the following.

6.4. Justice and power (relations)

6.4.1. Financial resources and the power of money

When talking about sustainability and consumption, the conversations often centered also on economy, financial resources and money. For example said one informant in the end of a sentence about sustainability within reindeer husbandry that *“[...] you don’t take more than nature allows. And here comes another culture and takes lots to sell it out*” (# 6). By ‘selling out’, the investments of large international companies in Norwegian energy projects are meant. This was recognized not only as disturbing and as a major part of the problem but also perceived by all informants as unjust.

> *“So it is not fair that large companies with a lot of power and a lot of money are allowed to buy up only because they have money, and because the state of Norway can make money selling the country”* (#8).

In many cases, the short-term perspective of companies and municipalities were criticized, which promise and expect from green energy projects the creation of local workplaces and large monetary incomes for the municipalities as well as a contribution to the SD in general (M4, #8). In a long-term perspective, however, there seems to be not as much outcome after

all though, neither in work nor money – or it does not reach the people, as one non-indigenous farmer raises at the open debate in a meeting:

> *"When so much money is to be made up in the mountain areas with those wind turbines, which will create SO much money, as it is said, so we think, we too should have something out of it. We, who are affected by this"* (M3).

During the planning-process of some renewable energy projects, some reindeer herding districts were actually offered a huge sum of several million NOK as a compensation (see chapter 3.3.2. about the expropriation law). However, there exists only the possibility to either take the money or do not take it and the area gets nevertheless destroyed (unless one succeeds in the rare occasion of a positive resistance as described in chapter 6.2.) (M4). As pointed out in chapter 6.1.1. though, do "*Reindeer [...] don't eat money. And we do neither"* (M1), therefore many Sámi-families have the consensus, that their land, heritage and culture is not for sale (M2, M3, M4). One informant explains the perceived paradox of this offer:

> "*That's also such a thing in indigenous areas. Indigenous peoples are the people who have lived from nature, have lived on it for many generations, and again, you just take the livelihood from someone and force them into another life really. [...] And, what should I say, if they take the livelihood from people here in Norway, then you get replacement, then you get money (laughs)"* (#6).

Some informants expressed that the more knowledge about all the entanglements is earned, the more the feeling of injustice increases and the less the reasons for the development are understood (#2, #6).

> *"So they actually take areas from people who have been in this area, who live within those borders, along with the Norwegians, and take their areas to sell it [the area, the resources] out. And, I don't know, but it just sounds so wrong, no matter what these companies and those who work with it put in it, it just sounds so strange that someone might think it's okay. That it's okay to treat someone this way"* (#6).

For the informants it seems that primarily money influences valuation and decision-taking and holds therefore an enormous power when it comes to resources, both material (e.g. natural resources) and immaterial (e.g. workforce). A local involved in the resistance reflects upon this disadvantage created by financial resources by stating that there exists unfortunately no big 'apparatus', which every big company has, to support the resistances work. *"They [(the company)] have 30 on their mailing lists, I have 3. There is a big difference"* (M3). At M2, it is furthermore drawn attention to the fact that there exist generally a number of plans for the protection of the natural environmental, indigenous rights etc., but they are not taken too seriously by companies and the government. Sometimes, own and new reports are conducted

and everything continues as it is – despite contrariwise evidence or existing guidelines. Especially big companies with enormous financial resources and thus political power are described as leading forces behind the development: "*Yes, but who is it who perpetuates this stories? That's the ones who earn on it"* (#2). The informant concludes, that

> "*[...] it is the money that governs everything. Many people figured this out in different ways. I figured it out because regardless of whether you have super good arguments, for example against the construction of [this project] [...], so it's like 'ah, here, we will spend a billion', so the politicians says 'okay' and jump over everything that comes along with it. But it's negative for the Sámi and the ecosystem and reindeer herding and it's an intervention to nature, and all this. But arguments are suddenly not worth anything, because money, right. Cash"* (#2).

For many, the experiences around the power of money and hence the power of big companies and their political influence, results in feelings of powerlessness and invisibility. This is also, because most Norwegian citizens, Sámi and non-Sámi alike, are not supporting this development, even feel threatened by it, but have no say whatsoever (#4, #8). One informant asked for example "*So what has my voice as a Norwegian citizen to say in relation to the state selling my country?"* (#8)

6.4.2. "Our voices are not heard" – Indigenous rights, green colonization and discrimination

The impression of not being heard, not being seen and not being taken seriously, is a repeatedly described experience by all activists. One informant states very clearly: *"But that our voices are not heard and that the locals are not heard, they are not seen, they get overrun, we are overwhelmed by power, by the political government [...]"* (#8). The experience of injustice appeared in different forms and on different levels. For example, it was in one case explained, that a wind energy company has been quite including towards the reindeer owners of the area throughout the planning process and that they have met several times. However, the reindeer owners presented on those meetings repeatedly that they are not happy with the wind park plans. "*So, it's not that we said 'yes' to the [...] wind park*" (M3). Nevertheless, the planning continues, only the search for compromises increased (as presented with the human made 'yellow line' in chapter 6.1.1.). Giving up the plans completely, though – "*[...] [W]hat we see as an alternative, is that they don't do anything*" (#4) – is an unlikely option in the fewest cases. One informant furthermore expressed the impression *"[...] that our opponents grab our words and use them*" (#1). So even though communication between the different actors exists, the impression of still being excluded and

not taken serious, especially as locals with expertise, marks a major thread in those communications. "*Justice had first of all been to listen to the locals who live in the areas where interventions occur, that have knowledge of these areas for generations […]*" (#8).

Another perspective on justice and injustice refers to the states responsibility and local and global entanglements. For example mentions one member of an environmental organization, that it is not understood by some, why they support Sámi claims against renewable energy. For them, however, it's not just about the environmental perspective, but about the bigger picture of solidarity and justice and the responsibilities of the state.

> "[…] *the state is kind of inconsistent with how they deal with reindeer herding issues because the state allows lots of intervention in areas of reindeer herding […]. They should think a bit more like 'ok, what can we do to take care of it?', but they don't*" (#3).

The informant demanded moreover that "*[t]he state needs to stop to destroy*" (#3). The destruction of Sámi lands and culture is hereby founded on the national law of Expropriation which is seen as an institutionalization of injustice towards the Sámi, in terms of legalizing the breaking of indigenous rights (M1, M4). All informants mentioned the violation of Sámi rights, originating in the supposedly SD.

> "*So Norway advertises itself as a country that is sustainable which is so safe and good and gives a lot of development aid abroad, to other countries where human rights are poor. But Norway itself sits like a carpet all over Sápmi and tells everybody 'we are so green and nice' and if you look behind the carpet, then you see that Norway overrides human rights and environmental areas itself*" (#8).

Thereby, the feeling of not havening the 'right to complain' appeared often.

> *"It almost comes into my mind that one should not complain because someone has it worse all the time. [...] So if we start to set ourselves up against other people, then we come out pretty good, really. But I think that's actually a little wrong too, because we don't come out so well after all"* (#6).

Others raised the point, too, that the situation of (indigenous) environmental activists in Norway is in comparison comfortable, as the activism in the country is usually not life-threatening. In the end are, however, similar things at stake: The indigenous lifestyle, culture, identity and community (#8, M4). And also in Norway, some engaged people experience their commitment as a danger to their security. On M1, it was mentioned that the general opinion consists in Norway, that if one is against the construction of renewable energy, one is against the solution, against the positive, SD and therefore a "*people's enemy*". Other terms used against the activists include "*braking clogs*" or "*Sámi and environmental extremists*" (M1,

M4). So phrasing plays in this regard once more an important role, as also highlighted by someone else: "*It is so strange that we, who fight for our future, culture and our live, are being labeled as activists, while companies that violate rights are not labeled criminal and transgressors, totally absurd"* (M4).

A central position when it comes to forms of power and discrimination, have also media. It was in this context, but also generally, for example argued, that the media functioned and often function as a canal to transport and express political interests (#7). Therefore, most informants felt underrepresented in mainstream media. An exception are the Sámi media, where *"it is taken up [...], so in its own media channels they often take the debate"* (#6). In other media channels though, the missing space and therefore missing depth of representations holds the danger of leading to simplification, which often builds on trends and stereotypes (#7). Thus, many informants were critical towards and aware about the possible negative effects of mainstream and social media alike. Another informant stresses for example that the discussions, especially in social media, are often accompanied by racism and disrespect. This is, because it is easier to attack people, especially young people, indirectly and via a medium than directly and in person. This leads to a large problem, as for some this might be the reason to not engage anymore for reasons of mobbing or feelings discomfort and even powerlessness (#8). Media also make engagement more transparent and hence activists more vulnerable. *"And you get afraid that if you join the demonstration, so people take a picture of me and post it on the internet and suddenly you may be attacked for your engagement"* (#8).

Herein, the historical dimension of the topic is reflected. One informant pointed out, that the Norwegian state has been quite successful in the forced assimilation of the Sámi population (#6). As at the root of this historical politics with consequences until today, one informant identified the differences between Sámi and Norwegian culture:

> "*Yes, it's right in front of the door, and many Norwegians know that the Sámi live here [...]. So they surely have a relation to it, especially when the Sámi have a slightly different identity [...]. It is easy to renounce it. Because they live a little differently, and think a little differently [...]. So they took their culture [...]"* (#2).

A major problem in this context is the too little awareness, knowledge and self-criticalness of people about this topic today.

> "*It is not talked about Norwegianization in Norway and its consequences, in the same way that it is talked about the same processes in completely different parts of the*

> *world. [...] Being self-critical is a bit difficult. Admit that you are doing something wrong*" (#6).

As one consequence of the historical oppression, the limited resistance and intention to speak up amongst the Sámi was named: *"But that is perhaps a thing that happens to people who have been oppressed. That you know it doesn't help to say something"* (#6). Another effect and reason for limited involvement, especially amongst the youth, was described as the 'getting used' to the existing structures and the justification through the 'greater good'.

> "[...] *I think it is a bit that everyone is just used to that it should be like this[…].That's what happened all the time, if I think about history. Things have been taken away because the state believed that they have a better solution. That applies to all areas, whether it is land area, whether it is the language, whether it is tradition"* (#6).

Some claim in that regard, that just awareness and knowledge does not help – it needs a change in the educational system, too, and people that stand up together (#2, #5), speaking out against the ongoing development in which "*one society eats up the other"* (M1). An overarching experience linked to injustice and rights, especially expressed by informants with a Sámi identity, is the universal understanding of injustice – what is done to one is done to all.

> *"The rights are taken away all the time. And that's about common rights, even though it's not my personal rights […]. But there is nothing that makes me so emotional than talking about rights, and that they are taken away. That they take away rights and that they take away land"* (#6).

So it became clear throughout the conversations, and has also been expressed during M4, that this is not a matter of the past. The discriminative structures also continue to exist as everyday-racism, as expressed by one informant:

> „*So if someone reads my opinions [in the (social) media] with a lens, they see actually only 'what, [name], and Sámi'. And that would be enough in many occasions. […] Because the racism, the ethnic racism, is so big. And being Sámi and having an opposing opinion, is an extra challenge*" (#8).

