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Landscapes of Change and Resistance

A case study of the mineral industry's establishment in south-east Skåne

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Abstract

This paper studies the struggles over the landscape that emerge in south-east Skåne due to the exploration permission which was given to ScandiVanadium in 2018. It also examines how this permission has a background in trends of a green transition in the mineral industry. The paper departs from theories on global land rush and accumulation by dispossession, and uses certain aspects of the production of landscape, derived from Don Mitchell, as the conceptual framework. The study is a case study which relies on interviews as its main source of empirical material. The data from the interviews is furthermore contextualized using secondary sources to understand the case accurately and in depth. In the analysis, a multi-scalar approach shows how economic and political processes on multiple scales are seeping down into the landscape, causing conflicts of interests and struggles over the form and meaning of that landscape. In the landscape of south-east Skåne, these struggles are manifested in 1. parallel processes of fragmentation and unity, 2. material concerns about lessening prices on property, and representational concerns about what this area should be, and 3. division of authorities into what is regarded good local and ignorant national politicians.

Keywords: Struggles over the landscape, the production of landscape, mining conflict, environmental politics, green transition.

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Introduction

The case of south-east Skåne

The mineral industry has a history in Sweden of over a thousand years and has played a major part in the development of the Swedish economy. Traditionally, mainly iron ore, as well as copper and silver has been mined in Sweden, which can be seen in the geographical distribution of mines today, where most mining takes place in the so-called ore-fields of northern Sweden (SGU, n.d.[1]). But as new patterns of mining and prospecting emerges, the industry expands to new places and landscapes. In 2018, the company ScandiVanadium gained exploration permission to search and drill for minerals in large areas in south-east Skåne. The aim is to find profitable concentrations of Vanadium which can be used in large scale batteries. This is argued to be highly important in the production of renewable energy, and thus a necessity in a green transition of societies internationally. On their website, the company argues that:

> ScandiVanadium believes that climate change represents the biggest threat to the global ecosystem in the 21st Century. (…) Storing energy allows renewables to supply more power at the time that customers require energy. Vanadium Batteries offer one of the best solutions for energy storage. (ScandiVanadium, n.d.[2], online)

The permission stretch over 6 municipalities in south-east Skåne (see Figure 1), and is given by the mining inspectorate, which functions on a national scale. It grants ScandiVanadium exclusive rights to search for minerals and exploit them if the company deems the minerals to be of concentration and location which makes them profitable to mine (Bergsstaten, n.d.[1]).

The permission has raised strong reactions in the area, both from authorities, politicians and people living in the region (see e.g. Fritze, 2018; Lärka 2018; Vallgårda, 2019). The granting of ScandiVanadium's applications has also stirred a debate regarding the mineral law, and the regulations of the industry are discussed and questioned. Local politicians in the affected municipalities, as well as many landowners and people living in the region, has shown loud and active resistance towards the plans as well as the permission. For example, the region of Skåne has pleaded for modifying the law, so that mineral prospecting is not always considered a common good, but evaluated from case to case (Damberg, 2018), and a protest network, formerly active against a project searching for natural gas in Österlen in 2009, quickly mobilized towards the permission. ScandiVanadium's mineral prospecting, and

the resistance towards it, poses many questions about which interests should exist in the landscape, and who has a say in this. It also visualizes the conflicts that emerge as new interests are introduced in the landscape. In this case, the company searches for so-called battery minerals, which are minerals that are regarded important in the storage of electricity produced from renewable sources. In the studied case, the agendas of the company are thus also justified by discourses of a green transition. The ensuing struggles over the landscape, and their manifestation in the landscape of south-east Skåne, is the area that will be studied in this paper.

Figure 1: ScandiVanadium's Exploration Permits.
Scale: 1:500 000. The green areas show the granted exploration permissions.
Source: SGU, n.d.[2]

This paper is structured as follows: In the next chapter, the theoretical background is outlined, where it is argued that literature on the large-scale land deals and accumulation by dispossession is relevant for understanding the mechanisms that lead to conflicts of interests and the processes examined in this thesis. However, since this case takes place in a different context than cases traditionally studied in these theories, it is also argued that a point of departure in the concept of landscape poses an interesting perspective to study the struggles over the landscape. A conceptual framework on the production of landscape, based on theories by Don Mitchell, is therefore presented, constructing a basis for understanding the processes of change and resistance in the case. In the third chapter, it is argued that a qualitative approach with interviews as the main method for material gathering is suitable for the aim of this thesis. Through material from interviews contextualized with secondary

sources, the fourth chapter examines how processes on different scales seeps down into struggles over the landscape. These results are then summarized in the concluding chapter.

Aim and research questions

The aim of this paper is to study the struggles over the landscape that emerge in south-east Skåne as the mineral industry looks for new types of minerals. The new trends of prospecting are seen with a background in a green transition of the industry. This will be further defined below but refers to how the incentives to mine for untraditional minerals increase, due to an increased need for electricity storage capacity linked to the expansion of renewable energy. In relation to this, I will also examine how these struggles are manifested in the landscape of southern Sweden. This is done through a case study of the prevailing processes in south-east Skåne, where the British company ScandiVanadium has recently gotten exploration permits to prospect for Vanadium, with the aim to supply the battery market with these minerals. The study is guided by the overall research question:

- How has the green transition of the mineral industry introduced, changed or enhanced struggles over the landscape?

Additionally, two operationalizing questions will also be addressed to understand the processes taking place in south-east Skåne.

- How are these struggles manifested in the landscape of south-east Skåne?
- Which competing agendas exist in the case of south-east Skåne, as ScandiVanadium is establishing there?

Delimitations

As for the delimitations, this thesis has its point of departure in the concept of landscape to understand the case. Naturally, there are many other perspectives that could be assumed to understand similar processes and conflicts. But the production of landscape, and certain characteristics that become clear in processes of change and resistance, is here used to understand the basis for the struggles taking place in the area. Also, the green transition of the industry here refers to the search for so-called battery minerals. The green transition of the mineral industry comprises other variables as well. For example, there are ongoing processes to electrify the extraction and production of metals (Weisner, 2019), but these

aspects will not be taken into consideration. Instead, when discussing the green transition of the industry, this thesis refers to the industry's search for new types of minerals that are regarded to be important in the storage of renewable energy. Another delimitation is that this paper focuses on mines, and not on quarries. The definition is not entirely clear, but in this paper, I define mines to be places where concession minerals are mined, which are those minerals regulated by the mineral-law, and quarries to be where all other materials are mined. This is in line with the mining inspectorate's definition, stating that there are 14 mines in Sweden (SGU, 2019), all for concession minerals. Other delimitations relate to the research design, which will be further addressed in the chapter of methodology, together with limitations and selection of method and interviewees.

Theoretical framework

The theme of this paper is struggles over the landscape. These struggles are seen in the light of on the one hand the mineral industry's establishment in south-east Skåne, and on the other hand the resistance towards this from the people living in the area. In this section, existing literature on large-scale land deals will first be reviewed. This literature is largely focused on cases in the global south, making the context of this case very different. But some mechanisms of global investments, and points regarding crises narratives and political reactions are useful for understanding the processes in this case as well. Secondly, I will draw on some general points concerning the spatiality of capitalist development made by David Harvey, since his theory on accumulation by dispossession acts as a background in the literature on global land-deals, as well as in much literature on landscapes. This discussion elaborates some potential causes and contexts of the spatiality of the mineral industry. Thirdly, literature on a similar case of struggles over the landscape is briefly discussed, to examine the role of the state as facilitator. Lastly, the concept of landscape, and how all landscapes are produced, is necessary in understanding the struggles that takes place in south-east Skåne. The production of landscape, based on a Don Mitchell perspective, will therefore be discussed. Certain aspects of the production of landscape will also be the point of departure in the analysis, and act as the conceptual framework for understanding the processes in south-east Skåne.

Positioning the paper

Large-scale land deals and crises narratives

Existing literature on large-scale land deals and land investments, and how these are justified through global crises narratives, is helpful for two reasons. First, it helps explaining the mechanisms behind the land rush of different actors claiming large areas of land. Secondly, it addresses contemporary struggles over the control and use of land and resources and gives a general account for the political reactions through which people respond with to such processes. White et al. (2012) explains how large-scale land investments are often justified by crises narratives, comprising food supply, finance, climate and energy (White et al., 2012; Borras and Franco, 2013; Borras et al., 2011). In the pursuit to solve e.g. food or energy crises, private and public actors seek areas of land which are, often falsely, perceived as empty, available or unutilized (White et al., 2012). This is due to an underlying assumption

that resource extraction is necessary in solving many of these crises. The justification of new types of capital accumulation through crises narratives has resulted in a global land rush (Borras and Franco, 2013). These land deals or land investments often target areas where agricultural production can be established but can also have the purpose of other forms of production, such as mineral extraction (White et al., 2012). The investments are also often facilitated or argued for by governments and multilateral organizations, through easing for investments, and contributing to the narratives of global crises. These narratives legitimize land rush, as well as influence the patterns of investments.

White et al. (2012) outlines six trends in these mechanisms, which promote appropriation through land deals (White et al., 2012), wherein two of these trends can be seen in relation to the case studied in this paper. First, they describe how new forms of resource extraction emerge to ensure energy security, as a result of an energy crisis. Secondly, it is argued that land investments with environmental targets, for example land deals of agricultural land with the aim to produce resources for biofuel, has increased (White et al., 2012). However, these emerging targets of land deals are contested towards other interests for the landscape. As the mineral industry places its interests for resource extraction on the landscape, with the narratives of green transition as a backdrop, this is a land investment with environmental objectives, and thus part of the trend outlined by White et al. (2012). But the landscape is regarded a necessary resource in several respects, by several actors, and the interests of the mining industry are therefore conflicting with the prevailing interests that are held for the landscape by other actors.

Furthermore, Borras and Franco (2013) explores the various reactions to large-scale land deals and outline some trends in strategies through which opposition is formed. As White et al. (2012), they describe how governments have increasingly taken on the task of facilitating for investors' search for capital accumulation. In the resistance towards this, they argue that a recurring element in people's mobilization is to divide state officials into categories, where one is regarded corrupt, uninterested or unjust, and one is pleaded to for support (Borras and Franco, 2013). But mainly, Borras and Franco (2013) as well as Borras et al. (2011) emphasizes the wide range of reactions that may occur and criticizes earlier literature for making unsupported assumptions that people will always react in certain ways and mobilize resistance in clear patterns. They call for nuanced evaluations of the various mechanisms and responses to large-scale land deals. Although this literature is mainly focused on the global south, the trends they identify are relevant for noticing similarities as well as differences to the case studied here.

