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EU - Sámi Relations

*Strategic Narrative Analysis of the EU and the Sámi People
in Light of Green Colonialism, Consultation,
and Inclusion in Decision-Making Processes*

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Abstract

The Sámi people are the only recognised Indigenous people in Europe. Historically, they have not only been oppressed and colonialised, but also not been as included in, or consulted on decision-making processes by the governments of the countries they live in. The European Union is seen as a trailblazer for human rights and equality, in addition to being a determined actor within the green energy transition. The latter is partially implemented through green energy developments and critical raw material extractions in northern Scandinavia – or Sápmi, the land of the Sámi. In this context, this thesis examines the EU-Sámi relationship, based on the narratives that both actors portray, conjointly in relation to a lack of research on this particular relationship. Through the development of a theoretical framework with influences from colonial and postcolonial scholarship, strategic narratives, and the decent consultation hierarchy, the aim of this thesis is to better understand the dynamics of and influences on the EU-Sámi relationship. The method used for this is a narrative analysis inspired by the work of Miskimmon *et al.* and Labov.

The study reveals that there are two main aspects that overshadow the relationship, one related to colonial legacies and the postcolonial system in which the EU and the Sámi exist, and the second aspect related to climate change and the connected green energy transition. Furthermore, while both actors' narratives stray away from each other in a number of areas, they perhaps most importantly align when it comes to the willingness and determination to have the Sámi people participate in decision-making processes and to consult them on matters of importance.

Keywords: EU, Sámi, green colonialism, colonial legacies, strategic narratives, decent consultation hierarchy, European affairs, Indigenous affairs, green energy transition, Arctic

Abbreviations

BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
EU	European Union
EP	European Parliament
ILO	International Labour Organization
POV	Point of view
UN	United Nations
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People

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1. Introduction

“Many decisions that have the potential to affect the lives of Sámi people start right here: at the European Institutions. And that is why our dialogue is important, not only today but always.”¹

Roberta Metsola, 2023

1.1 Definition and Relevance

The European Union (EU) affects the life of all its citizens, its supranational institutions and shared competencies with its member states playing a significant role in shaping policies on all levels. Yet developments in the energy and mining sectors, authorised in light of the European Green Deal and Europe’s green energy transition, have had an adverse impact on some of the continent’s most vulnerable people. The only recognised Indigenous people in Europe, the Sámi people have had to curtail their livelihoods, most prominently the practise of reindeer husbandry, and their Indigenous rights, as laid out in internationally-established agreements, due to developments in the energy and mining sector in Europe. In addition, both historically and presently the EU has lacked to consult with the Sámi people in regard to matters that have an effect on them. Yet at the same time, the Sámi people and the EU, in theory, aim to improve their relation by protecting the Sámi people’s rights and increasing their participation in EU politics.

A number of EU member states have a colonial history, Sweden and Finland, and former Denmark-Norway colonised their own countries (internal colonialism). These are countries that the Sámi people are Indigenous to. It is important to understand the previous and current dynamics of the relations between a supranational organisation (EU), its member states (Sweden, Finland), and a minority and Indigenous group (the Sámi people) to see not only how it can be improved but also why current efforts to improve relations lack efficacy. In addition, other actors must be considered, including stakeholders such as EU and non-EU corporations, as well as Norway and Russia since the Sámi people also live within these countries.

¹ Roberta Metsola, “The Sámi Culture Is an Integral Part of Europe’s Cultural Wealth,” <https://The-President.Eu/parl.Europa.Eu/Home/Ep-Newsroom/PageContent-Area/Actualites/the-Sami-Culture-Is-an-Integral-Part-of-Europes-Cultural-Wealth.Html> (Brussels: European Parliament, March 23, 2023).

1.2 Research Question, Aim and Outline

While there is much scholarship on the Sámi people's relations with countries such as Sweden and Norway, as well as on the dynamics between the Sámi and corporations in the mining and energy sectors², the relations between the EU and the Sámi people have not been as assessed. In order to fill this gap and to understand the aforementioned dynamics of the EU-Sámi relationship as well as to contribute to scholarship and theory development on the EU and the Sámi, this thesis will answer the following research question:

How do the European Union's and the Sámi people's narratives on their relationship align or stray away from each other and which theoretical elements explain this relationship?

This thesis aims to develop a theoretical framework to better understand past and current power dynamics and the relationship between the European Union and the Sámi people, as well as other actors that are of concern for this case. Oral material in form of speeches published by the parties illustrates both parties' narratives presented at a specific event, aimed at enhancing their relations. These sources and the analysis thereof give insight into what constitutes the EU-Sámi relationship and by which elements it is shaped. In addition, the development of a theoretical framework which explains this relationship might be transferrable and applicable to other relationships in the EU and non-EU context, especially other Indigenous peoples and minority groups and their inclusion in decision-making processes within the political sphere.

The following two arguments shall support the research question and set the theme, especially emphasising on the aspects that will be assessed in the analysis.³

First, I argue that activities in a green colonialism context not only hinder the EU and Sámi narratives from converging but also partly contradict the EU's arguments on amplifying the Sámi people's voice and including them in EU decision-making processes. Second, I argue the EU plays a vital part in enacting and enhancing the Sámi people's inclusion in decision-making processes, and in the perseverance of their culture through advocating that inclusion and advocating for the Sámi people's place in EU politics and European culture.

² See chapter 2.4.

³ See chapter four.

The thesis begins with background information on Indigenous recognition with an outlook on two important international Indigenous rights developments, as well as on the Sámi and their identity, succeeded by a brief introduction on the EU in context to the Sámi people. In addition, I will elaborate on and give an overview of previous research in chapter two. Following that, chapter three presents the research design, beginning with the theoretical framework as the backbone of the thesis with influences from strategic narrative scholarship, colonialism and postcolonialism within which the term of green colonialism exists, as well as the decent consultation hierarchy by Rawls. Chapter three further includes an elaboration on the applied method and material, namely narrative analysis and the usage of speeches as material, as well as an acknowledgement of the limitations of the method. Chapter four focuses on the method used, a narrative analysis inspired by Miskimmon *et al.* and Labov, divided into three parts based on the three types of strategic narratives, with the results from the analysis answering the research question of this thesis. Lastly, chapter five is the conclusion in which the previous content of this thesis is synthesised and in which the results from chapter four will be summarised. Chapter five furthermore includes an outlook on potential future research on the topic.

2. Background

2.1 The Sámi and Indigenous Recognition

2.1.1 The ILO Convention No. 169 and UNDRIP

On the global level, two significant documents have paved the way for the international recognition of Indigenous rights. The ILO Convention No. 169, initiated by the International Labour Organization (ILO), was adopted on 27 June 1989 and went into force on 5 September 1991.⁴ The convention has been ratified by twenty-four countries, among them Norway in 1990.⁵ At the time of writing this thesis, Sweden, Finland, and Russia have not yet ratified this convention, though a proposal for ratification is currently underway in Finland,⁶ and Sweden's government in 2020 told the United Nations that they are working towards a ratification.⁷ Overall, the ILO Convention No. 169 remains the only legally-binding international instrument exclusively dedicated to the rights of Indigenous and tribal peoples, that is open for ratification. It seeks to ensure their enjoyment of human rights without discrimination, that Indigenous and tribal peoples can exercise control over their own development and participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives.⁸ The convention's cornerstones are the principles of participation and consultation.⁹

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted in September 2007 and is ratified by 194 countries, including Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia.¹⁰ This declaration is the most comprehensive international instrument

⁴ International Labour Organization, "Convention 169 and International Day of the World's Indigenous People," https://www.ilo.org/century/history/iloandyou/WCMS_190269/lang-en/index.htm#:~:text=C169%20entered%20into%20force%20on,by%2022%20countries%20to%20date.,2024.

⁵ International Labour Organization, "Ratifications of C169 - Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169)," https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11300:0::NO::P11300_INSTRUMENT_ID:312314,2017.

⁶ Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on the Human Rights Situation of the Sami People in the Sápmi Region of Norway, Sweden and Finland" (Geneva, August 9, 2016).

⁷ Kevin McGwin, "Sweden Still 'Working towards' Approval of Indigenous Rights Agreement," <https://www.arctictoday.com/sweden-still-working-towards-approval-of-indigenous-rights-agreement/>, June 5, 2020.

⁸ Peter Bille Larsen and Jérémie Gilbert, "Indigenous Rights and ILO Convention 169: Learning from the Past and Challenging the Future," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 24, no. 2–3 (January 29, 2020): 83–93.

⁹ International Labour Organization, "Convention 169 and International Day of the World's Indigenous People."

¹⁰ The Danish Institute for Human Rights, "Signatories for United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," <https://sdg.humanrights.dk/en/instrument/signees/28>, n.d.

on the rights of Indigenous peoples through the establishment of a universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the Indigenous peoples of the world. Furthermore, a significant number of the declarations articles (seventeen out of forty-five) address Indigenous culture and how to protect and promote it, by respecting the direct input of Indigenous peoples in decision-making.¹¹ Perhaps one of the more relevant articles of the declaration for this thesis is article nineteen, which enshrines that “States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the Indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them.”¹²

2.1.2 Sápmi and Sámi Identity

The Sámi people are the Indigenous people of Finland, Norway, Sweden and the Kola Peninsula of north-western Russia. They enjoy a distinctive identity, language, history, culture and social structure, as well as unique traditions, livelihoods and aspirations.¹³ The Sámi people have been living in Sápmi, a territory located in the countries above, for centuries and prior to the establishment of state borders, a statement that is often brought up in this or similar wording (e.g. “since time immemorial”, used by Elle Merete Omma, head of the Saami Council) in the media coverage of questions and issues related to the Sámi.^{14 15}
¹⁶ Furthermore, the Sámi peoples’ identity is diverse and complicated even though they are a singular Indigenous group. Their identity is complicated in the sense that the treatment of the Sámi in national law differs across the four countries Sápmi is geographically part of. Moreover, the Sámi are recognised either as a people or Indigenous people in the constitutions of Norway, Sweden and Finland.¹⁷ The difference in the recognition of Sámi

¹¹ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, “Adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: 14 Years Later,”

<https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/news/2021/09/adoption-of-the-united-nations-declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples-14-years-later/>, September 13, 2021.

¹² United Nations, “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” (2007).

¹³ John B. Henriksen, “The Continuous Process of Recognition and Implementation of the Sami People’s Right to Self-Determination,” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 21, no. 1 (March 2008): 27–40, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/09557570701828402?needAccess=true>.

¹⁴ The Local, “A Short History of Sweden’s Indigenous People,” <https://www.thelocal.se/20191101/a-short-history-of-swedens-indigenous-people-sinews>, November 1, 2019.

¹⁵ Shafiq Mussadique, “‘Our Bodies Know the Pain’: Why Norway’s Reindeer Herders Support Gaza,” <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2024/2/24/also-forced-from-our-homes-the-norwegian-sami-and-the-palestinian-cause>, February 24, 2024.

¹⁶ Aurora Velez, “‘Where Words End, the Yoik Begins’: The Sámi People’s Struggles to Preserve Their Tradition,” <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2023/09/11/where-words-end-the-yoik-begins-the-sami-peoples-struggles-to-preserve-their-tradition>, September 11, 2023.

¹⁷ Eirik Larsen, “Sápmi,” in *The Indigenous World 2024*, ed. Dwayne Mamo, 38th ed. (The International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2024), 465

rights has an impact on matters such as self-determination, land rights, public support for Sámi education, languages and cultural programming. While the Sámi people are organised in NGO's in Russia, they are represented by a Sámi parliament in Norway, Sweden, and Finland respectively. All three parliaments in 2000 jointly established the Sámi Parliamentary Council which shall not be confused with the Saami Council. The Sámi Parliamentary Council is a central NGO representing nine large national Sámi associations in all four countries.¹⁸

Historically, the Sámi people have been internally colonised by the countries to which they are Indigenous, Denmark-Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia.¹⁹ In Sweden, which is home to around 20.000 to 40.000 Sámi people, conflicts over land and natural resources have been a constant element throughout the past decades.²⁰ While conflicts over land and resource use represent one side of the coin, racial discrimination displays the other side of the same coin. The Sámi have been subjected to discrimination and racism by governments in the Nordic countries, displayed by racial biology and the suppression of their religion, culture and language. The Sámi people's past is one of exposure to racism, abuses and violations, and to some extent still lives on today.²¹

The Nordic countries are known to be champions of global equality and minority rights,²² Lawrence for instance recognises the global role of the Nordic states as leaders in international human rights while at the same time emphasising that the issue of Sámi rights remains fundamentally unsolved in Scandinavia.²³ Furthermore, she elaborates on two interconnected historical trends, the first one being the close link between the internal colonisation of Sámi lands and natural resource use, and the second one being the "subsequent nonrecognition of Saami rights to traditionally occupied territories."²⁴

¹⁸ Larsen. "The Indigenous," 464.

