



A MINEFIELD IN SÁPMI

A text analysis regarding Kallak K nr 1



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Abstract

This thesis is a text analysis regarding the processing concession of Kallak K nr 1, an iron ore deposit located in Sweden outside of Jokkmokk. On March 22, 2022, a processing concession was granted the Jokkmokk Iron Mines AB. The process of reaching this decision has been long and fought with great resistance by the Sami people, who today use the area for reindeer herding. This thesis uses the material from three official documents to discover the justification for the concession. Galtung's violence triangle is the chosen analytical tool. Cultural violence manifests through the economic model, prioritizing mines over reindeer herding because of the wealth a mine would bring. The cultural violence of the "lapp-ska-vara-lapp" mentality can be seen in how the government makes decisions regarding what conditions should be posed against the company without consulting the Sami people, although Swedish law states that they should do so.

Keywords: Sápmi, Sami people, mines, mining industry, the government of Sweden, cultural violence, structural violence, direct violence, indigenous rights

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1 Introduction

On March 22, 2022, the government of Sweden approved a processing concession to Jokkmokk Iron Mines AB regarding the iron ore deposit called Kallak K nr 1. The government calls the decision historic since it for the first time includes conditions posed on the mining company regarding the Sami people and their reindeer herding industry (Regeringen, 2022). Despite this the resistance to the mine is great. The Sameting, the political organ of the Sami, regrets the decision but states that it is not unexpected. Valid arguments against the mine have been lifted but chosen to be ignored. The wealth to be gained from a potential mine takes higher priority than the Sami people's claim to the land. According to the Sameting, no nature or culture can ever be replaced by money (Sametinget, 2022). A processing concession does not mean that a mine will be established in Kallak. The concession brings the process of the mine one step closer to its goal but there are still more decisions to be made before an establishment can be made (Näringsdepartementet, 2022).

Sami people in Sweden are today considered a minority people and possess rights as indigenous people. These rights range from the right to once own culture, religion, and language, to the right to territory, land, and resources (United Nations, 2007) (Kulturdepartementet, 2015) (Socialstyrelsen, 2019). Despite these rights continuous infringements are made on Sami land. A good example of this infringement is mines, 9 out of 12 active mines in Sweden are located in Sápmi (Bergsstaten, 2022). Sápmi has traditionally been used by the Sami for hunting, fishery, and reindeer herding for at least 2000 years, only being considered "kronojord", land owned by the state, for the last 200 (Ericsson, 2016). Despite the Sami's indigenous rights these infringements keep happening, how this is made possible will be the topic of study in this thesis.

This essay will be a descriptive text analysis analyzing the language and methodology used by the Swedish state to understand how infringement upon native land is justified and what role violence plays in the decision. My science question is, therefore:

"How does the Swedish state justify the authorization of processing concession regarding Kallak K nr 1 and what role does violence play in the decision?"

In addition to this question a few others will be posed:

- Who is this justification for, and which group is the targeted audience?
- How does the state discuss the Sami people and reindeer herding?
- How are the rights of the Sami people as indigenous people discussed?

- How are Sweden and Sápmi portrayed?
- Can Galtung's violence triangle be connected to the case of Kallak K nr 1?

The material will be obtained by looking at official documents and statements regarding Kallak K nr 1. Galtung's violence triangle will be used to analyze the material.

2 Background of the case

2.1 History of Sápmi and the Sami people

2.1.1 Before the 18th century

The origin of the Sami people, where they come from, how they came to be, and how their traditions were born cannot be answered definitively. There are several theories about the subject, but most archaeologists today state that we must stop trying to connect ethnic groups today to source material from thousands of years ago. Today we can say as little about how the Sami people came to inhabit the north of Scandinavia and the Kola peninsula as any other group residing in the area. Sápmi is the area where Sami people historically lived, stretching from Norway, through Sweden and Finland, to the Kola peninsula in Russia (Lundmark, 2008).

When the Sami people started domesticating reindeer cannot be said with certainty, although some archaeologists have found evidence suggesting it happened about two thousand years ago. It can with some certainty be stated that the Sami had domesticated reindeer during the Viking age. During the 16th century, it is known that the average Sami family had between ten and twenty reindeer (Lundmark, 2008).

The area that today is northern Sweden was not controlled by Sweden until the middle of the 16th century, the borders often shifted and large parts of the land were not under anyone's rule. Once Sweden had significant control over Sápmi the crown started to tax the area. Not much source material exists from before the 16th century, but it is known that the Sami people were engaged in the trading of fur. Fur coats of high quality were highly sought after in Europe. The Sami people did not need these coats, making them possible to sell. The boom in economic prosperity made the Sami population grow, putting higher demands on the nutrition needed for the population to prosper. Parallel with the demand for fur coats going down, the tax on Sami people was raised. This became a crisis at the beginning of the 17th century, a crisis that was ultimately solved by the Sami people keeping larger and larger herds of reindeer (Lundmark, 2008) (Ericsson, 2016).

During the 17th century, religion came to play a bigger role in Swedish society. During this time state and church put much effort into Christianising the people. All people living in Sweden were targeted, the difference being the targeting of sacred Sami items. An example is the traditional drums used by Sami during

religious rituals, which were now banned. Places for sacrifice were also targeted and burned down. Practicing the Sami religion became a punishable offense and special schools were created for Sami children to be indoctrinated into Christianity. The forcible Christianising has led to parts of the Sami religion being lost (Ericsson, 2016).

The campaigns for religious control conducted during the 17th century did not have a focus on taking over the Sami territory, the Sami mind was instead the target of the campaign. This focus would come to change during the 18th century when the Swedish state made continuous attempts at converting Sami land into “kronojord”, land owned by the state. Before this, minimal infringement upon Sápmi had been made, except for the establishment of a few mines. The annexation was motivated by economic factors, much money was to be gained from resource production in the area (Ericsson, 2016). Race biological thinking further justified the annexation (Kunskapsbanken Bilders Makt, u.d.).

The resistance against the annexation was great and it took until the 19th century before Sápmi was considered “kronojord”. It now became the county administration board’s job to make decisions regarding who was allowed to settle and use Sami land. This created a big influx of individuals settling in Sápmi, threatening the way of Sámi living. This threat created a whole new political thinking (Ericsson, 2016).

