

Campaign discourses for environmental justice: A case study

Understanding the discourses of the Norwegian group Natur
og Ungdom in the Fosen actions

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Abstract

This thesis is an addition to a constantly ever-evolving field within the developments of the environmental movement. Rooted as case study in the campaign against illegally set wind turbines on Fosen, Norway, where Sámi reindeer herding have been practices for generations. The perspective, however, will fall on the activists from the environmental group Natur og Ungdom, and their efforts to attach, what to some observers, can be seen competing justice for indigenous communities with being “green”. To attain this Schlosberg (2007) multifaceted conception of environmental justice are introduced and used through the Faircloughian Critical Discourse Analysis to assess language generated by the campaign. The study will find, that a varied and broad understanding of environmental justice are being created, in attempts to connect Sámi rights.

Keywords: Natur og Ungdom, Environmental justice, Justice, Social movements, Fosen, Fairclough, Critical Discourse Analysis

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1 Introduction

The struggle for political recognition within the public eye can be a never-ending battle for activists. The new young political scientist, Anton Jäger, describes this this day and age of political struggle as his term *Hyperpolitics*. To Jäger we are currently undergoing vast amount of political politization, while having left large parts of the communities. Thus, the current political state is characterised by a high intensity political engagement, but with very little any political gains for movements. Despite their ever-increasing intensity in voice power, it merely ends as hyperpolitics (Jäger, 2024). The climate/environmental movement have long been seen in public eye as the poster child of political activism, championed by peaceful protest and young outlook, with a banner of mass appeal. The question then becomes if something within the movement is changing?

In 2023, Norway's capital, Oslo, saw demonstrations using civil disobedience protesting windmill parks built on the Fosen peninsula of Trøndelag county in the country's centre. Two of the windmill parks, erected on land recognised by the Norwegian Government as Sápmi land, were the source of critique from the local Sámi *siidas* and *Naturvernforbundet* (Rensberg, 2014). It was part of a larger project that would be Europe's largest onshore wind park. In 2021, the Supreme Court of Norway recognised that the windmill parks were built in violation of Norwegian law, which obliged the state to protect its minorities. As of now, the wind turbines still stand despite this judgment. Starting in March 2023, Sámi organised in the organisation and party of *Norske Samers Rikforbund* (The Norwegian Sámi Association) and climate/environmental activists within *Natur og Ungdom* (NU) blocked ten departments of Norwegian ministries utilising civil disobedience (Foss et al., 2023). They marked the 500th day since the decree from The Supreme Court. The use of civil disobedience as a tactic continued to be used in the following months, with the addition of general mass demonstrations in the streets of Oslo. The Swedish activist Greta Thunberg participated in the civil

disobedience, granting the demonstrations additional international press awareness. International media quickly picked the story up, insinuating an apparent paradox: The embodiment of the climate movement positioning herself against one of the agenda's main tokens, windmills. This showcased the discrepancy in discourses around what the fight against climate change derives from. As it seemed, the narrative that had been built around the climate movement and its goals did not seem to comply with the activists' actions. The leader, Frederic Hauge, of another Norwegian climate organisation, Bellona, called the plans for Europe's biggest onshore windfarm *a day of joy*. Simultaneously acknowledging the potential of harm to the natural environment as a concern but called it a necessity to combat the larger threat of CO₂ emission (Viseth, 2016). This highlights the youth climate movements paradox or rather a perceived paradox. Spectators of the outside have indeed called upon this to critique the movement (Øvrum, 2023).

Something seems to be building up or rather changing within the movement. This jointed effort to protest wind turbines, a archetypical symbol of the goals of the movement, can may be an indicator. This suggests a scientific potential for mapping these developments within the climate movement. And for this case specifically, can Natur og Ungdom's partaking in the Fosen actions be considered an example of this general trend, of a movement developing? It is potentially too broad to consider, and will need many additional studies. So to begin with, and this thesis departure, one can begin to ponder: how does a climate movement construct and communicate new paradigms of environmental justice in collaboration with indigenous rights groups? And, and if so how, can Natur og Ungdom overcome the critique of their initial messaging? If we are to understand Natur and Ungdoms discourse, insights to a development within contemporary activism can be showcased, and how environmental movements are currently developing to incorporate a more rights-based approach.

Research question: *How does Natur og Ungdom construct discourses of environmental justice in the Fosen-actions solidarity campaign with the Sámi rights movement?*

1.1 Aim

First and foremost, with this research the overarching goal will first be to map a social movement and its behaviour, of which very little has been written academically about. And yet maybe because of this gap in knowledge the study into Natur og Ungdom and there thus resides a large knowledge gap in understanding one of Norway's most important, climate, environmental and human rights youth activist groups (OSCE, 2024). Ultimately the aim is to evaluate and assess the discourses of environmental justice, through Schlosberg (2007; et al 2024) multifaceted approach, generated by Natur and Ungdom in their campaign against human rights violations on Sámi land by the Norwegian state.

This will not only, hopefully generate important knowledge to the academic field of environmental activism developments, but also to the fields of political science and development studies as a whole. Assessing the theory of justice as longstanding tradition within the field of political science but had before Schlosberg (2007) not really been applied to that of environmental justice. And despite having its primary scope in the global north and its political forums, the emphasis environmental justice and the incorporation of not only capabilities, but also indigenous rights.

2 Context and Literature Review

Before analysing the Fosen actions, one needs to understand the historical context that saw people demonstrating. This chapter will provide context on both Natur og Ungdom, as well as the Fosen Case that led to the demonstrations.