By many, this was phrased as an ongoing process of *Norweginazation*, just with new methods and under another name, namely green development. The practice – people come and take land and resources and press the original users out – is the same (#2, #4, #5, #6). Some informants were in this context comfortable with using the terms 'colonization' and 'green colonization'. When asking during one conversation after the difference between green shift and green colonization, it was answered that

> *"[…] green shift seems to be more positive. […] So many may think that green colonization and green shifting may be the same. But I think it's definitely not. Because*

> *a green shift would only think of the resources we use and perhaps bring us more into line with a Sámi way of thinking about resources. While green colonization is merely producing more in the name of green energy while a large part of the justification of the capitalist point of view is that one wants to make money from it"* (#4).

So the term *green shift* mirrors the idea and ideal of how it should be, whereas the term *green colonization* mirrors for the informant more the reality of how things really are. I'd like to highlight though, that not everybody was comfortable with thinking of the green development as green colonization. Even though injustice remains as experience perceived by all informants, it has been phrased in different ways and linked to different issues. It remains though, as presented before, that the combination of ignoring indigenous rights in the name of green development without assessing all consequences, is frightening to many (M4). It can be summarized, that most of the activists face during their engagement different forms of discrimination, either linked to their opinions and activities or their ethnical background or both.

6.5. Past Experiences, future visions

In this last chapter of the findings presentation, the view is directed to the future. As it was detailed presented, comes the green development in Norway with a number of conflicts, leading naturally to the question of how to continue. "*It is quite clear, we are interested in the same mountain for two different goals*" (M3). Different responsibilities were in that regard emphasized.

As presented at M3, many planning processes of local green energy projects are well underway. However, voices were raised that one cannot just plan and built first and start speculating about measurements and consequences afterwards. For many, this was a question of respect. For a Sámi community for example, as described by a speaker at M2, respect constitutes a major cultural aspect, expressed for example by asking for permission before acting. The need for respect was already mentioned several times throughout the findings – respect for the next generation, respect for the history of places, respect for the mountains. Thus, several informants highlighted respect as a major missing aspect in the debates (#5, #6, #8, M1, M2). As a speaker at M1 outlines, is it not too late to respect each other, though. The responsibility for this lies with all: The larger society, the Sámi society, companies, planners, developers and builders, the state and individuals (M4). This responsibility includes not only respect for one another, but also the need for change and action. As it was outlined by

informant #2, will the destruction of the natural environment continue, also despite a SD, if no one takes on responsibility, stands up and speaks out. It was explained that "*[b]ecause if you give up, it just goes... (Doesn't finish the sentence) We are slowly being destroyed. And with that, the natural foundation disappears*", and furthermore *"I could have lived happy days and heard music and drinking beer and spelled chess and everything and have it just fine, because it happens anyways, but for me it's not an alternative"* (#2). Hence, doing nothing is not an alternative. The engagement is rather a responsibility that needs to be taken if able to do so (#7, #8).

> "*So it was somehow natural to get involved in it because it is so close, it is so effected, and so close to you. And you yourself know that you are in the position where you can use your voice to do something, to influence, to make visible*" (#8).

Other individual responsibilities are seen by some in material and immaterial everyday actions, behavior and attitude, for example when it comes to consumption:

> *"[…] the most important thing you can do is saving energy, and also to use the energy more effective. [...] But there are so many different things that we can do, but personally I think, that it is a very important part of the solution that we can imagine that it is possible to have a good life without the high material consumption we have today […]*(#3).

In another conversation this topic was taken up as well.

> *"So, if I put a finger on something then it's the consumption. When I was [...] [with someone] we talked about that the consumption must go down and then I got the answer 'ohja, back to the Stone Age'. Well, not like that"* (#1).

Hereby is also the need for increased communication and mutual understanding outlined. No, of course not back to the Stone Age, but a logical and contemporary alternative. "*If we had another course [than the economic one] or some other way to measured growth on ... (doesn't finish the sentence)"* (#1). In that context was for example the Degrowth movement mentioned by two informants (M2, #7). As a practical alternative to energy production on land was furthermore well assessed energy production in the sea mentioned by several informants (#3, #4, #6). So a raising awareness and increased will for change is seen as crucial factor in the future.

> *"So more people have to start thinking like that, but politicians have to make it easier. […]. So I think it's politicians' responsibility, also to change energy consumption […] So we just have to say stop, now it's enough, now they built enough, now we take care of what is left over." […] I believe, that's the most important solution, that many people come together and quarrel and want to change the society"* (#3).

The informant put by this the focus from the individuals also towards the state and society. The state has repeatedly been mentioned to be in a position of responsibility, which is not fulfilled. *"[...] I know there are many who, for example, are against how the state works"* (#6). It follows, that the fight is taken further, "*because the mountains shall live and we shall live*" (M4).

7. Sustainable Development in Norway – Green shift, green washing or green colonization?

Hej minister, kan jag byta nåt ord
fast du har så litet bord
Det här rör faktiskt vår jord
Vet du om att vi tar självmord
för att vi är för små för att finnas
för att det som rör få inte kan hinnas
Kan du förstå, en vill inte försvinna
när en levt så länge vidder kan minnas
Är det demokrati
när massan styr över såna som vi
Jag vill vara fri, mer än inuti
Är det nåt jag gör är det att höra hit
Urfolkskvinna, snölejoninna, jag är regnbågen på din näthinna
Jag är allt det men jag är mer, mon lean queer, har funnits här i tusentals years.
Eamiálbmot, álo gávdnon, mon lean lejonváibmu garra fámuin
Mon lean gait, bonju maid, arvedávgi ravddas ravdii

− Sofia Jannok

In the following, the previously presented findings are assessed and discussed in the context of the theoretical framework and against the background of the underlying aim of this thesis. This is, to investigate which role environmental activism plays in Norway within the ongoing national SD discourse. In particular, the experiences and perspectives of engaged Sámi people are explored, with special focus on their perceptions of injustices. The discussion consists of four sections, which each aims to answer one of the research (sub-) questions guiding this thesis (Fig. 7).

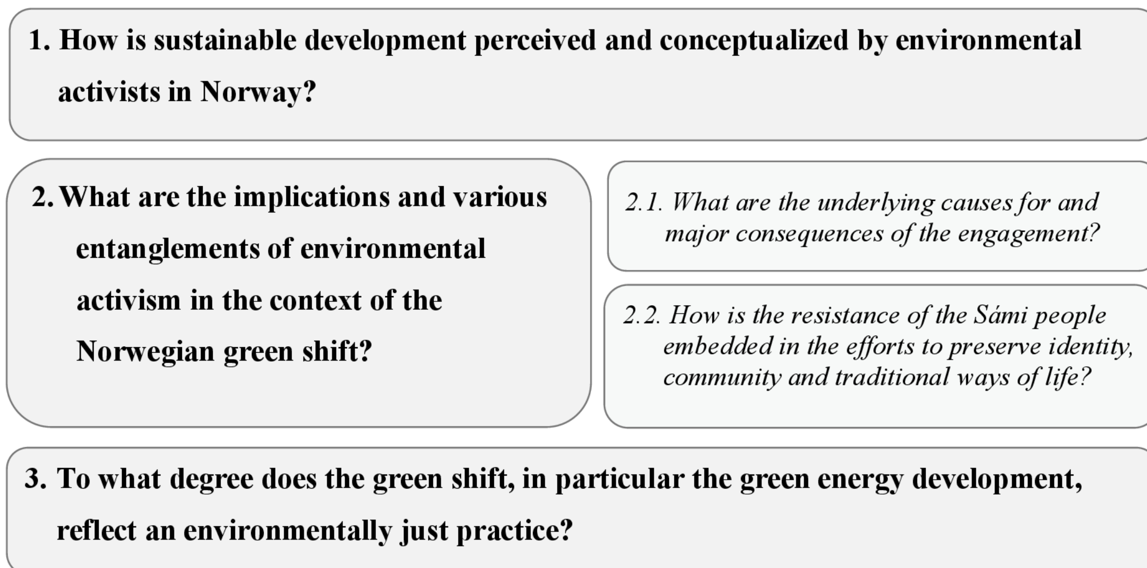

Fig. 7: Research questions

7.1. Sustainability for all or development of some?

As already displayed in the introductory story of this thesis, very different understandings, needs, motivations and valuations exist regarding SD. Those are more detailed discussed in the following, aiming to answer how SD is perceived and conceptualized by environmental activists in Norway, thus what meaning the concept has for those engaged in environmental issues and which variables are recognized to play a major role in the green energy development. The answer regarding the variables of importance has to be seen as being spread across the whole discussion. Therefore, it is complete only in context to all chapters.

During the conversations, it often came down to the question what sustainability actually is or supposed to do. It was wondered, what as sustainable counts and who the power holds to define it, implementing certain subjective perspectives by it. As the research shows, SD is defined in a variety of ways – the concept itself even invites and allows to be defined in manifold ways (Banerjee, 2003; Dessein et al., 2015; Kates et al., 2005) Hence, what sustainability is and supposed to do depends very much on the definition and angle of perspective one takes.

The perspectives on wind parks, for example, are very contradictory, yet both reasonable. The debate is characterized by opposing views, which both can be supported with appropriate data. For example, with data on fossil free energy production and reduction of CO_2-emission

on the one hand, and data on the efficiency of indigenous land use management for environmental protection and climate change mitigation on the other hand. So if the definition is a question of perspective, and hence also interests, it then raises the question of whom SD is supposed to benefit or who has the power to implement the own interests. The theory here is quite accurate and outlines that all three (or four) mainstays have to be equally considered: ecology, economy, society and culture. But does it really benefit the people, their culture, nature and the economy in the same degree as its formal idea suggests? Furthermore, exists there something like 'more sustainable', 'better', or 'more valuable sustainability', for instance because it serves a larger amount of people? As an example from this study case: In case of a successful implementation of a renewable energy project, wind- or waterpower, one industry (reindeer husbandry) which constitutes a sustainable meat production and land management as well as carrier of cultural heritage, is replaced by another one (energy) which is seen to be a major key in fighting climate change – sacrificing one to receive the other, is that sustainable? To the informants, the answer was quite clear: No, it is not. "*[...] you cannot solve the climate crisis if you at the same time destroy nature*" (#3). A development, which aims to replace an already existing form of sustainable action and constituting a threat to nature, people and their culture, cannot be framed as 'sustainable' in that context. "*I see that what I was taught before what sustainability is, is not what the reality of sustainability is now. I see devastated nature, destroyed heritage and destroyed grazing land [...]*" (#8). Thus, the sustainability discourse seems to be less inclusive than it can be assumed in the first place based on its wide definition. In the case study conducted, the broadness of the definition is also supporting the disguise of destructive activities. It hereby lies beyond my abilities to judge, whether the green shift in Norway is consciously or unconsciously destructive. As far as it can be assumed from the literature, the underlying intentions and interests are positive. However, most informants assume the destructive activities happen quite consciously while hiding behind the banner 'for the greater good'.