2.1.2 Lapp-ska-vara-lapp

Ideas about “culture” and “race” became more and more prevalent during the 19th century. Questions about who Sweden’s native population actually was were raised. Fear that continued expansion of the agricultural sector in Sápmi would reck the Sami way of living became a topic of discussion. The politics of “lapp-ska-vara-lapp” was created, the belief was that Sami people should be Sami people and that the modernity of evolving society would be too much for them to handle (Ericsson, 2016). The state viewed the Sami as something exotic and wanted this view to prevail (Andersson, u.d.).

Distinctions were made by the state regarding who was Sami. The natural state of the Sami people was considered to be a nomadic one, migrating with their reindeer. To be considered Sami you had to practice a nomadic lifestyle and sustain yourself through reindeer herding, you also needed parents or grandparents that had done the same. If you did not fulfill these criteria, no matter what you identified yourself as, what language you spoke, or what culture you practiced, you were not considered Sami (Ericsson, 2016). Sami people who did not fit into this category were turned away and excluded from Sami villages by the authorities, to keep the Sami lifestyle intact (Andersson, u.d.). The Sami considered “not worthy” would lose their hunting and fishing privileges, being forced to leave. The belief was that

if Sami people stopped sustaining themselves on reindeer herding, they were doomed to go extinct. Contact with the so-called “superior race” was believed to be the biggest disadvantage of the Sami (Kunskapsbanken Bilders Makt, u.d.).

Special schools were instated for Sami children with the focus of giving them basic knowledge, but not so much that they would be tempted to seek another lifestyle. The Sami people were also strongly discouraged from taking up permanent residency. Hinders were put up in their way, making it impossible to build permanent buildings on land where reindeer were kept. In some cases, Sami people were turned away from work because they should sustain themselves by the Sami way of living (Ericsson, 2016).

Race biology lost its influence during the 20th century, but views of Sami people as foreign and inferior still lived on. Sami people are sometimes still pictured as exotic and amusing. The view of Sami people as foreign and inferior can be blamed on the “lapp-ska-vara-lapp” politic conducted by the Swedish state (Kunskapsbanken Bilders Makt, u.d.). The practice of this politics was in use well into the 20th century (Ericsson, 2016).

2.2 Sami people today

It is hard to estimate how many Sami people there are today since there are few criteria defining what it means to be Sami. The estimate is therefore between 70 000 and 135 000, 20 000 are estimated to live in Sweden (Förenta Nationerna, u.d.).

Around 2 000 Sami people sustain themselves through reindeer herding today. *Fjällrensköteln* (reindeer herding in the mountains) is the dominating form, letting the reindeer roam the high mountains in summer, the woods in winter, and the area in between in spring and autumn. *Skogsrenskötelsen* (reindeer herding in the woods) is more stationary and lets the reindeer roam the woods throughout most of the year. The reindeer keepers in Sweden are divided between 33 *fjällsamebyar* and 10 *skogssamebyar* located between Idre in Dalarna and Könkämä in the very north of Sweden (Lundmark, 2008).

Within the Sami village every family owns their reindeers and has a voting right regarding concerns related to the community, the voting is based on how many reindeer they own. It is the Sami village that arranges and decides on the areas where reindeer are kept. In Sweden, only people of Sami heritage are allowed keep and sustain themselves with reindeer keeping. To be able to exercise this right you must be part of a Sami village. To not be part of a Sami villa, therefore, means that you lose the special privileges Sami people are granted by the state (Lundmark, 2008). Some of the old political thinking, therefore, e lives on, excluding some Sami from being Sami.

The Sameting was created in 1993 and is the political organ of the Sami people in Sweden. The Sameting both has the role of a governmental agency and

that of a parliament with elected officials. The 31 members are elected every fourth year. Around 9000 Sami are today registered to vote in the Sami election. The Sami parliament does not yet exercise any actual self-determination. The parliament can instead be seen as an advisor and expert regarding Sami issues (Sametinget, 2022).

2.3 Legal rights of the Sami people

Indigenous people are by the UN defined as: “inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures and ways of relating to people and the environment. They have retained social, cultural, economic, and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live” (United Nations, n.d.).

In 1977 the Swedish government confirmed the Sami people as indigenous people with special cultural rights in reference to international law. In 2011 a change was made to the Swedish constitution, Regeringsformen (1 chap, 2§), stating that the opportunities for the Sami people and other ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities to maintain and develop their own culture and community life must be promoted (Kulturdepartementet, 2015).

The law about national minorities and minority languages was established in 2011 and gave recognized minorities in Sweden certain rights, including children’s right to learn and study their language, the right to use their language when in contact with authorities, and the right to participate and have your opinion taken into consideration regarding matters relating to you, among other things (Socialstyrelsen, 2019).

In 2007 the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted. The declaration lays special focus on the right to be equal to all other people, as well as indigenous peoples’ right to have their land, territory, and resources (United Nations, 2007).

Another international convention protecting the rights of minorities is the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article 27 states: “In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language” (United Nations, 1966).

2.4 Kallak K nr 1

Kallak K nr 1 is the name of an iron ore deposit located in Kallak outside of Jokkmokk. Jokkmokk Iron Mines AB applied for a processing concession of the

area in 2013. A processing concession is a decision stating who has the right to extract resources in an area (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). Jokkmokk Iron Mines AB is a Swedish registered company, but also a subsidiary of the British company Beowulf Mining (Nilsson, 2013).

The deposit of quartz mixed iron ore has been known to exist in Kallak since the middle of the 20th century and is considered to consist of high-quality ore. Kallak K nr 1 is the largest known unbroken deposit in Sweden. There are only few known deposits of ore left in Sweden, making the government class the one in Kallak as economically worthwhile (Näringsdepartementet, 2022).