¹⁹ Johan Höglund and Linda Andersson Burnett, "Introduction: Nordic Colonialisms and Scandinavian Studies," *Scandinavian Studies* 91, no. 1–2 (2019): 2.

²⁰ United Nations, "The Sámi: We Are the Natives of This Country," accessed May 15, 2024, <https://unric.org/en/sami-we-are-the-natives-of-this-country/>, March 18, 2021.

²¹ United Nations.

²² Höglund and Andersson Burnett, "Introduction: Nordic Colonialisms and Scandinavian Studies." 1.

²³ Rebecca Lawrence, "Internal Colonisation and Indigenous Resource Sovereignty: Wind Power Developments on Traditional Saami Lands," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 32, no. 6 (2014): 1039, <https://doi.org/10.1068/d9012>.

²⁴ Lawrence, "Internal Colonisation and Indigenous Resource Sovereignty: Wind Power Developments on Traditional Saami Lands." 1042.

2.2 The EU and Sápmi

In relation to the recognition of and impact on the Sámi people, the EU plays a significant role. While Finland and Sweden have been EU member state since 1995, Norway has voted against becoming a EU member state, and Russia is not considered to become a EU member state anytime soon. The different agreements between the individual states but also between the EU and Norway and Russia with regard to their borders leave the Sámi people at least physically divided.

The first, and so far, only protocol granting specific Sámi rights at the European level is protocol three (*Sámi protocol*) as part of the accession documents of Sweden and Finland and enshrines traditional nomadic rights of reindeer herders. The protocol makes it possible for reindeer herders to keep using traditional reindeer herding areas across.²⁵ However, there is currently no internal Indigenous Peoples Policy on the EU internal level that addresses the rightsholder.²⁶

The EU has an impact on the Sámi peoples' livelihoods in different areas ranging from land use and forestry to food security and cross-border collaboration.²⁷ Perhaps the most prominent and current impact lies in the EU's environmental policy through the introduction of the European Green Deal in 2019²⁸ and the introduction of the Critical Raw Materials Act under the European Green Deal.²⁹

When it comes to the EU's engagement with Indigenous issues on a broader, global scale, more mechanisms can be found. The EU is an international key player in the area of human rights, development, and monitoring of corporate and environmental issues, aside from its influence within the territory of its Member States and its influence in international organizations. The ILO Convention No. 169 has been ratified by five EU Member States

²⁵ Luke Laframboise, "The Sámi Limbo: Outlining Nearly Thirty Years of EU-Sápmi Relations," <https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/Sami-Limbo-Outlining-Nearly-Thirty-Years-Eu-Sapmi-Relations/>, September 12, 2023.

²⁶ Anja Márjá Nystø Keskitalo and Jaqueline Götze, "How to Streamline Sámi Rights into Policy-Making in the European Union?," <https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/how-streamline-sami-rights-into-policy-making-european-union/>, September 19, 2023.

²⁷ Eva Josefsen et al., "Sápmi-EU Strategy," Saami Council, 2022. 4. Accessed May 15, 2024. <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5dfb35a66f00d54ab0729b75/t/62fb6a055f00414e5bf06612/1660643865381/S%C3%A1pmi+-+EU+strategy+final.pdf>

²⁸ Luke Laframboise, "Brussels Looks North: The European Union's Latest Arctic Policy and the Potential for 'Green' Colonialism," <https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/Brussels-Looks-North-European-Unions-Latest-Arctic-Policy-Potential-Green-Colonialism/>, September 20, 2022.

²⁹ Philip Blenkinsop, "The EU's Hunt for Critical Minerals" <https://www.reuters.com/markets/commodities/eus-hunt-critical-minerals-2023-12-18/>, December 18, 2023.

while the EU overall supported the adoption of the UNDRIP.³⁰ Moving from a rather passive approach of the recognition of Indigenous People's rights in the past, the EU has become more active in its position in recent years. This more active position is visible for instance through the first Sámi Summit in 2023. However, a noticeable approach is that the EU's processes and policies with regard to the recognition of those rights still remains mostly on the global and external level, with directives and policies aimed at deforestation in South America, or global trade.³¹

2.3 Previous Research

While much research has been done on the Indigenous Sámi people in relation to environmental protection, green industrial and renewable energy developments, and land rights, I want to review the research that has been done on the Sámi people in relation to their self-determination, relations to States and corporations, narratives on but not necessarily by the Sámi people, legal developments to secure Sámi rights, and land use. Some of the research in this review has comparative elements while other research solely focuses on the case of the Sámi people and their land, Sápmi. In the following, a particular emphasis is set on research from the Nordics.

One aspect that is very clear when looking at research on the Sámi people and their relation to other stakeholders in different issues such as increasing and enhancing their rights or land use, is the difference between the Sámi and the non-Sámi narrative and perspective. With reference to Magga,³² an example of this is that, in Sámi thinking, landscapes can seem natural, yet they are imbued with cultural values and meanings. As they have no visible imprint on landscapes they remain inaccessible to cultural outsiders which is leading to the (Western – Ed.) perception of an uninhabited and unused landscape and wilderness. According to Magga, Sámi thinking does not emphasise the human as a cultivator and manipulator of nature.³³ Epistemological differences are furthermore mentioned and

³⁰ See chapter 2.1.1

³¹ Mathias Wuidar, "European Union Engagement with Indigenous Issues," in *The Indigenous World 2024*, ed. Dwayne Mamo, 38th ed. (The International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2024), 586–91.

³² Magga, Päivi. Rakennuksia, kotasijoja, muistoja – saamelaista kulttuuriympäristöä inventoimassa [Producing an Inventory of the Sámi Cultural Environment]. In Eletty, koettu maisema. Näkökulmia saamelaisen kulttuurimaisemaan, edited by Tiina Elo & Päivi Magga. Rovaniemi: Suomen ympäristö 34, Lapin ympäristökeskus, 11-24.

³³ Jarno Valkonen, Sanna Valkonen, and Tom Ingold, "Introduction," in *Knowing from the Indigenous North: Sámi Approaches to History, Politics and Belonging*, ed. Thomas Hylland, Sanna Valkonen, and Jarno Valkonen, 1st ed. (New York: Routledge, 2018), 3–11; Päivi Magga, "Rakennuksia, Kotasijoja, Muistoja - Saamelaista Kulttuuriympäristöä Inventoimassa [Producing an Inventory of the Sámi Cultral Environment],"

assessed by Fjellheim.³⁴ While Valkonen et al. aim to regard the North (Arctic regions – Ed.) as a specific epistemic position from which many contemporary societies’ questions of being and belonging are opened and crystallised, and to re-think concepts such as identity, ethnicity, nationhood and governance in a Northern epistemic position which offers alternative ways (to classic Western epistemology – Ed.) to theorise these issues,³⁵ Fjellheim in her article finds epistemic miscommunication and perpetuated relations of domination which limit emancipatory effects for the reindeer herding community of Jillen Njaarke in her research on the conflict over the Øyfjellet wind energy project in Norway in context of state- and corporate-led dialogues.³⁶ The epistemological aspect when looking at research on the Sápmi people seems rather important and linked with the terms of colonialism and post-colonialism, legitimacy and self-determination, tensions between the Sámi and other stakeholders, and the Sámi peoples participation in decision-making processes. Those terms will be reviewed as follows.

Colonialism and post-colonialism and its relation the Sámi people is a reoccurring theme, such as in the works of Valkonen et al.,³⁷ Hocking,³⁸ Jones,³⁹ Daniels-Mayes and Sehlin MacNeil,⁴⁰ and Larsson Blind.⁴¹ Valkonen et al. write that the European North has usually been understood as a geographical region characterised by its climate and cultures and by geographical distance from political and economic centres. It has however, long been recognised as an imaginary zone on which various utopian futures have been projected, and not merely as a region. Furthermore, the conceptualisation of the North being a province of the future which had to be actively developed has led to a rather ambivalent attitude towards

in *Eletty, Koettu Maisema. Näkökulmia Saamelaiseen Kulttuurimaisemaan*, ed. Tiina Elo and Päivi Magga (Rovaniemi: Lapin ympäristökeskus, 2007), 11–24.

³⁴ Eva Maria Fjellheim, “You Can Kill Us with Dialogue: Critical Perspectives on Wind Energy Development in a Nordic-Saami Green Colonial Context,” *Human Rights Review* 24 (March 11, 2023): 25–51.

³⁵ Valkonen, Valkonen, and Ingold, “Introduction.” 6-7.

³⁶ Fjellheim, “You Can Kill Us with Dialogue: Critical Perspectives on Wind Energy Development in a Nordic-Saami Green Colonial Context.” 25.

³⁷ Valkonen, Valkonen, and Ingold, “Introduction.”

³⁸ Barbara Hocking, “Colonialism, Constitutionalism, Costs and Compensation: A Contemporary Comparison of the Legal Rights and Obligations of and towards the Scandinavian Sami and Indigenous Australians,” *Nordic Journal of International Law* 68, no. 1 (1999): 31–52.

³⁹ Natalie Jones, “Introduction,” in *Self-Determination as Voice. The Participation of Indigenous Peoples in International Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024), 1–17.

⁴⁰ Sheelagh Daniels-Mayes and Kristina MacNeil, “Disrupting Assimilationist Research Principles and Practices in Australia and Sweden: Self-Determination through the Enactment of Indigenous Diplomacies,” *Seton Hall Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations* 21, no. 1 (2019): 36–53.

⁴¹ Åsa Larsson Blind, “Pathways for Action. The Need for Sámi Self-Determination,” in *Reindeer Husbandry and Global Environmental Change*, vol. 1 (Routledge, 2022), 278–88.

the region and its Indigenous people, of ethnologists with the stereotype of the “noble savage” who has yet to be reached and “spoiled’ by civilisation”.⁴²

A common view is that the North is a categorical given, a multiply marginal place whose supposedly “small peoples” are dwarfed by the vastness of terrains,⁴³ hence signalling colonial thinking in the early twentieth century and beyond. Postcolonialism plays an important role in the contemporary North. Environmental movements, local and international Indigenous organisations have, according to Valkonen et al., been questioning the legitimacy of state powers to govern Northern peoples, environments and lands. Usually modelled on the powers of the state rather than on traditional forms of self-governance, Northern Indigenous peoples have recently gained their own institutional structures of autonomy, where their activities increasingly take place in non-state transnational channels where they fight for their rights to resurrect their societies.⁴⁴ This development connects postcolonialism with the issue of Indigenous rights and Indigenous people such as the Sámi aiming to increase their rights, which henceforth also connects to the above listed term of self-determination in the context of research on the Sámi people.

Most recently, Jones assessed Indigenous people’s participation in policy-making and mechanisms. According to her, the achievement of the ideal of full and effective participation, in a manner that would fulfil Indigenous people’s right to self-determination, remains deferred even though the establishment and use of mechanisms and policies to enable a certain level of Indigenous people’s participation in international governance has become a widespread practice among states and international organisations. Jones raises the question to which extent an “illusion of inclusion” may function to bolster the legitimacy of international processes under consideration while obscuring continued (neo)-colonial economic and political relations that serve to facilitate further wealth extraction and dispossession of land from Indigenous peoples.⁴⁵ Adding the perspective of diplomacy and linking it to colonisation when it comes to research by Indigenous people, Daniels-Mayes and Sehlin MacNeil demonstrate that Indigenous diplomacies are not new but rather newly recognised, and argue that Indigenous diplomatic practices need to be utilised to realise self-

⁴² Valkonen, Valkonen, and Ingold, “Introduction”; Veli-Pekka Lehtola, “True Laplanders Do Not Use a Knife and Fork,” *The Finnish Art Review Framework* 1 (2004): 66–68.

⁴³ Valkonen, Valkonen, and Ingold. 5.

⁴⁴ Valkonen, Valkonen, and Ingold. 5-6.

⁴⁵ Jones, “Introduction.” 4.

determining research with, and by, First Peoples. Through this utilisation the centuries of colonisation that have resulted in power imbalances may be disrupted and transformed.⁴⁶

Circling back to the Sámi people, specifically in relation to the state's approach towards the Sámi people and to Sámi reindeer herding, Larsson Blind writes that the approach still includes some colonial structures. This becomes visible for instance by upholding that other people than the Sámi reindeer herders know what is best for reindeer herding, and by Sámi reindeer herders still not being included in the decision-making processes even though including and involving expert knowledge holders and right holders (i.e. Sámi reindeer herders) in decisions that concern them should, according to Larsson Blind, be a natural working method.⁴⁷ In addition, There is an ongoing tension between reindeer herding and other land use such as forestry in all three countries (i.e. Sweden, Norway, Finland).⁴⁸ These issues raise the question for self-determination of the Sámi people.