These opinions encompass, that the term does not (anymore) fit the expectations, being rather over- and misused, and raising doubts of what actually is to be sustained, by whom, for whom and with which desirable outcomes (Agyeman, 2012). It is hereby generally difficult to identify, if it is actually the term and its meaning which has changed, or the informants' understanding of the term – which leaves the question if the terminology is the problem, or the concept itself. Therefore, the broadness of the term contains indeed an amount of struggles, as already the phrasing contributes to the validity or non-validity of the term. While

identifying the term itself as misleading, the informants also reflected upon the underlying reasons by questioning the main drivers of the SD concept. Although climate change is usually seen as major motivation for SD, informing increasingly political decisions and also the Norwegian green shift, it was not frequently mentioned by the informants, but rather the larger entanglements around it, which lead to those environmental problems in the first place. "*So it may seem like a dilemma that one stands between climate and nature. But what I think is that […] you have to look at how the energy is produced. […]"* (#3). On the whole, it was not that climate change was not a topic as such, but that it was seen as embedded in a larger context and interrelations: " […] *for me it is very important that we take a look on economy"* (#1) and *"Nor is one talking about what is perhaps most important, the consumption. Everything is focused on growth"* (#7). The focus lay on the causes, rather than on the symptoms or consequences. The causes are seen especially to lie in economical and sociopolitical systems and their interests, which favor certain lifestyles and consumption patterns that go beyond ensuring a 'good life for all', as it was stated in the *Brundtland report*-definition of SD. Rather, they sustain destructive practices and exploitation of resources and people to ensure their own benefits, including largely economic development and growth.

So while the theory states that SD is balanced on the mainstays of economy, ecology and society and culture, the perceptions of the informants do not identify a balance, but perceive especially profits and financial resources, thus economy, as the main motivation and driver behind the green development. Hence, financial interests are not only seen to be at the root of the reasons and argumentation for the green shift, but they are also the main means for the implementation of green energy projects. In a speech, Norway's petroleum- and energy minister SØVIKNES stated for instance that Norway is an attractive place for green energy investments, which "*is without a doubt a good thing"* (2018, n.p.). This underlines the government's approval of the focus on economic development. Many informants do have doubts, though, concerning this 'selling out' of their land by the state and the linked consequences.

Those dominating profit-interests can be identified as a major reason for the loss of credibility of the sustainability term. The good intentions of SD, as for example taught and believed during the last centuries, have disappeared. The informants feel in a way betrayed, as the development today is increasingly used by the industry to increase their profit. It follows that the redressing of the development – from 'economic' to 'green', 'sustainable' or 'inclusive' –

didn't change the practice in their eyes. Hereby, all informants agreed on what BANERJEE (2003) described as a translation of environmental choices into market preferences: "*The macroeconomic criteria of sustainable development have now become corporatized: development is sustainable only if it is profitable, it is sustainable only if it can be transacted through the market*" (p. 173). Therefore, theory and empiricism alike identify sustainability more and more as a matter of branding and competition within the economic market. This is also visible in the Norwegian context, where a multitude of leading and influential companies are interested in the green shift. One could argue, that the right development, meaning renewable energy construction, happens, even if for the wrong reasons. But how *right* is this development after all? While ecology, as described in the introduction, is reaching its limits at several points, economy nevertheless demands more growth – an untenable demand in the face of the planetary boundaries. Throughout the fieldwork it was therefore noted that we ('the humans') do not act after best knowledge, as also noticed by AGYEMAN (2018): "*we know scientifically what we need to do, and how to do it. The problem is that all of us […] are simply not doing it*" (p. 4). Rather, we act after best monetary arguments – despite the fact, that "*[r]eindeer […] don't eat money. And we do neither"* (M1). This was perceived by many as highly paradox. As mentioned before, science seems hereby to take a paradox position, too, supporting both 'sides' with facts and research – the monetary and industrial interests and green energy development on the one side, and the urgent need to protect nature, and with it indigenous communities, on the other side. So while research and scientific findings supports to some degree all different claims, it is valuable to consider the researches' own embedding in power relations. This requires to ask critical questions such as 'who does the research?', 'who finances the research?', or 'what does it aim for?' So while probably no research is entirely free of perspectives, it would be interesting to investigate, if and how all those findings could actually work together in a reasonable way, rather than being used against one another's claims (cf. chapter 4).

Overall, it is reasonable to assume, though, that without the prospect of reasonable profit, SD would not take place in Norway. This has been confirmed during some of the meetings – the green shift, locally as globally, only takes place because, and as long as it is profitable[22]. It therefore can be concluded that not all four pillars underlying SD are equally taken into

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[22] The further investigation of economic systems in the framework of this thesis goes beyond its scope. However, the book *Sacred economics by* C. EISENSTEIN (2011) provides an interesting reading to learn more about how money became what it is, how it is manifesting its position and influencing the global markets and politics and what possibilities exist to create a feasible monetary system for the future. Also *Doughnut Economics* by K. RAWORTH (2017) explores possibilities to bring planetary boundaries and economic thrive together.

account in the implementation of the 'green shift'. However, the discussion goes much further, because questions of economic interests naturally also involve society, community and individual behavior. In the case of halting climate change, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change assesses for example that it "*would require rapid, far-reaching and unprecedented changes in all aspects of society*" (IPCC, 2018). This in turn, puts the focus more closely on the society and why do we need to make those changes in the first place. Here, the discourse needs to focus on the question raised by the informants, if we, as humans, actually *need* the energy, products and thus development? Or if it is an artificial system that needs the (green) development to fulfill its ambitions to grow. In this context, production and consumption were outlined concretely by most informants as an important variable within the complex links around SD. Also ATKINSON, DIETZ & NEUMAYER (2007) reflect in that regard, that

> "[*i]t might be not a question of what we consume, including the trend of green products sprouting everywhere in economy, but how much we consume and why. Sustainable development is impacted by this consumption patterns, economic growth and environmental degradation in complex and often contradictory ways*" (p. 13).

The lifestyle we[23] live requires a continuous and increasing exploitation of resources, land and people, which is at present only able to be reached in an unsustainable way, as not only natural environments, but also cultural heritages are negatively influenced. Therefore, sustainable practices are needed. Logical, in the first place. It becomes tricky, when the practices *are* supposedly sustainable, but continue to destruct the natural environment at some places and heritage of some people. Therefore, allowing society to continue its current practices of production and consumption, making people believe their consumption can be sustainable and even positive, has been phrased 'green washing' based on literature and informants alike. Hiding behind the good intentions seems to be the easiest way for both – for the people, who need to deal with their awareness about the increasing global problems and thus consciousness of being a part of the problem, and businesses, trying to still benefit from this change of mindsets and requirements.

This chain of causes and consequences described before, has been summarized in an illustration to visualize the correlation of those empirical data more clearly. As it can be seen at Fig 8, the underlying economic and sociopolitical systems and the lifestyle and consumption patterns are by the activists identified as causes. Those interlinked causes

[23] We, as 'we in the industrialized world' and increasingly also in so called newly industrializing countries

require a continuously increasing production, which leads to the exploitation of land and people. If the exploitation takes place in an unsustainable manner, it leads to destruction of nature and culture alike. The exploitation and destruction are seen as consequences. And as the green shift is causing natural and cultural destruction alike at some places, it is assessed as unsustainable practice. The chain of causes and consequences than results in activism, which again aims to influence all of the described segments – a 'treadmill of activism'. The entanglements around activism are more detailed discussed in chapter 7.2.

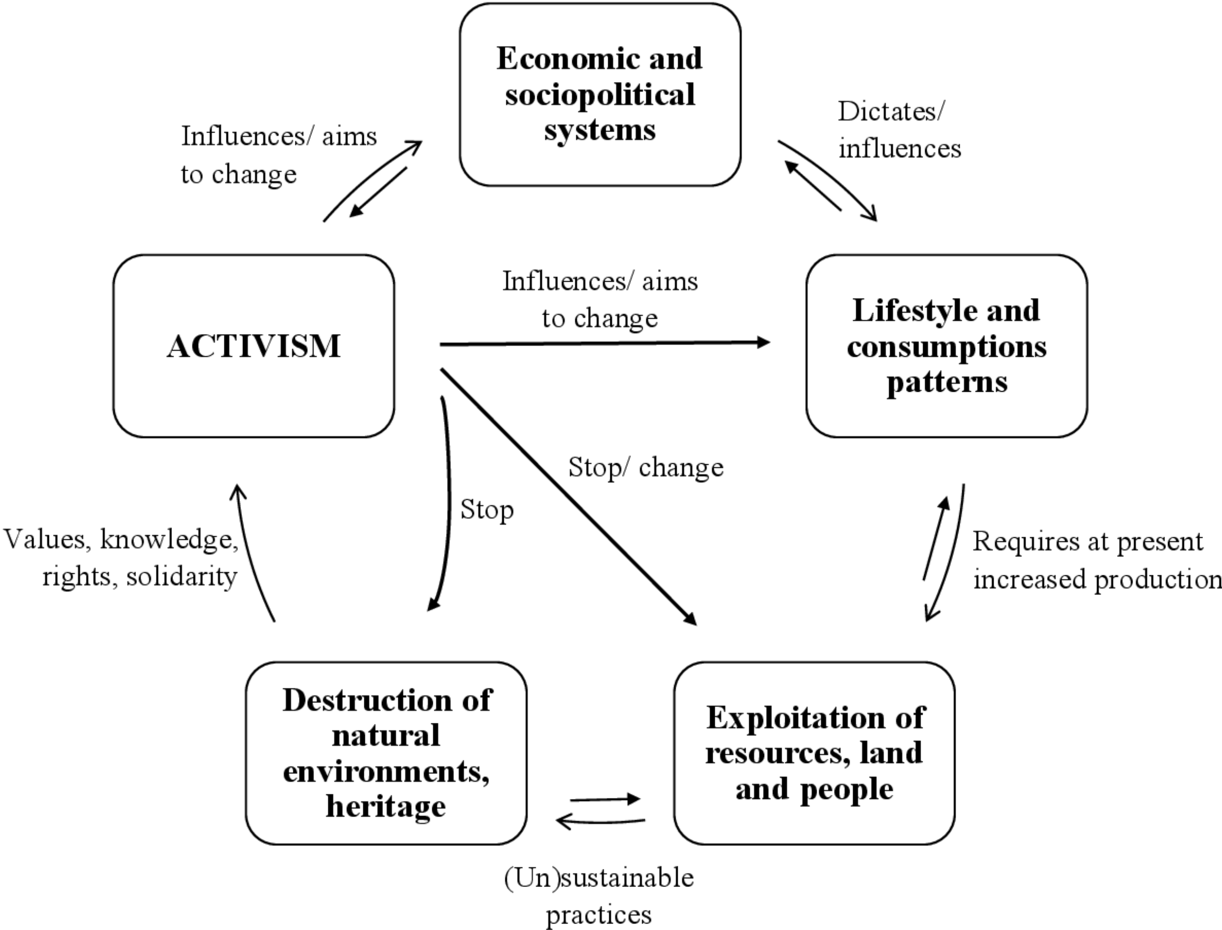

Fig. 8: 'The Treadmill of Activism'. Causes, consequences and reactions.

The hype around SD and its increasingly occurring downsides leads to the important point, whether it is possible at all to reach the idea of sustainability within the current economic, social, cultural, ecological, and political systems in place. Can consumption in the present economic system ever be green and sustainable – can a 'green economy', or 'new climate economy' exist? The findings of this research suggest, that it depends, once more, on how SD is defined. Following the original meaning of SD which demands economic development and

growth without environmental destruction, the answer might be ‘yes’. However, following the increasing criticism regarding those concepts incompatibility and the informants views, the answer is ‘no’, it cannot, at least not without losing its credibility.