2.1 The organisation Natur og Ungdom (Nature and Youth)

NU is the youth flank of the *Naturvernforbundet* (Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature) and Norway's largest environmental youth organisation (Holm-Hansen, 2020). Established in 1967, NU aims to inform and mobilise youth between the ages of 13 and 25 to work towards these common aspirations:

- a. To inform and mobilise young people in nature and environmental (conservation) work based on the understanding of ecological principles, nature studies and 'friluftsliv'*¹.
- b. A society that utilises the resources for the common good, both today and in the long term, with the minimal extraction of limited resources.*
- c. The damages caused by technical interventions, pollution, and overexploitation are rectified.*
- d. All forms of pollution and environmental destruction are kept at a level that nature can tolerate.*
- e. Preserve the uniqueness and quality of nature within the natural and cultural environments.*
- f. A decentralisation of establishment, settlement, and power.*²

¹ Can be directly translated to "Outdoor life".

² Translations are made by the author.

(Natur og Ungdom, 2024, pp. 2)

As of 2020, NU has 7,600 members occupied in 80 locally driven groups (Holm-Hansen, 2020). Its headquarters are in Oslo, where an administrative team of around 40 people is employed. NU is simultaneously engaged in political cases, e.g., taking the Norwegian state to court on the grounds of exploitative drilling of natural resources in the Barents Sea, and in more long-term projects, like a partner project with Russian environmental groups to share knowledge (ibid.). Lastly they also run the magazine *Putsj* that documents their activism and latest news around the group. Not much are in fact written about the group, especially scholarly. Holm-Hansen (2013) concludes that NU has undergone a development in a less radical direction but without any sourcing, yet it is quite a baseless claim. Although the

Hammersland et al. (2023) examine the relationship between the protests and NU's use of social media in activism. The qualitative study interviews various Norwegian (and maybe Swedish) climate organisations about how they use social movements in their activism. It showcases a reciprocal relationship that amplifies it even more. Under COVID social media, this relationship became much more important.

2.2 The Fosen case and its aftermath

In 2010, the Norwegian state permitted the wind company Fosen Wind to build six wind parks on the Fosen peninsula, the island of Hitra. The Norwegian state company holds a majority of shares in the company and thus de facto runs the company as an extension of itself. However, this area is also used by the Sami indigenous population, falling under the southern area of recognised Sapmi. The Sami population practices reindeer-herding on this land, as they have done for generations (Ravna, 2022). This part of Norway is, however, also recognised as Sápmi, where the historical indigenous Sami people reside. The area constitutes the southernmost part of a region stretching from northwesternmost Russia across

Northern Finland and Northern Sweden, all the way to Fosen. Organised in decentralised so-called '*siidas*' (spelled differently across the Sami languages), pastoral organisations within Sápmi (Næss et al, 2021), it was the access of the Sámi people of South Fosen and North Fosen *siidas* to their areas that was violated. As far back as history records, the local Sami people have engaged in reindeer pastoralism in the area, a right protected by Norwegian legislation, just as a law from 1999, based on the decrees of the UN's ICCPR, declares that the Norwegian state commits to protecting its minorities. In 2013 an appeal was made by the *siidas* to the Ministry of Energy. The wind turbines stood finished in 2020 (Ravna, 2022).

After considerable discussions and a general activist push, among others from the *Siidas* of Fosen, The Norwegian high court ruled in 2021 that the erected wind turbines violated the law in 1999 (ibid). Despite this ruling, wind turbines still stand today.

These conflicts have garnered not only international media attention but also academic analyses that have been conducted to dissect the multifaceted conflicts. The studies of postcolonialism and minority rights have directed a critique of the Norwegian state while attempting to give voice to the Sámi people. Sámi leaders and opinionmakers have been utilising a discourse around green colonialism to describe the placement of windmills on herding land. Like the Sámi president (Kårtveit in Sørind et al., 2021, pp. 158-159). Kårtveit (ibid, p. 171) showcases how this narrative is an important critique for the Sámi to contrast the narratives of the industry and argues for the climate advantages of the wind parks, as well as economic opportunities. In a psychology study engaging with the Southern Sámi *siidas*, Normann (2021) attempts to generate narratives for the population affected by windfarms. of understanding and uplifting narratives of minorities like Sámi. By utilising the concept of green colonialism, the Sámi movement can draw historical parallels to their earlier displacements to what is happening in Fosen. Another study of the discourses surrounding Sámi narratives concerns media representations of reindeer herding. For a long time, this was considered an unsustainable use of land, economically nonviable, as well as standing in the way of general developments for society in mainstream discourses. However, more contemporary discussions on indigenous rights and modern culture dispatched from nature have changed this

narrative in Norwegian media (Eira et al., 2023) Where are we now in the conflict? In late 2023 an agreement was reached between Fosen Vind and representatives for the Sør-Fosen Sijte, that would give the local reindeer herders access to other land in the area as well as economical contributions (Regjeringen, 2023).

3 Mapping a movement: Additional review of literature

As with many social movement, the environmental movement is constantly developing. To understand this chapter will highlight how different radical frontiers and developing.

By the late 1990s and early 2000s, the issue of climate change had largely been mainstreamed, but also a depoliticised subject (della Porta and Parks in Dietz & Garrelts (2014, pp. 24-25). By the early 2010s, the climate movement seemed to initiate a development, integrating human rights into the movement's agenda. With international events, e.g. the COP in Paris in 2015, mobilisation began to develop again. However, a fundamental split became even more apparent: between the reformist and its radical positions (Marquardt, 2020)

Scholarly contributions of normative ideas for the climate movement have been made. Notably, Malm (2021, p. 22-27) made a historical argument for how material violence should be used as a strategy and a necessity in the time frame of an evolving climate crisis. Drawing on examples from different emancipatory struggles, he utilised the logic of the positive radical flank effect to benefit the movement (thus its agenda) as a whole.