The desire for self-determination should not be confused with the desire for sovereignty. As opposed to the North American Arctic, Sámi people do not ask for sovereignty over specific territories or reserves but rather for increased self-determination and proper land rights in the regions that are part of Sápmi. In the Finnmark province of Norway, work on a decade-long effort by the Finnmark Commission and the Finnmark Estate to determine land rights has so far moved slowly. In Sweden, while reindeer herding is defined as a national interest, several land-use conflicts over mining and forestry in Sápmi areas show that this is no guarantee of protection from impacts of resource extraction.⁴⁹ In comparison to reindeer herding being defined as a national interest, other traditional land-based Sámi practices such as fishing or berry picking are not legally protected, leaving the majority of the Sámi population in Sweden without access to Indigenous land rights.⁵⁰

Adding more emphasis on rights, Freng Dale and Gross further write that Indigenous rights differ across the Arctic nations, reflected by the signing and adoption of conventions such

⁴⁶ Daniels-Mayes and Sehlin MacNeil, "Disrupting Assimilationist Research Principles and Practices in Australia and Sweden: Self-Determination through the Enactment of Indigenous Diplomacies." 36.

⁴⁷ Larsson Blind, "Pathways for Action. The Need for Sámi Self-Determination." 287.

⁴⁸ Hocking, "Colonialism, Constitutionalism, Costs and Compensation: A Contemporary Comparison of the Legal Rights and Obligations of and towards the Scandinavian Sami and Indigenous Australians." 43-44.

⁴⁹ Ragnhild Freng Dale and Lena Gross, "The Arctic: Last Frontier for Energy and Mineral Exploitation?," in *Handbook on International Development and the Environment* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elger Publishing, 2023), 154–69.

⁵⁰ Ragnhild Freng Dale and Lena Gross, "The Arctic: Last Frontier for Energy and Mineral Exploitation?," in *Handbook on International Development and the Environment* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elger Publishing, 2023), 158.

as the ILO 169 in 1989 or the UNDRIP in 2007. While only Norway and Denmark have signed the former, the UNDRIP of 2007 was signed by Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, and initially rejected by the United States and Canada who have since 2007 adopted it. Russia abstained from signing the declaration.⁵¹

Broderstad makes a comparative connection between the case of self-determination of the Sámi in Arctic Norway and self-determination as well as self-governance of Greenland, which is a territory of Denmark. She notes the difference between the two cases, which is that in Greenland's case ethnicity is not of as much relevance since Indigenous people in Greenland constitute the majority. In Norway however, the Sámi people are a permanent minority and share their settlement areas with non-Indigenous peoples.⁵²

While Hocking already in 1999 described the tension between reindeer herding and other land use such as forestry,⁵³ Fjellheim assesses the current ongoing conflict over the Øyffjellet wind energy project in Norway in context of state- and corporate-led dialogues and how these displace the root cause of the conflict. Such dialogues, underpinned by premises and discourses, further reproduced racist notions which devalue ancestral Saami reindeer herding knowledges, practices, and landscape relations.⁵⁴ Additionally devalued is the Sámi people's participation in dialogues and decision-making processes, which Jones assesses on a broader Indigenous level. Jones finds that barriers to full and effective participation persist at systemic, institutional, and material levels, and how the level of Indigenous people's participation in a given body or process tends to be inversely proportional to the scope of that body's powers. Furthermore, she finds how the structures of international organisations mean that the final say on a decision or policy tends to remain with the states.⁵⁵

Just as substantial research has been done on the Indigenous Sámi people in relation to environmental protection, green industrial and renewable energy developments, and land rights; colonialism and post-colonialism, legitimacy and self-determination, tensions between the Sámi and other stakeholders, and the Sámi peoples participation in decision-making processes are researched to a great deal as well. While scholars such as Sehlin

⁵¹ Freng Dale and Gross. 156.

⁵² Else Grete Broderstad, "The Promises and Challenges of the Indigenous Self-Determination: The Sami Case," *International Journal* 66, no. 4 (2011): 898.

⁵³ Hocking, "Colonialism, Constitutionalism, Costs and Compensation: A Contemporary Comparison of the Legal Rights and Obligations of and towards the Scandinavian Sami and Indigenous Australians." 43-44.

⁵⁴ Fjellheim, "You Can Kill Us with Dialogue: Critical Perspectives on Wind Energy Development in a Nordic-Saami Green Colonial Context." 25.

⁵⁵ Jones, "Introduction." 5.

MacNeil⁵⁶ or Freng Dale and Gross⁵⁷ with their research give a broader understanding by comparing different Indigenous people around the World, Valkonen et al.⁵⁸ or Larsson Blind⁵⁹ dig deeper into issues specific to the Sámi people. Very noticeable when looking at research on Indigenous people, specific to this case the Sámi people, are the tensions and power relations between the Indigenous on one side and other stakeholders, mostly corporations and the states in which the Indigenous people are living (e.g. Sweden and Norway) on the other side. In the greater European context, one stakeholder that has not been much researched is the European Union and its institutions and their role in Sámi relations and power tensions. This gives reason to look further into said stakeholder and assess potential tensions on and between the EU, state, and Sápmi levels, not necessarily looking at judicial developments but rather looking at argumentation and dialogue from different perspectives, hence taking a softer approach to this issue.

⁵⁶ Kristina Sehlin MacNeil, “Let’s Name It: Identifying Cultural, Structural and Extractive Violence in Indigenous and Extractive Industry Relations,” *Journal of Northern Studies* 12, no. 2 (2018): 81–103.

⁵⁷ Freng Dale and Gross, “The Arctic: Last Frontier for Energy and Mineral Exploitation?”

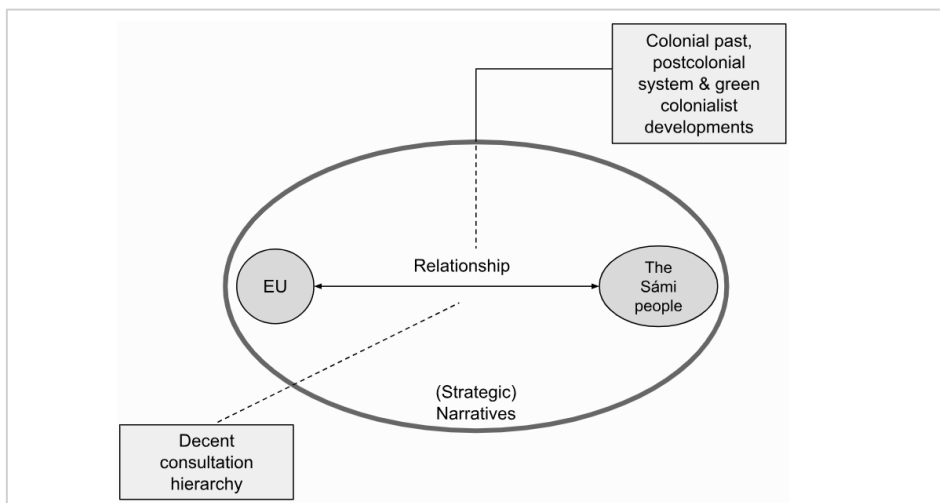
⁵⁸ Valkonen, Valkonen, and Ingold, “Introduction.”

⁵⁹ Larsson Blind, “Pathways for Action. The Need for Sámi Self-Determination,”

3. Research Design

3.1 Theoretical Framework

Drawing on the characteristics of theory on colonialism, postcolonialism and green colonialism; Miskimmon's, O'Loughlin's, and Roselle's thoughts on strategic narratives, and taking inspiration from Labov's Six-Part Model; as well as Rawls decent consultation hierarchy, I will in the following theorise the framework of this thesis. The framework shall demonstrate in which ideas the topic and arguments are grounded, and it shall ultimately contribute to theorising within the broader sphere of EU relations. Graph 1 below illustrates the structure of the framework, with the EU and the Sámi people as actors and their relationship representing the core.



Graph 1: Theoretical Framework. Note. Own representation.

As seen in graph 1, narratives construct a frame within which the actors and their relationship exist. This is due to the characteristics of narratives, for instance that they are shaped by attitudes and beliefs among other things.⁶⁰ This frame can both be viewed with reference to narratives and strategic narratives. Furthermore, visualised in graphic 1 are two aspects that influence the frame and the relationship within it. Those are colonial legacies and current developments within the field of green colonialism, which will be elaborated on in chapter 3.1.1, and inspired by Rawls' decent consultation hierarchy, consultation between both actors which will be elaborated on in chapter 3.1.3. In the context of this thesis, strategic

⁶⁰ See Wells in chapter 3.1.2

narratives are studied in relation to a postcolonialism and colonial legacy perspective because this perspective can be assumed to be an overshadowing component which influences the EU and Sámi narratives in different ways. Studying this gives meaning to contextualising relationships between political actors and the narratives they communicate, especially looking at two actors who are positioned at two different ends of the component. Moreover, as strategic narratives are a means for political actors to construct a shared and determined meaning of international politics,⁶¹ and both the EU and the Sámi people have a shared yet vastly different colonial past, combining strategic narratives and colonial studies seems reasonable and will be picked up in the following analysis, especially looking at the system narratives aspect. In the following, the components of this theoretical framework will be assessed, first looking at theories and terms within colonialism studies, followed by a look on narratives as well as strategic narratives, and lastly introducing Rawls' decent consultation hierarchy.

3.1.1 Colonialism, Postcolonialism and Green Colonialism

Some of the EU member states are former colonisers but within the EU, one can also find former colonised – the Sámi people.⁶² Whether the Sámi have only been colonised in the past or whether they still are colonised in a sense is up for discussion. To put the EU's relationship with the Sámi people in this context, postcolonialism, and within it green colonialism are part of the theoretical framework. To include postcolonial theory and green colonialism, and due to the scale of this thesis, to a limited extent, colonialism will be especially relevant when it comes to analysing the system narratives of both parties because of the deeper understanding that is gained. I am mainly leaning onto Loomba's work on colonialism and postcolonialism, later adding Hamouchene's and Sandwell's perspective on green colonialism.

According to Loomba, colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other people's land and goods which has been a recurrent and widespread feature of human history.⁶³ While she identifies different types of colonialism, this thesis with its limited scope will focus on settler colonialism due to its relevance to this particular case. This type of colonialism can entail colonisers moving in large numbers, subjugating the native

⁶¹ See Miskimmon et al. in chapter 3.1.2

⁶² See chapter 2.1.2

⁶³ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 3rd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015). 20.

population, and to varied degrees mixing with them, which creates a complex racial hierarchy. This type of colonialism could include the decimation and/or ghettoisation of native inhabitants along with the takeover of their lands.⁶⁴ Loomba further writes that in the modern world, we can distinguish between colonisation as the takeover of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of labour and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation on one hand, and imperialism as a global system on the other hand.⁶⁵ These definitions on colonialism, and a very brief definition of imperialism help theorising the framework of this thesis, especially the pin-pointing of certain parts of the system within which the EU-Sámi relationship exists.

Adding to that, the term of postcolonialism and postcolonial theory are a subject of ongoing debate. Hence, it is perhaps more complex to assess postcolonial theory. Nevertheless, this theory depicts another important factor in this thesis. Loomba argues that the prefix “post” implies an “aftermath” in two senses, the first one being temporal, as in coming after, and the second one being ideological, as in supplanting. Especially with regard to the latter term, she states that critics have found it contestable. This is because, according to her, it is perhaps premature to proclaim the demise of colonialism if the inequities of colonial rule have not been erased.⁶⁶ Therefore, it is helpful to think of postcolonialism as the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism, instead of thinking of it as coming literally after colonialism and signifying its demise.⁶⁷

An aspect which is also critical, is that postcolonial theory has been accused of shifting the focus from locations and institutions to individuals and their subjectivities, consequently meaning that postcoloniality becomes a vague condition of people anywhere and everywhere, where the specificities of locale do not matter.⁶⁸ Overall, the term postcolonialism and postcolonial theory have to be viewed and used with caution, considering that they face criticism and contestation. For this thesis specifically, it is important to understand postcolonialism not just as coming after colonialism and signifying that colonialism as such has ended but also as comprising the legacies of colonial rules, and perhaps even as comprising new forms of colonial actions and behaviour. In some ways, postcolonialism signifies a shift from direct to indirect rule and, as Young writes with

⁶⁴ Loomba. “Colonialism/Postcolonialism,” 24.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

reference to the West vs the non-West, it signifies a shift from colonial rule to in-dependence rather than independence.⁶⁹

Hamouchene defines green colonialism as the extension of the colonial relations of plunder and dispossession (as well as the dehumanisation of the other) to the green era of renewable energies, with the accompanying displacement of socio-environmental costs onto peripheral countries and communities, prioritising the energy needs of one region of the world over another.⁷⁰ While Hamouchene and Sandwell in their work focus on cases of green colonialism in the Arab region, for instance the Sahara desert which Hamouchene writes, is usually representing an Eldorado of renewable energy,⁷¹ the characteristics and examples they assess can also be observed in other regions, such as the rainforests of South America⁷² or, more relevant for this thesis, the by the Sámi people inhabited regions of northern Scandinavia.⁷³

Among the characteristics of green colonialism are structural relationships and dependencies for combating climate change which put into context of the co-existence of the global North and the global South means, that the standard of living in the global North can only be maintained through the exploitation of, among other things, resources, land, or labour in the global South.⁷⁴ Such structural relationships and dependencies however, are not solely found in a North-South context. As mentioned above, the characteristics of green colonialism can also be found in Scandinavia (i.e. global North), and former president of the Sámi parliament in Norway, Aili Keskitalo, has on several occasions referred to green colonialism when speaking of extractive and green industry developments on Sámi land.^{75 76}

⁶⁹ Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). 2-3.