Accumulation by dispossession and the global land rush

Crises narratives, and the assumption that resource extraction is the solution to these crises, legitimize large-scale land deals and land rush. Moreover, underlying political-economic structures also create incentives and opportunities for different actors to engage in these processes. Therefore, these authors draw on David Harvey's general theories on the spatiality of capitalist development (Harvey, n.d.), specifically on the theme of accumulation by dispossession (White et al., 2012). In broad terms, accumulation by dispossession explains how capital, though appropriation of land and resources, opens for new possibilities for capital accumulation. In this process, public assets or areas of land become concentrated under the control of a few, which can continuously profit from this land or resource (Harvey, 2003). This is according to Harvey facilitated by four practices; privatization, financialization, management and manipulation of crises, and state redistribution (Harvey, 2003). White et al. (2012) see these practices as a basis for the land rush and argue that processes of privatization and financialization are prerequisites for large-scale land deals. Land investments are furthermore justified by the discursive emphasis on multiple crises, as well as facilitated by the state through its support in capitalist interests and investments (White et al., 2012).

The case studied here though, is not a classical case in which accumulation by dispossession takes place. For instance, the landscape is already privatized, and owned and cultivated by people who belong to a global upper class. And the area in which this case takes place is not previously non-capitalistic, but merely inherits other forms of capitalist production. This also entails that they might have larger opportunities to resist dispossession. Despite this, certain aspects of accumulation by dispossession, about how the spatiality of capitalist development fuel and facilitate for processes of accumulation and land rush, are still applicable in this case. Accumulation by dispossession, with an awareness of the context of this case, thus explains incentives as well as underlying economic processes that influences the geographical redistribution of capitalist interests. Additionally, Harvey's theories are also a basis in Mitchells conceptualization of landscape, and therefore important in the understanding of these theories.

Similar cases and the role of the state

As for other literature on responses to these kinds of projects, Anshelm et al.:s (2018) article on the resistance towards a planned quarry in the Ojnare Forest in Sweden covers a similar case. Their article discusses how people have succeeded in the resistance towards a proposed

quarry on Gotland through effective politicization. This paper examines a similar case, but instead of looking at the causes for effective resistance, it searches for the reasons for resistance; the competing interests and struggles over the landscape. But alike the article by Anshelm et al, this thesis also emphasizes the role of the state as a facilitator, due to deregulation and liberalization of the mineral industry in general, and the prospecting process in particular (Anshelm et al., 2018). Anshelm et al. argues that neoliberalizing measures has been continuously implemented since the mineral law's implementation in the 1990s, including "the facilitation of natural resource extraction through privatization, lowering of taxes, and easing of environmental regulation" (Anshelm et al., 2018, p 207). They argue that in this process, the state has also increasingly taken on the role of enabler, guided by the overall acknowledgement that mining is beneficial and important for the Swedish economy. This is for instance noticeable in the process of prospecting permissions, which is formalized and simple, aiming to increase the incentives for companies to prospect (Anshelm et al., 2018). As a result of the historical importance of the industry, the liberalization of the legislation, and the increasing global prices which has characterized the mineral market in the 21st century (Haikola and Anshelm, 2016), Sweden is a leading mining country in Europe, with large production and export (SGU, n.d.[4]; Tillväxtanalys, 2016; Haikola and Anshelm, 2016). The consequences of this are studied in this paper in the form of struggles over the landscape in south-east Skåne.

The production of landscape

To understand the struggles over the landscape in the studied case, and how they are manifested in the landscape of south-east Skåne, this paragraph will elaborate on theories of the production of landscape, mainly derived from Don Mitchells texts. Firstly, I will formulate the assumptions this thesis takes regarding what the landscape is, what constitutes it, and how it is produced. Explaining what we mean when we talk about landscape, what it is, means and constitutes, helps in understanding what can change or maintain the landscape as it is and is seen. Thereafter, three characteristics, or notions of the production of landscape will be particularly important; landscape inertia, landscape as contextual, and lastly, how the tension between these characteristics results in struggles over the landscape. Landscape inertia refers to how, why and by whom landscape is remained, which are processes that takes place on a material as well as a representational level. Landscape as contextual is based on Mitchells statement that landscape is never local (Mitchell, 2008, p 39), but instead a node in a network of different places and scales, as well as global economies and power structures.

And lastly, struggles over the landscape explains how conflicts arise as the current form of the landscape is contested through other interests, needs or agendas. These three notions of landscape are interrelated through processes of change as well as resistance towards change. And through the constant renegotiation of what the landscape is and is supposed to be, landscape is produced. The struggles over the landscape that will be studied, are thus struggles over the production of landscape. This framework of the production of landscape will act as a basis for analyzing and concretizing the struggles that emerge due to ScandiVanadium's prospecting permission, and how these struggles are manifested in the landscape of south-east Skåne.

Mitchell writes that "the landscape is a concretization or reification of the social relations that go into its making" (Mitchell, 2003, p 240). Social relations shape the landscape, and these social processes are mainly affected by the relations of production. Public and individual interests shape and define the landscape, but in a capitalist society, these processes are always contested against commodity production (Mitchell, 2008). For this reason, the landscape is always functional, structured as it is for practical reasons of capital development. The landscape is either directly making money or structured as a basis where processes of capital accumulation can take place. Landscapes are sites of investments but are simultaneously produced through investment into them (Mitchell, 2008). The built landscape is also organized to facilitate that capital, in the form of e.g. goods or money, can circulate in that landscape. Through these processes, Mitchell argues, landscape is produced and actively made and renegotiated. Any landscape is therefore an intervention, or a commodity, which is reproduced and maintained by the social relations that constitute it (Mitchell, 2008; Mitchell 2003; Mitchell, 2005).

Despite this, Mitchell argues that landscapes are often falsely understood as fluid, spaces of flows, and sites for renegotiation. Although the processes taking place in the landscape, and thus the landscape itself, is constantly renegotiated and changing, Mitchell argues that the landscape also has an inherent inertia, since the social relations that constitute it are persistent (Mitchell, 2003). He states that "people work very hard to maintain, to reproduce, the already existent landscape" (Mitchell, 2005, p 51). The landscape is constantly subject to change, but the underlying processes are still persistent. Because of that, key questions to ask are how and why and by whom it is remained. Since landscapes are created by the social and cultural relations existing within it, people living in and constituting the landscape identify with what the landscape is. The values, structures and meanings that the landscape carry is then also regarded to be what the landscape is supposed to be. Mitchell argues that this

identification that people form with the landscape therefore tend to result in defending the current form of it from other interests or agendas (Mitchell, 2005). This process takes place on two levels, a material, setting the boundaries for what exists, and a representational, defining what is regarded as suitable to exist, both on which structures of power are operating. This is explained through that the landscape is "an expression of power(…), an expression of who has the power to define the meanings that are to be read into and out of the landscape, and, of course, to determine just what will exist in (and as) the landscape." (Mitchell, 2008, p 43). The representation of landscape is thus a manifestation of power, of who has won the struggle over meaning (Mitchell, 2008). Therefore, it is a site where power is constantly operating, as well as manifested through the prevailing meaning of the landscape.

Furthermore, the culture, lives and labor in a landscape is not isolated, but is influenced both by other geographical places, and other scales where processes and structures of culture and power takes place (Mitchell, 2005). Therefore, "no landscape is local" (Mitchell, 2012, p 96). Mitchell argues that what is produced in one landscape, stands in close relation to what is produced and sold for profit in other landscapes (Mitchell, 2008). As such, the labour that exists in one area depends on what is existing in others. National legislation, processes of capital accumulation, international investments, and global economic processes will also mark the boundaries for the processes taking place in a landscape. Thus, landscape is contextual. Landscapes must be seen in relation to the social processes of wider scales as well as other geographical areas. But as Mitchell also argues, scales are not set and uncontested boundaries in which processes are restricted to take place. Instead, scales are produced, and "processes, relations, and lives operate at multiple scales" (Mitchell, 2012, p 97). Landscapes are thus not localized things, rather nodes in a network, influenced by all these other processes and social relations such as the nearby landscapes, national politics and global economies (Mitchell, 2012). This is by Mitchell referred to as the processes that constitutes the internal relations of a landscape.

These internal relations of a landscape can from the people living there be experienced as external interests and agencies, affecting the landscape in which they live. As these processes are contesting the current social relations which are reproducing and upholding the landscape, struggles over the landscape emerge. Landscape is as stated characterized by inertia; forces trying to keep it as it is due to a perception that the landscape is a localized place, but at the same time characterized by all these other processes and structures of power, which are exercising power over the landscape. The clash of these result in struggles.

Struggles of what the landscape is, what it includes, and what it is supposed to include and mean. Mitchell writes that the "landscape is the history of struggles over its form and its meaning" (Mitchell, 2012, p 398). And in these struggles, people are unevenly able to influence the form and meaning of the landscape. The landscape is a result of how people hold different amounts of power and control to sculpt, structure or protect the landscape (Mitchell, 2012). Furthermore, the social relations uphold the material and representational meaning of the landscape as long as they are reproduced, but they can at any moment be challenged. Thus, "any structures permanence remains permanent only to the degree that it *is* continually reproduced, and hence any moment can become a site of struggle." (Mitchell, 2003, p 240). These three characteristics of landscapes; landscape inertia, landscapes as contextual, and struggles over the form and meaning of landscapes, will be used to understand processes of change and resistance in the case of south-east Skåne.