Gaborit (2020) showcases the movement's relationship with civil disobedience through a quantitative study of participants in a climate protest in France in 2019. The study found a causal relationship between participants believing in a catastrophe narrative unfolding through the climate crisis and supporting the use of civil disobedience. Similarly, those supporters were also very likely to address strategies of overcoming capitalist structures to overcome climate destruction, as well as a parental political heritage and academic occupation.

“In fact, the level of commitment on climate issues depends on familial socialization: the more leftist their parents are, the more the young people tend to be radical.” (Gaborit, 2020, pp. 247). The use of violence against property damage, following the mantra of Malm (2021), seems to have a similar tendency, with parental socialisation seeming to be integral in the regression, but without concluding a causal relationship. What does this entail? Gaborit (2020) showcases a trend in the French Climate Movement. A climate movement that is historically rooted in the use of non-violent protesting has utilised civil disobedience as the use of radical protesting, generating a new understanding of civil disobedience. *“It brings into play the idea of disobedience as not simply the consequence of a mismatch between higher principles of justice and a state of affairs, nor as a strictly strategic aspect of obtaining political victories, but as a mode of action acknowledging the state’s failure in its commitment to protect its citizens and making fear not an affect primarily directed towards state repression, but also towards potential catastrophe.”* (Gaborit, 2020, pp. 248). Thus, civil disobedience - following the radical principle of Muxel’s (2020) conceptualisations – becomes articulated above non-violence, making radicalisation more an issue of the political principle.

This dilemma for the climate movement hinted at something unfolding, or rather something having been unfolding since these battles of narratives seemed to gain public attention. What kind of developments was this event hinting at? Naturally, the climate movement is not one homogenous grouping of opinions, rather the climate movement is a movement of movements (Gaborit, 2021). Even with a global network of climate movements, they have aimed to map their developments and make normative claims for future developments as they see fit. The international network of climate organisations, Climate Vanguard, joined by the Green Economy Coalition, generated a report investigating these new developments since 2018, which it sets as a landmark year for the international youth climate movement. They were keen to map the development of reformist and radical flank positions within the movement. They found that there 89 of their surveyed groups utilised a radical analysis of the climate crisis to understand its rooting. This means that systems of oppression through capitalism are seen as the root problem, and thus, systemic changes are needed outside of reformism.

Simultaneously, there exists little vision of overcoming said structures, and no broad plan exists for the surveyed groups. The report then argues the limitations of reformist policies and the need for radical ideas targeting systematic capitalism, and only then can the climate crisis be efficiently tackled. But this is a diligent process. The authors find a growing but rather small sentiments within groups (Herfort et al., 2023). Martin (2023) from the Green Economy Coalition sees this new trajectory as the climate movement being at a crossroads between new ideals and methods, between reformism and radicalism (Martin, 2023).

Knops & de Vydt (2024) looks at Belgian Fridays for Future, using a mixed methods approach to map democratic attitudes. With an eclectic conclusion that viewpoints are broadly represented on a theoretical understanding of the environmental - and ecological democracy continuum – between reformist and radical approaches to institutions. There was a larger tendency of more towards the reformist, environmental democracy approach, while simultaneously utilising critiques of capitalism (which entails a critique à la ecological democracy). However, this foothold within the established political arenas is not necessarily a new constant for the movement. Across European Among this tendency, there is another trend of democratic institutions are also increasingly failing to represent their voters, leading to general mistrust adequately (Muxel, 2020). Finally in Britain Pickard et al (2020) finds their youth climate movement in fear missing out on jobs, holds back from utilizing radical measures, yet describe their ideals as ever radical. Instead peaceful protests is to push for big systematic changes

4 Conceptualisations and Theory

This thesis will utilize the conceptualised theory of environmental justice, as it was put forward by Schlosberg (2007). In actuality Schlosberg does not set out to coin his own variant of the theory, yet he aims to answer if the academic understanding of environmental justice align with how the concept is being used by e.g. social movements (ibid, pp. 1). What he ends up presenting is not a new reciprocal understanding of the two, but his definitions of the two strands ultimately ends up giving frameworks and questions for moving forward, which ultimately have become the framework of the forthcoming analysis. Additionally, in later work Schlosberg and additional authors tracks contemporary renditions of environmental justice, of which they find a general trend towards a more critical understanding of the term. Yet within these critical branches, there still exists large arrays of the disagreements, even towards can be read as ontologically different. This is to be expected, argues the authors, from a critical theory that insists on the importance of plurality to maintain in itself pluralistic standpoints. To fully grasp the multifaceted notion that Schlosberg aims to convey, a quite rigorous undertaking and walkthrough of the theoretical discussions that are foundational must be done. This will in turn also give some insights into the literature on the matter. However what Schlosberg argues for, and what this study also will attribute is to shorten the gap between ideal and/or pragmatic theories of justice created within academia and those articulated in realm environmental and climate justice movements. There, he argues, might be to a large extent knowledge sharing, but there is very little connection between the two in sense of acknowledgement (Schlosberg, D. & Collins, 2014). In a later study Schlosberg et al (2024) attempts to synthesise four different existing discourses of environmental justice. Thus, four readings that they put forward will be addressed in the final part of the chapter, and also help shape further analysis.