⁷⁰ Hamza Hamouchene and Katie Sandwell, "Dismantling Green Colonialism" (London, 2023), https://library.oapen.org/viewer/web/viewer.html?file=/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/77035/external_content.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y. 30. Accessed May 15, 2024.

⁷¹ Hamouchene and Sandwell. 29.

⁷² Felix Malte Dorn, "Green Colonialism in Latin America? Towards a New Research Agenda for the Global Energy Transition," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 114 (2022): 137–46.

⁷³ Fjellheim, "You Can Kill Us with Dialogue: Critical Perspectives on Wind Energy Development in a Nordic-Saami Green Colonial Context."

⁷⁴ Simone Claar, "Green Colonialism in the European Green Deal: Continuities of Dependency and the Relationship of Forces between Europe and Africa," *Culture, Practice & Europeanization* 7, no. 2 (2022): 264, <https://doi.org/10.5771/2566-7742-2022-2-262>. Accessed May 15, 2024.

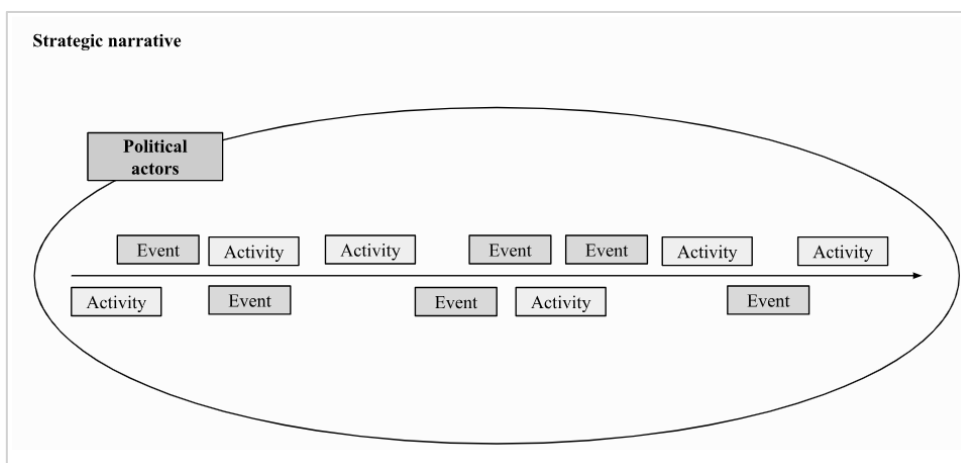
⁷⁵ Susanne Normann, "Green Colonialism in the Nordic Context: Exploring Southern Saami Representations of Wind Energy Development," *Journal of Community Psychology* 49, no. 1 (August 14, 2020): 77–94.

⁷⁶ Nicholas S. Paliewicz, "Arguments of Green Colonialism: A Post-Dialectical Reading of Extractivism in the Americas," *Argumentation and Advocacy* 58, no. 3–4 (October 31, 2022): 232–48.

3.1.2 Narratives and Strategic Narratives

Since the research question of this thesis is about two parties' narratives and their relation to each other, narratives more specifically strategic narratives in the political sense make up an essential part of this work. Therefore, I refer to Miskimmon *et al.*'s work to analyse the chosen material of this thesis. Some of their thoughts on strategic narratives I will cover in the following, after briefly covering the characteristics of narratives in general.

Definitions of what a narrative is are diverse, here are but a few. Within the framework of analysing the structure of a narrative, it is defined as one in which a narrator recounts a personal experience of a specific event that occurred in the past in the order in which the event occurred in real life.⁷⁷ When it comes to analysing an identity in a narrative, something that is relevant to Miskimmon *et al.*'s work as well, a narrative is defined by Gregg in terms of story and discourse in terms of narrative and propositional speech such as attitudes and beliefs.⁷⁸ Strategic narratives more specifically are representations of a sequence of events and activities, and a means for political actors (usually elites) to construct a shared and determined meaning of the past, present, and future of international politics to shape the behaviour of domestic and international actors, and achieve political objectives.⁷⁹ Graph 2 below illustrates these representations of sequences of events and activities.



Graph 2: Strategic Narratives. Inspired by Miskimmon *et al.*

⁷⁷ Kathleen Wells, *Narrative Inquiry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). 63.

⁷⁸ Wells. 76.

⁷⁹ Alister Miskimmon, Ben O'Loughlin, and Laura Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order* (New York: Routledge, 2013). 2-5.

Miskimmon et al. list three types of narratives: system narratives, identity narratives, and issue narratives. While system narratives are about the nature and structure of international affairs, identity narratives are about the identities of actors in international affairs that are in a process of constant negotiation and contestation. As for issue narratives, they seek to shape the terrain on which policy discussions take place and are in that sense strategic.⁸⁰ These three types of strategic narratives constitute the structure of the analysis in chapter four.

3.1.3 The Decent Consultation Hierarchy

As mentioned above, the decent consultation hierarchy is one of the aspects that influence the frame (narratives) within which the EU-Sámi relationship exists. Maffettone refers to Rawls' decent consultation hierarchy in his work, which is set as a specification within his thoughts on a common good idea of justice. This hierarchy "must include a family of representative bodies whose role in the hierarchy is to take part in an established procedure of consultation and to look after what the people's common good idea of justice regards as the important interests of all members of the people".⁸¹ Other characteristics of decent consultation hierarchies and decent hierarchical peoples are, that decent hierarchical peoples are pluralistic in nature, at least to some extent; they shall not be imagined as monolithic, seeing that religious minorities and political dissent are part of the characterisation; diversity is a feature of their public cultures; decent hierarchical peoples have a common good conception of justice; their social unity seems to require the oppressive use of state power; and decent hierarchical peoples are legitimate in the eyes of their citizens and are freely supported by at least a majority of them.⁸² Together with the aspect of colonial legacies, postcolonialism and green colonialism, as well as the narrative and strategic narrative frame, and within that the EU-Sámi relationship itself, the decent consultation hierarchy is one of the components of the theoretical framework which is used to understand said relationship in the context of these modules.

3.2 Method and Material

Understanding the relationship between the Sámi people and the European Union is the core of this thesis and in order to answer the research question of how the narratives of both parties align or stray away from each other, the methodical approach for this will be to apply

⁸⁰ Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, and Roselle. 7.

⁸¹ Pietro Maffettone, "Toleration, Decency and Self-Determination in The Law of Peoples," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 41, no. 6 (July 23, 2015): 540, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453714567736>.

⁸² Maffettone. 541.

a narrative analysis inspired by Miskimmon et *al.* and Labov, to thoroughly assess the following speeches:

- *Opening Speech at the Sámi Summit at the European Parliament in Brussels* by Roberta Metsola, European Parliament (2023),⁸³
- *Keynote Speech* by Silje Karine Muotka, President of the Sámi Parliament in Norway for the Summit of Barents Euro-Arctic Sámi People, Plenary Session 1: Climate Change & the Arctic (2023).⁸⁴

With regard to the upcoming analysis, there are different approaches to recognise a narrative. In a broader sense, Wells' definition of a narrative analysis is helpful in terms of looking for what exactly needs to be analysed. Wells defines a narrative analysis as taking stories as its primary source of data and examining the content, structure, performance, or context of such narratives considered as a whole. A narrative analysis further is useful when there is an interest in how and why a story is constructed as it is, what it accomplishes, and how the audience affects what may be told.⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ Based on this, for the analysis I will mostly look at the content, performance and context of the EU and Sámi narratives, as there is an interest in how and why these narratives are constructed the way they are.

When looking to recognise narratives in a text, Labov's Six-Part Model⁸⁷ is helpful because it breaks down narratives into individual parts which the reader can then look for, for example the "abstract", i.e. the introduction of the narrative and what it is about. In context of this thesis, this model helped me recognise different narrative layers, for instance about climate change or values. The analysis is structured in three sections inspired by the three types of strategic narratives. For each section, Miskimmon et *al.*'s definition on the respective type of strategic narratives apply,⁸⁸ in addition to inspiration drawn from Labov's model.⁸⁹ Furthermore, Well's definition is of relevance.⁹⁰

⁸³ See annex 1

⁸⁴ See annex 2

⁸⁵ Riessmann, Catherine. *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2008). 12.

⁸⁶ Wells, Narrative Inquiry. 7.

⁸⁷ See annex 3

⁸⁸ Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, and Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*. 7.

⁸⁹ Wendy Patterson, "Narratives of Events: Labovian Narrative Analysis and Its Limitations," in *Doing Narrative Research*, ed. Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire, and Maria Tamboukou (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2008), 22–40.

⁹⁰ See chapter 3.1.2

The narrative analysis as such is a hybrid approach. Miskimmon et *al.*'s three types of strategic narratives⁹¹ shall be the overall analytical framework, i.e. the structure as mentioned above. As a supporting element to help identify some narrative layers and their context, inspiration from Labov's Six-Part Model⁹² is drawn to extract some parts of the EU narrative to identify narrative layers of the EU system and identity narratives. This element is not used for the Sámi narrative as this narrative is not as fractured, i.e. it does not have as many different layers that need identification. The Sámi narrative furthermore is analysed without inspiration drawn from Labov's model because it broadly is only about one bigger yet complex and entangled issue with a few sub-issues while the EU narrative is structured more linear and includes jumps to different narrative layers that are differentiable by issue and theme, e.g. culture, climate, and geopolitics. To keep the analytical structure somewhat coherent, the usage of parts of Labov's model is only kept minimal and used for two cases, both of which include the "abstract", "evaluation", and "coda" parts of the model. The "abstract" is used to identify what these narrative layers are about, while the "evaluation" is used to identify the narrators point of view. Lastly, the "coda" identifies that the narrator at the end of the story returns to the present time and emphasises that the story told lies in the past, linking the past to the present. However, in the case of the following analysis, the "coda" is not necessarily found at the end of the narrative layer.

3.3 Limitations of the Method

While the usage of this methodical framework is believed to be the right choice for answering the research question and fulfilling the aim of this thesis, there are some limitations to the method that need to be acknowledged. First and foremost, the usage of only two speeches as material for the analysis is arguably quite limiting, considering the amount of media coverage on this topic and the amount of representatives from both the EU and the Sámi people that could have been utilised for potential interviews which then could have been used analytically. In connection to that, the approach to narrative analysis in this thesis lacks depth. This has two reasons. First, the analysis can be considered experimental as not just one approach is used to its fullest extent, but rather a few approaches are used in different contexts. The second reason is, the length and time constraint of this thesis. Moreover, the application of parts of Labov's model might come across as misleading since this model is supposed to be applied on "structural analyses of specific oral personal

⁹¹ See chapter 3.1.2

⁹² See annex 3

experience narratives”⁹³ and in the context of this thesis parts of the model are used to analyse non-personal experiences of certain events.

⁹³ Patterson.

4. Narrative Analysis

As elaborated on in chapter 3.2, I will now conduct a narrative analysis based on Wells, Labov and Miskimmon *et al.*. For each type of strategic narrative I will first look at the EU narrative on specific issues, followed by the Sámi narrative on specific issues. Characteristics of both parties narratives are presented in tables for each type for easier comparison.

System Narratives

While assessing the EU narrative in its overall conception, it became apparent that the main messages to the receivers of this narrative are that the EU, more specifically its bodies and representatives, are there to listen and to empower the Sámi especially within the legislative process, as shown in table 1 below. These messages are furthermore backed by the following statement, emphasizing practical support: “The European Parliament supports programmes that help empower Sámi people to make their voice heard at the earliest stage of the legislative process (...).”⁹⁴

The EU publicly declaring to listen to and support the Sámi people relates to system narratives, because it illustrates a structure where one political actor, superior in power and resources (the EU), assures another political actor, inferior in power and resources (the Sámi), to “be there” for them, hence assuring a relationship positive and genuine in nature. The particular structure of international affairs in this context is, that the EU is a bigger supranational political entity on which the Sámi people can rely on, and which the Sámi people can ask for support because they are a people within the EU and hence they are part of the EU’s responsibility, i.e. that they are thought of in policy-making processes and during discussions that will affect them. Moreover, even though the EU narrative only mentions the legislative process of the EU once, it represents a central aspect for both parties’ relationship. By including the legislative process in the narrative, the narrative implies that the EU does not just simply listen to the Sámi people’s concerns, but also makes sure their voices are heard in the right place and at the right time, namely “(...) at the earliest stage of the legislative process.”. By making this connection, the Sámi people seemingly receive something tangible as a recognition of their people – the inclusion of their voice in the EU’s legislative process.