In 2013, Länsstyrelsen (the county administrative board) in Norrbotten county made the decision not to approve the application for concession. Bergmästaren, the leader of Bergstaten, the institution handling cases regarding mineral extraction (Bergstaten, 2022), saw a reason for another decision to be made, therefore handing the case over to the government. The government then handed the case back to Bergstaten in 2016 with the instruction to assess the case with the help of a court case (HFD 2016 ref. 21, 2016). With the help of this case, Bergstaten found the application sufficiently detailed and asked Länsstyrelsen for comments, which they refused to give. The case went back and forward between the different administrations before once more being handed to the government in 2017 (Regeringen, 2022). The reason for the conflict between the different administrations is the conflicting national interests in the area, namely reindeer herding and the deposit of valuable substances or minerals. Therefore, an assessment regarding which use of the land should have priority must be made. This assessment is done by looking at Miljöbalken, chapters 3 and 4 (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). The decision to approve the processing concession came on March 22, 2022. Additional to the concession the government has created 12 conditions that must be followed for the concession to be valid. The conditions rank from obligations to take up as little space as possible, establishing safety measures, compensating the Sami village affected economically, transporting the reindeer around the concession area if needed, establishing a conversation with the Sami regarding the reindeer, and yearly report back to institutions in charge, among other. (For the full list see appendix 1). The approval of the concession does not guarantee the establishment of the mine, but it moves the company one step closer in the process (Näringsdepartementet, 2022).

The planned mining operation relates to the extraction of iron for a concession period of 25 years, with the possibility of extension. The estimated time for the extraction is 14 years, although it is possible to discover more iron in the area (Näringsdepartementet, 2022).

3 Previous research

Mines established on indigenous land are a well-researched area, this includes mines established in Sápmi. Much material exists, including material on Kallak. Not much research regarding the new development in the case of Kallak yet exists since the decision was made not too long ago. This thesis will therefore add to the research by discussing new material. Below I will highlight some of the material that exists today.

Kristina MacNeil has both through her thesis (MacNeil , 2017) and an article (MacNeil, 2018) highlighted similarities and differences between extractive, cultural and structural violence on Sami and Aboriginal land. The study is a case study built on material collected through interviews. MacNeil introduces extractive violence as a complement to Galtung's violence triangle (MacNeil , 2017) (MacNeil, 2018). Like my study, McNeil uses Galtung's violence triangle to analyze the case. The difference between our studies is that McNeil's is a comparative case study built on interviews, whereas this thesis is a text analysis based on material released by the Swedish government.

Hanna Blåhed and Miguel San Sebastián have made a health impact assessment regarding Kallak K nr 1, highlighting facts missing from Jokkmokk Iron Mines' environmental impact assessment. The study is conducted through interviews made in Jåhkågasska tjiellde Sami village. The study highlights the beliefs of the Sami individuals that will be affected by a potential mine, being that the reindeer herding industry will be wrecked. Reindeer would have to be transported by truck around the concession area. Going around it would not be possible since it would infringe upon other Sami villages' land. The added cost will lead to many of the Sami sustaining themselves through this industry not being able to do so anymore. The study also gives in-depth descriptions of the effects a mine would have on the health of locals living in the area (Blåhed & San Sebastián, 2020).

Gunilla Larsson argues against the establishment of mines in Sápmi. Through her article Larsson highlights the problematic nature of establishing mines on Sami land. Much of Sami history is today unknown and many ancient remains are not yet categorized or protected. Larsson states that the establishment of mines in Sápmi literally blows up the history of the Sami people (Larsson, 2014).

Persson, Harneska, and Islara have written an article discussing the power relations at play surrounding Kallak K nr 1. The study finds that the state and the company are dominant in relation to power over the Sami people. Neoliberal views and the global world market are prioritized when making decisions about activities where money can be made (Persson, et al., 2017).

4 Theoretical framework

This case will be analyzed through Johan Galtung's violence triangle. Violence is by Galtung described as: "any avoidable insult to basic human needs, and, more generally, to sentient life of any kind, defined as that which is capable of suffering pain and enjoying well-being" (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

Galtung describes the three main forms of violence as direct, structural, and cultural violence. All three types are somewhat dependent on each other, making them a triangle. Direct violence is violence conducted by an intended actor, an event of physical violence, structural violence is violence manifesting through a structure, social forces that harm certain groups of people and cause inequality in health and well-being, and cultural violence manifests in culture, hence being used to legitimize direct and structural violence (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

4.1 Cultural violence

Cultural violence represents part of a culture that can be used to legitimize direct or structural violence, at times even making it feel just. Cultural violence does not define cultures as violent but is instead used to highlight aspects of cultures that are violent. To study cultural violence is to study the legitimization, internalization, and acceptance necessary to commit acts of either structural or direct violence (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

Cultural violence manifests through one or several of the following six domains: religion, ideology, language, art, empirical science, and formal science. In religion, there must be a higher holy entity, for example, God. If there is a God then there are the chosen people of God, leaving the non-chosen to Satan. Expulsion of the non-chosen becomes possible through the cultural violence of religion. Ideology is based upon the same perspective as religion, just instead of there being a God, there is now the modern state. Within politics there are still the chosen and the non-chosen, may it be based on political viewing or nationalism. By lifting the political viewing of the Self, the one of the Other can be excluded. After this step structural violence can construct the other into an "it", making direct violence possible (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

Cultural violence can through language be viewed as violence in the way it is constructed. An example is how many languages use the same word when referring to men as when referring to humanity, making the language in use sexist. Obstacles

in language, like the example, can be hard to overcome. Language is the main form of communication for humans, therefore being able to legitimize actions and exclude individuals. Art can be seen as a form of propaganda, even in those cases where that is not the intention. Art creates a perspective, either reflecting or creating culture, which in turn can create violence (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

Empirical science in relation to cultural violence can be exemplified through the science of economic activity. This doctrine states that every country should enter the world market with the products that the country has a comparative advantage over in terms of production factors (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). For Sweden, this could be minerals above reindeer herding, since minerals are abundant in the country (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). Another example is a study regarding who really is Sweden's native population and where the Sami people really come from (Höglund & Andersson Burnett, 2019). Formal science reflects cultural violence through the way it is viewed by humans. Mathematics is in itself not biased; it is the way the information is used to describe the world and influence thinking that creates the violence. The world is not fully possible to understand without its social element of it (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

4.2 Structural violence

Galtung's definition of structural violence is: "the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual". Structural violence is a form of violence that stops individuals from reaching their full potential or meeting their basic needs. Structural violence occurs when certain groups are disadvantaged by economic, cultural, legal, and political traditions. A key aspect of structural violence is its subtle nature. It is often invisible and accepted as a matter of fact due to its longevity of it (Lee, 2022).