4.1 Justice

Schlosberg initiates by highlighting Rawls (1999) and not necessarily because his ultimate definition of what a just society is, but rather his framework of achieving a common justice, in fact that a society should reflect these notions. This makes his understanding crucial to understand many theories of justice. Rawls (1999) starting point is a thought experiment, to generate the most neutral position of to which fairness can be agreed upon. For this Rawls sets up the original position. In this scenario, a group of people are to be behind what Rawls calls a “veil of ignorance” of which they have no concept of themselves in any societal context, like class and other characteristics (Rawls, 1999, pp. 11). This is what is meant by original position a neutral and impartial starting point of which these people would agree upon justice (Rawls, 1999, pp. 13-14). Following a rational actors approach, they conceptualisations of justice generated would in turn be the fairest, of which he calls *reflective equilibrium* (ibid., pp. 18). In other words, it is a contractarian approach, between rational actors, that must seem themselves as equals and alike to to generate (ibid. pp. 15). Ultimately, he proposes what he believes would be the outcomes of original position: Basic rights and liberties for all, that does not interfere with other’s liberties, inequalities between people are only tolerated through as an advantage for all other people, and to be regulated by some kind of democratic institution of which should be free to anyone to pursuit. He openly calls parts of these conceptualisations ambiguous (ibid., pp. 52-53). This framework upon his place of theoretical departure, lays the groundworks for also distributive justice: There should exist something that is just, that relies on our shared understanding of what good is, and thus structure our society around that, negotiating until justice is achieved. But this initial stage of a non-political common place is integral. His usage of the “justice in fairness”, which attributes a state that enables distribution (ibid. pp. 55). However importantly, these distribution does not exist and cannot be viewed as existing apart from the state or institution of which they are bound. This in turn means, that there exists no basis of comparison between two distributions (ibid. pp. 76), e.g.: Is justice for the planet in form of wind turbines generating electricity more important, than maintain the justice and rights of

indigenous people to their lands? In Rawls's view, there exists no way of arguing, however one is more just, more desirable and perhaps even better.

This however still enables an initial strand of justice theory, that of theory of distribution, that ponders upon Rawls's framework and imagines their own variants of how the just society should function. This strand of distribution is at its very core the determination how goods, social and physical, liberties but also unfreedoms are distributed within a society (Schlosberg, 2007, pp. 12). But as opposed to Rawls, there also exists a utilitarianism approach within the umbrella of distribution justice, that flips the focal point. Here the specific outcome of distribution is the most integral part, and its most basic sense generates more joy and satisfaction in comparison to other distribution – a similar economical optimisation to Rawls, one could argue, however ontological diametrically opposites (Rawls, 1999, pp. 77).

As an opposition to the liberal tendencies of distributive justice more critically aligned scholars, views justice through recognition. The scholar of this tradition uses real injustices as their point of departure, instead of Rawlsian original position. What they find is that a lack of recognition of minority individuals and communities sees them getting inflicted damage or harms them various arenas and spheres of societal and political life, both in everyday experiences face-to-face as well as societal and institutional. This is of naturally a large area of concern, but what this discrimination and lack of recognition ultimately generates, is exclusion from the framework of distribution (Schlosberg, 2007, pp. 14-16). Schlosberg highlights Young and Fraser as being vital in generating this focus. They are both very little concerned with any form of higher ideals of justice, but instead on eradication of injustices and only through recognitions this can be achieved. Fraser especially puts a heavy emphasis on structural rooting and context, and how it generates institutional subordination (ibid.). How recognition and lack thereof, became a point of discussion with philosopher between Honneth and Fraser. In simple terms, Honneth argues, that recognition is ultimately derives from a psychological phenomenon. While expanding upon recognition, but ultimately it is individual and the person experiencing an injustice, that determine it. If only one perceives sociocultural and institutional as domination it becomes a misrecognition (ibid., pp. 18-19). Fraser sees this way of thinking as a too heavy emphasis on self-realisation,

that this undermines seeing misrecognition is rooted in institutional manifestations. Honneth tries to emphasise that his theoretical understanding encompasses both experiences, the individually assessed misrecognition, and the implication on e.g. social movements (ibid., pp. 21-24).

All of them however still argue that redistribution should still be included in theorisations of recognition. Yet few scholars are interested be put under the umbrella of the other. In turn this misinterpretation of each other standpoints inspire Schlosberg to argue for multifaceted approach to justice. Another aftermath of said discussion, between redistribution and recognition, is the rendition of procedural justice. Here the focus of justice is transparency of the processes that lead to decisions on distribution and recognition, yet their focus derives from a justice via recognition approach. Inclusion and giving voice to people in the decision-making process becomes a key tool in this pursuit.

Another attribution to justice that Schlosberg highlights (2007) is that of Nussbaum (2003) and Sen (2009), is that of capabilities. The two aims to expand upon distributive approach and to look towards how distributed goods are attained and what value it brings individuals. The latter of the two highlights in his work the opportunities of individuals to achieve valuable outcomes. In these lay an important notion of freedom and choice in determining their own individual well-being. This allowed through a distinction between “culmination outcomes” and “comprehensive outcomes”, essentially what and who someone ends up with an outcome (Sen, 2009, pp. 229-230). Essentially about sustaining and facilitating people having the freedom to pursuit what satisfies them. Yet these freedoms are not inherent to any set of rules. Instead, Sen criticises the strain of thought of welfarism, which he argues are too concentrated on sets of freedoms and outcomes, that does not take any societal context into account. “[T]he same set of utility numbers may go, in one case, with serious violations of very basic human freedoms, but not in another. Or it may involve the denial of some recognized individual rights in one case but not in another.” (ibid., pp. 281). Within this lies the concern of Nussbaum (2003), that otherwise agrees with Sens initial ideas around capabilities. Because Sen (2009, pp. 377) relies heavily on a perspective of freedoms, and not defining capabilities, Nussbaum (2003, pp. 36) argues issues of

e.g. sex equality are not a given, if not directly attained. She then goes on to define her own capabilities, that takes these into account (ibid. pp. 41-42).