⁹⁴ Metsola, “The Sámi Culture Is an Integral Part of Europe’s Cultural Wealth.”

Adding to the aspect of listening to the Sámi people, the EU narrative includes the statement “(...) the EP supports programmes that help empower Sámi people to make their voice heard.”⁹⁵ Essential to assess here is the word “empower”. Only to say at an official summit in a welcoming speech that one is there to listen may not be sufficient when it comes to truly empowering a people that have been in the periphery of a supranational entity for the majority of its existence, despite this being a summit specifically organised for this very reason, to listen and to empower the Sámi people and to include them in decision-making processes.⁹⁶ This refers to the decent consultation hierarchy element of the theoretical framework developed in this thesis, according to which there shall be a procedure of consultation as part of a common idea of good justice⁹⁷, exceeding the element of listening and therefore turning the activity more interactive.

Table 1: Characteristics of the Identified System Narratives

System Narratives	
<i>EU Speech</i>	<i>Sámi Speech</i>
Here to listen, legislative process, 'empower Sámi people'.	Historical injustices; colonisation, green colonialism, dispossession, cases at national/supreme court, conflicts between the Sámi and other parties.

Applying Labov’s model⁹⁸ for one particular part of the narrative shows that the aspect of listening is used in connection, and therefore tied to, the case of cultural diversity and dignity. Annex four displays the different components of this particular example. It can be seen as a smaller narrative within the overall narrative, i.e. as a narrative layer. Due to the connection and due to the fact that listening is part of the system narrative, one can assume that cultural diversity and dignity belong to the system in which the EU and Sámi people exist and operate. The EU is very vocal about promoting cultural diversity, and on the global level the EU is a front runner in the promotion of just that. Within the international affairs structure, the EU perhaps is the only big actor who is this vocal, hence signalling the placement within the system narrative. Assessing the abstract, which is introducing the story, for this example

⁹⁵ Metsola.

⁹⁶ The 2023 summit was the first summit of this kind to take place in Brussels.

⁹⁷ See chapter 3.1.3

⁹⁸ See annex 3

shows that it is about “Solidarity based on common values of dignity and respect for diversity.”⁹⁹ The narrative recalls how in 2017, the EP’s Lux Film Price was awarded to the movie “Sámi Blood”. The movie is about a Swedish Sámi girl facing racism in the 1930s and trying to break away from her Sámi culture.¹⁰⁰ By highlighting that it was “right to shine a light on this sad chapter of (...) Sámi history (...)”¹⁰¹, the Sámi people’s struggle of racial injustice and colonial actions (e.g. Sámi-only boarding schools) is acknowledged. At the same time, by calling this a “sad chapter” this struggle is kept in the past, a chapter that is closed. This is not to say that the Sámi people are still facing the same struggles. However, they do nowadays still face every-day-racism.¹⁰² The Sámi culture, according to the EU narrative, is an integral part of Europe’s cultural wealth, which is another acknowledgement. Talking about the film “Sámi Blood” and how it was awarded the LUX Film Price in 2017, followed by the statement that that was the right thing to do, and later on by the statement that “The need to safeguard cultural diversity is at the core of our European Treaties.” stands for part six of Labov’s model (coda), where the narrator returns to the present time, emphasizing that the told story lies in the past,¹⁰³ therefore linking the past to the present.

The narrative returned to the present time with the following statement: “The need to safeguard cultural diversity is at the core of our European Treaties.”. Within this particular narrative there are two different acknowledgements, both through the LUX Film Price. The first one being the Sámi people’s (past) struggle with racism and oppression, and the second one being the Sámi people’s culture, also in connection to being “an integral part of Europe’s cultural wealth.”. Those acknowledgements along with saying that the EU is there to listen to the Sámi people, and perhaps even more importantly, that the members of the EP are committed for the Sámi people’s interests within the Barents Parliamentary Conference and other Northern cooperation for a make up for part four of Labov’s model (evaluation), as those reveal the narrators (the EU’s) point of view (POV). Circling back to why this is a system narrative, an observation is that through all these different yet similar statements, the EU’s narrative with regard to the system of international affairs is about promoting cultural diversity, listening and being committed to Indigenous people’s and through that to

⁹⁹ Metsola.

¹⁰⁰ Swedish Film Database, “Sami Blood (2017),” <https://www.svenskfilmdatabas.se/en/item/?type=film&itemid=78995>, n.d.

¹⁰¹ Metsola, “The Sámi Culture Is an Integral Part of Europe’s Cultural Wealth.”

¹⁰² Lee Roden, “Campaign Launched to Highlight ‘everyday Racism’ against Sami People,” <https://www.thelocal.se/20170328/campaign-launched-to-highlight-everyday-racism-against-sami-people?>, March 28, 2017.

¹⁰³ Awarding the LUX Film Price to ‘Sámi Blood’ in 2017.

minorities. The EU positions itself globally as somewhat of a trailblazer for ensuring the preservation of cultures and considering those groups in society that do not have the most (political) power and in many issues stand in the periphery of politics. Furthermore, there is a clear positioning as the EU being a leader for certain values on the global scale. These values are picked up again under *Identity Narratives*.

As for the system narrative within the Sámi narrative, there is a clear notion on colonialism and generally rather negative experiences of power imbalances, i.e. oppression in the past, as seen in table one. While putting much emphasis on the need of being included in decision-making processes on the EU level in the future; the current and past state of precisely this inclusion, at least in the point of view of the Sámi narrative, is not happening because important decisions are made without properly consulting the Sámi people on matters that have a direct impact on them. This contrasts Rawls' thoughts on a common good idea of justice, more specifically his decent consultation hierarchy, where a family of representative bodies role in the hierarchy is to take part in an established procedure of consultation.¹⁰⁴ With regard to this analysis, the family of representative bodies relates to the Sámi people and the EU. Putting this in context of the nature of the structure of international affairs, the importance of the Sámi peoples past in which they have been colonialisised internally by the nation states in which their territory (Sápmi) is located, but also the current attempts by the EU to include and consult the Sámi in decision-making processes, as well as current conflicts between the Sámi and other parties needs to be assessed.

Despite the Sámi narrative overall being about climate change and conflicts with regard to green energy developments, as opposed to the EU narrative it becomes clearer how certain issues and activities relate to the Sámi people's history with colonialism and oppression, and how through that history there have been developments in the past and present on ensuring that Indigenous rights are enshrined in international treaties. Examples of those developments are the ILO Convention No. 169 and UNDRIP.¹⁰⁵ One thing that also becomes clear is that the Sámi narrative includes green colonialism, this too is grounded in their past history with colonialism and oppression.¹⁰⁶ One can argue that the Sámi narrative more actively than the EU narrative addresses current issues, and most importantly, those issues that might only be an issue of much importance for one of the parties, the Sámi people. Those

¹⁰⁴ Maffettone, "Toleration, Decency and Self-Determination in The Law of Peoples." 540.

¹⁰⁵ See chapter 2.1.1

¹⁰⁶ See chapter 2.1.2

issues are mainly green energy and mining developments in light of the European Green Deal and the sustainable energy shift, where the Sámi people in the past have not been, and currently are not properly consulted, considering that those developments happen on land traditionally inhabited and used by the Sámi, and considering that the Sámi are quite affected by such developments. Part of the Sámi narrative is, that the Sámi peoples consent must explicitly be included into any new EU Arctic Policy, based on the UNDRIP and the aspect of free, prior and informed consent (article 19 of UNDRIP, see chapter 2.1.1).^{107 108}

Green colonialism can be seen as the overarching concept within the Sámi peoples system narrative. Besides the material analysed in this thesis, green colonialism is frequently used as a term by Sámi representatives in interviews, for instance by former president of the Sámi parliament in Norway, Aili Keskitalo.¹⁰⁹ It ties together the themes of dispossession, and conflicts over land use and rights between the Sámi and other parties such as national governments or corporations. Those conflicts are furthermore sometimes cases at national and supreme courts such as the ones in Norway, e.g. the Fosen case,¹¹⁰ hence including the judicative in the narrative, as opposed to the EU narrative which mentions the legislative.

Green colonialism makes historical injustices due to (internal) colonialism in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia¹¹¹ a current issue by making a connection between those past injustices with the current ongoing injustices in relation to green energy developments on classic Sámi land. The court cases of *Fovsen Njaarke Sijte* and *Jillen Njaarke Sijte* are essential within the Sámi narrative, not merely in the material used for this thesis. Though these cases are cases directed to the Supreme Court of Norway and Norway not being a Member State of the EU, the EU still is an important stakeholder, with Norway being an important partner and the Sámi people's habitat stretching from Norway through Sweden and Finland (EU), to Russia. In addition, some corporations operating or owning the wind farms in these locations are corporations from EU Member State Germany (Stadtwerke München) and European Economic Area (EEA) member Switzerland (BWK), of which

¹⁰⁷ Silje Karine Muotka, "Summit of Barents Euro-Arctic Sámi People: Keynote Speech by Silje Karine Muotka," <https://sametinget.no/politikk/taler-og-innlegg/summit-of-barents-euro-arctic-sami-people-keynote-speech-by-silje-karine-muotka.25362.aspx> (Karasjok: Sámediggi, March 24, 2023).

¹⁰⁸ United Nations, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

¹⁰⁹ Normann, "Green Colonialism in the Nordic Context: Exploring Southern Saami Representations of Wind Energy Development."

¹¹⁰ Normann.

¹¹¹ Höglund and Andersson Burnett, "Introduction: Nordic Colonialisms and Scandinavian Studies." 2.

Norway is also a member. In both cases they respectively hold shares of 29% and 40%.¹¹² The usage of green colonialism as a term as well as talking much about the ongoing and past conflicts due to the green transition and green energy developments by the Sámi is their system narrative. It depicts a (political) system in which the Sámi face the exploitation of their native land and the restriction of their Indigenous rights of exercising their culture, which includes reindeer husbandry.

Identity Narratives

“Narratives set out who the actors are, what characterizes them, what attributes they possess, what actions they take, and what motivates them. Actors are set within an environment or context that affects them even as they often affect the environment.”¹¹³ Therefore, identity narratives are fundamental in understanding the dynamics that make up the base of the relationship between EU and the Sámi people.

The values and goals within the identity narrative identified in the EU narrative are characteristic of the EU’s overall communicated values and goals. It seems like EU and Sámi identity narrative are intentionally merged, i.e. one common identity. This “common identity” comes across through the extensive use of words such as “we” and “our”, indicating that the Sámi people are part of the EU and therefore part of the EU’s identity. Looking more closely at what kind of values and goals this narrative consists of, they generally are along the lines of respect, recognition, support, and democracy. The EU’s values are human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, rule of law, and human rights as laid out in Article 2 of the Lisbon Treaty.¹¹⁴ Those are furthermore values that the EU seemingly aims to be known for on a global scale. This is being referred to under the system narratives section above. In a more interpretive sense, the EU’s identity comes across as supportive, caring, and determined. Despite the EU not being a state as such but a supranational entity comprised of twenty-seven member states, Lynch’s understanding on state identity is applicable here. According to Lynch, identity indicates “how each state understands the meaning and purpose

¹¹² Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, “Stadtwerke München Responded,” <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/stadtwerke-m%C3%BCnchen-responded/>, June 20, 2023; BKW, “BKW and Credit Suisse Energy Infrastructure Partners to Become Part of Europe’s Biggest Onshore Wind Farm Project,” <https://www.bkw.ch/en/about-us/news/media/press-releases/bkw-and-credit-suisse-energy-infrastructure-partners-to-become-part-of-europes-biggest-onshore-wind-farm-project>, 2016.

¹¹³ Miskimmon, O’Loughlin, and Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*. 32.

¹¹⁴ European Union, “Aims and Values,” https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/principles-and-values/aims-and-values_en, accessed May 15, 2024.

of regional and international organisations, the role the state should play in the world, and the kinds of interests worth pursuing”.¹¹⁵ This can be translated onto the EU’s identity based on what one of its most prominent representatives says about what it stands for and what it does, i.e. the kinds of interests worth pursuing. In the EU narrative, this relates to listening to and supporting interest groups within its member states, with regard to this thesis the Sámi people; enhancing dialogue, cooperation, political participation, and regional development; fighting climate change; and safeguarding cultural diversity and common values such as dignity and respect for cultural diversity.

Table 2: Characteristics of the Identified Identity Narratives

Identity Narratives	
<i>EU Speech</i>	<i>Sámi Speech</i>
Dignity and respect as common values, recognition of having to consult ‘the local people’, democracy, support for Ukraine and ‘their European future’.	Livelihoods and climate change, existential struggles, need/desire of participation in decision-making processes.

Inspiration from Labov’s six-part model is applied here, looking at the aspect of the EU recognising the need to consult the Sámi people. This aspect is later on also analysed within the sphere of issue narratives. To contextualise this aspect within the identity narrative sphere, applying part one (abstract) of Labov’s model shows that this layer of the EU narrative is about climate change disproportionately affecting the Arctic and therefore the Sámi people, and also that this is the most acute issue. In the EU narrative, mainly two things are acknowledged, the severe effects of climate change on the Arctic and its people, and connected to this acknowledgement, the need to consult the local people on projects linked to the green transition. The latter being part of part four (evaluation) of Labov’s model,¹¹⁶ as the narrator is understood to present this narrative at an event of which the purpose is to improve the EU-Sámi relationship and to make the Sámi people’s voice heard on the EU level. As opposed to the classical use of this part of Labov’s model where the narrator reveals its perspective on the events being told,¹¹⁷ the evaluation part in this part of the analysis is used to signal that the perspective on the events being told is acknowledging as the narrative

¹¹⁵ Miskimmon, O’Loughlin, and Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*. 32.

¹¹⁶ See annex 5

¹¹⁷ Patterson, “Narratives of Events: Labovian Narrative Analysis and Its Limitations.” 26.

is presented at the EU-Sámi Summit. This furthermore relates to Rawls' decent consultation hierarchy, as a family of representative bodies (the EP and Sámi representatives) take part in an established procedure of consultation, or more precisely, is aiming to take part in such a procedure through the acknowledgement of needing to consult the local people, i.e. the Sámi people. This is opposed to how the decent consultation hierarchy relates to the Sámi people's system narrative, more specifically the Sámi people not being consulted and them demanding to be consulted on matters that affect them.

The narrative layer on climate change altogether reveals five points of view of the EU narrative, which are all tied together and can all be seen as part of the EU's identity. Those points of view are the means to reach the EU's Green Deal objectives; to increase its safeguards against actors that seek to exploit the EU's vulnerabilities, such as Russia with its energy blackmail; the development of all projects linked to the green transition in Europe together with local people; respecting human rights and environmental standards; and lastly, taking the Sámi people's challenges very seriously.¹¹⁸

Before elaborating on how this stands for the EU's identity narrative, part six (coda) of Labov's model in relation to this narrative layer needs assessment. As this part according to Labov is the narrator returning to the present time by emphasising that the story told lies in the past, it links the past to the present.¹¹⁹ In this example, the narrator says that "(...) we (the EU) must act even faster, against a real climate emergency."¹²⁰ In context of linking the past to the present, this could mean that past actions have not been proactive enough and that past climate emergencies were not as severe as the one we are facing in the present, and perhaps more importantly, the climate emergency we will face in the future.

In summary, through applying these parts of Labov's model, what becomes clear is that the EU identity narrative comes across on one hand as caring and determined, and on the other hand as putting the European community and a sense of belonging and togetherness at the core of its identity (see example of Ukraine below) and as wanting to include all actors. The former two are particularly noticeable through the usage of words and phrasings such as "We must give ourselves the means (...)", "We must respect human rights and environmental standards.", and "The European Parliament takes the Sámi people's

¹¹⁸ See annex 1

¹¹⁹ See annex 3

¹²⁰ Metsola, "The Sámi Culture Is an Integral Part of Europe's Cultural Wealth."

challenges very seriously.”¹²¹ Furthermore, the identity narrative traits of caring and being determined are highlighted and supported through the usage of strong words such as “must” and “insists”. As for putting the European community and a sense of belonging at the core of the EU identity and including all actors, this is especially noticeable through acknowledging the need to consult local people on projects that concern them and developing those projects together. Especially looking at the sentence “The European Parliament takes the Sámi people’s challenges very seriously.”¹²² makes one thing clear. This sentence as well as the acknowledgements above can be interpreted as putting the people of the European Union, especially those that might not be highly visible within EU politics and policy-making at the centre of exactly that. In a way, this can further be interpreted as putting local people, the Sámi people, and as an extension through that the people and groups of people that are at the periphery of the EU, at the same level as the more visible groups of people within the EU. The EU in its narrative talks about developing projects hand-in-hand and therefore co-producing the power and impact of local people (and the Sámi people) with the overall power and impact of the EU, while still recognising the Sámi people’s struggles.

An extension of the aspect above, particularly in relation to the European community, and being a carrying and determined actor, is that a vital part of the EU’s narrative is about Ukraine and Russia’s invasion of the country. One might ask why this is part of the EU narrative, considering the context of this thesis, however, there are three reasonable aspects for this. First, Sámi people also inhabit the Kola peninsula in Russia, and with the ongoing war of aggression, the Sámi people living in Norway, Sweden and Finland had to cut ties with the Sámi in Russia. This happened in April 2022, when the Saami Council decided to suspend formal relations with two Sámi organisations in Russia.¹²³ At the Sámi Summit in Brussels, the EU commended this decision of the Saami Council, keeping in mind that “It must not have been easy with you (Sámi) to sever decade-long ties with Sámi brothers and sisters.”¹²⁴ The second aspect is, that all relevant parties with the exception of Russia are members of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (Norway, Sweden, Finland, the EU) under whose umbrella the Summit of Barents Euro-Arctic Indigenous Sámi People (the Sámi

¹²¹ Metsola.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Saami Council, “Cooperation with Russian Side on Hold,” <https://www.saamicouncil.net/news-archive/cooperation-with-russian-side-on-hold>, April 10, 2022.

¹²⁴ Metsola, “The Sámi Culture Is an Integral Part of Europe’s Cultural Wealth.”

Summit) took place in Brussels. Russia was part of this Council until it withdrew on 18 September 2023.¹²⁵ Lastly, the green energy transition and investing into rare material extraction within the EU is motivated through the expected exponential increase in critical raw material demand.¹²⁶ Hence, the Sámi people are affected first-hand in that regard, since mining developments and green energy developments take place on traditional Sámi land, interrupting the Sámi people's livelihood.¹²⁷

Closing off the analysis of the EU's identity narrative with the aspect of democracy, this is perhaps one of the core terms that one thinks of in relation to the EU's identity. It is a term that appears in different ways within the narrative. One appearance is the House of European Democracy, i.e. the European Parliament or the European project, as referred to by Roberta Metsola on occasion.¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ The House of European Democracy also relates to the location in which the EU narrative is told, further assuring the Sámi people that this house (the European Parliament) is their home too.¹³⁰ However, in that case and as seen in the quote below, the EU narrative starts off with welcoming the Sámi people to their own home. This might intrigue some confusion, especially with the recipients of this narrative, the Sámi people themselves, as they do not necessarily feel seen and heard in their own home. The quote reads as follows. "It is a great pleasure to welcome you proud Sámi people to the European Parliament. It is only right that the fourth Summit of the Barents Euro-Arctic Indigenous Sami People should be held here, at the House of European Democracy. This house is your home too."¹³¹

In addition to the House of European Democracy metaphor, democracy is being emphasised further in the EU narrative as empowering "us". One might ask who is meant by "us" as this can either be the EU institutions and its representatives (MEP's, Commissioners, Presidents) or the EU in terms of its member states together with the Sámi people, or perhaps on a broader scale anyone who feels addressed by the empowering aspect of democracy and in

¹²⁵ Arctic Portal.org, "Russia Withdraws from Barents Euro-Arctic Council," <https://arcticportal.org/ap-library/news/3328-russia-withdraws-from-barents-euro-arctic-council>, September 19, 2023.

¹²⁶ European Council, "An EU Critical Raw Materials Act for the Future of EU Supply Chains," <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/infographics/critical-raw-materials/>, April 18, 2024.

¹²⁷ Fjellheim, "You Can Kill Us with Dialogue: Critical Perspectives on Wind Energy Development in a Nordic-Saami Green Colonial Context."

¹²⁸ Metsola, "The Sámi Culture Is an Integral Part of Europe's Cultural Wealth."

¹²⁹ Roberta Metsola, "We Will Protect and Defend Our House of European Democracy," <https://the-president.europarl.europa.eu/home/ep-newsroom/pageContent-area/actualites/we-will-protect-and-defend-our-house-of-european-democracy.html>, March 4, 2022.

¹³⁰ Metsola, "The Sámi Culture Is an Integral Part of Europe's Cultural Wealth."

¹³¹ Metsola.

context of the narrative. The latter could include EU citizens, Indigenous people, minority groups, politicians on different levels, civil society representatives, and even non-EU actors. The aspect of democracy together with the aspects of dignity and respect, the recognition to consult local people, and supporting Ukraine make up the EU identity narrative,¹³² being tied together and interconnected with each other. This draws a picture of the EU's DNA, which according to the assessed narrative is made up of a sense of belonging and community and the desire to preserve and strengthen democracy and democratic values.

Touching on the Sámi people's identity narrative in the following, this part of the analysis builds on chapter 2.1.2 of this thesis and puts an emphasis on their struggles. It is furthermore closely related to the system narrative that can be found within the Sámi people's narrative. These two types of strategic narratives in this case overlap because of some of the characteristics they contain. The aspects of green colonialism and conflicts between the Sámi and other parties (system narrative) for instance overlap with the Sámi peoples desire of participating in decision-making processes and their existential struggles (identity narrative) due to green colonialism. The Sámi people's identity is deeply rooted in their distinctive traditions, language, and history.¹³³ According to Miskimmon *et al.*, "national identity has been addressed in the literature as a constructed and public national self-image based on membership in a political community as well as history, myths, symbols, language, and cultural norms only held by members of a nation".¹³⁴ Despite having no national borders such as the conventional borders of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, the countries in which the Sámi people have been living "since time immemorial"¹³⁵, Sápmi as such is a nation as well according to Guibernau's definition of a nation.¹³⁶

The Sámi identity narrative is contrasting the EU identity narrative. It mainly tells the story about the Sámi peoples existential struggle with regard to climate change and its impacts, but also about their interest and desire to participate in decision-making processes on the EU level and the desire to maintain Sámi culture, including traditions and knowledge. These two aspects go hand-in-hand. As mentioned, the Sámi peoples identity narrative does not just

¹³² See table 2.

¹³³ Henriksen, "The Continuous Process of Recognition and Implementation of the Sami People's Right to Self-Determination." 27.

¹³⁴ Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, and Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*. 33.

¹³⁵ Sametinget, "Declaration from the Seventh Conference of the Sami Parliamentarians in Árviesjávrrie, 31 May 2023." (Árviesjávrrie, May 31, 2023).

¹³⁶ Montserrat Guibernau, *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1996). 47.

simply tell the story about their identity but also about their existence and how their very existence is endangered. This becomes clear by reading the following statement from the Sámi narrative: “For the Sámi people, this situation on ecosystem services and climate change boils down to the natural basis for our culture. It is an existential struggle, it is about the future for sámi culture, sámi language, sámi knowledge, and way of life.”¹³⁷

This statement further implies the entanglement of climate change and the livelihood of the Sámi. Indigenous peoples are known to be protectors of our environment and nature¹³⁸ and this aspect should also be incorporated into the analysis of the Sámi peoples identity narrative. Moreover, the statement above displays that the existential struggle should be seen as part of the Sámi peoples identity as well. This is, because that struggle has been a presence in their lives for centuries, starting with the internal colonisation of Sápmi by Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia¹³⁹ and most currently through what the Sámi people mainly title as green colonialism by different state governments and corporations exploiting Sámi land in light of the green energy transition and its infrastructure developments in the Arctic.

As mentioned above, the Sámi people’s desire to participate in decision-making processes is emphasised in their identity narrative. One can argue that this aspect is also part of the Sámi people’s issue narrative, as the inclusion of the Sámi in decision-making processes is part of the EU’s issue narrative.¹⁴⁰ The reasoning for why this is part of their identity narrative is, that the inclusion in decision-making processes is tied to the recognition of the Sámi people. Historically, they have not been consulted on and included in decision-making processes on matters that affect them, in addition to the oppression that the Sámi had to face in the past through the colonisation of their land and people.¹⁴¹ Hence, one can assume that the Sámi people through their experiences in the past have made it part of their identity to demand to be included in such processes, also in alignment with international conventions and declarations such as ILO No. 169 and UNDRIP.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ Muotka, “Summit of Barents Euro-Arctic Sámi People: Keynote Speech by Silje Karine Muotka.”

¹³⁸ World Bank Group, “Empowering Indigenous Peoples to Protect Forests,” [¹³⁹ See chapter 2.1.2 and chapter 3.1.1.](https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2023/08/09/empowering-indigenous-peoples-to-protect-forests#:~:text=About%2036%25%20of%20remaining%20intact,those%20on%20non%2DIndigenous%20lands., August 9, 2023.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

¹⁴⁰ See *Issue Narratives* and table 3.