Methodology

This thesis is based on a case study, as the aim is to understand the processes occurring in the area in depth (Bryman, 2012, p 66). In combination with theories on landscape, this is a basis for investigating how structures of power on different scales are resulting in struggles over the landscape, and how these struggles are manifested in the landscape of south-east Skåne. The study takes on a qualitative character, and conducting interviews is the main method in which data is collected. However, to contextualize this data, secondary information will also be integrated in the analysis, e.g. on the regulatory framework and the development of the mineral industry in Sweden. The interviews provide information about actors and agendas on different scales, but the development of the industry, and the legislation in Sweden, creates historical context and actual prerequisites for the industry, for mining companies, and for people resisting the project. Therefore, secondary sources on this is also included as data, and used in the analysis to draw conclusions on the struggles over the landscape. The data from the interviews and secondary sources are analyzed in relation to the concept of landscape, and the knowledge derived from the interviews is thus constructed in the analysis, rather than collected as raw data and presented in the thesis. As for the epistemological standpoint, this means that this paper adopts a more interpretive approach, where knowledge is produced through the processing of information (Bryman, 2012, p 27-30).

At the same time, the processes of change and resistance which I aim to report on has a material basis. In accordance witch Mitchell's theories on the production of landscape, economic structures and processes forms the social relations of production, which in turn is manifested in the landscape. What the landscape is, constitutes, and the meanings asserted to it are constantly challenged and changed or remained. Moreover, the struggles over the landscape are taking place on both a material and a representational level and the meanings that are placed upon the landscape by different actors are therefore also recognized as important for the struggles that take place there. This study thus takes its basis in material factors and social relations that are persistent in some sense, although challenged as new interests and actors are establishing in the landscape.

Furthermore, the qualitative approach of this study poses methodological limitations. Interviews is always an account for people's perceptions of a situation, which makes it difficult to transfer the results of this study to other cases. This is partly approached with the secondary material, to validate the information. But also, this study does not aim to create

generalizability, but investigates a specific case. However, certain points about how localized places are influenced by processes and actors on other places and scales can potentially be transferred and used on similar cases as well.

Sampling and selection

For the interviews, purposive sampling was used. The sampling was guided by the research question, and the interviewees were selected to in combination provide a breadth of perspectives and thoughts about the project and its implications on the landscape (Bryman, 2012, p 418). Furthermore, the aim was also to reach interviewees that had information about different scales that influence and are influenced by these struggles. From an idea about the importance of this type of projects in general, to a local perception about the personal experiences of the project. The sampling areas are therefore the different perspectives of the conflict, as well as the different scales that affect and are affected by it. As I started reaching out to people and conducting interviews, I got a clearer picture of the actors that existed, and a couple of interviewees were added along the way. In that way, a snowball sampling was somewhat adopted (Bryman, 2012, p 203). In the beginning, longer interviews were the goal, to provide depth into the perspectives, and how people experience struggles over the landscape in relation to the case. As the interviews progressed, I assessed phone interviews to be acceptable despite the potential loss of quality which it entails (Bryman, 2012). This was both due to my perception of the process getting clearer, and the time frame. The aim was not to give a total representation of the perspectives that exists, but rather to draw on some major themes of struggles that emerge.

In the selection, two major sides were first identified; those against the project and those in favor of it, or neutral towards it. As for those resisting the plans, the protest network VetoNu was first contacted. They also acted as gatekeepers (Bryman, 2012), putting me in contact with landowners in Lyby, where the initial drilling was executed. These actors were interviewed as they could give insight into the conflicts arising in this area, and the perspectives of people resisting the project. I got in touch with five landowners in Lyby through VetoNu, met two couples in person in Hörby, and e-mailed questioned to the other three. Two of these responded, and one did not. For gaining insight into the views of the affected municipalities, I spoke to one municipal officer from Hörby municipality, who handled the case of the drilling in Lyby, and one local politician from Simrishamn, who is chairman of the planning committee and active in the Centre Party. The former had a formal engagement in the process, being employed at a governmental authority, and tested the

company's application against the legislation. The latter had clear opinions against the project and was trying to raise awareness about the injustice of the case and the mineral law. These interviewees thus had different approaches, but both from the scale of the municipality. In all these interviews, the one landowner in Lyby who had granted access to the company to drill on his land came up as a topic. Therefore, he was also contacted and interviewed, as the municipality officer could give me the contact information. On the scale of the region, I spoke to a representative from the county administration office in Skåne, to get an idea about the general strategies for the landscape, and how this might conflict with the interests of a mineral company. Lastly, the CEO of ScandiVanadium and a representative from Svemin, the industry organization for mines, mineral- and metal producers in Sweden, was interviewed. ScandiVanadium was approached to get their perspective on the project, the responses towards it, as well as the accessibility or resistance they experienced in the process. Svemin, in which ScandiVanadium is a member (Svemin, 2019), was interviewed to gain insight into why these types of projects are considered important in general. From both interviews, the aim was also to gain insight into potential trends of the mining industry, as a result of discourses of green transitions in Sweden as well as internationally. Additionally, I reached out to the mining inspectorate and to the Hörby branch of the federation of Swedish Farmers (LRF) but got no reply. This poses a potential limitation to the study, which I tried to bridge. To compensate for the missed interview with LRF, I reached out to the county administration which were perceived to have a similar overview of the importance of agriculture in Skåne. As for the mining inspectorate however, the other interviews could not compensate for that loss of information, and I instead approached this through attaining information from secondary sources. All conducted interviews are listed here in table 1.

Table 1: The conducted interviews

Interview:	Who?	When?	How and where?	How long?	Notes?
A	Protest network Veto Nu. 2 people, both board members in the network	26/11	Meeting at café, Malmö	2 hours	Took interview notes.
B	Chairman of the planning committee and local politician in Simrishamn for the Centre Party.	27/11	Meeting at sports center, Malmö	40 minutes	Recorded and transcribed.

C	Hörby municipality. Person involved in the drilling in Lyby	4/12	Meeting at the municipality's office, Hörby	30 minutes	Recorded and transcribed.
D	Landowners Lyby 1, 2 people	4/12	Meeting at café, Hörby	45 minutes	Recorded and transcribed.
E	Landowners Lyby 2, 2 people	4/12	Meeting at their house, Lyby	2 hours	Took interview notes.
F	Landowner Lyby 3	5/12	Answered questions via e-mail	-	E-mail
G	Landowners Lyby 4, 2 people	7/12	Answered questions via e-mail	-	E-mail
H	Representative from Svemin	11/12	Meeting at Svemin's office, Stockholm	50 minutes	Recorded
I	CEO ScandiVanadium	11/12	Phone interview	1 hour	Recorded and transcribed
J	Representative from the County administration office in Skåne	12/12	Phone interview	45 minutes	Recorded
K	Landowner Lyby who granted access to ScandiVanadium	12/12	Phone interview	15 minutes	Recorded

Developing an interview guide and conducting the interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted, except for in interview F and G where the questions were sent to the interviewees. Since the aim was to understand the different perspectives and conflicts surrounding the project, I wanted to keep an open mind towards the themes and topics that could emerge. Thus, structured interviews or questionnaires was ruled out. The semi-structured approach aimed to keep the conversation going and stay somewhat on topic. In constructing the interview guide, there were two blocks of questions for each participant. The first are questions of a more factual kind (Valentine, 2005), which were asked to all participants, in general aiming to cover their view of what is going on in the

area; the process and timeline of the project. This was both to see if there were differences in these perceptions, but mainly to start a conversation and understand the process. The second part is more customized in relation to the interviewee, to get an in-depth understanding of which struggles that exist in relation to the case, and how these are manifested in the landscape. To cover as many angles as possible, the interview guide includes both descriptive, structural and thoughtful questions (Valentine, 2005). Descriptive questions to gain information about the activities occurring in the area, structural questions about when and how these processes take place, and thoughtful questions about the feelings and opinions people hold, and the meaning they give to the landscape and the area (Valentine, 2005).

Additionally, questions about the participants connection to the case and area was also included, as background information to be able to contextualize the answers in the analysis (Bryman, 2012, p 473). This is particularly relevant in this case, since the respondents are purposively sampled to represent different perspectives of the case. In line with Valentines (2005) arguing that interviews should be introduced with open-ended, factual questions that encourages the interviewees to speak freely, these questions of background information were generally left to the end of the interview (Valentine, 2005).

The themes and questions for the interview guide were derived from my aim and research questions. The overall aim of the thesis is to understand struggles over the landscape, and this was the theme from which smaller questions were developed. These were then cross-referenced against the overall questions and aim, to make sure all questions were relevant in understanding struggles over the landscape (Cloke et al., 2004). As a next step, the questions were loosely grouped into themes, aiming to form a structure and a checklist to follow during the interviews (Cloke et al., 2004). Lastly, these themes were structured in an order to create a flow in the conversation, with similar topics standing in relation to each other, but also placing the potentially difficult or sensitive questions in the middle of the interview. This structure aims to start the interview with simpler questions, as well as ending it on a positive note (Valentine, 2005, p 119-120). Interview guide A is found in the appendix to exemplify the general structure and questions.

Lastly, the setting and note taking for the interviews varied. I offered the participants to choose location, for them to feel comfortable. On my choosing, I picked locations that were public but hopefully quiet. 7 of the 11 interviews were recorded. 2 interviewees answered questions via e-mail, and in the last 2 interviews I took notes. This was in interview A since the participants did not want to be recorded, and in interview E because I deemed it to be

too difficult since they picked me up in their car and we talked about the topics more loosely during my 2 hour visit at their home. For the recorded interviews, I transcribed 3, and took interview notes from the audio recordings in the other 4. This was mainly because of the limited time, but also since the material was not coded, but analyzed qualitatively. Also, the interviews which were only partly transcribed were those that gave less new information, and more filled in on topics which had already emerged during earlier interviews. In this way, I could draw on general themes from all interviews, and go back to the audio recordings for specific quotes. Except for the interview with the CEO of ScandiVanadium, all interviews were held in Swedish, and the quotes are therefore translated.

Contextualizing the interviews and analyzing the data

As stated, the analysis builds on two pieces of material. The interviews are the main source of information, but information from secondary sources is incorporated as well since these both feed into the broader analysis of what is happening in the landscape. This is to contextualize the topics derived from the interviews and understand the processes accurately, and in depth. It also compensates for potential biases that the interviewees might have, ensuring that the processes are understood correctly. The secondary sources of information are however also cultural products, reflecting the perspectives of the institutions or persons who created them (Clark, G., 2005, p 69). Questions regarding the processes in south-east Skåne was therefore asked to several of the interviewees, as well as checked towards secondary data. The combination of two pieces of material thus aims to assure validity as well as capture the different aspects of the case. Secondary sources mainly comprise information about the legislative framework, trends in climate policies, and Sweden's position as a mining country.