The empiricism furthermore shows, that a few adjustments – for example the shift in focus from economic growth to sustainable growth – do not lead to the wished and expected positive outcome for all. Thus, making a systems solely ‘better’, might not be enough. Rather, a change in one or more of the fundamental parts is needed to come somewhat closer to the idea of sustainability, in particular in the underlying values and perspectives as well as the economy and the sociopolitical system. Yet, it would be a missed effort to be naïve: Every (paradigm) change raises new questions and problems for someone, which is why the belief in a perfect solution could be called out as utopian. Every development and project constitutes some kind of an interruption to nature and/or people’s lives. Those problems and dangers, however, are often underrepresented in common sustainability narratives. Also the informant’s perceptions underline that too little attention is paid to the negative effects which SD brings along for some parts of society. As a consequence, the SD concept has lost its positive connotation for an increasing number of people, especially for those being engaged and therefore to a larger degree aware about the complex entanglements and different as well as contradicting narratives. But to have at least a chance of adjusting dominant (economic, social, political) systems in place to current challenges, or to generally create a more just version of themselves, they need to change *with* their surroundings and from within, rather than letting everything around them change.

Overall, while environmental activists are usually on the frontlines to fight *for* SD and one could expect their positive attitude towards the national-wide implementation of green energy projects, the informants’ perceptions and experiences rather suggest that the concept of SD, or more specifically the green shift in the Norwegian context, has been alienated from the people whom it is supposed to serve in the first place. For some, it even developed into their burden. Many informants both indigenous and non-indigenous, feel disappointed in a sense that the concept does not (any longer) work to their benefit, but supports natures and/or their own (cultural) destruction. Thus, findings from literature and field study indicate likewise, that the sustainability discourse holds the danger of being (too) flexible, allowing to develop into a concept excluding those it should include and by this being even perceived as threat.

7.2. Norway – Powered by nature?

In the following two chapters, the second research question on implications and various entanglements of environmental activism in the context of the Norwegian green shift is explored (cf. fig. 7). In this first chapter, the underlying causes for and major outcomes of the engagement are outlined and discussed. After that, chapter 7.3. presents more detailed, how the engagement of the Sámi people in environmental matters is embedded in efforts to preserve identity, community and traditional ways of life.
Manifold reasons linked to engagement in environmental issues have been identified throughout the research: For some of the informants, the activism is linked to childhood experiences, knowledge or values, for others to perceptions of justice and solidarity. Usually also a combination of several those reasons, depending on various variables, for example the informants' background. However, there is generally not just a need to distinguish between the informants' different backgrounds, but also their distinct worldviews and individual characters, which all impact their reasons for engaging in environmental activism. An in-depth analysis on activism and personality, however, is not only exceeding this works extent, but also its aims.

Nevertheless, similar causes and motivations can be recognized amongst environmental activists. Thinking back to the very beginning of this thesis, I started with a story about a green energy project and reindeer husbandry. Several comprehensive points were outlined in this narrative, amongst others the responsibility towards future generations, which raises questions of sustainable and long-term perspectives. The SD paradigm and (indigenous) activists both claim long-term-thinking to be central in their actions. For example, most activists highlighted, that in order to perform sustainable actions, for the Sámi no definitions or rules are needed as it is already integral to knowledge and the sheer survival. It follows that the emerging SD discourse solely provided the vocabulary to speak out about what was known already (Jull, 2003). Now, it is likely that all different stakeholder in the green development discourse take on long-term perspectives for their actions, at least theoretically. Generally, the responsibility for future generations, thus a long-term perspective, is already highlighted in the *Brundtland Commission's* definition of SD. The question remains though, what exactly is meant by 'future' and 'long-term'. For example, wind park projects are constructed for a lifetime of 20-30 years, before severe technological changes need to be done – can this be interpreted as long-term or not? In times of rapid technological development and modern energy production, it surely is. From a Sámi perspective with hundreds of years'

history in reindeer husbandry, it is not. Hence, how sustainable certain practices and the usage of resources in terms of their durability are, is once more very much dependent on the perspective taken and what purpose is seen in them. Those perspectives and purposes change over time and space and along social developments.

Furthermore, values and value creation[24] symbolize an important variable in the entanglements around environmental activism, especially when it comes to the underlying causes and reasons. Generally it became obvious throughout the fieldwork, that while some understand value to be a material or monetary worth, others understand it as the general worth, importance or meaning of something, irrespective of its monetary worth. Those different values than underlie the standards of behavior and perceptions of what is important in life.

In the previous chapter, economic interests have already been identified as a driving factor in SD projects. Also in the context of the introductory story, value creation was understood by the questioner as *monetary* value creation (cf. chapter 6.1.1.). The empirical data have shown, however, that for the environmental activists and engaged people, other forms of values and reasoning inform their thinking and actions. The offer of financial compensation to the reindeer herding families was in this context even perceived as almost insulting and rejected, arguing their heritage and identity cannot be compensated with money. Hence, the offer conflicted severely with other forms of valuations, which are not expressed in numbers or financial terms. This includes the survival of the husbandry and Sámi culture. This raises then also the question, if reindeer husbandry and its people would actually be valuated differently, if an evidently monetary value creation arose from the pastoralism, or if it had a label stating it as 'ecological'. The current situation leads to the impression, though, that also ecological thinking and acting is only taking place as long as it fits into the monetary frameworks. Others forms of valuations, for instance the intrinsic value of nature, a value that excludes the necessity of a benefit to anyone, are not equally taken into account. Nature is rather seen as an environment – a somewhat more manageable place, which mirrors the attempt to 'rationally' manage the resources it offers, which is integral to western economy (Banerjee, 2003).

As it was described in the presentation of the findings, many of the informants were furthermore aware of their own entanglements in the political and economic systems which

[24] Value is defined as "*the regard that something is held to deserve; the importance, worth, or usefulness of something*", often understood as "*The material or monetary worth of something*." Values describe generally "*Principles or standards of behavior; one's judgment of what is important in life*." (Oxforddictionaries, 2019)

are perceived as destructive. Specifically, a certain lifestyle linked to production and consumption which constitutes the social norm of a good life. This means, that individual behavior does not necessarily comply with the worldview or philosophy which stands behind the engagement. This points out quite a dilemma inherent to this discussion and was experienced by most informants: Being automatically a part of the destructive practices one is fighting, just by living in the midst of modern society. Activism, than, works as an outlet to fight the inconsistences from within the system as "o*ne should not accept renewable energy for every price"* (#3). So while the awareness alone does not change the problem, action does – demonstrating a way out of the dilemma. Therefore, as visualized in Fig 8, most of the informants chose to speak up after identifying one, several or all of the underlying segments as problematic. It follows, that also all of these segments are aimed to be changed or influenced by activism in one way or another – may it be the change of the political system, the influence of individual lifestyles through education about consumption patterns, or stopping directly the destruction of natural environments.

The messages of the resistance are thereby not only directed towards politicians, but also the public. To be heard by the masses – minorities and majorities alike – was perceived as crucial, as their awareness is the key to have a chance of success at all. Thus, the collaboration of different groups and organizations, standing strong together, is essential to mobilize the masses and benefit from their power. This notion is consistent with the experiences at Standing Rock, as outlined by HOUSKA (2017) (cf. chapter 3.1.).

In this light, furthermore the growing international networking amongst indigenous communities can be noticed – an "*internationalization of solidarity*" (#7), standing together, nationally and internationally, to strengthen the resistance. However, whilst international solidarity grows, on the national level also a lack of engagement can be identified, especially regarding the young Sámi generation. While 'Fridays for future' leads to empty classrooms at some places, especially in the western world, it did not seem to have motivated the indigenous youth in Norway to engage intensively in environmental activism (or not yet?). The reasons are surely manifold. First of all, one does not come around to notice the conflicting narratives: While 'Fridays for future' calls for climate and environmentally friendly energy production, exactly this development is resisted in the Norwegian context. To understand the reasons behind this contradicting actions, it is absolutely necessary to look at and assess the SD measures in their local contexts: What is sustainable in one place, is not necessarily sustainable in other places. In the context of the resistance in Sápmi, the context reveals

underlying sociopolitical and historical power structures, linked to oppression and forced assimilation, which cannot be ignored when implementing any kind of development or project. Those are analyzed in a few paragraphs.

However, at least at large, the resistance is growing: An increasing amount of Norwegian citizens, researchers, environmental organizations and businesses are changing their opinion towards the green shift, also from within the energy sector (Adresseavisen, 2019; Diesen et al., 2019; Hope, 2019; Wiederstrøm, 2018). This was for example demonstrated by Statkraft's statement in March 2019 to not seek for further wind park projects on land in Norway. As Statkraft's Executive Vice President RYNNING-TØNNESEN explained, the increasing level of conflict is noticed as coming to negatively influence their industry if they act against what is accepted by the people (Viseth, 2019). An impressive proof for the possible effects and power of the resistance. In that regard, media fulfill quite an active and important role in conveying certain perspectives. This includes both mainstream and social media, regarding the latter especially facebook and twitter. However, on the one side they serve as a useful tool to empower and support the claims and objectives of environmental activism, depending naturally also on the media channel – Sámi media were for instance identified as supportive too Sámi claims. On the other side media are also a tool of oppression and discrimination, as it holds quite some power by what and how something is (re)presented. As the informants explained, media can even contribute to a form of apathy and feelings of vulnerability. Often, media also reflect political interests and support by that the manifestation of the perspectives of those, who hold a political and decisive power at that time, using it to forward their interests. However, who holds the power might change, but certain perspectives often stick. Those are also transported throughout time through education and socialization. Thus, it needs to be asked: Do we only see, what we want to see and what we have been taught to see by our socialization? And how does that influence our decisions? Answers are partly found in historical power relations, answering these questions comprehensively goes beyond the thematic framework and scope of this work, though.

It is overall interesting how the Sámi, by the Norwegian tourism industry marketed as fascinating and unique to the 'powered of nature' Norway (VisitNorway, 2019), contribute to a positive and beautiful picture of the country, gain also increasingly attention and rights on the one side, and face discrimination and struggles over land, livelihood and culture on the other side. This holds some indications about the (power) relationships between the state,

larger society and the Sámi, as well as the non-human world. As based on literature and analysis, Sámi people today still face an amount of (conscious and unconscious exercised) discrimination and everyday racism, which stands in connection to the colonizing practices of the Norwegianization-politics of the last two centuries (cf. chapter 3.3.4.). Also within western countries like Norway, a history shaped by colonialism has resulted in a creation of 'the other'. As some informants described, the visual and cultural 'otherness' is oftentimes enough to create this distinction, being perpetuated through narratives and educational systems. Herein can also the university as educational institution be seen as in a position of responsibility, helping to construct 'the other' (cf. chapter 4.1.). This feeling of divisiveness, however, is to some extent based on reciprocity. Sámi informants also used the terminology 'other' to speak about Norwegians: "*And here comes another culture and takes lots [...]*" (# 6) or "*one society eats up the other*" (M1).

This constitutes a theoretical contradiction, as it is in the context of SD already declared in the *Brundtland report* that local communities must be given a decisive voice in the decisions taken about the resource use in their area, and that traditional rights should be protected. But even though the Sámi are generally included as actors with a say in the Norwegian green development projects, the experience of not being treated respectfully, not taken seriously or being heard for their matters, hence feelings of invisibility, are nevertheless repeated issues during the fieldwork: "[…] *our voices are not heard and [...] the locals are not heard, they are not seen, they get overrun, we are overwhelmed by power.*" (#8). AGYEMAN et al. (2016) explain that this invisibility reflects the lacking valuation of indigenous peoples and their relationship with the land.