¹⁴¹ See chapter 2.1.2 and chapter 3.1.1

¹⁴² See chapter 2.1.1

Issue Narratives

As elaborated on under the *system narratives* section of this analysis, the EU puts an emphasis in its narrative on listening to, supporting, and empowering the Sámi. Adding to that, within both the sphere of issue narratives and identity narratives, the EU talks about recognising the need to consult local people, and about the commitment of members of the European Parliament. Issue narratives shape the terrain on which policy discussions take place,¹⁴³ so by shaping a narrative that is open, supportive, and empowering, the policy discussion terrain is seemingly not as difficult to navigate. Table 3 below displays the characteristics of the issue narratives of both the EU and the Sámi people. Noticeably, both issue narratives mostly contrast each other. The EU narrative seems rather optimistic and dedicated to include and consult the Sámi in and on discussions on issues and developments that directly affect them. The Sámi narrative on the other hand represents a much more troubled perspective in which there is a focus on civic movements and addressing the lack of actions from governments when it comes to enhancing Sámi rights and inclusion in decision-making. However, as seen in table 3, both parties align when it comes to the wanted inclusion of the Sámi people in decision-making processes. This will be assessed more closely below.

Table 3: Characteristics of the Identified Issue Narratives

Issue Narratives	
<i>EU Speech</i>	<i>Sámi Speech</i>
Commitment of EP members, support of programmes (e.g. Interreg Nord), recognition of having to consult ‘the local people’, inclusion in decision-making processes.	Recognition of venues for dialogue (here: Sámi Summit) as very important, lack of consultation with the Sámi, Sámi interests backed by movements, lack of action from government side, inclusion in decision-making processes.

Beginning with the commitment of EP members to matters that affect the Sámi, this aspect in the EU narrative relates to Sámi culture and values and how their culture is an integral part of Europe’s cultural wealth, but also that their values need to be cherished.¹⁴⁴ These two

¹⁴³ Miskimmon, O’Loughlin, and Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*. 7.

¹⁴⁴ Metsola, “The Sámi Culture Is an Integral Part of Europe’s Cultural Wealth.”

aspects are the reason for members of the EP to be committed. The reasoning makes clear that culture and values are somewhat essential for this commitment. Relating to that, one can assume that members of the EP are therefore aware of how Sámi culture is endangered through current developments on traditional Sámi land in the energy and mining sectors in light of the green transformation. Since the green transformation is also an essential issue for the EU (“The European Parliament is the driver of an avant-garde climate policy.”¹⁴⁵), there are therefore seemingly two issues to which members of the EP are committed.

Issue narratives explain why a specific policy is needed.¹⁴⁶ Perhaps in this particular case, the EU issue narrative also explains that the means (commitment and determination) for specific policies exist, and both can be assumed to shape the terrain on which policy discussions take place. Assessing what this terrain could be in context of the EU narrative, the determination and commitment of the EU to, within the narrative, include the Sámi people in decision-making processes and to consult them on matters of importance for the Sámi, makes this terrain seem “flat” and therefore paves the way for manageable policy discussions. To add to that, something that is emphasised in the EU narrative is the support given to programmes that address the inclusion of the Sámi people in decision-making processes and policy work, for instance the Interreg Nord programme. This part of the EU narrative and the way this narrative is presented add a tangible aspect to the issue narrative.

While already recognisable in the system and identity narrative parts of this analysis, the Sámi peoples narrative is generally more characterised by their struggles in the past and present, and lack of inclusion in decision-making processes, but also by emphasising civil movements and support. The narrative in the Sámi speech gives the impression of the policy discussion terrain being difficult to navigate. Obstacles in this case are the lack of consultation and inclusion in decision-making processes, by the EU and with the Sámi people; and a lack of action from governments on the state level. An example of the latter includes the lack of recognition by the Norwegian government between 2021 and 2023, after a grand chamber of the Supreme Court unanimously found a violation and ruled the license and expropriation decisions for a wind power development on the Fosen peninsula invalid.

¹⁴⁵ Metsola.

¹⁴⁶ Miskimmon, O’Loughlin, and Roselle, *Strategic Narratives: Communication Power and the New World Order*. 7.

It took over 500 days for the government to apologise to the Sámi people for the violation of their human rights in relation to reindeer herding.^{147 148}

As mentioned above, a characteristic of the Sámi issue narrative is the emphasis on civil movements and support, more specifically the protest movement in Norway by the Norwegian Nature and Youth organisation (Natur og Ungdom).¹⁴⁹ This aspect can be put in perspective of the decent consultation hierarchy because it relates to the common good idea of justice.¹⁵⁰ A significant part of the Sámi narrative is about the protest movement in Norway and why it took place. In the narrative, the reason for the protest on February 23 2023 but also for other regular protests in relation to the Fosen case is the, at that time, ongoing violation of Human Rights due to the lack of the free, prior and informed consent given by the Sámi people¹⁵¹ and the Norwegian government not admitting to that violation.¹⁵² In connection to the decent consultation hierarchy, this means that the hierarchy was undermined because the established procedure of consultation did not take place. One can furthermore assume that the civil movement was triggered because people's common good idea of justice, the compliance of the government with Human Rights, was not respected in the Fosen case.

On a more positive note, some factors might even out the issue narrative terrain by paving a way for both parties to hold policy discussions. Such factors are for instance the Sámi Summit at which the EU and the Sámi narratives assessed in this paper were presented, the mutual understanding of venues such as the Sámi Summit being important for dialogue, and the commitment on both sides to strengthen the relationship between each other. The material used to assess both the EU and the Sámi narrative are speeches held at the Summit of Barents Euro-Arctic Sámi People at the European Parliament in Brussels in 2023. In both

¹⁴⁷ Silje Karine Muotka, "Update on the Ongoing Human Rights Violation in Sør-Fosen Sijte and Nord-Fosen Siida, Sápmi, Norwegian Side. Country: Norway. Violation of the Rights of Sámi Reindeer Herders According to the UN Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) Article 27," https://sametinget.no/_f/P1/1895d2a41-35fc-4f3a-8c92-8a9cbd0ac28d/Letter-to-the-Special-Rapporteur-on-the-Rights-of-Indigenous-Peoples-280223.Pdf (Karajok: Sametinget, February 28, 2023).

¹⁴⁸ Norwegian Human Rights Institution, "About the Wind Farms on Fosen and the Supreme Court Judgment," <https://www.nhri.no/en/2023/about-the-wind-farms-on-fosen-and-the-supreme-court-judgment/>, March 8, 2023.

¹⁴⁹ Anne-Francoise Hivert, "In Oslo, Young Sámi Protesters Demand the Dismantling of Two Wind Farms," https://www.lemonde.fr/en/environment/article/2023/03/04/in-oslo-young-sami-protesters-demand-the-dismantling-of-two-wind-farms_6018102_114.html#, March 4, 2023.

¹⁵⁰ Maffettone, "Toleration, Decency and Self-Determination in The Law of Peoples." 540.

¹⁵¹ Saami Council, "Statkraft Violates Its Self-Imposed Human Rights Obligations," <https://www.saamicouncil.net/news-archive/statkraft-violates-its-self-imposed-human-rights-obligations>, October 12, 2023.

¹⁵² Muotka, "Summit of Barents Euro-Arctic Sámi People: Keynote Speech by Silje Karine Muotka."

narratives, the venue and event are acknowledged and valued. Perhaps, the terrain on which policy discussions in this particular relationship take place is comprised of the attitude and commitment of both parties towards a healthy and respectful relationship, and the venue and location at which the narratives are laid out.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis is to understand the relationship between the EU and the Sámi people with an emphasis on the context of green colonialism and the inclusion of the Sámi people in decision-making processes. In order to find an answer to the research question on how the European Union's and the Sámi people's narratives on their relationship align or stray away from each other and the theoretical elements that explain this relationship, I developed a theoretical framework and conducted a narrative analysis. The analysis has shown the complexity and interconnectedness of both narratives. It has drawn a picture of a visible power imbalance on one hand, and a picture of mutual willingness to improve the relationship and importantly to enhance the inclusion of the Sámi people in decision-making processes. Consistently overshadowing the EU-Sámi relationship are the following two aspects, which are closely linked:

- 1) Colonial legacies and the postcolonial system in which both the EU and the Sámi people exist as actors, with one actor potentially being more aware of that, in light of its victim role and oppression in the past, and openly communicating this in their narrative, and the other actor potentially being less aware of that, in light of the fact that this actor has not existed during colonial times, yet EU member states were colonial powers in the past, and not at all including this aspect in their narrative.
- 2) Climate change on one hand with its negative impacts on both the EU and the Sámi people, and the measurements that are taken by the EU and other actors within the European Green Deal and the green energy transition that have mostly negative impacts on the Sámi people and their livelihood on the other hand.

Studying the EU-Sámi relationship in context of the developed theoretical framework and by analysing the material chosen for this thesis was helpful in pinpointing the aspects above. Furthermore, this study helped to better understand both the differences and commonalities in the overall narratives, but more specifically within the three types of strategic narratives. The main points identified within each type of strategic narrative are as follows. Within the system narrative, the EU comes across as the superior actor ensuring the inferior actor that the inferior actor can rely on them by emphasising to listen to and empower the inferior actor, i.e. the Sámi people. It is important to note here that the Sámi are not the inferior actor

because of their value but rather because they have less power within politics. The Sámi people's system narrative emphasises oppression of the Sámi people in the past and the colonial legacies within the political system, as well as the persisting conflicts mainly over land use.

Within the identity narrative, the EU narrative almost seems to merge the EU with the Sámi identity by putting much emphasis on the usage of words of belonging and community, and in relation to that the EU seems to construct this narrative of being a supportive, caring and determined actor who recognises the need to consult the Sámi people. The Sámi identity narrative on the other hand constructs a frame consisting of the existential struggles of the Sámi people in past, present and future, and their desire to participate in decision-making processes on matters that affect them most. While in its narrative climate change is the most acute issue for the EU, the Sámi narrative adds a dimension to climate change as an acute issue by incorporating the threat that climate change poses to their culture and traditions.

The issue narrative is perhaps the type of strategic narrative where the alignment of both parties is most visible. While the EU issue narrative is shaped in a way that makes it seem open, supportive and empowering, therefore making the policy discussion terrain seemingly not as difficult to navigate, the Sámi issue narrative is perceived as more troubled and with a focus on civic movements, especially the protest movement in Norway in relation to the Fosen case. Nevertheless, both parties align this type of strategic narrative in a different area by mutually acknowledging the importance of dialogue.

These findings support the developed theoretical framework and add more detail to its elements, therefore contributing to the theoretical development in the field of European relations and European studies. Analysing the system, identity, and issue narratives has shown that they surround the relationship between the EU and the Sámi people with the number of stories that are told by both parties on different topics and issues. It is eminent that, true to the definition of a strategic narrative, both political actors construct a shared and determined, yet differing meaning of the past, present, and future of not necessarily international politics but rather the politics that directly take place on the European level.

Moreover, as mentioned above, colonial legacies and the postcolonial system including green colonialism are one of the aspects that overshadow the EU-Sámi relationship the most. This is mainly recognisable through looking at the Sámi narrative, and within the theoretical framework illustrated in graphic 1, the colonial legacy and postcolonial system including

green colonialism are defined as one out of two influences on the relationship within the narrative frame. This influence can be accounted for as being the negative influence. As for the second influence on the relationship within the narrative frame, the decent consultation hierarchy through the analysis in this thesis can be identified as being both a positive and slightly negative influence, depending on how it relates to each party's narrative layers. However, if applied properly by the EU consulting the Sámi people, the decent consultation hierarchy can potentially be a highly positive influence on the EU-Sámi relationship. In conclusion, these two influences, the first one regarding the colonial legacy and representing a negative influence and the second one regarding the decent consultation hierarchy and representing a mostly positive influence, balance each other out. However, it can be assumed based on analysing their narratives, that both parties aim to improve their relationship in the future. Therefore, the decent consultation hierarchy might eventually outweigh the negative influence of the colonial legacy.

The purpose of this thesis was not to identify solutions to improve the EU-Sámi relationship, nor to solve the ongoing conflict between the green energy transition and developments in the Arctic as part of the European Green Deal opposing Sámi rights and the conservation of Sámi culture and traditions, as presented in previous research in chapter 2.4. The thesis rather contributed to the development of a theoretical framework to better understand the dynamics and elements of the EU-Sámi relationship, i.e. the drivers of the stories that both parties tell and present. Looking ahead, the developed theoretical framework could also prove to be valuable for the assessment and understanding of the relationship between the EU and other underrepresented groups, such as minority groups within and outside of the EU. Exceeding the EU sphere, this framework could potentially also be valuable for the assessment and understanding of the relationships between other Indigenous peoples and transnational and global actors, for instance the UN or BRICS.

Considering further opportunities for research, I propose to study the developed framework under the above named non-EU and non-Sámi circumstances, and perhaps on a bigger scale. As mentioned under chapter 3.3, the scale of this particular thesis is rather limited. It is therefore desirable to include a more empiric, representative approach for further research, and to include different materials such as interviews, and sources, also looking at civil society representatives and civilians. Another aspect to include and potentially add to the developed framework is perhaps national identity and citizenship as a concept and influence on both the narratives and on a broader level the relationship between actors. Lastly, as this

research is first and foremost aimed at understanding the relationship between actors, of which one is Indigenous, it is immensely useful to enhance Indigenous scholarship on this topic to avoid staying solely within Western scholarship on such a delicate topic and in order to add valuable perspectives.

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The Sámi culture is an integral part of Europe's cultural wealth

Brussels 23-03-2023 - 09:00

Opening the Sámi Summit which was held at the European Parliament in Brussels, the President of the European Parliament Roberta Metsola spoke on the importance of dialogue. "Many decisions that have the potential to affect the lives of Sámi people start right here, at the European Institutions."

Dear Prime Minister,
Commissioner,
Distinguished guests.
Dear Sami people, friends,

It is a great pleasure to welcome you proud Sami people to the European Parliament.

It is only right that the fourth Summit of the Barents Euro-Arctic Indigenous Sami People should be held here, at the House of European Democracy. This house is your home too.

We are here for you, to listen to you and hear your concerns. You are indigenous people of our Union. The European Parliament will always listen.

In 2017, our LUX Film Prize went to a movie called "Sámi blood". It tells the painful story of forced Sámi assimilation at the beginning of the last century. It was only right for the European Parliament to shine a light on this sad chapter of your Sámi history, so make it known across the world.

Europe's history has known many troubles and many tragedies. But we have also experienced many examples of solidarity and empathy. Solidarity based on common values of dignity and respect for diversity.

The Sámi culture is an integral part of Europe's cultural wealth. The need to safeguard cultural diversity is at the core of our European Treaties.

The Sámi people enjoy unique traditions, unique languages, and a way of life based on respect and peaceful coexistence with nature. Values that must be celebrated and cherished, always.

This is why Members of this House are committed for your interests within the Barents Parliamentary Conference and other Northern cooperation fora.

Many decisions that have the potential to affect the lives of Sámi people start right here: at the European Institutions. And that is why our dialogue is important, not only today but always.

The European Parliament supports programmes that help empower Sámi people to make their voice heard at the earliest stage of the legislative process, such as at the Interreg Nord programme that paved the way for an ambitious EU-Sámi Strategy.

The most acute issue is how climate change disproportionately affects the Arctic and therefore the Sami people.

The European Parliament is the driver of an avant-garde climate policy, but we must act even faster, against a real climate emergency.

We must give ourselves the means to reach our Green Deal objectives and increase our safeguards against malign actors that seek to exploit our vulnerabilities, as we saw with Russia's energy blackmail last year.

All projects linked to the green transition in Europe's northernmost regions must be developed together hand-in-hand with the local people. This European Parliament insists on this.

We must respect human rights and environmental standards. This is so important. The European Parliament takes the Sámi people's challenges very seriously.

On February 24th last year, a dark chapter of our common history began. Since then, Russia has escalated its unjustifiable attack on Ukraine to a full-scale invasion, which has also impacted security perspectives in the Arctic.

And yet, the war continues. Ukrainians are giving their lives, to preserve their dignity and their European Union future. We will continue to support them.

I would like to commend the representatives of the Sámi Council for putting relations with Russian Sámi organisations on hold in response to this brutal war.

It must not have been easy with you to sever decade-long ties with Sámi brothers and sisters. On the other hand, it was the right thing to do.

We all know that many Russians have severed their support for their regime's actions too.

In spite of tragedy, our democratic way empowers us to keep fighting for the future that we want for ourselves and for our children.

I would like to thank the Sami Parliament in Finland and the Presidency of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council for the initiative of bringing this summit to Brussels.

Talking with one another leads to greater understanding and to lasting results.

May your two days ahead of you be fruitful so that the European Union may continue to truly stand 'United in Diversity'.

Thank you.

Summit of Barents Euro-Arctic Sámi People: Keynote speech by Silje Karine Muotka

Summit of Barents Euro-Arctic Sámi People, Plenary session 1: Climate change & the Arctic, Brussels 23 March 2023

Keynote speech by Silje Karine Muotka, president of the Sámi Parliament in Norway.

Giitu ja buorre idit, buohkaide – Thank you, and good morning, everyone.

First, I would like to thank the organizers for the invitation and the opportunity to participate and address this session about climate change and the Arctic. This is a very important venue where we can discuss sustainable solutions for the earth, for the environment and particularly for Arctic communities, including where we live, in Sápmi.

Our future generations deserve to inherit a planet that is healthy, and that gives them hope to have meaningful lives with connections to their landscape and unique cultures.

Sápmi has in recent decades experienced major changes in the climate system. Sámi livelihoods are threatened by climate change. These changes are happening so fast and unpredictably that it is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to adapt to all the changes. We see impact both directly by a warming climate and impact of new land use because of mitigation measures.

Climate change and biodiversity are two sides of the same coin. We must solve the climate and nature crises together. There is a close connection between the loss of nature and the emission of greenhouse gases. Intact ecosystems can be large stores of carbon. At the same time, we know that intact ecosystems are more robust against climate change than degraded ecosystems.

The ongoing climate change and loss of biodiversity are also challenging our food systems. We need healthy ecosystems that delivers food security and nutrition for all in such a way that it is sustainable on economic, social, and environmental bases. We do need support to ensure, maintain and strengthen Indigenous Peoples' food systems and traditional knowledge.

For the Sámi people, this situation on ecosystem services and climate change boils down to the natural basis for our culture. It is an existential struggle, it is about the future for Sámi culture, Sámi language, Sámi knowledge, and way of life.

Last week, the Sámi Parliament, heard in the news about the Green Alliance between EU and Norway. The current three priorities of the EU Arctic Policy are climate change, sustainable development, and international cooperation.

The EU shares the responsibility for global sustainable development, including in the Arctic region, and for the livelihood of its inhabitants, including Indigenous Peoples. We

must ensure and enhance meaningful participation of Indigenous Peoples in the EU and Arctic decision making processes.

The other issue I must address is the explicit inclusion of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and especially its ‘free, prior and informed consent’ aspect, into any new EU Arctic policy.

This brings me to the point where I like to elaborate on why I think that so called green solutions often feels like a new colonization in many Indigenous Peoples areas. It is a fact that Indigenous Peoples have suffered from historic injustices because of colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories, and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests.

That is my claim, that we currently experience such a new green colonisation in Sápmi. In the name of the green shift, we see that the Scandinavian states give permits to companies to build new industry in our areas. That is especially wind energy development that causes problems for reindeer husbandry and traditional livelihood, but we have other examples as well.

In Norway we have many conflicts between wind energy development and the rights of sámi people who are affected. I must mention the Fovsen Njaarke Sijte and the Fosen case where the influenced reindeer herding district won in the Supreme court of Norway. In addition, we have the Jillen Njaarke Sijte – Øyfjellet-case that are scheduled for the court this year. And there is many new proposed plans, especially in the Finnmark County. We see that sámi authorities, organizations and right-holders who argue that non-consensual encroachments by so-called green industries on reindeer grazing land, in conflict with Sámi right holders, is a form of green colonialism.

The Fosen-case is a proof on that, licenses for wind power development were ruled invalid in 2021 as the construction violates Sámi reindeer herders' right to enjoy their own culture.

The case concerned whether the construction of 151 wind turbines on Fosen peninsula amounts to a violation of the reindeer herders' right to enjoy their own culture under Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. A grand chamber of the Supreme Court unanimously found a violation and ruled the license and expropriation decisions invalid.

The wind farms were established in year 2019 and 2020 and has since then produced electric energy in the recognized Sámi reindeer grazing area, without the free, prior, and informed consent from the affected Sámi reindeer herders, and from their representative institution, the Sámi Parliament in Norway. The Sámi reindeer herders affected by the wind farms are Nord-Fosen siida and Sør-Fosen sijte.

Therefore, a month ago, on 23 February 2023, a large group of young Indigenous human rights defenders, together with environmentalists, occupied the reception area and blocked the entrance of the building to Ministry of Petroleum and Energy in Oslo in protests

because it has gone 500 days since the Supreme Court judgment, and the Government has done nothing to stop the ongoing human rights violation in Sør-Fosen sijte and Nord-Fosen siida. The protest was ended after the Government admitted the ongoing violation of Human Rights. Yes, you heard me correctly: Ongoing violation of Human Rights in Norway, as we speak. The protests was organized by the Norwegian Sámi Association Youth and Nature and Youth organization.

The Norwegian National Human Rights Institute and the Sámi Parliament stated that the national authorities are responsible for securing the rights in the human rights convention and through the provisions of the Human Rights Act in Norway. We have requested the ministry to follow up the judgment quickly and effectively measures that will remedy the ongoing violation. But, after 528 days, we are still waiting.

I also see that indigenous peoples must deal with the dramatic climate consequences at the same time as indigenous peoples are exposed to unfair costs of climate action. It is necessary that the right and just measures are taken to prevent this from happening. If it does not succeed, indigenous peoples will be further marginalized and displaced. Therefore, my message is that there must be a just climate transition in accordance with human rights.

I mean that climate measures must be built on the most appropriate measures and climate justice. Indigenous peoples, for example, cannot accept that land areas are unilaterally demolished with industries that aim to provide renewable energy and more industry. Such expansions to green energy can only take place when the indigenous people agree to it, and when they receive a fair share of value creation. If not, then this will act as a form of green colonialism towards indigenous peoples. Progress in extracting non-renewable resources such as minerals can be part of what is called the "green shift". A green shift can also be used as an argument for establishing a new industry that leads to the repression of indigenous peoples' business practices. Paradoxically, it can be a major threat to indigenous peoples' material cultural foundations.

The Sámi peoples experience that national and EU policies expand land uses for mining, wind energy and bio-economy, like large-scale forestry in the area, causing loss, fragmentation and degradation of pastures, increasing human disturbance, and reducing the adaptation space.

Attempts by the Sámi Parliament, sámi organizations, civil societies and right holders to stop wind power and mining projects have led to conflicts with other actors, including racist hate speech. Combined with land use conflicts climate impacts cause reduced psycho-social health and even increase suicidal thoughts among herders. Lack of control over land use is the biggest and most urgent threat to the adaptive capacity of reindeer herding and overall to the right of our culture and way of life.

Thank you for your attention – Ollu giitu!

Labov's Six-Part Model

1) Abstract - What is the story about?

Its main purpose is to introduce the story

2) Orientation - Who, when, where?

Its main function is to provide the setting. It may be provided at the beginning or more background information will be added later in the text

3) Complicating Action - Then what happened?

It designates the complicating action of the story, following a linear order

4) Evaluation - So what?

Reveals narrator's POV

5) Result - What finally happened?

Reveals how the story ends

6) Coda

At the end of the story, the narrator might return to the present time, emphasizing that the told story lies in the past. Hence, it links the past to the present.

Patterson, Wendy. "Narratives of Events: Labovian Narrative Analysis and Its Limitations." In *Doing Narrative Research*, edited by Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire, and Maria Tamboukou, 22–40. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2008.

Narrative: Sámi history and culture; LUX Film Prize

<i>Labov's Six-Part Model</i>	<i>EU Narrative Snippets</i>
1. Abstract	“Solidarity based on common values of dignity and respect for diversity.”
4. Evaluation	<p>“We are here for you, to listen to you and hear your concerns.”</p> <p>“The Sámi culture is an integral part of Europe’s cultural wealth.”</p> <p>“Values that must be celebrated and cherished, always.”</p> <p>“Members of this House are committed for your interests within the Barents Parliamentary Conference and other Northern cooperation fora.”</p>
6. Coda	<p>“The European Parliament will always listen.”</p> <p>“(…) make it known across the world.”</p>

Narrative: Climate Change

<i>Labov's Six-Part Model</i>	<i>EU Narrative Snippets</i>
1. Abstract	„The most acute issue is how climate change disproportionately affects the Arctic and therefore the Sami people.”
4. Evaluation	„We must give ourselves the means to reach our Green Deal objectives and increase our safeguards against malign actors that seek to exploit our vulnerabilities, as we saw with Russia's energy blackmail last year. All projects linked to the green transition in Europe's northernmost regions must be developed together hand-in-hand with the local people. This European Parliament insists on this. We must respect human rights and environmental standards. This is so important. The European Parliament takes the Sámi people's challenges very seriously.”
6. Coda	„(...) but we must act even faster, against a real climate emergency.”