Back to Rawlsian approach to justice, many of the early renditions of discussion revolved around the individual, and not the group, which granted is important part of the theoretical discussion within social movements ideas of environmental justice. Although, with Sen's and Nussbaum's approach actually revolves around the justice for collectives. They of course rooted in individual aspirations of capabilities, yet the discussions as shown above, have been focused on how these maintained and contextualised within groupings (Schlosberg, 2007, pp. 36-37). Additionally, a similar logic can be applied to that of the recognition approach to justice, of which many social movements in fact have taken some inspirations from misrecognition and collective struggle. However important it mainly the movements themselves that have generated these collective understandings (ibid, pp. 38-39).

Altogether, this encompassing investigation through variations of theory of justice, showcases Schlosberg's ambition in attempting incorporate notions of the liberal individual through Rawls (1999) and distribution approach, a focus on structural injustices through recognition, and a more freedom oriented and sociocultural (as well as gender) aware capabilities. This in turn is his all-encompassing notion of environmental justice

4.2 Newer renditions of environmental justice

4.2.1 The plurality of power

This discourse bases itself on knowledge generated by subjugated communities of focus and how they are under the influence of broader power dynamics. This is centred on an academic understanding of critical environmental justice, challenging

the notion of a universal answer and outlook. In order to generate longstanding justice for all, contexts matter, to uncover the specific power dynamics creating injustices. To proponents of this discourse, the existence of differences in global and local conceptions of justice is perhaps the most important idea to fully grasp the concept of environmental justice (Schlosberg et al, 2024). This echoes the formulations of Sen (2009) as well as Nussbaum (2003), in their capability approach, because of this importance of contextuality.

4.2.2 Participatory

Similar to the plurality of power in its emphasis on critical epistemology, with a heavier emphasis on participation and practice within the social movements practising critical environmental justice. By scholars and academics engaging with predominantly activists within the Global South, an environmental justice that acknowledges how racial discrimination and climate change are interconnected, and thus needed for an emancipatory environmental justice (ibid).

4.2.3 Critical traditional

As the name would suggest it views environmental justice through some of its more rudimentary definitions. However, not to say that is completely derived from a critical understanding of justice. Yet its historical focus on the concept and how to expand its boundaries distinguishes it from the other critical approaches. Because it verifies the original conceptualisations to hold universal meanings and itself being the fairest approach, compared e.g. to that of the participatory that somewhat views environmental justice as lacking aspects or rather needing to be checked with alternate conceptions of justice. Additionally (or perhaps, therefore) the critical tradition sees liberal states as not directly opposing environmental justices' pathway, but rather as a potential tool and does not see any engagement with the state as undermining the movement's original purpose. This approach was in the case of Schlosberg et al (2024) most widely attributed to academics within the Global North and can thus be seen as follow from the framework around justice that Rawls (1999) put forward, as it was established earlier. A framework that allows a state to operate on top of the ideals generated from the natural position.

4.2.4 Disruptive

On the contrary, the disruptive approach stands in direct opposition to the liberal state. Indigenous realities exist in direct opposition to a liberal state, thus defining the environmental justice movement as a radical alternative to the liberal state capitalistic frame, in which racial hierarchies exist. The inclusion of Indigenous perspectives is necessary to guarantee intersectional perspectives. Intersectional analysis was a framework within judicial studies attributed to Crenshaw (1989), that aimed to attack, what she saw as a single-axis framework, that was dominant within antidiscrimination law (in the US). This in turn meant that the antidiscrimination law could only grasp singular or rather homogenic instances of discrimination of identity. She showcased, that black women were discriminated against on the employment market; not because they were women, nor because they were black, but because of them being black women. Here the notion of the intersection as a visual representation of identities. This also more is crucial to understand (Crenshaw, 1989). Therefore, for the Disruptive approach to be radical (and disruptive), this need to integrate the idea of the intersection is crucial. For to be able to overturn the system, that is interwoven with white ideas of justice, indigenous voices are needed for bodies of governance (Schlosberg et al, 2024).

5 Data and case description

5.1 The material chosen for analysis

Sources of which data have been collected

<i>Opinion pieces published in media</i>	7
<i>Articles published in Putsj or on NU.no</i>	5
<i>Press releases</i>	3
<i>Instagram-posts</i>	9

As already established, this study is a case study of not only single activist group, but a single campaign of the group. One might argue that other actors and/or timeframes could have been more chosen, but this framework were chosen for different reasons. Firstly, the interesting notion, that set this thesis departure point is the shared efforts of the two movements, which is a unique frame within the literature. Secondly, this makes scope of the study finite, to have clear borders of which to concentrate focus. Third, this study aims to position itself to contribute to the current discussion on developments within the youth climate movement.

The point of data can be seen in the model 5.1. The study will utilize opinion pieces which is published in Norwegian media, by various actors within the movement. These were found by utilizing first and foremost google to search for specific phrases that consisted of “Debate” and “Natur og Ungdom”, thereafter searches were carried out within most popular Norwegian news sites, as well as local ones. The use of not too specific search terms was useful because the amount of material in general was quite limited, meaning additional searches on e.g. “Fosen” might have excluded potential hits. Instead, the answers were manually

sorted to fit the specific campaign. After that the media sites of which the results was featured was then searched, with the additional searches made to names of the authors. The writers of opinion pieces then again became part of further searches, to turn every stone.

The second types of articles written for internal use, meaning articles published on their own website and through the beforementioned magazine Putsj. These were simply accessed through the website through their own archive. It is important to note that, as of writing this, their website has seen some major changes and is currently unable to access its own archive.

Thirdly, press releases were searched through and accessed through kommunikasjon.ntb.no website – the Norwegian commonplace for press releases. Again, only chosen material were in relation to the campaign.