The analysis is structured to understand how processes on different scales interact with each other and seeps down into the material landscape, resulting in struggles over that landscape. From a broad scale investigating the capital interests and related discourses, to the local perceptions and desires for the material as well as representational landscape by people living there. To clarify the analysis, this is presented like separate scales, but as emphasized above, and in accordance with Mitchell's view on landscapes as contextual, different scales and places always interact with each other (Mitchell, 2012; Mitchell, 2008), making this distinction merely a tool for understanding the struggles over the landscape in south-east Skåne.

These scales were also used to categorize the data from the interviews. The interviews were not coded according to strict schemes, since the aim is to outline general themes of struggles, and unbox the material interests that different actors hold for the landscape. Instead, the interview material was approached thematically, paying attention to the themes of different actors, interests and the potential conflicts between these. Topics, themes and quotes from the interviews were categorized into the different scales which emerged as relevant for understanding the case. Thus, the interview material was not categorized into the scales based on the interviewee's position and role, but all interviews could feed into all scales, depending on the topics discussed. This is also in line with Mitchell's arguing that scales are produced, and that processes, relations and lives are not exclusively taking place in one scale, but in several (Mitchell, 2012, p 97). Since 11 interviews were conducted, on almost 9 hours in total, a lot of data also had to be left out of the analysis. In this selection of data, the theories and aim of this paper were guiding, as this study aims to connect theories on landscape with material from a sample of interviewees. In general, I aim to be transparent in the observations made and how those observations are connected to theory. The categorizing of themes into scales is to make possible a multi-scalar analysis of the material interests that different actors hold for the landscape. The categorizing is thus part of the analysis, in which theory on landscape is connected to the material. The interview material is then understood in relation to data from secondary sources, which was similarly categorized into the different scales. In combination, this material feeds into the broader analysis of what is going on in the landscape, and how this is to be understood in relation to economic, social and political processes on multiple scales.

The research questions are discussed and answered through this categorization into different scales. The analysis aims to investigate the different competing agendas and material interests that exists, how these processes on multiple scales are seeping down into struggles over the landscape, and how the struggles are manifested in the landscape of south-east Skåne.

Processes of change and resistance in south-east Skåne

As stated, the analysis is structured through separate scales in which the material is categorized and contextualized to unfold the struggles over the landscape. Mitchell's approach to landscapes as contextual is partly what motivates this structure, and therefore seep through the analysis. Furthermore, the multi-scalar processes of change and resistance are understood in relation to landscape inertia, landscapes as contextual, and struggles over the landscape. These three characteristics of landscape are interrelated through processes of change and resistance. The five scales that were assumed for the analysis are the international, the national, the regional, the municipal, and lastly the scale of the local landowners.

The international scale: The mineral industry and the green transition

The issues of climate crisis and its potential solutions are increasingly integrated in all socio-political spheres internationally, and that goes for the mineral industry as well. David Minchin, the CEO of ScandiVanadium, states that:

> we, or certainly I, understand that there is a climate crisis, and we need to do something about it. (…) This is a crisis where we all have to do something. And it is not good enough to close your eyes and say that there are other things available that does not have to be done here. It has to be done everywhere (interview I).

According to the representative from Svemin, two parallel trends are noticeable in the industry as a result of this. First, the efforts of the mining companies to automate and electrify to decrease the emissions, and secondly, an increasing demand for new minerals that are vital in green technology (interview H). This second trend is the focus of this paper, and it stands in close relationship with a need for energy storage. The IPCC (2014[2]) states in their latest assessment report that the energy supply sector is the largest contributor to greenhouse gas emissions globally. In lessening these, decarbonizing the production of electricity is a key component, wherein the three strategies of renewable energy sources, nuclear power, and carbon capture and storage (CCS) are said to be the main legs. Within the strategy of renewable energy, solar, wind and hydro power are the leading forms of electricity production (IPCC, 2014[2], p 20-21). As the production of electricity from wind and solar is driven by the weather, and therefore vary more randomly than the burning of fossil fuels which can produce electricity at any time, storage of electricity is necessary for system balancing. In the

shift away from fossil fuels and towards renewable energy, there is thus a need to increase the capacity to store electricity. One potential technology for electricity storage are batteries (IPCC, 2014[1], p 533). According to the IPCC (2014[1]), the usage of batteries for large-scale electricity storage is not widespread today, due to high costs, but it is argued that these costs will decline as technology within the field develops (IPCC, 2014[1], p 534). Minchin agrees to this, and states that:

> if we are going to do something about climate change, if we are going to accept that there is a crisis and that we actually need to do something to get to net zero, rather than just talk about it, (…) we're going to need to store energy (Interview I).

Additionally, Minchin argues that Vanadium batteries are the best alternative: "there are lots of different technologies available, but this is the most advanced and most adaptable" (interview I). The former CEO of Svemin similarly argued in a debate article from 2019 that the prospecting for vanadium in Skåne is part of the solution in a green transition of society (Ahl, 2019, online). According to Minchin, this was the reason for the founding of ScandiVanadium as he and his co-founder Alex Walker was searching for a Vanadium project globally, due to an interest in these technologies (Interview I). As noted on their website:

> ScandiVanadium was founded with the intent of providing high quality Vanadium to the world from a clean, ethical and reliable source. We believe passionately in the capacity for technology to combat climate change and are committed to the principles of sustainability when developing our projects (ScandiVanadium, n.d.[1], online).

Furthermore, Minchin argues that there is a lack of raw materials for these technologies within Europe, and a demand for the extraction and production of these metals to grow (interview I). Similarly, the representative from Svemin discussed how the demand for certain metals increases, but that there is a weak supply of these minerals within the EU (interview H). This concern of a lack of supply is concretized in the EU:s list of critical raw materials (CRM). The list, first established in 2011, identifies CRMs which are regarded economically important, and with a large supply risk. The supply risk means a risk that the availability is unstable, or the price can be quickly increased, and is thus connected with if the production is concentrated within few countries (SGU, 2014). The list aims to raise awareness of the importance of the materials, ensure access of these raw materials and reduce the degree of import dependency. It also aims to "stimulate the production of CRMs by enhancing new

mining and recycling activities in the EU" (European Commission, n.d., online). It is stated that these materials are necessary in the development and expansion of clean technologies, and that the raw materials are irreplaceable in several technologies, such as solar panels, wind turbines and electric cars (European Commission, n.d.). In interview H, the representative from Svemin also argues that it is concerning that new minerals are continuously added to the list of CRMs, and that this indicates that the situation is worsening (interview H). Since the updated list in 2017, Vanadium is one of the raw materials included in the strategy (European Commission, n.d.). According to ScandiVanadium, the global access to Vanadium has decreased during the last couple of years due to policy changes in China which is one of the main producers internationally today (ScandiVanadium, n.d.[2]). The encouragements to increase the production within Europe thus points out how landscapes are contextual through that the production in one landscape always stands in relation to what is produced, or not produced, in others (Mitchell, 2008). ScandiVanadium's exploration permission for Vanadium, and the conflicts it has stirred, also visualizes how these multi-scalar processes seeps down into struggles over the landscape.

Furthermore, as the opportunities for profit are shifting to new minerals, new types and areas for capital accumulation are opened. Svemin's representative says that there has not existed a financial interest in extracting these minerals before (interview H). But as a result of the increasing demand, the economic incentives to search for these minerals are also increasing. Also, both ScandiVanadium and Svemin witness of that the search for these minerals entails a geographical relocation, or at least an expansion of the mineral industry into new areas and landscapes. This geographical shift was discussed as a trend both globally from the south to the north, and nationally as a shift from northern to southern Sweden. In the interviews, two reasons for this emerged. First, the argument that it is more sustainable to mine in the global north. Ahl (2019) states that extraction of battery minerals in Sweden is environmentally and socially safer than the mining in China, Russia, Congo or South Africa, where the minerals are mainly mined today (Ahl, 2019). This line of argumentation is also reoccurring in the interviews with Svemin as well as with ScandiVanadium. Minchin argues that there is a need for a larger interest in the life cycle of products, and he says that:

> Everyone wants an electric car, but they don't care that the Cobalt is being dug by child labor in the DRC, as long as it is not being dug from their own neighborhood (Interview I).

In interview H, the representative from Svemin also argues that the awareness of the unsustainable ways of extraction is increasing, and that the extraction needs to be sustainable,

both environmentally, socially and economically, regardless if the extraction takes place within or outside the EU (interview H).

As the second explanation for this geographical shift, both ScandiVanadium and Svemin argues that these minerals, at least partly, exist in new places and landscapes than those traditionally mined. According to them, this means that the incentives to mine for new minerals are leading the mineral industry into new areas are landscapes, which are often less used to the processes of prospecting and mining. Minchin argues:

> What you find is that different geologies concentrate different elements. And most often, these new technology minerals are not found in the same places as the old technology minerals are. The geological processes that concentrate iron and nickel, don't concentrate Lithium and Vanadium. (...) They are all found in different places in different ways. So yes, the search for new technology minerals is leading exploration into areas where exploration has not happened before. And that is causing a lot of conflict (interview I).

Similarly, Svemin's representative argues that:

> there are geological variations in the landscape. And several of these metals and minerals are perhaps not found in the same areas where we have traditionally mined for the more common metals. Therefore, new areas where they are not used to this, with new conflicts, are in question. And Skåne is a prime example of the other types of conflicts that can emerge (Interview H).

Consequently, due to impending climate crisis, and the narratives of mineral extraction as a solution to this crisis, there is a call for a rapid expansion of the renewable energy production. This increases the economic incentives to explore for new minerals, which opens for new opportunities for capital accumulation through resource extraction. This process also reflects the trend outlined by White et al. (2012), that large-scale land investments with environmental targets are increasing. As a result of this, there are trends in the mining industry to search for new types of minerals, so called "battery-minerals", which to some point exists in new places and landscapes than where minerals traditionally have been mined. The geographical expansion leads to new conflicts of interests in new places. This process is exemplified and concretized in the case of ScandiVanadium's prospecting in south-east Skåne, where an international company with a green profile gains exploration permission to large areas which are somewhat unused to mining.

The national scale: Legislative framework

On a Swedish scale, the prospecting for and extraction of critical raw materials is also encouraged. In a report from 2013, SGU outlines a list compromising which minerals are considered critical in a Swedish context. Vanadium is included as a critical material, and at the same time listed as a raw material with high potentials for extraction and recycling in Sweden (SGU, 2014, p 5). To encourage this, the Swedish Authority for Growth Policy Evaluations and Analyzes has also reported on strategies for how the state can act to promote investments in the extraction of such minerals (Tillväxtanalys, 2018). Parallel to this are processes in Sweden of the mineral industry shifting from mainly compromising iron ore, towards a larger share of the production being focused on other metals (see Figure 2). This shift in the proportions of different types of minerals was radically amplified just before 2010. With a basis in the discussion by White et al. (2012) on how large-scale land investments are justified by crises, this could also show signs of resource extraction as a response to crisis, since there are clear peaks after the financial crisis of 2007-2008.

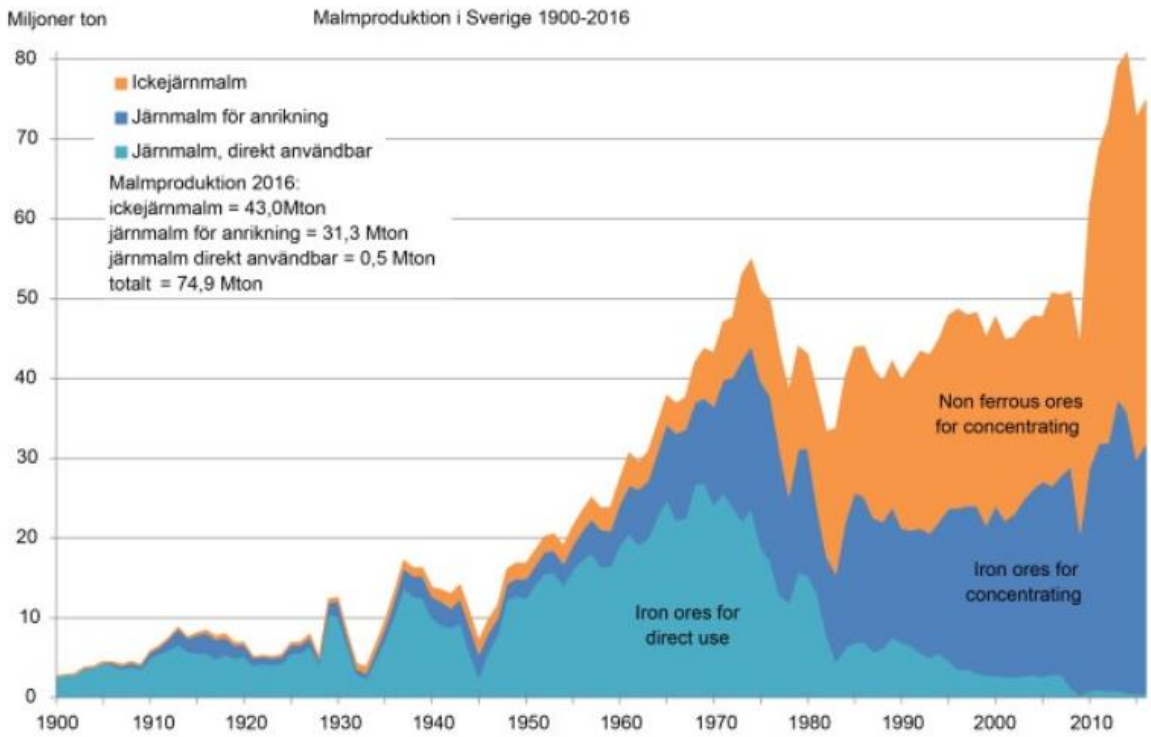

Figure 2: The Ore Production in Sweden 1900-2016.
Source: SGU[3]

But although encouraged on a national scale, the prerequisites for prospecting and extraction, and the power that the companies have, are determined by the legislation that sets the frames in which the companies act. The legislation also sets the frames for who has a say in the process, and the opportunities for resistance towards the mining projects. As mentioned above, the legislation in Sweden has been liberalized and re-regulated continuously since the 1990s (Anshelm et al., 2018). The exploration and prospecting, which are the first steps in the process of starting new mines, was governmentally subsidized until 1991, when it was instead placed on private actors. This decision was due to the resource intensive and high-risk character of such projects, which was considered too risky to be financed with governmental funds (Bergsstaten, n.d.[2]). As a result, the mineral law was developed in its current form, to create incentives for companies to prospect despite the risks and costs of the process. The mineral law regulates the so-called concession minerals, meaning minerals that are regarded especially necessary for society which are not generally available in mineable concentrations, but must be explored through prospecting. E.g. sand, gravel or limestone are not included, since there are large quantities to be found easily. Apart from these, most minerals currently mined in Sweden are included in the category, Vanadium being one (Minerallagen SFS 1991:45). While prospecting for these concession minerals was governmentally supported, the prospecting in Sweden was at max conducted at a cost of 175 million SEK in 1985. Since the re-regulation, the prospecting has multiplied, with the peak in 2011 on almost 800 million SEK (Bergsstaten, n.d.[2]).

These trends, combined with a longer history of the industry being economically important, has led to Sweden being a well-established mining country internationally. It is considered accessible for international investors, e.g. by the liberal think-tank Fraser Institute, which has long ranked Sweden as one of the most advantageous countries for mining investments (Fraser Institute, 2015, p 2 and 17), based on a study of the jurisdiction and interviews with the industry. Similarly, the Swedish Authority for Growth Policy Evaluations and Analyzes assesses the overall attractiveness to be high, due to low taxes and beneficial legislation (Tillväxtanalys, 2016). In 2013 Sweden's mineral strategy was also established, aiming to maintain and strengthen Sweden's position as a mining country, through increasing the competitiveness of the industry, and further facilitate for international mining investments in Sweden (Government offices of Sweden, 2013; Haikola and Anshelm, 2016).

As for the regulatory process, the mining inspectorate in Sweden is the instance granting permissions for prospecting. This permission gives the company exclusive rights to explore

and extract minerals at a set time frame of initially 3 years, which can be extended to up to 15 years (Bergsstaten, n.d.[2]). It also grants them permission to enter and explore the areas without the permission of the landowner. For drilling, the company needs to submit working plans to the landowner and municipality. In this step, the working plans sent to the municipality acts more like a notification (interview C). The municipality tests the plans against the environmental code, and unless it is conflicting with these regulations, they must grant it. There are thus parallel juridical processes, in relation to both the mineral law and the environmental code (see Table 2). If either the municipality or the landowner denies the working plan, the company can appeal against this, first to the county administration, and later to the mining inspectorate if the decision stands. If the company is given approval from the inspectorate, they can begin drilling without the permission of the landowner and municipality. Thus, the working plan must either be granted by the landowner and pass the requirements for notification at the municipality or be granted by the mining inspectorate. In this early stage, the county administration mainly acts as an advisor in the mining inspectorate and the municipality's decisions (interview J). In later stages, the county administration plays a larger part, if the company decides to proceed the plans to extract minerals (interview J; Bergsstaten, n.d.[3]).

If the company finds minerals worth extracting in the exploration process, the next step is exploitation concession, which gives the company exclusive right to extract the minerals found, first for 25 years but with the chance for prolonged access (Bergsstaten, n.d.[2]). But the regulations and authorities in the stage of exploitation permits are not addressed further here, since the case of ScandiVanadium is still in the stage of prospecting.

Table 2: The parallel legislative processes in establishing a mine.
Source: author's own elaboration based on presentation by VetoNu.

The mineral law	**The environmental code**
1: Exploration permission. 3-15 years. Given by the mining inspectorate.	-
2: Working plans to the landowner and municipality.	The municipality is noticed and tests the working plans against the environmental code.
3: Exploitation concession.	In this stage, the Land and Environmental court must also grant the permission

In discussing this process, Minchin argued that the application of law has developed towards being more unreliable (interview I), but still agrees to the view of Sweden being an attractive alternative. When speaking to investors and advisors in the search for a project, they argued that:

> for great infrastructure you would much rather go for something Swedish than something Chinese. Because it has got a reputation for reliability, (…) and you get the support from European customers of having European production (interview I).

On a Swedish scale, Minchin also fills in on the argumentation that extraction should take place in certain areas due to sustainability arguments and says that "doing work in Sweden is probably the greenest place to extract from, because of the regulations which are already in place" (interview I). From the opposite perspective, this understanding of the liberal regulation of the industry was a large part of the concern in the interviews with people resisting the project. The protest network stated that they had two separate front lines, where one was to resist the drilling in their landscape, and the other was to change the politics, and how the mineral law is designed in favor of the companies (interview A). In interview B, the local politician in Simrishamn said that there were worried about the wider implication that the outcome of this case could have:

> If they win here, then it's just a green light in other areas. It becomes a precedent, if they decide that this is more important for society in the long run, then preserving the nature and other values (interview B).

Hence, the prospecting and extraction of e.g. Vanadium is encouraged also in a Swedish context. But the prerequisites for the industry, and for the resistance, is set by the legislation. The legislation in Sweden is designed to attract investments, particularly in the process of prospecting since the governmental subsidies for that process was removed in the 1990s. As Anshelm et al. (2018) points out, the state also in this case appears as facilitator for mineral companies and investments. This is partly what has raised anger among the opponents, how the legislation enables the company to claim land despite the landowner's disagreement and wishes for "their" landscape. South-east Skåne, and the case studied in this paper, is one of the places in which these conflicting objectives are concretized.

The regional scale: Conflicting interests of land use

The concern that the mineral industry is given unjust advantages was by the landowners as well as the protest network largely discussed as a worry that other industries should as a result be less prioritized. This is thus perceived as a conflict of interest in terms of land use by the opponents. Mainly, the agricultural land use was discussed, and the importance of it to the region as well as the nation. Skåne region consists of almost 50% agricultural land, which is approximately 16% of all agricultural land in Sweden (Länsstyrelsen, 2016, p 38). The land is also rated to have a high production capacity, of 8-10 on a scale to 10. According to the environmental code, cultivable land can only be used for other purposes if to meet important interests of society (Länsstyrelsen, 2016). This potential contradiction was a reoccurring theme in the interviews. The protest network VetoNu discussed how the agricultural land in Skåne is very important, both for the region but even on a national scale. They stated that we are dependent on import of food, and at the same time, this project is legitimized with arguments that Sweden should lessen the import dependence of certain minerals. This they mean, results in a conflict in terms of land use, and which land use should be prioritized (interview A). In interview B, the local politician stated that "the largest conflict is the problems regarding the landscape, and the need for agricultural land, those are the main conflicts of interest" (interview B). In these interviews, the interests of the mineral industry and the interests of the agricultural industry were portrayed as in direct conflict, where the expansion of one would be at the expense of the other. And again, this conflict of land use was perceived as skewed to benefit the mineral interests, due to the design of the legislation.

Both agriculture and minerals are statutory interests, but they are regulated by different spheres of legislations. Vanadium, and several other minerals, by the mineral law, while agricultural interests are to be maintained and preserved by the municipalities in their planning of the landscape (Länsstyrelsen, 2016). Thus, in this early stage of the process, the authority which defends the interests of mineral extraction is that which is the decision-making authority. This is one area which has caused conflict and reactions from the opposition. However, neither the county administration or the municipality of Hörby argued that there were any major conflicts or effects in the landscape in this stage of prospecting, although both mentioned that agriculture is very important for the region (interview C; interview J).

Naturally, the stance of ScandiVanadium is also that this is not a problem, but instead a project which would bring major benefits to the region. Minchin discussed how the region can become a "leader in the green revolution", with thousands of jobs as a result (interview

I). According to Minchin, this is because ScandiVanadium's business plan consists of strategies to keep the downstream benefits local and make this a region for green technology. Their plan is not to themselves run the factories and down-stream production, e.g. battery plants. Instead, they plan to lease the Vanadium, rather than to sell it. This is possible, he says, because Vanadium is 100% recyclable (Interview I). Through leasing the Vanadium, he argues they could control where it goes, and keep the downstream production in the region. He furthermore argues that many prerequisites are already in place, such as infrastructure and sustainability focused groups, making the region a potential "hub for a green technology revolution" (interview I). However, both Hörby municipality and the county administration expressed uncertainty in how much a mine would bring to the communities (interview C; interview J). Some of the landowners, as well as the protest network, also expressed a skepticism about the company's agenda of sustainability, and some deemed the discourses of green technology to be merely a business plan, or a sales argument towards the investors (interview A; interview G). The local politician stated that:

> They use the argument that is so popular today. Everything is eco today; cheese, butter, everything. But you can ask yourself if that is really the case, because this has become a sales argument (Interview B).

But regardless of other interests and usages for the landscape, Minchin argues that this place is the optimal place for their project, and that it is thus necessary for the causes of sustainability. When looking for areas for the project, he said that he found geological data from Skåne that reported on 2 to 3 times higher grades of Vanadium than in any other place he had found in the world (interview I). Minchin states that the area of their permission, and its geological prerequisites, are unique. He describes how Vanadium, in a pure form optimal for battery usage, was concentrated in the sediment of the ocean floor in the Baltic sea during the Ordovician period, about 450 million years ago. Over time, this became a layer of stone in the bedrock. Due to the transformation of the earth, and the constant movement of the tectonic plates, this layer is not horizontal in the bedrock, but lies wryly in the ground. The less distance it is from the surface to the rock, the less costly the extraction. Where this layer of rock meets the ground surface, will be the cheapest place to find and mine the minerals. Minchin has identified south-east Skåne, and the area of their permissions, to be where these meets (interview I). Therefore, according to Minchin, the geology of south-east Skåne constitutes a unique opportunity to mine for Vanadium to cheap costs.

> The main, and indeed the only reason to go to Österlen for exploration is because of the geology. And the unfortunate thing about geology is that rocks are always where rocks are, and never where you want them to be. If this was in the desert it would be much easier for me (interview I).

At the regional level, this is thus perceived as a conflict of interest in terms of land use, principally in relation to agricultural land use. Again, there are concerns among the interviewees that the legislation is skewed to promote the mineral industry. But for the company, there is no need for this concern, and the project would instead only be beneficial for the region. More importantly, Minchin argues, is however the unique prerequisites of this area, which makes this location optimal despite the struggles that their project results in, since it is identified as the cheapest place for extraction.

The affected municipalities

As for the regulatory processes in the case of south-east Skåne, ScandiVanadium got permission to prospect in 2018. The minerals stated in the permission are Vanadium, Lead, Iron, Zink, Copper, Gold and Silver. And the municipalities in which the permissions are given are Hörby, Tomelilla, Ystad, Simrishamn, Eslöv, Sjöbo (SGU n.d.[2]). The first sites for drilling were planned in Hörby and Tomelilla municipality. So far, the company has begun and finished the initial drilling in Lyby, just outside Hörby. As the environmental committee in Hörby municipality granted ScandiVanadium's working plan, they gained access to this area, and after one landowner accepted the plans, the drilling started at their land, in Lyby (see Figure 3). In interview C, with the deputy construction and environmental manager at Hörby municipality, she stated that this was not an application for permission, but rather a notification, to which they could set precautions. Also, it was stated that their power was limited, and that "as the legislation looks, we cannot forbid it or say no" (interview C). As for Tomelilla, the process has been slower, which according to the municipal officer in Hörby is due to that the resistance has been louder on Österlen (interview C). Tomelilla municipality has also stated in their comprehensive plan that they are against all prospecting and mining in the municipality (Tomelilla municipality, 2018, p 170). In comparison, Hörby municipality states in their comprehensive plan that they take a stance against mineral exploitation, but that it is up to the mining inspectorate to decide whether the interests of society are to be prioritized over the municipal planning (Hörby municipality, 2016, p 221-222). The environmental committee of the region of Ystad and Österlen, which is the equivalent to the

environmental committee of the municipality, announced in June 2019 that they did not accept the working plan (ScandiVanadium, 2019). Therefore, the company appealed to the county administration in Skåne, which decided to uphold the decision of the environmental committee, denying the working plan. The company has then again appealed, this time to the mining inspectorate, arguing that the environmental committee and county administration has no valid basis to decide against their plans. If the mining inspectorate agrees with this, ScandiVanadium can continue in accordance with the existing working plan, and start drilling in the municipality (ScandiVanadium, 2019).

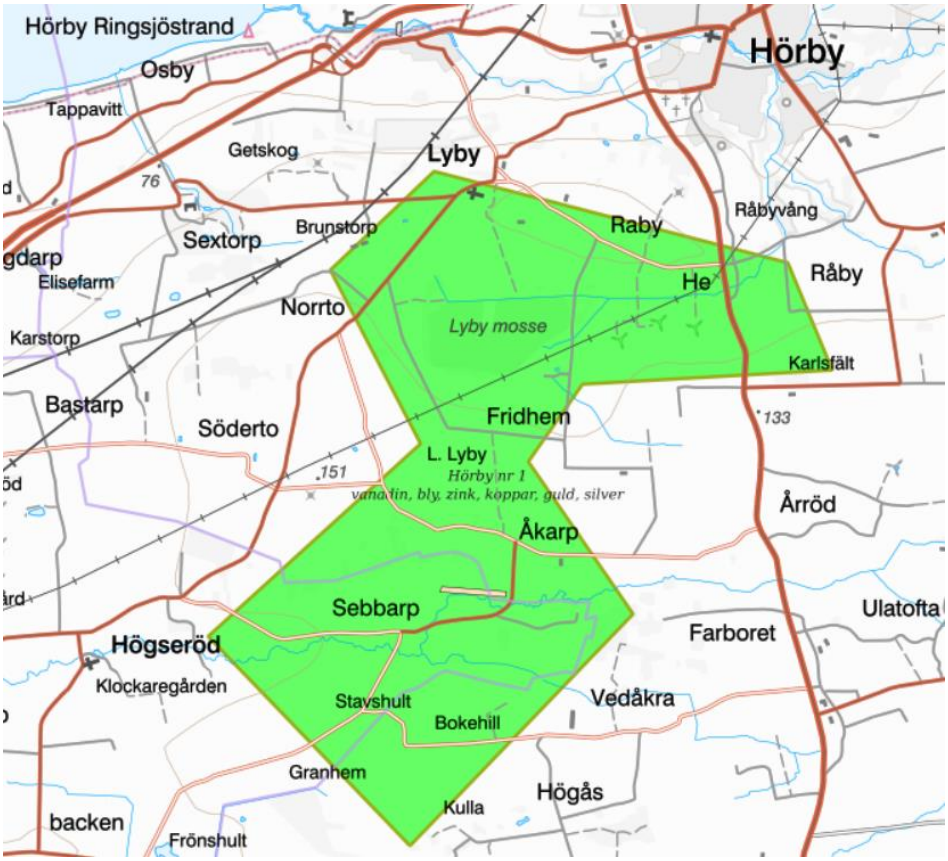

Figure 3: The permission area covering Lyby.
"Lyby mosse" is where the initial drilling took place. Scale: 1:50 000.
Source: SGU, n.d.[2]

Consequently, there has been resistance towards this not only from the individual landowners, but also from the local authorities, which Minchin discussed as a major problem. He argued that there should be larger incentives for the region, and municipalities, to be "excited" about these kinds of projects (interview I). Minchin has a background in exploration projects in African countries and explains how in earlier projects he has worked in, there are established ways in how to get the community positive towards their projects.

However, since the context is different than where he has usually conducted such projects, the company has evaluated different strategies to satisfy the communities, through providing economic advantages for them:

> As you can imagine for someone who has worked in African development and big explorations projects, I got very grand visions for the changes it could make to Österlen and to Skåne. (…) if we were building a mine in Africa, and I've built lots of mines in Africa, you would start with either making a school or a hospital, or something. But in Sweden, everybody has got schools and hospitals (…) what we are thinking to do is to establish a community fund, which would be a profit-sharing instrument. (…) And it would not be an insignificant sum, it would be sort of like in the range of 10s of millions of dollars. So that would be our community fund (interview I).

Here, the company faces the challenge of how to motivate the community, when the context is different from traditional prospecting projects. The industry is introducing its presence in untraditional mining areas, which are also less dependent on their resources, and they are therefore searching for other strategies to make the community positive. As a line of argumentation to get the community on board, the green agenda of the project is reoccurring to get the landowners to accept the plans. The protest network witnesses about this, and told about how in Tomelilla, the founders of the company had made home visits to inform about the project, as well as their personal commitment to environmental questions and sustainability (interview A). According to their view, the company is trying to demand responsibility from the landowners to contribute to the "green revolution". In line with White et al.:s (2012) outlined trend of land investments with environmental targets, this is in this case used by the company as an argument to why the landowners should grant access, and accept the companies plans.

Another line of argumentation is simply how the establishment of a mine would be small and temporary, and thus not intrude a lot on other interests in the landscape. ScandiVanadium discusses how the mine should be 500 times 500 meters large, regarding the planning of location, Minchin states that the large permission area they applied for is to have the options to place a mine where it has the least effect on other activities. He says that they want to "fit something into the landscape" and make it invisible (interview I). After the mine is gone, he claims there to be several opportunities of what the land can be used as.

> afterwards, we have an obligation to restore that land back to another use. And that use can be agriculture, it can be nature reserves, we could landscape a lake

> if people want a lake. There is actually a lot of opportunities that comes from mining, because you are already moving all the land, and you can put it down however you like (Interview I).

Consequently, as the company is establishing in untraditional mining areas, ScandiVanadium has met new forms of resistance. As a result, they are dealing with how to get the community on board. For the municipalities, the company are suggesting a community fund, which would create economic incentives for the municipalities to be in favor of the plans. As for the individuals, the company has pushed their green profile, and urged the landowners to agree to the plans as a way of contributing to the "green revolution".

The landowners: Local experiences of struggles over the landscape

At the local scale, the material interests of different actors are seeping down into struggles over the landscape, which are lived and experienced by the people living there. In trying to understand the conflicts of interests and the struggles over the landscape, three themes emerged, which I outline here. First, how the community has reacted with parallel processes of fragmentation and unity. Secondly, concerns over the potential material as well as representational changes in the landscape, and thirdly, the division into good local and ignorant national authorities and politicians. Additionally, several participants discussed the risks for environmental degradation, especially for poisoned groundwater, but evaluating how accurate or well-founded that concern is, is not the focus for this analysis, and will therefore not be addressed further.

Fragmentation and unity

Several of the landowners in Lyby addressed that this process has united them. They are talking more to each other, sharing information and mobilizing against the prospecting (interview D; interview F). In Lyby, a local protest network, "Lyby against mines" was formed, and in Tomelilla, the affected landowners addressed all communication from the company together, to make sure they were a coherent front (interview A). The protest network VetoNu is a platform under which many unite. The protest network has a background in a similar project in 2009, where they were active against Shell that wanted to drill for natural gas, and several of the front members are the same as in 2009. Since many of the front persons in the network has a high socio-economic status, with one being a Count

from an old aristocratic family and one being the abbess of a local monastery, it could be implied that it is a platform with large resources, resources to loudly resist both changes in the landscape, and potential dispossession. When asked about the resistance, and specifically talking about VetoNu, Minchin mentioned this, and stated that:

> I definitely feel like the underdog in this fight. It's me and Alex standing up against the aristocracy and the church (laugh) (Interview I).

However, ScandiVanadium is an international company with the ability to mobilize large amounts of capital, and thus do not lack influence and power. But the resistance is not only directed towards them. As stated, one landowner in Lyby agreed to the plans, which has led to strong reactions in the communities, especially Lyby. This was reoccurring in several of the interviews with landowners, as well with VetoNu. Interviewees D explain that they felt disappointed and irritated when they got the information that one landowner had accepted the plans, in that there was no feeling of solidarity, to jointly resist the prospecting. They argued that if you say yes to this step, you indirectly also accept mining plans in a later stage. Therefore, the resistance was not merely directed towards the company, but also towards the accepting landowner:

> Honestly, it is not just the company we are fighting against, but a landowner as well. And that is disturbing. Is there no empathy? His actions have also led to that we others in the area have united more, against him. And that is sad. We would have liked to avoid that (interview D).

In our interview, the landowner who accepted the plans stated that he and his brother did so since that would have been the outcome regardless. In the case of prospecting, they would only be able to delay it, which they decided not to. He also reported on strong reactions from the neighboring landowners, that people in town had stopped greeting them, and that there were much ugly discussions regarding this on social media (interview K).

In some interviews, this anger was also derived to that he has a weaker connection to the landscape. The landowner who did not obstruct the plans does not live permanently in the area but has a holiday house in Lyby and uses the land for small agricultural activities and hunting. He has also owned the land for a shorter time than many of the others who are resisting the plans. In interview D, the interviewees said that this is important to pay attention to. According to them, not living there and not having grown up there means he does not have the same relationship to the landscape that they have (interview D). VetoNu also discusses how people are deeply rooted in these areas, to their homes and landscapes

(interview A). This raises questions about whose opinions are considered legitimate in what the landscape should consist of and mean. Also, it indicates processes of landscape inertia. As landscapes are produced, they manifest existing power structures of social relations within that landscape. Therefore, as new interests are established in the landscape, and the existing structure is challenged, the prevailing social relations between individuals inhabiting the landscape is also challenged. Capital already established within the landscape will form it as functional according to its current interests, but also protect its future interests by remaining the landscape in that form. Controlling or conserving the landscape is therefore the process of protecting the current economic order of that landscape. The landowners disregard for the opinions of the one landowner who accepted the plans can therefore be seen in the light of their economic and social investment into the contemporary landscape.

The fragmentation might also be increased by the strategies in which the company communicates. Apart from the house visits in Tomelilla, which VetoNu perceived as suspect, a couple of landowners in Lyby were upset about the company's way of sharing information. The last meeting was in November 2019, with strict invitations to only some of the landowners. It was also held at the house of the landowner who accepted the plans. Many boycotted this meeting after discussing it with each other (interview D; interview E). Without knowing for sure if this was due to the company, the landowner, or both, they requested more transparency. In interview D and E, two persons also said that they would not be able to understand such a meeting held in English. The participant in interview D stated that since he would not be able to ask the right questions, he thus did not want to attend it. Thus, the company's establishment in the area has led to struggles to remain the landscape. In Lyby, this struggle is manifested in both unification, and fragmentation.

Material and representational concerns

Mitchell writes that the landscape is "an expression of who has the power to define the meanings that are to be read into and out of the landscape, and, of course, to determine just what will exist in (and as) the landscape." (Mitchell, 2008, p 43). In line with this, another theme in the interviews is the concerns of what material and representational effects these processes could have on the landscape. A reoccurring material concern was that the prices on property and land will decrease (interview D; interview F; interview G). Many thought that this would be a negative consequence if a mine would be established, but some also said that this was already a problem today. Since the process is long, estimated to at least 10 years before extraction could potentially start, and the outcome will remain uncertain for a long

time, they argued that the market prices on their property and land already were influenced (interview D). It was also argued that they did not want to invest in the properties or agriculture, due to the uncertain future (interview D; interview F; interview G; interview B). In interview A, the board members in VetoNu who also own properties in the area of ScandiVanadium's permission, agreed to this concern (interview A). According to VetoNu, this risk of falling prices is their main concern now, and the consequence which is most noticeable already. The interviewees thus struggle to keep the landscape as it is and control the processes that take place there, due to a worry that the market prices on their properties and land will decrease. This emerges as a manifestation of structures of landscape inertia, and Mitchells statement that "people work very hard to maintain, to reproduce, the already existent landscape" (Mitchell, 2005, p 51). It is thus a part of understanding how, why and by whom landscape is remained.

But the landscape is also remained and defended due to concerns for the representational landscape. In the interview with landowners, it became clear that this process raised strong feelings. These feelings were not only directed towards the potential material loss which they saw as a risk, but also towards what they thought was the ideal and natural form of "their" landscape. Many expressed feelings that mining was simply not suitable in this area, and the local politician e.g. said that this was wrong because "it is this that they are in our nature, and planning to destroy the scenery, by putting in mines there." (interview B) The worries for the scenery can be connected to material interests, since Österlen is an area with a heavy tourism industry (interview B). This could also be derived to the material interests that people hold due to their worries for decreasing property prices. But it can also be seen as a worry from the individuals to lose their picture of the landscape in the form that they have ties to. As Mitchell argues, people tend to form identification with the landscape, and as a result also defend the current form of that landscape from other interests or actors (Mitchell, 2005). To reduce the struggles to remain the landscape to simply their material interests would therefore not cover all aspects of the resistance. The power struggle to define the landscape exist on a representational as well as material arena, and the landowners are not simply defending the form of the landscape, and what it constitutes, but also the meaning they assert to that landscape. In interview C, the municipal officer witnesses of this, in how this process has raised such strong reactions in the area. The interviewee said that:

> Normally, if there are plans to build a new industry for example, where it is a similar notifiable activity, then we hear neighbors within maybe 500 meters, or those that will be most closely concerned. But in this case, we put in an

> announcement in the newspaper. And then we received utterances from people living far away, that would never be affected by this on site. But they still think this is wrong, so they send in their opinion (interview C).

In Minchin's view, general concerns of change were the main reasons for people's resistance. He could thus be seen to only see the emotional tie that people have formed to the landscape. He argued that the reactions are due to that:

> they are concerned by change. And that is quite a normal thing in rural areas. (…) there is a conflict, because it always is around these things. You know, when you live in a crowded area like Österlen, any change, even a temporary change, is going to cause a conflict on the existing land use (interview I).

As ScandiVanadium is establishing in the area, it challenges the current form of the landscape, but it also challenges the meaning of the landscape. In accordance with Mitchell's theories, the landscape is a site where power is constantly operating, and the prevailing meaning of that landscape is a manifestation over who has won the struggle over meaning (Mitchell, 2008). ScandiVanadium's establishment in the area thus introduces a power struggle where the current form as well as meaning of the landscape is challenged.

Good, local and ignorant, national politicians

The third theme is a division of politicians and authorities, where many landowners against the processes expressed that they had low trust in the national politicians as a result of their inaction in this process. In their struggle to remain the landscape, many felt that the local politicians agreed in their stance against the processes, but that the national politicians did not care about their perspective. In interview D, E and G with landowners in Lyby, they all said that the local politicians were in fact against the project, although many were so unofficially, rather than open and clearly. One landowner thought that this was because they needed to act in line with the national party, despite disagreeing with them, and that the national politicians had agendas which was in line with ScandiVanadium's interests, and their discourses of a green transition (interview D). Another landowner said that this is because the national politicians do not know the area, and therefore do not understand the effects this would have (interview E). When discussing this with the politician in Simrishamn municipality, who has tried to get a statement from national politicians without success, he thought that the politicians nationally have economic incentives to benefit the mineral industry, leading to their ignorance towards the processes in south-east Skåne. He says that

"there are interests from politicians on a high level to befriend this type of industries" (interview B). In this, there are similarities with the trend outlined by Borras and Franco (2013), regarding recurring elements in the political reactions with which people respond as the government increasingly take on the role of facilitator for investors (Borras and Franco, 2013). As discussed by Borras and Franco (2103), the landowners here divide state officials into categories, where the national politicians are regarded unjust and on the side of the mineral industry.

The landowners connect this to their feeling of disapproval towards the mineral law, which they consider prioritize the interests of the mineral industry before other interests. One interviewee in Lyby said that she felt sad, angry and upset that the state can allow for companies to come in and claim the right over their land (interview E), and VetoNu argues that the legislation is constructed to attract the companies to Sweden (interview A). In interview D, another landowner agrees to this, and argues that Sweden is marketed internationally as a mining-friendly country. This was argued to be the underlying source of the problem and conflicts in the area. ScandiVanadium's establishment in the landscape is thus leading to a struggle to remain in control, as the power relations are challenged. At the same time, the large media attention this case has gotten, in combination with the socio-economic position which many front person's in the opposition hold, also visualizes another perspective of the power relations which is discussed by Mitchell; that the ability to influence the form and meaning of the landscape largely varies.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are international calls for renewable energy production to increase, due to the need to phase out fossil fuels. By both multilateral institutions such as the IPCC, and the mineral industry, batteries for energy storage are pointed to as a key component in this transition. Parallel to this, there are underlying assumptions that crises, in this case climate crisis, is to be solved by further, albeit new types of resource extraction. This results in economic incentives to search for and extract so called battery minerals, which to some extent exist in new places and landscapes than traditionally mined minerals. The expansion of the industry into new minerals, thus leads to a geographical expansion of the industry into new landscapes. On a European as well as a Swedish scale, there are encouragement and strategies to increase the prospecting and extraction of critical raw materials, in which Vanadium is one. Due to continuous processes of re-regulation and liberalization, the Swedish government has also taken on the role of facilitator in these processes, easing the appropriating of land and resources through similar argumentation of green transition and economic importance. At the regional as well as municipal scale there are however little ability to object in this stage, and at least according to some, little incentives to be positive towards it. ScandiVanadium has therefore met resistance from both individuals and local authorities and are evaluating how to get the communities on board. This raises questions of which incentives the industry can use when establishing mines in new contexts and landscapes. But also, if it is even desirable that the state, region or municipality are provided with economic incentives from the company to allow them to claim land.

At the local scale, the agenda of the company is competing against the many other interests for the landscape which are remained by the social relations existing there. This case thus materializes conflicting interests of different scales which are seeping down into the landscape, resulting in struggles over its form and meaning. In the landscape of south-east Skåne, these struggles are manifested in 1. parallel processes of fragmentation and unity, 2. Material concerns about lessening prices on property, and representational concerns about what this area should be, and 3. Division of authorities into "good" local and "ignorant" national politicians. First, as for the processes of fragmentation and unity, landowners in Lyby witness how this has led to them uniting in a resistance towards the prospecting and the company. But simultaneously, this resistance is also targeted towards the neighbor who did not obstruct the plans. This is done with a background in an argumentation that his connection to the landscape is weaker, and his wants for the landscape are therefore

dismissed. As landscapes are sites of investments, but also produced through investments in them, the process in which he makes his land available for the company therefore means allowing the company to challenge the current form of the landscape, which causes conflict.

Secondly, as the company establishes in south-east Skåne, people struggle to remain and uphold both the form and the meaning of the landscape. This is particularly clear in their concern for decreasing market prices for property and land. The company's profile of sustainability, as well as the landowners' concern for environmental degradation, can thus also be seen in the light of their competing material interest for the landscape; where mineral profits stand against the value of land and property, left in its current form. But this struggle is also manifested on a representational dimension of how people form identification with the landscape, and struggle to defend the current meaning they assert to their landscape. Lastly, regarding the division of authorities, the opposition discusses this process as an eye opener of an unjust system, and distrust towards the national legislation and politicians as a result of this. This is a reaction, or a struggle, which is introduced to the landscape due to ScandiVanadium's establishment in the area.

In the case of south-east Skåne, the industry's search for opportunities for capital accumulation thus leads to geographical expansion, which meets resistance from people who want to remain in charge of the form and meaning of the landscape in which they live. The resistance of the landowners, with material as well as representational struggles as a backdrop, visualizes their economic and social investments into the contemporary landscape. Landscape inertia, which is primarily about capital's desire to remain the landscape practical in accordance with its needs, also tend to bring about processes of defending the current form and meaning of the landscape. Therefore, structures of landscape inertia are indicated through the landowners struggle to maintain the landscape in its current form. But the conflicting interests on multiple scales that are seeping down into the landscape of south-east Skåne also concretizes how landscapes are contextual, rather than localized, unattached places. In the case of south-east Skåne, the clash of these two processes, or characteristics, result in struggles over the landscape.

Further research

The case of ScandiVanadium's prospecting is an ongoing process, which means that there are many current as well as future aspects of this to investigate. In general, further research have several interesting fields to study regarding the effects of the geographical expansion and relocation of the mineral industry. In a Swedish context, this poses interesting questions about the geographical differences between northern and southern Sweden, and how the process of the mineral industry's establishment in one landscape differs from the other. Also, this builds on what has merely been mentioned in this thesis, in how different people hold different amount of power to control, structure and sculpt the landscape in accordance with their needs and wishes. And lastly, the landscape approach to studying this type of processes and conflicts could also be applied in other areas and landscapes, to unpack those multi-scalar processes which are influencing the landscape.

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Appendix

Interview A: Interview guide

Tema 1: Hur har processen med ScandiVanadiums tillstånd och borrning sett ut praktiskt. Hur ligger det till nu.

- Hur har den här processen rent praktiskt sett ut?
- När fick ni reda på planerna första gången?
- När och hur startade proteströrelsen?
- Hur ligger det till nu? Vad är nästa steg? Vet att man påbörjat borrning i Lyby, några fler ställen där borrning är direkt på gång?

Tema 2: Vilka har något att säga till om i processen?

- Vilka måste godkänna för att borrning ska påbörjas?
- Mycket motstånd kring att minerallagen är utformad så att markägare inte alltid behöver godkänna. Hur ser det ut i praktiken? Vet ni hur det gått till för de markägare som är engagerade genom er?
- Får kommun eller markägare några pengar av att ScandiVanadium får borra? Av att godkänna tillståndet? Vet att så är fallet om gruva faktiskt startar på ens mark; men gäller det även vid stadiet för prospektering?
- Hur mycket kontakt finns med själva företaget? Någon alls eller är allt via kommun och bergsstaten?

Tema 3: Reaktionerna mot tillståndet och resonemanget bakom motståndet. Vilka risker finns? Finns det några möjligheter?

- Varför är detta en dålig idé? Främsta argumenten. (På vilken ”skala” existerar dessa argument? Vilka motargument finns på lokal, regional, nationell skala?)
- Finns det några argument för? Några eventuella positiva konsekvenser? Vilka i så fall? (På vilken ”skala” existerar dessa argument? Vilka förargument finns på lokal, regional, nationell skala?)
- Vad är VetoNu:s övergripande mål?
- Hur har människor reagerat? Har det varit stora reaktioner hos boende i trakten? Var det stora reaktioner innan? När beslutet kring tillstånd skulle tas?
- Vilka ”läger” finns i motståndet? Vilka andra intressen värnar folk i området om? Hur tycker människor i kommunen att mark bör användas istället? Vad vill de att landskapet ska innehålla?

Tema 4: Hur påverkas landskapet / området?

- Hur påverkar denna process, och konflikterna runt den, landskapet? Kan man se några resultat av detta redan, av hur landskapet förändrats?
- På vilka sätt syns dessa förändringar? Något mer än borrandet på åkern i Lyby?
- Vilka rädslor har ni kring vad det kan leda till? Av vad som skett hitills? Av utökat borrande? Av en gruva?
- Vilka konsekvenser skulle detta få på landskapet?
- Ser ni några aktuella eller potentiella konsekvenser av detta även på bredare skalor? På hela Skåne? Södra Sverige? Nationellt? Internationellt?
- Kan utfallet här på Österlen få implikationer på större skalor? Vilka?

- Vad tycker ni (som rörelse och som privatpersoner) att det här landskapet ska innehålla och innebära istället? Vilka värden vill man skydda? Som hotas av detta.

Tema 5: Skillnader och likheter till tidigare proteströrelsen.

- Liknande proteströrelse, med delvis samma frontpersoner fanns ju 2009 då Shell ansökte om tillstånd för att leta naturgas. Vad är kopplingen till den rörelsen? Är det samma rörelse som har tagits upp igen? Eller en ny?
- Hur skiljer sig processerna åt tycker ni? Hur är de lika?
- ScandiVanadium profilerar sig själva och projektet mycket som ”grönt” och ämnat för miljövänlig energiproduktion. Hur ser ni på detta?

Tema 6: Intervjupersonernas roll.

- Hur blev ni engagerade i detta? Bor i Malmö och inte på berörd mark; vilken var er ingång? Vad gjorde er upprörda? Någon personlig koppling till området?
- Vilken är er roll i rörelsen?
- Hur länge har ni varit engagerade?
- Något ni vill tillägga? Som jag missat?
- Anonymitet. Kommer inte namnge dem, men dubbelkolla att jag kan skriva ut deras roll i nätverket i uppsatsen.
- Markägare! Finns det någon de kan koppla ihop mig med? Optimalt någon som står inför att företaget mot deras vilja ska borra på deras mark?