In this regard, as the informants explained, their activism provides them on the one hand with the possibility to speak up and be 'heard'[25] by some, especially like-minded or engaged people. On the other hand, however, they are oftentimes neither heard by the larger society nor taken seriously by the responsible people in positions with the (political/ financial, thus decisive) power to possibly bring along a change to the current development. This is partly, because there exists a history of not taking Sámi claims into account and seriously. Furthermore, their claims do not match with the common narrative on SD represented by the larger society and also not with the vision of a SD from an economic perspective. This was perceived as a major injustice. JULL (2003) reflects upon this matter:

[25] in terms of considered as important

> "*Meanwhile, Norwegians are able to be helpful fixers from Sarajevo to Sri Lanka, and the Middle East, amid the most bitter and intractable conflicts, but they have been less ready to come to grips with the thousand-year-old conflicts in national territory* […]" (p. 35)

Thus, there seems to be little will or consciousness to deal with the own national problems, as also the research confirmed: "*It is not talked about Norwegianization in Norway and its consequences, in the same way that it is talked about the same processes in completely different parts of the world"* (#6). Of course, in comparison, as it also resonated from the informants statements, Norway does pay a high level of attention to indigenous issues and sets examples for securing rights of indigenous peoples (cf chapter 3.3.2.). Yet, the experiences described still reflect, how the Sámi face similar problems today as during the last century(s), solely under another name. Therefore, despite official protection – discrimination and upsetting practices are not a thing of the past. The continuation of colonial practices is perpetuated through different acts, including the domination of and forced movement from land: "*[…] they take away rights and that they take away land." (#6)*. And also the denial of self-determination: "*It is not us deciding about the life we wish to have, but you"* (M4) – thus, a green colonization. In this context, NYMO RISETH (2018)writes:

> "*This shatters the image of Norway as a staunch protector of the rights of indigenous people. Norway may well be one of the best in its class, but that counts for little when the majority of the class is failing. So, to those that think the use of powerful words like "colonialism" might lead to more conflict and division, rather than dialogue and understanding, I say this: the conflicts are there already, it is only a matter of opening your eyes. Perhaps it is precisely this that the term "colonialism" can achieve*." (n.p.)

As JULL (2003) outlines, do the political and policy frameworks for a SD require to replace colonialism, disposession, and marginalization. This takes not only time, but also discussion and mutual understanding. Especially, because as it is now, the resistance towards the Norwegian green energy projects might actually further contribute to the continuation of discrimination and conflicts, as many Norwegians do not understand the historical and cultural dimensions of the interventions and the importance to deal with it[26] (cf. Lund, 2018). Hence, the current resistance fights point out and make an amount of power structures visible which can, and has to, be linked to the Sámi's history as minority in Norway. Whether one

[26] As an example from a public meeting (not included as source in this thesis) with different stakeholders: The main focus of the presentations lay on science, research, economy, industry, energy, climate and animals. When the debate following those talks finally reached the point of talking about valuations and culture, in particular the vulnerability of Sámi communities, the speaker was interrupted with the note they could speak about it for two hours and should rather talk about the fantastic product which renewable energy is, climate-friendly and climate change solution.

wants to phrase it as colonization or not, is an individual decision. It remains though, that a generally critical and meaningful engagement with Sápmi's colonial past and power structures today are necessary if the tables are meant to be turning in the future: "*It is that, what happens today, which determines what happens tomorrow*"[27] (Sikku, 2018, p. min. 01:58).

On the whole, the findings also show that a missing transparency in planning processes around green development projects is upsettling for the informants and leading to resistance. Hence, the idea of Norway's green shift only has little chances of realization if the fears of the people are not addressed. This includes not only mutual respect, understanding and assessment of impacts, but also transparency about the processes, comprehensive provision of facts and in the following the consideration of alternatives (cf. Gullberg et al., 2014, p. 221)

7.3. Notions of belonging

As outlined in the introduction and throughout the thesis, indigenous communities have been on the frontlines of EJ and sustainability movements for decades. This is, because the issue for indigenous peoples is more complex than 'simply' a question of resisting an unwanted development – it is the fight against the assimilation of indigenous homeland into the industrial economy, thus the survival of the Sámi's livelihood, culture and eventually identity. As it has been shown in the chapter before, broader dimensions such as historical and political entanglements and the struggle for self-determination are fundamental to the engagement. ""*[W]e walk to the future in the footprints of our ancestors" (Kimberly-declaration 2002). If the footprints are destroyed, than our future is wiped out*" (p. 21), as MIKAELSSON (2016) puts it clearly. This notion has been repeatedly named as essential to the engagement of the informants with Sámi background. "*The belonging one has [as a Sámi] to the culture and places, to the ecology and animals, this belonging you are born with, you are brought up with, it's given by the culture*" (#8). The inseparability of heritage and activism was highlighted indicating an absence of choice whether to be engaged or not. The only choice one has is to *actively* engage, in terms of speaking up, or not, no matter how 'small' or 'big' in its dimension. Even by being passive, one is somewhat engaged in the development, even if not physically. But to not engage at all, possibly leads to losing ones' identity. Therefore, the engagement is a process marked by a continuity that cannot be stopped: "*You cannot end your commitment because then you end your life and your heritage, you end your culture, end*

[27] Original in Swedish: *Det är det, som händer I dag, som avgör vad som händer i morgon*

something that has always been there [...]" (#8). It follows, that the engagement in environmental issues is not a choice taken to protect nature in ones' spare time, but a concrete matter of cultural survival, encompassing strong hopes and believes. In Norway, it might be not a question of living a materialistic good life or physical death. Nevertheless, as Sámi being deprived of the traditional form of livelihood and forced to assimilate with the majority, means to lose the identity and a cultural heritage that has developed over thousands of years, comprising a value that cannot be measured in numbers. As COCQ (2014) formulates,

> "*Sápmi as the ancestral land and landscapes of sacred places and a long history include invisible knowledge and values. For those who have lived in the area since ancient times, it is about more than a scenic experience or a resource to exploit*" (p. 8).

Also RAVNA (2013) highlights that indigenous peoples have a close relationship with the land and waters, basing their livelihoods on a non-monetary economy and a sustainable use of renewable natural resources which does not leave visible traces in the landscape as modern resource practices often do. This has been supported to a large extent also by the fieldwork. The findings imply that the land is not only the home in the general sense – *"I need to go outside to feel home*" (M2) – but it is part of the identity. The land means community, and is, also due to reindeer herding, the connection to the roots, the language- and knowledge-carrier. Thus, questions of belonging are about an identity both on the individual ("me") and on the collective level ("my area, my people, my heritage"), where both levels are linked in relation to the struggle around a place. This places are filled with meaning of central importance. This has in some cases been described as a difficult-to-describe-feeling by the informants, possibly also, as it leads to the question of who actually belongs to whom: The land to the people, or the people to the land? Or both, as MIKAELSSON (2016) describes it: "*our lands and territories are at the core of our existence – we are the land and the land is us*" (p. 21). This attachment and relationship to the land, which is not informed by notions of western property, contributes to the complexity around and vulnerability towards new developments, including largely land use changes. It follows that land use changes unsettle the relationship between the land and the users, as also highlighted by RÖNNINGEN & FLEMSÄTER (2016), leaving the reindeer owners wondering, where they should sidestep to if the areas to exercise the pastoralism get restricted more and more (e.g. M3, #8).

It is in this context once more important to acknowledge that these discourses include worldviews, understandings and experiences which are difficult or impossible to grasp by non-indigenous people. This includes also myself and points to one of this works limitations.

However, for all indigenous and non-indigenous activists alike, a feeling of connectedness to nature and people can be determined. Repeatedly notions and experiences have been expressed, how, in one way or another, everything is connected, also over time and space – activism to identity, identity to heritage, heritage to animals, animals to nature, nature to people and people to activism. Whenever one of those parts is effected, all the other parts are effected, too. Thus, the world is perceived as an entity which can be interrupted, even destructed, if severe changes take place. Therefore, the current development which promotes land use changes is perceived as frightening, even threatening by many, for example: *"My voice is not heard, even if I experience it [the development] as a threat"* (#8). This is also, because such a development breaks with several rights. Denying the exercise of reindeer herding is for example not in line with the rights given by §108 of the Norwegian Constitution or the commitments mandated in the ILO convention of 1989 (M4, #4, #8, cf. also chapter 3.2.2.). Activism, than, can be identified as one important tool to resist deprivation, express opinions and knowledge over rights concerning indigenous peoples, their livelihood and participation in decisive processes. It is, as outlined previously, a response to the experienced failure of current processes, a 'weapon of the weak' (D. Smith, 1994), and works as an instrument to make the obvious visible, to speak out, to be heard, to gather, and to empower. Simultaneously, however, it oftentimes has also a negative connotation, as the informants describe that their engagement towards the green shift is by the larger society often perceived as hindering the positive change. Also, it is on an individual level often experienced as exhausting and energy-taking. It follows, that the indigenous resistance and activism is characterized by notions of powerlessness and empowerment at the same time: powerlessness mainly towards the larger structures, and empowerment of the individuals and community. This mirrors SMITHS' (2013) statement on how the history of colonization creates a space of marginalization, thus powerlessness, while at the same time constructing again a space of hope and resistance, thus empowerment.

Overall, the rising inclusion of indigenous concerns not only in EJ discourses but increasingly also in politics, academia, northern Degrowth movements, and environmental NGOs, illustrate the importance and validity of those discourses and indigenous demands (Agyeman et al., 2016). However, while the value of indigenous knowledge, their protection and inclusion in decision-making is acknowledged in the *Brundtland report* and several other reports, commitments and even laws, my fieldwork suggests that they are still far from being fully included, at least when they contradict with powerful narratives and economic-political arguments. On the contrary, the Sámi continue to be negatively influenced. The indigenous

dimension of the development is still not receiving enough attention and should be more present, in local and global SD discourses alike. It also follows that the green shift lacks a focus on morality, social justice and equity, in terms of recognition, process, procedure and outcome (Agyeman, 2012). Those injustices are more specifically discussed in the next chapter. LERTZMAN & VREDENBURG (2005) conclude on this matter, "[…] *that it is unethical to sacrifice the viability of indigenous (or other) cultures for industrial resource extraction to maintain consumer society*" (p. 244).

7.4. Towards more just sustainabilities

In consideration of the previous discussion, this chapter reflects upon the third research question, which is, to which degree the green shift, in particular the green energy development, reflects an environmentally just practice. Thus, in how far the EJ and JS paradigms are mirrored.

Even though the environmental resistance in Norway does not clearly present or phrase itself as an EJM, overlapping characteristic features can still be identified. These include for example that the resistance emerged as a grass root movement with a clear indigenous dimension, which has been comprehensively outlined in previous chapters. And while EJ as underlying concept for the resistance does not play a major role, all informants nevertheless had some experiences with and/or opinion on (in)justice in the context of the SD and environmental issues. This and generally the aspects raised, allow to discuss manifold aspects through the lens of the EJ and JS discourse. Overall, the experience of injustice appeared in different forms and on different levels among the informants. Injustices were perceived in connection to financial and economic power, as well as political power, which includes historical dimensions and structures of oppressive power. Likewise, global and local irresponsible and/or disrespectful acting and treatment (of individuals, communities, future generations, nature and animals) with harmful consequences were perceived unjust, for example: "*the environmental problems are unfair, because it's the people who are not responsible for creating them who are being damaged.*" (#3) and "*Justice had first of all been to listen to the locals who live in the areas where interventions occur*" (#8).