Structural violence is unlike other forms of violence. Structural violence is economically, politically, and culturally pervasive, hindering victims from ever achieving full quality of life. For example, unequal distribution of resources is a form of structural violence that only worsen if the individuals affected also have low education, income, health, and power (Lee, 2022). Exploitation, alienation, and repression are identified as three key concepts of structural violence (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

4.3 Direct violence

Direct violence is often portrayed as physical forms of violence such as war and killing. Despite this perception direct violence does not have to be physical. Threats

to one's well-being are also a form of violence. Symbols can become a target of violence because of their meaning, so-called "truncated violence". Truncated violence can further be explained as violence towards symbols having a direct effect on the people associated with the symbols (Galtung, 1990).

In the case of Kallak K nr 1, the land is the symbol. The land is holy to the Sami people, containing their history (Larsson, 2014). The direct attack of a mine on the land is therefore also an attack on the Sami people.

4.4 Violence against nature

Violence against nature can take all three forms of violence. Direct violence can be shown as slashing or otherwise destroying nature. Structural violence can instead be seen as insidious, not intended to destroy nature but still doing so through pollution and global warming, among others. Nature is being transformed through industrialization, leaving non-degradable residue and depleting non-renewable resources, this in combination with commercialization makes the consequences non-visible to the perpetrators. These power structures are in turn legitimized through economic growth. The term "sustainable economic growth" may be nothing but a refined form of cultural violence (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

Mainstream economic analysis tends to focus on material factors such as nature/land, labour, and capital, and the effect these have on production and commercialization. This focus neglects the enormous cost modernization has on nature, the human spirit, the structure, and the culture. Unmasking the structural violence behind the cultural violence of economics is needed to fully understand this relationship (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

5 Research design and method

5.1 Choice of case

The case of Kallak K nr 1 has been chosen because the application for processing concession has been handled by the government, which usually is not the case. The reason is the two conflicting national interests located in the area, namely reindeer herding and valuable substances or minerals. When two national interests conflict, an assessment must be made between them. In this case, the assessment had to be made by the Swedish government (Näringsdepartementet, 2022).

The fact that this case has been handled by the Swedish government allows the case to be studied from the standpoint of the government. Insight into how the government regards and handles cases relating to Sami people can be analyzed. How the acceptance of concession is being justified will be the focus of this thesis.

Many factors are highlighted as important in forming a decision from both the parties for and against the mine. The focus of this thesis is the Sami people and reindeer herding and therefore will not discuss all factors involved in the case. For example, the world heritage site of Laponia and possible negative effects on the area is a big concern advocating against the mine (Regeringen, 2022), but will not be discussed in this thesis.

5.2 Material

The material of this case is collected from three main documents publicized by the government of Sweden regarding the processing concession of Kallak K nr 1. The first document is a document released with information regarding the case and the decision the government made called “Information gällande beslutet om bearbetningskoncession Kallak K nr 1” (Henceforth called “information document”). The second piece of material is the press release and conference held to announce the decision of the government, called “Regeringen beviljar bearbetningskoncession för Kallak K nr 1”. The press conference is held by Näringsminister, Minister of Trade and Industry, Karl-Petter Thorwaldsson and is just shy of 40 minutes long (Henceforth called “press release and conference”). The third piece of evidence is the official document stating the decision and describing

the process used when reaching the decision, “Ansökan om bearbetningskoncession enligt minerallagen (1991:45) för området Kallak K nr 1 i Jokkmokks kommun, Norrbottens län” (Henceforth called “governmental decision”).

All these documents were released on March 22, 2022.

5.3 Time period

The time period of this case stretches from when Jokkmokk Iron Mines handed in their application for processing concession in 2013 until when the application was approved on March 22, 2022. Only material from 2022 will be analyzed. Any updates on the case occurring after this date will not be considered in this essay.

5.4 Research design

This thesis will be a descriptive text analysis to understand how the Swedish government justifies the processing concession of Kallak K nr 1. The text analysis will be conducted by looking at official statements and documents regarding the concession. Justifications and references to why the mine is being established will be highlighted and analyzed with the help of Galtung’s violence triangle.

5.5 Operationalization of theory

Galtung’s violence triangle will be the analytic tool of this thesis. The theory will be operationalized by asking the material certain questions. The material will be searched for justifications to the mine, are certain words used when discussing the acceptance of concession? How are the mine and the Sami people discussed, are indigenous rights mentioned? Can violence be seen within the case? Which forms of cultural violence are prevalent?

The material will be analyzed in the same section as it is presented to offer a better understanding of the violence at play. The analysis section is therefore divided between the different forms of violence presented in Galtung’s violence triangle, including the six domains of cultural violence. This separation is done to highlight the different forms of violence at play. Material from all three pieces of the main material will be mixed during the analysis to highlight a uniformed perspective. Thereafter, the material will be analyzed and justifications will be presented.

6 Empirical data and analysis

This thesis consists of three main pieces of material produced by the government of Sweden. The first, the information document, has the main targeted audience of people interesting in the case, who want a brief overview. The document does not discuss reindeer herding as culturally important for the Sami, or any of the special rights they possess as a minority and indigenous people. The idea of Sweden as a mining state and an EU in need of iron and steel is lifted as an argument for the mine. The vastness of the land in possession for reindeer herding is also lifted, as well as how small of an area would be used for the mine. The conditions posed by the government are several times lifted as unique and far-reaching (Näringsdepartementet, 2022).

The second piece of material is the press release and conference. The targeted audience of this document is firstly the press, and secondly the individuals consuming that press. Much of the information detailed is the same as the information detailed in the information document, just a bit more detailed. The conditions are once more posed as unique and far-reaching, Näringsminister Thorwaldsson describes them as never done before, certainly not by anyone before him. It is stated that the minerals from the mine are needed for a green transition. A mine would bring economic prosperity and revive a dying area in need of population growth. This document contains questions from the press and answers from Näringsminister Thorwaldsson, something that is absent from the other material (Näringsdepartementet, 2022).

The third piece of material is the governmental decision. The targeted audience of this document is those with more than a simple interest in the case. The material is written in a more official and unbiased way. The conditions are not lifted as unique here, but simply stated without justification. Further, the document includes statements from concerned parties. Seventeen statements are part of the document, of these five are for the mine, eleven are against, and one does not wish to take sides. The documents end with a section explaining how the decision was made. No laws about indigenous rights or other rights of the Sami are mentioned by name by the government in this document (Regeringen, 2022).