Finally, Instagram posts were selected from the account @naturogungdom. Many of the posts were posted in collaboration with NSR-Nuorat and their account @nsr_nuorat. Posts with a relation to the campaign were chosen, if either pictures were attributed with a longer passage of text, that attempted to make a statement or videos posted with subjectively decided amount substance. These videoes have been transcribed, mainly using the provided subtitles. The Instagram posts were Any posts after 2024, where the campaign stopped, are not included.

Utilizing Fairclough's model of CDA, which will be further elaborated in the next part, discourses within the text or transcribs are coded, to then become synthesized into points for analysis.

These varied sources of text aims to give the best contextualization of how language and discourses are created and primarily sent out by the movement. This gives important merits to the case, yet it of course important to note that generalisability is very much limited, with any generated results.

Lastly, the selected materials are of course, in Norwegian, both Bokmål and Nynorsk, but also in Sámi language (of which is never specificed. Due to their

similarity in vocabulary to Danish, it has been assessed that the author sufficiently provides the necessary translations.

6 Method

What is discourse? This ambiguous term is an often-utilised concept to analyse language. It is not easily defined and bases itself on its contexts and usages. In their textbook on critical approaches to discourse analysis, Jørgensen & Phillips (2002) textbook attempt to synthesise this array of definitions into:

“‘[D]iscourse’ is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people’s utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life, familiar examples being ‘medical discourse’ and ‘political discourse’.” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, ch. 1, pp. 2)

Thereafter, discourse analysis becomes the investigation of this relationship between a language and its perceived context. These do not necessarily exist separately; rather, the context can often generate said discourses. (ibid). What defined language and said patterns are, however, up to theoretical discussion. Due to this conceptual ambiguity, discourse analysis as a method is reliant on assumptions of meanings and theoretical underpinnings ontologically and epistemologically. (Lindekilde in della Porta, 2014, pp. 199-200).

For this study, Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis method and approach will be used. Lindekilde showcases that this method of discourse analysis can be useful in understanding the discourses produced by social movements (ibid, pp. 205). What distinguishes discourse analysis and frame analysis, despite their shared theoretical foundations, is the methods of approach. The two can be mainly divided into approaches to inductive or deductive coding and reasoning, which in turn also entails the extent of strategic rationality. Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis utilises an inductive approach, which sees social movements as less. This can be beneficial for understanding how social movements generate narratives of change. It is difficult to maintain a stringent approach when analysing. As is also the case of this study (ibid. pp. 224-225). What this means is the despite the Faircloughian approach being an inductive approach, this thesis utilizes theoretical

conceptualisations before making any general claims. In actuality the process of writing, coding, assessing and theorizing have been much more a reciprocal.

6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is capitalised to highlight its coinage by Fairclough. A larger strand of critical discourse analysis approaches exists whose overarching aims lend themselves to the traditions of critical research. All-encompassing is the eye for how power relations within society are built, maintained, and executed. The critical analysis aims to expose and often generate normative strategies to tackle these power disparities (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, ch. 1, pp. 3). CDA's theoretical foundation is said to be a poststructuralist understanding of its core themes. Yet in actuality, it is more an eclectic conceptualisation borrowing from a Marxist-inspired structural tradition and a Foucauldian post-structuralism, all existing on the umbrella term of social constructivism, yet is a contested definition (ibid., ch 1, pp. 7). This constitutes an ontology of critical realism, which essentially is a dual approach acknowledging agency or processes as existing outside of structures yet existing with both the power to create and with embedded power structures (Fairclough, 2005). CDA understands power through postmodernism as both oppressive and constructive while simultaneously acknowledging a Gramscian Marxist understanding of hegemony (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, ch. 3, pp. 33-34). Gramsci saw a constant competition to be the dominating narrative or norm and thus hegemony. Counterhegemonies exist as dialectic challenges to the status quo. Notably, in that process, Gramsci rejected class warfare being a premise within capitalist societies, as Marx conceptualised. Instead, Gramsci was interested in understanding why the working class ultimately accepted exploitation (Cox, 1983). This allows Fairclough's to generate an ontology of CDA's discourse to be a social practice existing in a reciprocal (or dialectic) constituting relationship state with other social dimensions that might exist outside of forms of language. Thus,

discourse can never be analysed without its social context, which will be elaborated upon later.

What this ontology essentially provides, and perhaps also explains Fairclough's model of analysis frequent uses, is a moderated critical ontology that acknowledges structures of power yet can successfully generate measuring units with agency existing on its own. Other critical discourse analyses have deeper roots in poststructuralism, like Laclau and Moïse's, which, however, deprive them of the possibility of generating a framework of analysis. (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, ch. 2, pp. 3-4). Yet it is important to highlight that analysis of discourse in actuality only stands to benefit from using different ontologies to give a broader understanding of the discourse. Jørgensen & Phillips (2002, ch. 5) stress this notion as multi-perspectival, not eclecticism.

Fairclough's ontology also limits what constitutes discourse. To CDA, discourse is merely language and images that construct identities, relations, and knowledge systems. As earlier shown, the distinction between text and context is called the communicative event and the order of discourse. The former is the usage of a text or an image (a discourse), whereas the latter speaks to discourse types within a social field. Discourse types also include genres, such as discourses rooted in practices, like news interviews. When analysing using Fairclough's CDA, three dimensions or levels of a communicative event must be analysed. The three-dimensional model of analysis is often illustrated as three spheres overlapping. The three dimensions are: First, the close-to-text analysis of linguistics or the "discursive unit"; second, the processes of how it is produced and consumed or "discursive practices"; third, how these fit into larger societal contexts or "societal practices" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, ch. 3, pp. 10-14) Additionally, for social movements, it recognises activists or participants of social movements as creators of discourse rather than simply users (Lindekilde in della Porta, 2014, pp. 225).

7 Analysis

In this section, the discourse analysis will be laid out. The different discourses will first be established and following the order of the Faircloughian methodology as described in the previous section, the level of analysis will be increased, but additionally interwoven, to then finally attempt to determine the usage of EJ discourse. As already described in the section of Data Collection and Case Specifications, some discourses are not of interest, despite them being present in data evidently, despite the filtering of data selection.

7.1 The state: An equal opponent or a threat?

One of the most important discourses that surfaced through this analysis is of the main opponent of the activists. The battle is at some point very much compared to a sports game between two battling opponents. However, the general trend points towards the state failing its obligations. As the protests in actuality began spreading around the 500 days mark, since the supreme court ruling, there is a broad tendency to combine the timely aspect, with the government's lack of doings. This is used as both contextual clues for opening statements, but also as a rhetorical intensifier. The overarching premise relies on a notion of the state, failing its obligations, as Brenn (2023) puts it *"In Norway we like to say that we are a democratic and safe country for everyone to live in. You would think that we take care of our indigenous people, but we do not"*.

Additionally, this quote also gives away an underlying assumption, or rather discourse that activist attacks, in which its state equals its nation. The state becomes a direct reflection of its people and must therefore do something. Therefor it is considered, when a rapport is handed to the parliament *Stortinget*, that showcases

how the Norwegianization of Sámi people continue to this day, “weird” or perhaps “conspicuous” that the parliament is yet to do anything. Additionally, the state is acting immorally, when breaking its own laws as well as human rights violations. During some of the initial protests using civil disobedience, the activists blocked the entrance to the Oil and Energy Department. The Department ended up blocking them off completely, and thus press was not allowed to enter, as well as food and supplies were refused. This discourse was then used in continuation of this immorality of the state. Firstly, an attempt to silence the demonstrations, by breaking their fundamental right to expression, additionally refusing them food. Here the young nature of the activists becomes important, as it picked up on in a later speech shared on Instagram addressed; “*We had to shut down more Departments. They attempted to stave out our youth. This is not a festival. This is a heavy bloodbath and will leave marks.*” (Natur og Ungdom, NSR Nuorat, 2023d). These discourses were very much generated under many moments of urgency, when the demonstrations and actions were taking place. They had no access to the media as stated, and thus their communication through social media could exist as call to actions, but also press material for media. This pushes additionally towards an aspect of togetherness, between the two groups protesting, because of the solidarity shown by the NU activists towards the Sámi activists.

The usage of *shutting down the state* or departments, was also a frequently used rhetorical tool. This in turn requires an understanding of how the activists perceive themselves in relation to the state. In the more own magazine Putsj, they published a magazine orientating on notions of power and powerlessness, thus questions of: who has power, how is it executed, and it can be harnessed in their works as activists. In one of the instances a similar conceptualisation of power to that of Hannah Arendt becomes visible. Arendt highlighted the idea of power being notion of collective effort of human desire and action, has set her definition apart from many others. To Arendt, through communication of ideas and politics in the public sphere, people could generate collectives with ideals, where individuals are free to place their power. Similarly, people place this power generated within realm of government and states, when they represent these ideals. As this can be seen as only lending of power, it can similarly be revoked by the citizens. be taken away. And it is in these instances, the states respond with violence. When stripped of its power,

the state would generally respond with violence, creating a direct opposition between power and violence. They that use violence, have no real power (Arendt, 1969, pp. 25, 38-42). This gives further context to: *"So when the state violates human rights and does not do anything about it, you should get involved! Because this also targets you."* (Brenn, 2023).

One can argue that this engagement with the state, requires some kind of recognition of its legitimacy of solving the issue of injustice. There is of course the concern of the medium or rather the discursive practice, combined with societal practice. These aims are of course some kind of striving towards mass appeal, for the broadest audience, perhaps recognition, but also rally supporters and soon to be closer to the movement's positions.

In actuality the constant insisting on state responsibility in correcting its mistake, they underlying agree to a state maintaining being facilitator of justice, which yet again, leads back to Rawls (1999). Especially when utilizing non-political language aiming for a foundational justice, the original position stands strong. This also makes some of their demands closer to procedural justice.

7.2 Solidarity and rejection

A discourse very much important to the activists is to frame environmental justice in relation to the climate crisis and especially the green transition. In their inner ranks, calls to solidarity has become an important discourse. The activists striking together with the Sámi activists, calls themselves solidarity activists. Not only does it entail direct calls to international solidarity (Torgersen, 2023). But it entails fighting in the place of those more exhausted because of their constant battle, with the system. Here clear parallels to that of Fraser and Taylor and justice through recognition (Schlosberg, 2007, pp. 27-28). By giving space, declaring themselves in relation to the Sámi activists, and not as a united front, can be also be attributed to a contextual way of seeing justice, as Sen (2009) and Nussbaum (2003) highlighted, which in actuality can be seen as much more through plurality of power.

But how does they go about situating environmental justice as precursor to the green transition, like their critics propose (Øvrum, 2023). Again following the logic of Fraser. Here it becomes evident to generate a prerequisite condition that dismantles further criticisms: *"There is nothing "green" about energy buildings that overruns indigenous peoples rights and the already sustainable food production that reindeer herding is"* (Natur og Ungdom, ud). This discourse again emphasises not only a contextual understanding, but also rejects any forms of utilitarianism greater net-good. Instead environmental justice only exists when people's livelihood are not destroyed (Losnegård, 2023a). Finally some activists utilizes the term green colonialism.