As the EJ framework suggests, experiences of injustice underlie different explanations for causes which are structured into *racial discrimination explanations*, *economic explanations* and *sociopolitical explanations* (cf. chapter 2.2.3. or fig. 1). I argue that all of them can be

identified as somewhat relevant and applicable to this case study. *Racial discriminatory explanations* have been discussed before and were identified as influential in both past and present, based on the Sámi's history as indigenous minority and exposure to oppressive politics with discrimination lasting until today. Also *economic explanations* were outlined before. The EJ paradigm suggests, that it in the economic interest to increase profit by continuous growth. Thus, discrimination is rather a consequence, not an intention. It seems possible to apply this explanation also to the Norwegian context, as the strife for economic profit was found to be of central importance for the development. The Norwegian state pushes its ambitious goals towards a green shift, and as the new development plan for wind power shows, increasingly also in the Norwegian south where no Sámi-areas are located (NVE, 2019). Therefore it could be argued, that the state has proven to not have discriminatory intentions when placing green energy projects. However, the fact remains that much destruction is in progress or has already been done in Sápmi, and that Sámi people were overdriven repetitively throughout history. This requires a certain sensibility and awareness in today's politics. This has been so far rather half-hearted conducted, when drawing a conclusion from the informant's experiences, and should not be excused with ignorance.

The *sociopolitical explanations*, which include the assumption that industry and politics take the path of least resistance to a development, can be seen as mirrored in the expropriation law (cf. chapter 3.3.2.). When made use of, reindeer herders have to give way to other forms of development under the argumentation of a benefit for 'the greater good', favoring some developments over others. Furthermore, the areas with traditional Sámi pastures are oftentimes quite isolated regions, far from bigger cities and with a small number of inhabitants, and with little resistance to set against.

This directs the focus towards different forms of social justice. '*For the greater good'* and *'Everyone has to do their part'*, are common expression in the current SD discourse. Sounds fair – But is it really *everyone* we are talking about? Who is it actually that earns, that benefits? The research rather suggests, the 'everyone' in the discourse continues to include and exclude certain groups of people or institutions, based on common powerful narratives as well as valuations and political and financial influence. This is then also intrinsically linked to place and ethnicity – in the Norwegian context remote natural environments with pristine nature used by Sámi peoples. In the light of Norway's commitment to several indigenous rights agreements and laws, it is difficult to understand the valuation behind the decision-

making, which promotes energy development in traditional Sámi reindeer herding areas, without locals having an influential say, despite knowing the area's best and over generations. Hence, the green shift can be seen as example how indigenous rights are ignored if national and international need for energy and industrial growth shall be covered. It is rarely accepted if indigenous communities resist the interventions in their traditional areas, especially if its 'green' and 'sustainable' interventions, often linked to an incredible amount of financial investments (Fjellheim, 2016; Opoku, 2017). "*The power of money rules and the marginalized get to pay for it*", as OPOKU (2016, n.p.) describes it. So while the state fails to protect the indigenous rights in the name of the 'greater good', the Sámi continue with their resistance, taking social justice in their own hands.

In the EJ and JS paradigms, it is in the context of social justice oftentimes focused especially on distributive justice, thus the unequal distribution of environmental goods, or the benefits out of them. I find it rather difficult to link it to the case study though. Even though points have been raised how the local people should financially benefit from the development, too. This has been a non-indigenous voice, though. When reflecting upon the Sámi's voices, the distribution of environmental goods, land in this case, and countervail it in financial term, conflicts generally with their of land and nature in contrast to western property and resource use perceptions. Further, the conflict cannot solely be looked upon in terms of socially just allocation of goods and benefits in the presence, but historical social and distributive injustices need to be taken into account as well.

Geographical justice can compared with that clearly be identified in the Norwegian green development, both in a national and international context. As just mentioned, many areas with green energy development projects are rather remote regions in the Norwegian outfields, producing energy not only for local industries and use, but to a large degree also for far away cities and abroad. Today, many investors are international companies, which benefit from profits and energy while leaving the problems arising by its production in the country of origin, and hence with the local population, including the Sámi. This mirrors a dislocation of environmental inequalities, as well as the consideration that sustainable solutions, as good as they might seem, are not universal but their viability actually differ from place to place (Agyeman, 2012).

This than directs the focus towards place attachment, which is increasingly included in EJ and SJ. In the previous chapter, the focus was already largely on the connection between Sámi and land, demonstrating their attachment. It became clear, that place and identity are intrinsically

linked to another, as the Sámi are attached to the places they live, both individually and collectively. They are shaping the places and being shaped by them, on a physical, political and environmental level, through experiences and interactions. The interruption of their place attachment than, possibly stops them to negotiate a future for themselves and coming generations (Agyeman et al., 2016).

Coming hereby once more back also to inter-generational responsibilities, or intergenerational justice, already the narrative from the introduction reflected the lack of justice in this regard: "*But what about my descendants?"* (M3). This was repeated by almost all informants, not only in the context of reindeer herding but also the irreversible land change of renewable energy – thus, preventing the next generation from using certain areas and leaving it furthermore possibly with further tidying work and problem solving. But not only future generations, also the generations today face the consequences, therefore, dimension of intra-generational social justice and equity need to be considered, even though it is generally difficult to divide linear into past, present as future. However, naturally does society, including notions of justice, change over time and space and from person to person. It follows, that also perceived (in)justices can possibly change. However, this does not excuse to not act upon the best knowledge in the presence.

In chapter 7.1., the 'treadmill of activism' has been introduced by Fig 8. In a slightly altered version of this figure, it is once more clearly outlined, how the causes and consequences of the current (un)sustainable development are linked to the activists notions of injustice. For all informants applies, that the more is learned about the roots and consequences of injustices, the perception and experience of it increase even further. Here again, a paradox is experienced: The more knowledge, the less are the reasons understood – *"I don't know, but it just sounds so wrong, no matter what these companies and those who work with it put in it, it just sounds so strange that someone might think it's okay*." (#6) – leading to treadmill of awareness and activism. As a consequence to the perceived injustices, the need for responsible acting and respect were repeatedly mentioned. This reflects the need, to not just recognize and be aware about the injustices, but also change them. Herein, one of the major limitations and criticism towards EJ and JS is reflected – identifying injustices is one, acting upon them another thing. Thus, the following part exceeds the theoretical perspectives offered by EJ and SJ.

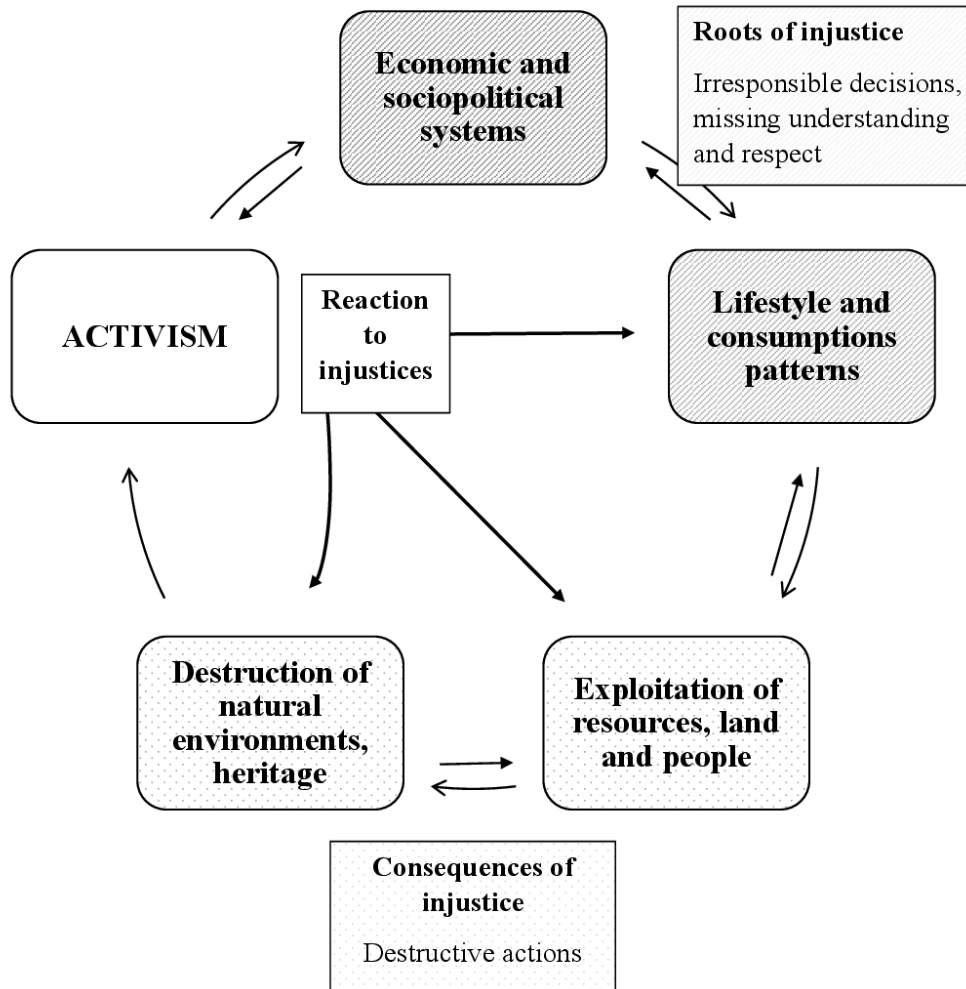

Fig. 9: 'The Treadmill of Activism'. Linkages to notions of injustice.

The need for respect was mentioned in regard to the human and non-human world alike, today and in the future. Between people, especially the respect for other valuations, understandings, and worldviews is a missing asset. JULL (2003) sees in the meantime already a positive change: Indigenous peoples are now more and more 'worth listening to', as reflected in the inclusion in decision making processes, resource managements and international meetings. This was confirmed by the informants which observed an increasing inclusion in terms of participation. Merely including indigenous communities in participatory meetings physically, however, does not mean necessarily, that their claims and opinions are treated respectfully and seriously.

Furthermore, where there is power, there is always also a responsibility, how to use, or not use this power and how to shape relations with it, including nature, animals, todays and future generations. Everyone holds thereby a certain power, thus responsibility – individuals, the

larger society, businesses, project planners and the state. The industries and project developers are for example seen to have a responsibility of informed and moral decision-taking and action. During the fieldwork, also the state as influential and decisive institution has been repeatedly described as not fulfilling its responsibilities. While PARSON & RAY (2018) outline that a true just SD should be democratic and provide the possibility to make decisions free from political and economic pressure, the empirical data suggest a lack of those aspects. Furthermore, that the expectations of responsibilities are not met, has also to do with the impression that the state is treating symptoms, not causes. Or to be more specific, it focuses on the wrong end: While it tackles the climate crisis by promoting renewable energy, it does not focus on its own role in the formation and continuation of the climate crisis in the first place. This is, a political system that has been and continues to support an industrial development which requires continuous growth (cf. chapters 7.1.).