The material of the case will be presented through the three main forms of violence in Galtung's violence triangle. Cultural violence will be discussed through its six domains.

6.2 Cultural violence

6.2.1 Religion

Religion presents cultural violence in the creation of a chosen people. If there are a chosen people, there must also be un-chosen people. The creation of an other allows structural and direct violence to be conducted (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). Historically, Sami people were targeted for not following the Christian religion, making them the other. Their religion was made forbidden by the Swedish state, leading to large parts of it being lost today (Ericsson, 2016) (Höglund & Andersson Burnett, 2019). Religion does not play as big of a role in Swedish society today as it used to, and neither does it play a role in the government's decision regarding Kallak K nr 1. Nevertheless, the historic knowledge of how cultural violence was justified through religion builds further understanding regarding the issues Sami people face today.

6.2.2 Ideology

Like religion, cultural violence is shown in ideology through the belief that there is the right and the wrong. Within ideology, the state is the higher power, instead of God. This view can create the belief that the law is inherently just (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). In the case of Kallak K nr 1 cultural violence is shown through ideology by the state making decisions regarding the Sami people without involving the Sami people in the process.

According to Swedish law, the Sami have the right to have their voice heard and be consulted in matters regarding them (Socialstyrelsen, 2019). In the governmental decision, we can see that this law has been followed (Socialstyrelsen, 2019), at least in some aspects. The concerned Sami villages, SSR, and the Sameting have had the opportunity to lift their perspective, which all strongly oppose the mine (Regeringen, 2022). During the press conference, a question regarding what view the company and the Sameting have on the stated conditions is posed. Thorwaldsson answers that he does not know the opinion of either the Sameting or the company. He states that the conditions are nothing that has been communicated prior, neither to the company nor Sami, but decided by the government that day (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). The answer to this question brings us the knowledge that the conditions posed on the mining company were created without help or influence from the Sami people concerned. In other words, we learn that the government has made decisions regarding what is best for the Sami

people without regard to what the Sami opinion is. Concerned Sami institutions have given statements regarding their opinions of the mine, but when it comes to creating conditions posed on the company to prevent disturbances on the reindeer herding, they are not consoled. The Swedish government making decisions on what should be considered best for the Sami people can be linked to the “lapp-ska-vara-lapp” mentality. This mentality is a form of cultural violence. The cultural violence is here manifested through the belief that the government knows what is best for the Sami people. Like the “lapp-ska-vara-lapp” mentality, the state has here posed conditions on the company without consoling the involved Sami people. The knowledge possessed by the Sami regarding their chosen industry is being ignored, the state knows better.

Another question asked during the press conference regards what will be done if the conditions posed are not met, to which Thorwaldsson answers that he is not sure of the type of law that is applicable in that case, but that government agencies have been instructed to follow up with the company yearly (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). Thorwaldsson’s admission of not knowing what laws are applicable in this case begs the question of what will happen in case the conditions are not met. The conditions are several times lifted as the justification for the mine, as a way of minimalizing damage to the reindeer herding industry. If nothing will be done if the conditions are broken, then what good do the conditions do? Cultural violence is manifested through the view that the conditions posed will lead to less impact on the reindeer herding industry, without information to accurately back up this claim. The government has decided to pose the conditions on the company without first consoling the Sami, their knowledge owns priority. But when it comes to laws applicable in case the conditions are broken this knowledge is missing.

Another question asks what Thorwaldsson would like to say to those Sami people who feel they have been overturned by this decision. The answer is that Thorwaldsson hopes those Sami people will take time to look over the posed conditions. He also states that these conditions have never been posed before, certainly not by anyone before him. Thorwaldsson further states that the Sami people and Sami villages are important parts of the process by being able to negotiate with the company, he hopes they take that opportunity (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). The answer to this question is a form of deflection. Instead of answering the question, Thorwaldsson lifts the posed conditions, conditions we know have not been stated in consonance with the Sami people. Lifting the conditions and the fact that nothing like them has been stated before is a way of justifying the decision to grant processing concession. It is also a way to lift himself and the government as just for doing something their predecessors never did. After posing the conditions without consonance from the Sami involved the role of negotiation is now moved back to them. By this statement, the responsibility to use the conditions stated is now put on the Sami.

The need of weighing the national interests of reindeer herding and valuable substances or materials are mentioned in all three pieces of material (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). The

document of the governmental decision has a section dedicated to discussing the weighting between the two. Laws regarding mines and minerals are lifted in this section, but no mention is done of indigenous rights. The importance of nurturing Sami culture is mentioned, but no specific laws are mentioned as they are done when regarding mines. The assessment is therefore done that priority should be given to the national interest of valuable substances or materials, based on it being the most appropriate way of long-term management of the land, the water, and the physical environment in general for the area in question, following a balance between ecological, social, and socio-economic views. The government believes that the concession in relation to the posed condition will not be destructive for the reindeer herding industry. This assessment is made regardless of the protests by the Sami villages, SSR, and the Sameting, who all state that a mine will be destructive to the reindeer herding industry (Regeringen, 2022). The justification is here posed by not discussing Sami rights from a legal standpoint. The only laws mentioned are those about mines and minerals and those of national interests. By not mentioning these rights a justification for why they are being ignored does not have to be made. The same thing is done in the other material, the obligation to promote Sami culture and Sweden's international obligations are mentioned, but never specifically named (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). Cultural violence poses the national state as a higher power, describing laws as just (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). The government has made decisions regarding Sami rights with reference to certain laws and exclusion of others. By not mentioning certain laws an explanation for why they are not being followed does not have to be made. Cultural violence allows the government to make decisions regarding Sami land without the affected Sami individuals, which further allows the structural violence of the exclusion of certain laws to take place.

6.2.3 Language

Language is used in all forms of communication. How language is used affects the perception of the topic. Language can be a form of cultural violence in its use (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). In the case of Kallak K nr 1 language is used to justify the mine and deflect from important topics of conversation.

Twelve conditions that Jokkmokk Iron Mines must follow for their concession to be eligible are stated. The fact that these conditions are unique and far-reaching is highlighted within all three main pieces of material (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). The conditions are described to be stated to counteract the negative impact on reindeer herding as far as possible (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). The conditions posed to the mining company are lifted as unique and long-lasting, in many ways they are used as a justification for the mine. The language here creates a justification for the

mine by highlighting the things done for the effects on the reindeer herding to be as minimal as possible.