8 Conclusion

Altogether this thesis has attempted to explore and assess how the Norwegian youth environmental group has created discourses of environmental justice. In an effort to understand how a modern social movement are evolving to accustomate to concerns of environmental justice. The multifaceted understanding of environmental justice and Fairclough's CDA-model, it was allowed for wide encompassing terminology for the analysis of the movements generated language in their campaign work. To large extent it was found that the battle between state and activists highlighted some underlying assumptions of a state facilitating justice. While ideals of solidarity gave hints at a more radical understandings of justice, using contextual understandings to give recognition, ultimately, it was found that the discourses of environmental justice was created around an eclectic understanding of opportunities and ideals

8.1 Future Research

Going forward these a more systematic approach towards more environmental/climate movements, how these instances of discourse are applicable to other related movements. How has other movements reconciled the new competition between environmental and social justice ideals. However, what is evident within the current political climate, is to map how environmental movement, positions themselves in solidarity with Palestinians. Ultimately, these ideas of what radicalism institutes, should be further investigated. Hopefully with this paper, we have arrived a little closer understanding contemporary activism and its developments.

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9.1 Appendix of data

9.1.1 Opinion pieces published in media

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9.1.4 Instagram-posts

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9.2 Transcriptions

Natur og Ungdom, NSR Nuorat (2023a)

Transcription of video.

Speaker: Nå har vi okkupert olje- og energidepartementet i 24 timer. Departementet har stengt inngangen sendt tekstmeldinger til statsansatte at de ikke får komme gjennom disse inngangene og de nekter oss også å få inn mat.

De lar heller ikke noe presse komme in. Olje- og energidepartementet har allerede brutt en lov de har brutt menneskerettigheter, nå bryter de en ny lov: vår rett til å ytre oss det er åpenbart, at vi prøver å presse oss ut her uten konfrontasjon og uten dårlig pr. Vi gir oss ikke og vi krever å bli hørt så nå så blokkerer vi flere dører her på departementet og vi krever fortsatt det samme områdene.

Natur og Ungdom, NSR Nuorat (2023b)

Transcription of subtitles.

SÁMI: I am Ella Marie and I am one of the thirteen activists who now are occupying the Norwegian Ministry of Oil and energy. We are here to demand that the illegal windmills of Fosen be demolished. But we are also here for our different reasons. So today I ask my fellow young activists. Who are you fighting for?

SÁMI: I am here for the land. Because they kill and destroy the land, they kill and destroy us because we are a part of the land.

NORWEGIAN: I am here in solidarity with the reindeer herders on Fosen and the rest of the Sami people. The struggle for indigenous rights is the struggle for the environment, and systemic human rights violations concern us all.

NORWEGIAN: *I am here in solidarity with the Fosen people, that has been struggling for many years. But I am also here for the future of Sàpmi, because if the government can overlook a Supreme Court ruling and continue the violations of human rights, who knows what is next?*

NORWEGIAN: *I am here for the people who have fought before us and those who are still fighting a battle against oppression. We have to fight for our future generations. Norwegian.*

SÁMI: *I am protesting because the state of Norway violates rights and a Supreme Court ruling states windmill farms violate traditional reindeer herding. I am here because when my kids grow up, I want them to grow up in traditional reindeer herding and enjoy mountains free of government industrialism.*

NORWEGIAN: *I am here in solidarity with the battle the Fosen-Sámi's already have fought for a long time. This is a human rights violation, which the Norwegian State is responsible for. And it is important that we, environmental activists and Norwegians, are fighting this battle alongside those, who are not able to fight anymore.*

NORWEGIAN: *I am here for my fellow activists. And I am here for the Sàmis of Fosen. I am here for the rule of law. I am here for the power of rights globally.*

SÁMI: *I am here on behalf of the Fosen-Njaarke Samis, and on behalf of all the future generations of Sàmis, so hopefully they won't have to fight the same battles as us, and everyone before us.*

NORWEGIAN: *I am here in solidarity with the Sàmi people. And especially the reindeer herders of Fosen. If we don't set the premise for what the Norwegian state can do, we are facilitating these disruptions and human rights violations. And we can't let that happen.*

SÁMI: *I am here demonstrating for the Fovsen-Njaarke reindeer herders, not only because of I being a reindeer herder, but to make sure our descendants don't have to fight just like us, and our ancestors have.*

SÁMI (in Norwegian): *I do this so other people don't get Norwegianized, like I and my little sister have been.*

SÁMI: *I am here demonstrating for the Dosen-Sámis and the Sámi. I am demonstrating for securing and protecting present youth and future generations' rights to practice their own culture. Sámi youth is my biggest inspiration and drive.*

SÁMI: *And I am here because my dream is to become a mother and I want my future child to be born into a beautiful and safe future, where they don't have to fight for basic human rights. This should be a given!*

Natur og Ungdom, NSR Nuorat (2023d)

Transcription of subtitles.

Speaker: *Og jeg vil også nevne igjen våre brødre og søstre på Fosen som har stått i det her i masse, masse år. Og det er så viktig at nå er det hundrevis av mennesker som står på for dem. Vi måtte stenge ned flere departementer. De forsøkte å sulte ut vår ungdom. Det her er ikke en festival. Det er et tungt blodslit, og det kommer til å sette sine spor. Det er så mye god energi her. Det er så mye kjærlighet. Det er folk tar vare på hverandre. Forsett med det, men det bliver viktig i etterkant også. Samefolket trenger rett og slett anerkjennelse for å være et folk. Det kan ikke bli stille etter det her. Det kan ikke bli stille etter det her.*

Ella Marie Hætta Isaksen, Natur og Ungdom, NSR Nuorat (2023)

Transcriptions of subtitles.

?: *Today we are shutting down the headquarters of Statkraft.*

Isaksen: *Statekraft is a state owned company that owns half of the wind turbines on Storheia on Fosen.*

?: *They earn a lot of money while this human rights violation is still ongoing.*

Isaksen: *Today we demand that the money that they earn on these illegal wind turbines is put into a fund earmarked for the restoration of these lands.*

?: *Give the Fosen Sàmi their land back!*