Overall, when reflecting more specifically upon the JS framework and its different concerns – *justice and equity, present and future generations, quality of life, living within ecosystem limits* – in a Norwegian context, the picture is often contradictory. For example, the level of *justice and equity* in is Norway generally on a high standard. Yet, its indigenous minority feels treated unjust, facing continued discrimination, restrictions, displacement, assimilation, and rules and laws in contradiction to their worldview and traditions. Also concerning *present and future generations*, contradictory views exist – both reindeer herding and renewable energies claim to have an urgent right to exist (further) for future generations. For meeting the needs of all generations it is fundamental though, to meet the decisions with a sense of justice and equality on various levels. When it comes to the *quality of life*, the informants agreed there exists little reason for complaining on a materialistic level. However, for those losing land to the new developments and in the wider sense the whole community by risking to lose their cultural mainstay, the quality of life is at risk. And at last, also *living within ecosystem limits* has been seen rather critically, as the Norwegian society was described as a 'waste society' striving for more growth, despite the very evident limits of ecosystems (cf. chapter 1). But "*[w]hether they [the ecosystem limits] constitute a fundamental limit to economic growth probably depends more on the nature of the economy than on the economy of nature*", as AGYEMAN (2012, p. 8) outlines and thereby focuses once more on underlying reasons for the destruction (cf. Fig. 8 & 9).

When reflecting upon the critical question if looking at the green shift with the JS lens is disrupting the positive reputation of SD, it can be assessed that *yes*, it does disrupt the

reputation of SD. However, rather than considering it as negative, I propose to evaluate it as positive, as it adds valuable aspects to the discussion which are largely missing in the mainstream discourse on SD and the green shift, as all meetings with different stakeholders and the media analysis confirmed. The intention of the green shift is clear: It includes a multitude of aspects and serves a manifold interests, which makes it highly attractive as a model. However, a truly just environmental sustainability has to provide the possibility to make informed decisions free from political and economic pressure, foster self-sufficiency and self-determination as well as take different forms of justice and equity into consideration. The results of this research have shown that to reflect a truly environmentally just and sustainable practice, the Norwegian green shift is lacking essential parts of this requirements.

A concluding note

Green shift, green washing or green colonization? The SD of green energy in Norway portrays all contradictory meanings at the same time – the needed and valuable (yet solely theoretical achievable) strife for a sustainable *green shift,* a process of *green washing* for big companies which concentrate on the development solely in terms of growth to stay competitive throughout this paradigm shift, and a *green colonization* of the affected indigenous communities, who pay once more the price for the worlds development. To protect indigenous rights, return their homeland and include their knowledge are by parts of the research community assessed as important steps towards a just SD – it should be not only considered as solution in 'far away' places like the rainforest, but also 'in front of the door', in the Norwegian context. The common narrative prevails that enough knowledge exists to evaluate green energy projects comprehensively, which might be true from a technological, political and economic point of view. However, the view through a social-cultural lens has revealed another narrative.

8. Conclusion

This masters' thesis purpose has been twofold: Firstly, to explore generally the links between SD, social justice and indigenous environmental activism in a Norwegian context, with a focus on power relations and challenges arising from the development. Secondly, to examine specifically Sámi and non-Sámi activists' perspectives and experiences of sustainability and justice in regard to the green energy development in Norway. The overall aim was to uncover, based on an EJ and JS framework, issues that need to be included in the conversations on SD.

For this objective, a qualitative research was conducted. Data were collected through both in-depth interviews, primarily with people identifying as Sámi and being engaged in environmental issues, and the participation and observation of several meetings which took place in the context of the green energy development.

A fundamental key finding is that generally, as already the introducing story suggests, very different understandings, needs, motivations and values exist regarding SD. Those depend heavily on underlying perspectives and definitions which inform a person's thinking and acting. Who defines what in which way, can make the whole difference. However, the research has also displayed that for the indigenous and non-indigenous activists alike the sustainability term has largely lost its credibility, being perceived as overused and meaningless. In theory, SD should serve to improve human lives quality by focusing equally on the four pillars: society, culture, economy and environment. In the Norwegian context, however, economy has been identified as major beneficiary, leaving the others pillars behind and with it also the Sámi as a minority of society. This is partly, because the Sámi's claims do not match with the currently popular and powerful narrative of green energy as global solution to climate change. The minorities' objectives to carry on with their traditional land-use in form of reindeer herding clash with present economic, industrial and political interests of the Norwegian majority. Often, this leaves their calls not only unheard, but results also in notions of invisibility and unjust treatment. Thus, the Norwegian SD is not to the same degree sustainable, or rather socially just, for everyone. On the contrary – the discourse has developed from a benefit for all to a burden for some.

As this research has shown, environmental activism is a response to those experienced injustices and the failure of ongoing processes which threaten Sámi livelihood and culture. All activists interviewed, evaluate the process of the green shift as contrasting with their values, knowledge, awareness, perceptions of justice and equity, identity and indigenous rights. For

them, the understanding of the planet as a connected entity, both through time and space, is fundamental. What effects one part, effects all parts, in one way or another. Hence, human and non-human worlds are highly and inextricably interdependent. Destructive changes are reacted to with resistance – leading to a perpetual ‘treadmill of activism’ (cf. Fig. 8).

It can be deducted from these findings that also the green shift does not stand isolated but is embedded in broader struggles and relations of power. ‘It’s a necessary price to pay’ is an easy thing to say for someone who possibly benefits or who is at least not impacted directly by the danger of losing either land, livelihood, traditional knowledge, heritage or identity – or all together, as in the Sámi’s case. If SD initially is understood as including dimensions of equity and social justice, in the Norwegian context it is clearly lacking a focus on social justice and equity, not at least in consideration of its indigenous dimension. Furthermore, the broader discourse, especially outside of academia, misses not only out on including such matters around (historical) power structures and representing generally a variety in perspectives, but it also lacks a focus on ethical considerations, respect, responsibilities and different values.

Therefore, this thesis’ findings indicate that the search after *the* one and perfect solution to the global problems is not over. Rather contrary – it would be naïve to believe that the world’s crises can be solved by *one* solution. Renewable energy, for instance, is certainly part of the solution to tackle climate change, but it is not a universal one. Multiple crises do require multiple solutions. The reasons, causes, symptoms, consequences are various and complex. So even though it might sound like the guilty party is found with sociopolitical and economic systems perpetuating destructive systems, it surely is not the only answer either, as the research has demonstrated how those manifold aspects are interlinked in and cannot be assessed separately. Thus, any solution needs to be furthermore comprehensively assessed in its full local, global, socio-political, cultural, historical, environmental and economic scope. Ideally, decisions have to be made after best arguments and under consideration of the influential power structures. In the years to come, the need for solutions will most likely continue to rise, especially when it becomes increasingly apparent, that the approach as it is at the moment will not solve the manifold crises – neither the environmental, nor the social ones. Along these lines, much more work and changes have to be done to move from the idea to a truly more just SD. Those changes concern both a process of un- and relearning as individuals and communities as our daily lives are deeply intertwined with the problems, and a reorganizing of the structures around us.

It is hereby important to recognize, that probably no solution comes without new problems and challenges. Also SD started off as the idealistic idea being able to serve everyone, facing more and more the unadorned truth of reality. For SD or the green shift as concepts to still have a change of being successful, the inclusion of people's perspectives is essential. As SEN (2013) formulates it, "*there is an important need to take the discussion on sustainability beyond its traditional and confined limits*" (p. 7). This includes the need to acknowledge that the process of a just SD does not stop with a few adjustments on the system. This research confirms that in order to face climate change and tackle injustices, it will not be enough to build renewable energy, drive electric cars and make everyone equal by law. Old inequalities not only continue to exist, but they even being perpetuated by the new solutions and development. Thus, rather than dealing with the symptoms, we need to go to the roots of the global problems and deal with their causes – including for instance colonial pasts, an economic system based on growth or educational systems maintaining one-sided narratives.

A large amount of the thesis' overall limits and challenges have already been reflected upon in chapter 4.2.2. and 5.3., including the struggles of working on this works topic as a non-indigenous researcher. The main challenge, however, has been the broad scope of this work, which is at the same time also the underlying reason for the main limitation. More in-depth discussions could have been conducted, however, the research unfolded in many various directions. Another limitation concerns the applicability of the work. Despite its broad focus, the study is specific to the Norwegian context and I would argue it cannot be transferred to other examples outside of this context. Similarities might be found, but it cannot be generalized as each struggle of indigenous activism and EJ is different and needs to be understood in local contexts. However, despite the thesis' limitations, the findings are both relevant for theory and practice as they highlight the need to rethink both the term and the concept of SD.

As the discussion has shown, the research moreover opens up a multitude of questions, even dilemmas, without being able to answer or solve them all. Thus, the topic offers a number of possibilities for further research which go beyond a human-geographical scope. This includes amongst others questions around indigenous rights, place attachment, notions of property, values, morality, market movements and economy, local alternatives, the activisms' development and the power of perspectives and decision-making. A few starting points have been outlined throughout the discussion already. For example, the significance of phrasing, and to what extent certain terminologies arouse expectations and hopes or negative

perceptions. Likewise the investigation of the links between socialization, perspectives, and actions or decision-making linked to environment and justice would be an interesting continuation of this work.

Summing up, SD has often claimed to be a new idea – developed in the western world as a solution to save the planet. As such, it moved into people's awareness, politics, economy, diverse institutions, organizations and companies. Indigenous communities also claim their traditional livelihoods to be sustainable. However, it has been their everyday life reality over centuries, rather than a new and "*white mans idea*" (Jull, 2003, p. 35) imposed to them. As mentioned in the introduction, Indigenous and minority communities, NGOs, environmental organizations and researchers have fought for the implementation of sustainable practices and EJ throughout the last decades and the discourse gained recently a new wave of attention through the 'Fridays for future' movement. Without intending to diminish the pupils' efforts, I cannot help wondering though, why it needs an uprising of western world teenagers to get the world – politicians and the public alike – to listen. Their claims, at least, are far from being new. Answers can possibly be found to some degree in the underlying (post)colonial power structures. However, much research will surely follow on this new development in the discourse in the years to come. The question remains, though, if we can talk of a SD at all from an EJ or JS perspective and in the light of the present direction the paradigm takes.

In that context, indigenous environmental activism can be seen as acting as a disturbing factor – in a positive way. This is, because it points out the weaknesses of the current discourse. As this thesis has shown, what is called 'green development' and 'sustainable energy' by a global society, is by many indigenous communities phrased very differently. It is therefore up to us as a society, to either see minorities and their resistance as disturbing – or as valuable guideposts to a future which is more inclusive, just and sustainable. Until this future has become reality, local and indigenous communities continue actively to resist the ever new and supposedly positive impositions, which threaten them in the name of the 'greater good' and SD: "*you cannot end your commitment, because then you end your life and your heritage, you end your culture, [you] end something that has always been there*" (#8).

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Figures

Fig. 1: Own design, 2019.

Fig. 2: Own design, 2019.

Fig. 3: Retrieved from NVEAtlas, 10.04.2019.

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Fig. 4: Retrieved from NVEAtlas, 10.04.2019.

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Fig. 5: Retrieved from http://www.samer.se/karta, 06.05.2019. Use with the friendly

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Fig. 6: Own design, 2019.

Fig. 7: Own design, 2019.
Fig. 8: Own design, 2019.
Fig. 9: Own design, 2019.

Quotations at Chapter-beginnings

Chapter 2: Jane Goodall. https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/159740-what-you-do-makes-a-difference-and-you-have-to

Chapter 3: Self-written poem by Sara Emilie Jåma (2016). Use with the friendly permission.

Chapter 4: Paulo Freire (1970): Pedagogy of the Oppressed.

Chapter 5: Linda Tuhaiwai Smith (2008): Decolonizing methodologies. Research and Indigenous peoples. Zed Book Ltd. p. 5

Chapter 6: Harald Gaski (2009): Tiden er et skip some ikke kaster anker. CalliidLágádus

Chapter 7: Sofia Jannok, extract from: Snölejoninna, 2015.