Only one Sami village, Jåhkågasska tjiellde, is pointed out as being affected directly by a loss of pastures and migration routes in the information document, but it is acknowledged that other nearby Sami villages also may be affected to varying degrees by a mining operation (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). In the official document, several other Sami villages under threat of the mine are highlighted (Regeringen, 2022). By only mentioning one Sami village as directly affected by a mine the damage is made less. The information document has the intended audience of those in the public interested in the case. By looking at only this document it seems like only one Sami village will be directly affected. The cultural violence of language is here conducted by only lifting Jåhkågasska tjiellde as directly affected, making the damage seem less.

Mentioned in all three main pieces of material is the relatively small concession area. The area is described as only taking up 0,5% of the Sami village's all-year-round pastures. The mine will be approximately 100 hectares in size, covering a business area of approximately 1300 hectares. Jåhkågasska tjiellde Sami villages reindeer husbandry consists of 720,300 hectares, 264,100 of these hectares are all year-round pastures (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). These statements are made in all three main pieces of evidence, even though Jåhkågasska tjiellde Sami village in their statement to the government states that it is not the size of the area but the function that makes it important. The area in question contains important migration routes connecting the all-year-round pastures. The establishment of a mine would cut off these routes, dividing the Jåhkågasska tjiellde's pastures in two without any functioning connection (Regeringen, 2022). The relatively small size of the area is used as a justification for the mine. The fact that the area contains migration routes is mentioned (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022), but the true importance of the area would not be known if not reading the governmental decision. The average citizen is not the targeted audience of the governmental decision, the information document is more accessible. Without reading the official document no other perspective than the one of the government is lifted. Cultural violence is here once more seen by excluding information, making the area in question seem less important.

Kallak K nr 1 is further described to be in an area that is not designated as a national park, nature reserve, Natura 2000-area, or of any other national interests in addition to the reindeer herding industry and deposit of valuable substances or minerals. The area intended for the establishment is characterized by so-called modern forestry. The area is considered to not contain any high natural values (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). By describing the area in this way value is given to the land only by the natural value it possesses. This view brings further justification, ignoring the importance the land possesses culturally for the Sami (Larsson, 2014).

An interesting aspect of the press conference is the mention of the conflict in Ukraine. The conflict is used as a justification for the mine, saying it has stopped

the import of important materials. The press conference is the only piece of evidence mentioning this. Thorwaldsson states that Sweden and the EU need materials, which the conflict has slowed the import of (Näringsdepartementet, 2022), the question is if the same decision would have been made had the conflict not occurred? If it would, then why is it used as a justification?

Another argument posed in all three main pieces of material is that the acceptance of concession does not mean that a mine will be established (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). It can be assumed that this argument is being used to deflect from the role the government has in the establishment of a possible mine. Reference to the continuous processes is made, stating that it is future decisions made by other institutions that will decide whether a mine will be established or not (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). During the press conference, Thorwaldsson states that he believes there will be a mine in Kallak (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). This admission offers an understanding of the government's wishes of whether there should be a mine in Kallak or not.

Deflections are made during the press conference regarding the national and international obligations Sweden is bound to regarding indigenous rights. Indigenous rights are not discussed in any of the three main pieces of evidence (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). Sweden's obligation to promote the Sami culture is mentioned during the press conference and the document of governmental decision, but merely once (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). The importance of regarding Sweden's international obligations is mentioned in the official document (Regeringen, 2022). During the press conference, the national and international obligations are deflected by discussion of national interests and the *unique* conditions posed to the mining company (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). The unique conditions are often mentioned in both other documents as well (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). The absence of a discussion regarding Sami rights protects the government against questions being asked regarding these rights. Cultural violence is here seen by the absence of information, allowing the government to write its narrative. Someone reading the documents without knowledge of Sami rights would not know these rights exist.

6.2.4 Art

Art can be used as a form of propaganda, influencing individual thinking and creating an other (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). In the case of Kallak K nr 1 art does not play a role (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). Pictures of Sami in traditional clothing have often been used as a form of ridicule. The same can be said regarding other pictures picturing the

traditional Sami way of living. These depictions furthered prejudice and misunderstanding of the Sami (Kunskapsbanken Bilders Makt, u.d.), giving a further understanding of the present.

6.2.5 Empirical Science

Cultural violence can be described as empirical science through the science of economic activity. The economic model states that states should conduct business within the field they have an advantage within (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). An example of this is Sweden choosing mines over reindeer herding since Sweden has an abundance of ore, making it a more profitable industry.

Sweden is throughout the material described as a large and significant mining nation (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). The Swedish mining and mineral industry are also described to be of great importance to Sweden as a country, both from regional and local perspectives, as well as outside Sweden's borders. It brings jobs, welfare, and the extraction of minerals and metals that are important for a green transition. Sweden accounts for 93 percent of the EU's production of iron ore, as well as recycling 92 percent of consumed iron and steel, EU recycles 80 percent. Despite this, the EU is dependent on the import of iron and steel by as much as 72 percent. Recycling is described as important but not substantial enough to cover the need that exists and is expected to increase. It is stated that Sweden needs railways, housing, electric cars, wind turbines, and trains, which require steel that requires iron ore (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). The picture of Sweden as a mining state is another justification for the mine. This definition is also a form of cultural violence. The empirical science of the economic model promotes states to invest in industries they will have the upper hand in (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). Sweden is a state abundant with ore, making the economic model favor the industry. The picture of Sweden as a mining state prioritizes one industry over the other. Mining is seen as the most economically worthwhile option, even though the land in question has been used for reindeer herding for generations.

Monetary gain is throughout the three documents used as a justification for the mine (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). The monetary gain is promoted even though several actors raise concerns that the estimated concession time of 14 years will not be enough to make the mine economically worthwhile. Social, ecological, and economic factors should be considered when deciding between conflicting national interests. Social and ecological arguments are raised against the mine, and the importance of preserving nature for future generations is highlighted. Monetary arguments are also raised against the mine, it will cost society more than is to gain (Regeringen, 2022). Despite this, the government decided to approve the concession. Money is made

the priority through cultural violence. The importance of other factors is being overlooked for that of economic gain.

Kallak K nr 1 is described to be in an area that is not designated as a national park, nature reserve, Natura 2000-area, or of any other national interests in addition to the reindeer herding industry and deposit of valuable substances or minerals. The area intended for the concession is characterized by so-called modern forestry. The area is considered to not contain any high natural values (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). By this statement, the value of the land is equated to the natural value it possesses. This viewing of the land brings further justification, ignoring the importance the land possesses culturally to the Sami (Larsson, 2014). The land is judged based on the monetary means it can generate and not through its cultural value. Cultural violence further prioritizes economics over culture.

6.2.6 Formal Science

Formal science is not in itself biased. The statement that mathematics cannot be biased is often raised. This is both true and false. Numbers in themselves are not biased, it is the ones making the equation that possess the bias. Equations can be made to lift the wanted result, things can be included or excluded to favour it. Mathematics can be used when studying natural science, but when it comes to the social world it cannot merely be described through numbers (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

In the case of Kallak K nr 1, the relatively small size of the concession is time and time again lifted. Jåhkågasska tjiellde Sami village's reindeer husbandry consists of 720,300 hectares, 264,100 of these hectares are all-year-round pastures, the mine will be approximately 100 hectares in size, covering a business area of approximately 1300 hectares. The concession area will only take up 0,5% of the Sami village's all-year-round pastures. The need for materials is highlighted, as well as the fact that the EU relies on the import of important minerals for 72% (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). These statements are made throughout the documents and the press conference. The statements are lifted as a form of justification. The cultural violence of formal science describes the concession area as small and irrelevant to the all-year-round pastures. If size was the only factor in play within this case, 0,5% would indeed not be classified as very much. As highlighted by Galtung, the world cannot be understood by merely looking at numbers (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). In this case, the importance of the area in question is its use, which is highlighted by Jåhkågasska tjiellde. Without the area migration routes connecting the different pastures would be non-existent (Regeringen, 2022). The historic value of the ground itself would also be lost (Larsson, 2014). Cultural violence is here used to highlight the numbers in play in the case. 0,5% is not much, seeming insignificant from the standpoint of formal

science. The justification is used even though the government knows the true importance of the area (Regeringen, 2022).

6.3 Structural violence

Structural violence is violence conducted through social forces, harming certain groups of people, and hindering them from reaching true quality of life (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). Within the case of Kallak K nr 1 structural violence is used to grant processing concession. As stated in the background of this thesis, in “Before the 18th century”, Sápmi was not considered to be “kronojord” before the 19th century. Sápmi has traditionally been used by the Sami for hunting, fishery, and reindeer herding for at least 2000 years, only being considered “kronojord” for the last 200 (Ericsson, 2016). Today the Sami people possess rights as indigenous people, including the right to their land and territory (Socialstyrelsen, 2019) (Förenta Nationerna, u.d.), but still, infringements upon Sápmi land are being made.

During the press conference, a question about the right the Sami people have to their land under international law is raised. This protection is not regarding the national interests, how does the government position itself regarding these obligations? Thorwaldsson answers that they have as far as possible tried to follow the law. He then talks about national interests and the decision that has been made regarding them. The reporter once more asks about binding international law, to which Thorwaldsson once more mentions the conditions posted on the company (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). In answering that the government has tried to follow the law as far as possible Thorwaldsson opens for questions regarding which laws have not been followed, sadly no reporter follows up about this, but it can still be assumed that there may be laws that have not been considered. If this would be the case, it would be an example of structural violence. The government would have taken the liberty of choosing which laws are relevant to reach a desirable decision.

Details about how the decision has been made are discussed in the governmental decision. Laws regarding mines and extraction of minerals are discussed in great detail, but no specific laws are mentioned regarding Sami rights (Regeringen, 2022). The mine is being justified by not discussing Sami rights from a legal standpoint. The only laws mentioned regarding Sami are those of national interests. By not mentioning Sami rights no justification for why they are being ignored must be made. The cultural violence justifying the government making decisions regarding Sami land without the affected Sami individuals allows the structural violence of the decision being made to happen.

Sweden is several times throughout the material described as a mining state (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022). The picture of Sweden as a mining state is another justification for the mine. The cultural violence of promoting economic growth makes structural violence possible. In this case,

structural violence is conducted by infringing upon native land and classifying their chosen industry as less profitable.

The unique nature of the twelve conditions posed on the mining company is posed within all three main pieces of material (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). The conditions are described to be stated to counteract the negative impact on reindeer herding as far as possible. This is stated even though it through the press conference is made known that the Sami individuals affected have had no part in the decision. The culture of regarding Sami people as less and as in need of protection still lives on today since its abolition in the 20th century (Kunskapsbanken Bilders Makt, u.d.). The Swedish government making decisions on what should be considered best for the Sami people without consulting them can be linked to the “lapp-ska-vara-lapp” mentality. Cultural views can make acts of structural violence seem just (Galtung & Fischer, 2013). The cultural view would here explain the structural violence that justifies a decision about the best course of action being made for the Sami people.

6.3 Direct violence

Direct violence is often portrayed as physical violence, although this is not its only form. Truncated violence is a form of violence conducted by targeting symbols (Galtung, 1990). In the case of Kallak K nr 1, the land is the symbol. The symbol of history and a people (Larsson, 2014). Attacks on the land are therefore an indirect attack on the Sami people. The establishment of a mine in Kallak would be an attack, not just on the Sami people but on nature as well. The mine has been categorized as the best use of the land based on social, economic, and ecological factors. The mine is also said to help a green transition, bringing materials important for the process (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Näringsdepartementet, 2022) (Regeringen, 2022). Not everyone agrees with this sentiment, many of the statements against the mine called the belief that a mine would help a green transition a falsehood. Others say the economics to gain from the mine will not be enough to counteract the cost the mine would have on society due to climate change (Regeringen, 2022). A mine would be a form of direct violence towards the Sami people because of the land it is established on. It would also cause violence to nature, not just to the use it has today, but to society at large by climate change.

7 Conclusion

This thesis is built upon the science question: “How does the Swedish state justify the authorization of processing concession regarding Kallak K nr 1 and what role does violence play in the decision?” Throughout the thesis, it has been shown that several justifications exist within the material. The main justification is the *unique* conditions posed upon the mining company. The conditions are used as a shield, deflecting criticism against the mine by pointing to something that the government calls historic and never done before. Other justifications are also made. The relatively small area of the concession is often used. Descriptions of Sweden as a mining state in need of materials are also frequently made. Economic factors are said to be a large motive, the mine would bring prosperity to both local actors and society at large, giving life to a dying region.

The targeted audience differs between the material. The information document is the most accessible for those interested in the decision, it is also the one containing the least information. The press release and conference are targeted against the media, and indirectly the consumers of that media. This material contains more information, but as with the information document, only perspectives from the government. The governmental decision is the material containing the most information, as well as perspectives from other parties than the government. All material includes similar justifications. To get the full picture of the case all material should be consumed.

Discussions of Sami people as indigenous and in possession of special rights shine with its absence. The government’s obligation to promote Sami culture is sparsely mentioned, as well as Sweden’s international obligations. Only the conflicting national interests of reindeer herding and deposit of materials or minerals are mentioned concerning the case. When discussing laws, no specific law regarding the Sami is mentioned. Several of these laws are discussed in this thesis. Laws concerning mines and minerals are stated.

Cultural and structural violence can on several points be connected to the case of Kallak K nr 1. Cultural violence is seen in the portrayal of Sweden as a mining state, the industry that is promoted through the economic model. This form of cultural violence allowed the industry of mining to hold a higher priority than the one of reindeer herding. The cultural violence of prioritizing mining legitimizes the structural violence of accepting the concession. Cultural violence is also shown through how the state constructed the conditions against the mining company without consolation from the Sami involved. The Sami have on legal grounds the right to participate in matters regarding them. In this case, the Swedish state has made decisions regarding the Sami without consultation from them. This mentality

can be linked to the one of “lapp-ska-vara-lapp”. This mentality believed the Sami to be weak-minded and in need of protection. The cultural violence of this mentality allows the structural violence of the decision being made without the Sami to be conducted.

This thesis has furthered the knowledge of the Swedish states’ mentality regarding Kallak K nr 1. The material analyzed in this thesis is still new and has therefore not been the subject of many studies. This study can therefore be the foundation of a larger case study or future studies being conducted after further decisions regarding the mine have been made. This thesis has also furthered the methodology of cultural violence by highlighting the effect empirical science has on the establishment of mines. This methodology can further be used when analyzing different cases of infringement upon indigenous land.

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Miljöbalken 3 kap, 5§

Regeringsformen 1 kap, 2§

Appendix 1

Appendix 1 states the conditions posed by the Swedish state on the mining company for a concession to be granted. The material is in Swedish since that is the language it is presented in by the government.

1. Bolaget ska utöver vad som anges i detta beslut, i fråga om försiktighetsmått, skyddsåtgärder och kompensationsåtgärder, nyttja marken i enlighet med vad som angivits i ansökan med bilagor och kompletteringar samt vad bolaget i övrigt har åtagit sig i detta ärende.
2. Anläggningsarbeten till följd av nyttjande av koncessionen ska ske under perioder då minsta möjliga negativa påverkan uppstår för den pågående renskötseln i omgivande områden.
3. Koncessionsområdet ska ta så lite mark i anspråk som möjligt. I möjligaste mån ska påverkan på flyttleder för renar undvikas. Vid nyttjandet av koncessionen ska bolaget i övrigt se till att minsta möjliga negativa påverkan uppstår när flyttlederna och till koncessionsområdet angränsande betesområden nyttjas.
4. Vid nyttjande av koncessionen ska Jåhkågasska tjiellde samebys merkostnader till följd av påverkan på möjligheten att nyttja flyttleder för renar och renbete ersättas. Fastställande av ersättning och prövning av eventuella tvister om ersättning följer minerallagens bestämmelser.
5. Om Jåhkågasska tjiellde sameby, trots åtgärder för att möjliggöra rådande renflytt, har behov av lastbilstransporter av sina renar förbi koncessionsområdet ska bolaget bekosta sådana transporter
6. Bolaget ska etablera skyddsstängsel, skyddsvallar eller andra anläggningar för att minimera risker för olyckor med renar inom koncessionsområdet. Anläggningarna ska utformas för att möjliggöra säkra övergångar för renar genom eller förbi koncessionsområdet.

7. Bolaget ska årligen göra en uppföljning av konsekvenserna för rennäringsen av nyttjandet av koncessionen och redovisa denna till bergmästaren, Sametinget och Länsstyrelsen i Norrbottens län.
8. Bolaget ska löpande samråda med Jáhkågasska tjiellde, Sirges och Tuorpon samebyar i syfte att klarlägga behovet av åtgärder och resurser för att uppfylla villkor 1–7 samt i övrigt för att motverka störningar på renskötseln. Samrådet ska genomföras i syfte att uppnå samförstånd med samebyarna och dokumenteras. Bolaget ska årligen rapportera genomförda samråd till Sametinget, Länsstyrelsen i Norrbotten och bergmästaren. Bergmästaren ska efter samrådet ta ställning till om det finns behov av ändrade villkor enligt 6 kap. 4 § minerallagen.
9. Bolaget ska vid nyttjandet av koncessionen föra en dialog med Riksantikvarieämbetet och Naturvårdsverket i syfte att säkerställa att nödvändig hänsyn tas till Laponias status som världsarv.
10. Bolaget ska, efter avslutad verksamhet, se till att koncessionsområdet återställs så att marken åter kan nyttjas för rennäringsen. En plan för efterbehandling ska utarbetas i samråd med berörda samebyar i ett tidigt skede av gruvverksamheten och uppdateras löpande.
11. Bolaget ska till bergmästaren ställa en ekonomisk säkerhet om 1 000 000 kronor. Säkerheten ska ställas senast när anmälan om påbörjad gruvdrift enligt 57 § mineralförordningen (1992:285) sker.
12. För det fall sökanden avser att nyttja koncessionen till att ansöka om ett tillstånd enligt miljöbalken till gruvverksamhet inom koncessionsområdet, ska en sådan ansökan inkludera en In-Depth Impact Assessment genomförd enligt principerna i IUCN World Heritage Advice Note on Environmental Assessment, som dessförinnan har översänts till Världscarvscentret vid Förenta nationernas organisation för utbildning, vetenskap och kultur.