Appendices

Appendix 1: EJ Principles

Appendix 2: Information letter (long version)

Appendix 3: Interview guide

Appendix 1: EJ Principles

WE, THE PEOPLE OF COLOR, gathered together at this multinational People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, to begin to build a national and international movement of all peoples of color to fight the destruction and taking of our lands and communities, do hereby re-establish our spiritual interdependence to the sacredness of our Mother Earth; to respect and celebrate each of our cultures, languages and beliefs about the natural world and our roles in healing ourselves; to ensure environmental justice; to promote economic alternatives which would contribute to the development of environmentally safe livelihoods; and, to secure our political, economic and cultural liberation that has been denied for over 500 years of colonization and oppression, resulting in the poisoning of our communities and land and the genocide of our peoples, do affirm and adopt these Principles of Environmental Justice:

The Principles of Environmental Justice (EJ)

1) **Environmental Justice** affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction.

2) **Environmental Justice** demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all peoples, free from any form of discrimination or bias.

3) **Environmental Justice** mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.

4) **Environmental Justice** calls for universal protection from nuclear testing, extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons and nuclear testing that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water, and food.

5) **Environmental Justice** affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.

6) **Environmental Justice** demands the cessation of the production of all toxins, hazardous wastes, and radioactive materials, and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.

7) **Environmental Justice** demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement and evaluation.

8) **Environmental Justice** affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.

9) **Environmental Justice** protects the right of victims of environmental injustice to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.

10) **Environmental Justice** considers governmental acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration On Human Rights, and the United Nations Convention on Genocide.

11) **Environmental Justice** must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination.

12) **Environmental Justice** affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to clean up and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities, and provided fair access for all to the full range of resources.

13) **Environmental Justice** calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent, and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.

14) **Environmental Justice** opposes the destructive operations of multi-national corporations.

15) **Environmental Justice** opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms.

16) **Environmental Justice** calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.

17) **Environmental Justice** requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and to produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decision to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to ensure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

More info on environmental justice and environmental racism can be found online at www.ejnet.org/ej/

Delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit held on October 24-27, 1991, in Washington DC, drafted and adopted these 17 principles of Environmental Justice. Since then, the Principles have served as a defining document for the growing grassroots movement for environmental justice.

Appendix 2: Information letter (long version)

Informasjonsbrev om deltakelse i forskningsprojektet *«Urfolks miljøaktivisme på frontlinjen av bærekraftsdebatten: mot miljø rettferdighet?»*

Trondheim, xxx 2018

Hei,

Jeg er Masterstudent i „natural resources management" (geografi) ved NTNU og skriver en masteroppgave der temaet er miljøaktivisme. Jeg er spesielt opptatt av konflikten rundt utbyggingen av vindmøllene på Norges kysten og ønsker å se på rollen som (urfolks) miljøaktivisme tar i konteksten av miljø rettferdighet og den globale bærekraftsdebatten. Jeg vil dermed gjerne belyse den andre siden av bærekraftig utvikling: Hva må vi også snakke om når vi feirer "grønn" og "bærekraftig" utvikling som løsning for alle problemer?

Og det ville derfor være stor hjelp om jeg få lov til å få en samtale med akkurat deg!
Jeg er veldig bevisst over følsomheten til emnet i masteroppgaven min, i en samfunnsmessig, politisk og historisk sammenheng. Jeg vil derfor fremheve at jeg ikke på noen måte betyr å behandle deg, din kultur, din historie, ditt samfunn eller aktivisme/arbeidet ditt respektløs. Jeg mener ikke å reprodusere makt strukturer og sterotyper som jeg er bevisst om.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?
Freya Rixen-Cunow
Masterstudent i geografi (natural resources management), NTNU
Telefon:
Mail: freyar@stud.ntnu.no

Frode Flemsæter
Veileder
Seniorforsker og ansatterepresentant i styret - Dr. polit. (geografi)
Telefon:
Mail: frode.flemsater@ruralis.no

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?
I den forbindelse ønsker jeg å holde helst intervjuer med 10-20 personer som er eldre enn 18 år og identifiserer som samiske og ikke-samiske miljøaktivister, medlemmer av miljøbevegelser eller personer som er involvert i miljøskaer på en eller annen måte.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?
Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet, innebærer det, at jeg skal gjerne intervjue deg. Det er din beslutning hvor og hvor lenge du vil snakke med meg og hvilke spørsmål du vil svare på og hvilke du ikke gjør. Hvis du ikke er klar til å delta i hele intervjuet, vil det trolig ta ca. 1 time. Det er en semi-strukturert intervjue, hva betyr, at jeg forberede noen spørsmål, men under intervjuen er vi fri å snakke også om andre poeng i sammenheng med hovedtema. På dette punktet vil jeg påpeke at jeg avviser et undersøkelseslignende intervju og i stedet legger verdi på en åpen samtale der jeg hovedsakelig tar på lytterrollen. Intervjuen skulle helst inneholder spørsmål rundt Vindparkprosjekter, Miljøaktivisme og motstand, Effekter på og ved

miljøhandling, samarbeid med andre organisasjoner, sted identitet/ tilknytning, bærekraftig 'grønn' utvikling og rettferdighet. Av praktiske årsaker kommer jeg til å ta opp samtalen på bånd for så å skrive den ut i tekst. Lydopptakene vil blir slettet når de er skrevet ut i tekst. Jeg har også taushetsplikt. Siden norsk ikke er morsmålet mitt, er jeg også åpen for å holde intervjuet på engelsk. Valg av språk er imidlertid opp til deg.

Det er frivillig å delta
Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Du kan når som helst trekke deg fra projektet – også etter at intervjuet er gjort - uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan vi oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger
Jeg og veilederen min, Frode Flemsæter, er de eneste som vil ha tilgang til dine opplysninger. Vi kommer til å forholde oss til etablert forskningsetikk, og projektet er tilrådd av NSD-Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS. Alle data vil bli behandlet konfidensielt, og du som informant vil være anonym i alle publikasjoner fra datamaterialet. Opplysninger som bør publiseres er indirekte informasjoner om deg, som generelle informasjoner om etnisk opprinelse og aktivisme. Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Den transkriberte intervjuen vil jeg sikre med en passord.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når vi avslutter forskningsprosjektet?
Datamaterialet anonymiseres senest ved projektslutt, senest 31.08.2019, ved at lydopptak, navneliste og bakgrunnsopplysninger slettes/ endres på en slik måte at opplysningene ikke kan tilbakeføres til deg som enkeltperson.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til: innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg, å få rettet personopplysninger om deg, få slettet personopplysninger om deg, få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir oss rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Vi behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke.
På oppdrag fra NTNU har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS (epost personvernombudet@nsd.no eller telefon: 55 58 21 17) vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket. Personvernombud ved NTNU er Thomas Helgesen (epost thomas.helgesen@ntnu.no eller telefon: 93079038).

Dersom du har tid og mulighet til å ha en samtale med meg, ta kontakt enten via telefon, melding eller mail, så avtalen vi sted og tid. Ta gjerne også kontakt dersom du har noen spørsmål før du bestemmer deg. Jeg Ser frem til din svar!

Med vennlig hilsen,
Freya Rixen-Cunow

Appendix 3: Interview guide

INTERVJUGUIDE

Introduksjon

- *Forestille meg selv, slik at personer vet hvem som de snakker med*
- *gjentakelse av temaet, hva det skal brukes til*
- *Anonymitet, taushetsplikt*
- *Står fri til å trekke seg når som helst, uten at dette får konsekvenser*
- *betegnelse av noen linjer fra informasjonsbrevet*
- *Samtykke til lydopptak*
- *Alt klart, noen spørsmål?*

Spørsmål

1. Bakgrunn: Vindparkutbyggingen og aktivisme

- *involvering og engasjement rund prosjekt/ i miljøaktivisme generell*
- *tanker om grönn energi prosjektet(r)*
- *direkt eller indirekt påvirkning av prosjektet(r)*

2. Miljøaktivismen: Bakgrunn og mål

- *målene og kravene*
- *fokus på miljø eller sosial rettferdighet*
- *rolle av verdier i diskusjonen*
- *former for motstand og aktivisme*

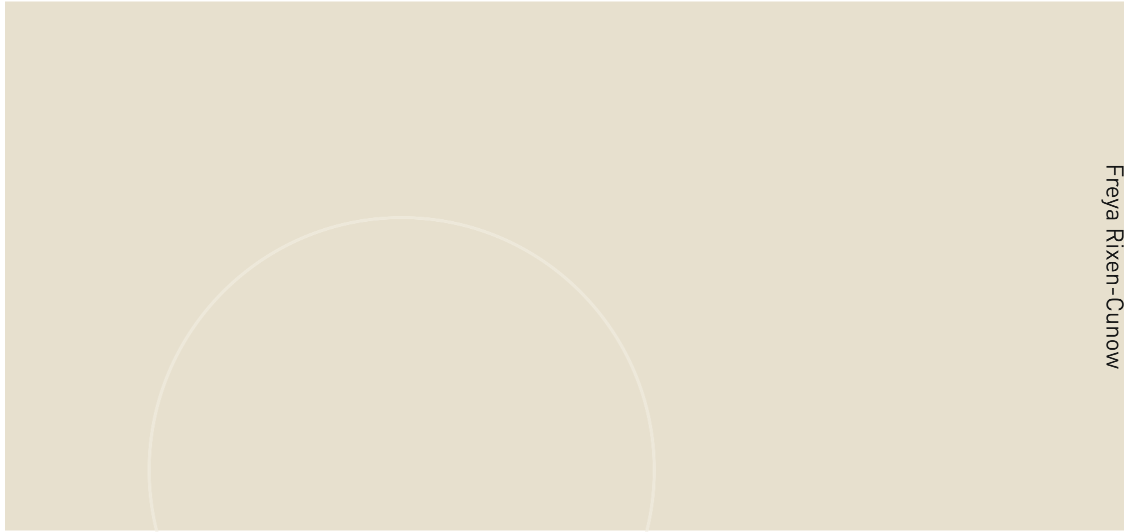
3. Påvirkninger på og ved miljøhandlingen, Kommunikasjon

- *endringer (lokalt, nasjonalt eller globalt) gjennom motstanden*
- *Utkomst fra aktivisme*
- *Tilknyttning til historiske dimensjoner*
- *representasjonen i media?*
- *kontakt / kommunikasjon med andre 'stakeholder'*
- *Tilknyttning til andre bevegelser og nettverk, lokalt, nasjonalt og globalt?*
- *oppfattning av urfolksaktivister til ikke-urfolksaktivister og miljøbevegelser? Kommunikasjon, felles interesser/forsjkeller?*

4. **(romlig-) identitet, Sted**
- *tilknytning til plass og innflytelse på handlinger*
- *miljøkravene og tradisjonelle livsstilen*

5. **Bærekraft og rettferdighet**
- *Hva er 'rettferdig' for deg*
- *Hva betyr "bærekraft" for deg*
- *Hva betyr bærekraftig utvikling for deg*
- *Hvordan ville en rettferdig utvikling se ut*
- *Hvilken rolle spiller* miljøaktivisme *i denne endringer*

Avslutning
- *Har du noen tanker om dette som vi ikke har vært inne på?*
- *Takk for intervjuet, gave*



Freya Rixen-Cunow

Sustainable Development in Norway – New Solution or Old Sorrows?

NTNU
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology