TURUN YLIOPISTO

Wind Power as Settler Colonialism in Sápmi

Indigenous Environmental Justice Perspectives from Sámi Communities in Finland

Geography (Sustainable Cities and Communities)

Master's thesis

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Abstract:

My thesis explores Sámi communities' perceptions of environmental justice regarding wind power developments. The objective is to contribute to the understanding of how Sámi living in Finland experience wind power projects in Sápmi. The topic has emerged from discussion present in research and public media about how green transition reproduces colonialism in Indigenous lands. The perceptions of Sámi are analysed with the theories of Indigenous environmental justice, decolonial environmental justice, and settler colonialism using content analysis. My empirical research material is based on triangulation of different qualitative data sources including Instagram posts, a novel, and documents. Using existing data sources, I avoid undue research demands and minimise participation burdens of Sámi communities by not interviewing communities of topics they have already published their opinions on. This strengthens the ethical grounding of my thesis. The used materials discuss Sámi experiences focusing on activist perceptions.

My findings show that wind power development in Sápmi is perceived as a threat for Sámi cultural continuity. Violations of Sámi self-determination are perceived to enable the development, while constructed wind turbines violate the cultural rights of Sámi. In addition, colonial dominance of the Nordic states, that enable marginalisation of the Sámi people, is seen to allow wind power development. Exploitation of land and assimilation are already experienced and feared results of wind turbines. However, my results reveal that Sámi actively confront and resist this development and related settler colonialism through protests, social media activism, and collaboration across colonial state borders. These emphasise the agency and hope of the communities.

Wind power development and settler colonialism in Sápmi are seen as inseparable. Theories that combine settler colonialism, Indigenous perspectives, and environmental justice work to depict the experiences of Sámi in the land use discussed in my thesis. Environmental justice in the context of Sámi needs to be considered holistically, where the preservation of traditional land is essential. Self-determination and other Indigenous rights of the Sámi people need to be carefully followed, and their effectiveness considered to prevent future injustices. There is a need for future research on how the theory of Indigenous environmental justice can be adapted to study and solve other justice issues in Sámi contexts.

Key words: environmental justice, settler colonialism, Sámi people, green transition, wind power

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Abstrakti:

Opinnäytetyössäni tarkastelen saamelaisyhteisöjen näkemyksiä ympäristöoikeudenmukaisuudesta tuulivoimakehitykseen liittyen. Tavoitteena on lisätä ymmärrystä, miten Suomessa asuvat saamelaiset kokevat tuulivoimahankkeet Saamenmaalla. Aihe on noussut esiin tutkimuksessa ja julkisessa mediassa käydystä keskustelusta, miten vihreän siirtymän hankkeet alkuperäiskansojen mailla jatkavat kolonialismia. Tarkastelen saamelaisten näkemyksiä teorialähtöisesti hyödyntäen asuttajakolonialismin teoriaa sekä alkuperäiskansatutkimuksen ja dekoloniaalisen tutkimuksen teorioita ympäristöoikeudenmukaisuudesta. Empiirinen tutkimusaineistoni perustuu laadullisten aineistojen triangulaatioon ja sisältää Instagram julkaisuja, romaanin ja dokumentteja. Hyödyntämällä olemassa olevia aineistoja en lisää saamelaisiin kohdistuvia kohtuuttomia tutkimusvaatimuksia ja osallistumispaineita, sillä en pyydä yhteisöjä kertomaan asioita, joista he ovat jo julkaisseet mielipiteensä. Tämä vahvistaa tutkimukseni eettistä perustaa. Aineistoni sisältää saamelaisten kokemuksia keskittyen aktivistien näkökulmiin.

Tulosten mukaan tuulivoimakehitys Saamenmaalla koetaan uhaksi saamelaisen kulttuurin jatkuvuudelle. Saamelaisten itsemääräämisoikeuden loukkaukset koetaan mahdollistavan tuulivoimahankkeet, ja kulttuuristen oikeuksien rikkomukset rakennetun tuulivoiman seurauksena. Lisäksi Pohjoismaiden käyttämä koloniaalinen ylivalta, joka mahdollistaa saamelaisten marginalisoinnin päätöksenteossa, nähdään tuulivoiman mahdollistajina. Maiden riisto ja assimilaatio ovat jo koettuja ja pelättyjä seurauksia kehityksestä. Saamelaiset kuitenkin aktiivisesti haastavat ja vastustavat tuulivoimaa ja siihen kytkeytyvää asuttajakolonialismia esimerkiksi protestien, sosiaalisen median aktivismin, ja kolonialistiset rajat ylittävän yhteistyön voimin osoittaen, että heillä on toimijuutta ja toivoa.

Tuulivoimahankkeet ja asuttajakolonialismi nähdään Saamenmaalla toisistaan erottamattomina. Teoriat, jotka yhdistävät asuttajakolonialismin, alkuperäiskansojen näkemykset ja ympäristöoikeudenmukaisuuden onnistuvat kuvaamaan saamelaisten kokemuksia opinnäytetyöhöni liittyvien maankäyttöhankkeiden osalta. Ympäristöoikeudenmukaisuus saamelaiskontekstissa tulee nähdä holistisena, jossa perinteisen maan säilyminen on keskeisessä asemassa. Saamelaisten itsemääräämisoikeutta ja muita oikeuksia tulee noudattaa tarkoin ja niiden tehokkuutta tarkastella, jotta tulevilta epäoikeudenmukaisuuksilta vältytään. Jatkotutkimusta tarvitaan siitä, miten alkuperäiskansatutkimuksen ympäristöoikeudenmukaisuusteorioita voidaan hyödyntää myös muissa saamelaisia koskevissa oikeudenmukaisuuskysymyksissä.

Avainsanat: ympäristöoikeudenmukaisuus, asuttajakolonialismi, saamelaiset, vihreä siirtymä, tuulivoima

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1 Introduction

Wind power infrastructure has been planned and built in Sápmi, the traditional homeland of Indigenous Sámi people (Båld, 2025; Kuokkanen, 2020a). This has resulted in land use conflicts as settler colonial power relations between Nordic states and Sámi people persist in the area (Båld, 2025; Mósesdóttir, 2024, 1). Those relations result in power used over the Sámi leading to advancing land use projects in traditional Sámi lands without the will or consent of the local communities (Cambou, 2020; Cambou et al., 2021; Kårtveit, 2021). Thus, wind power infrastructure imposes land extractions resulting in environmental destruction (Kårtveit, 2021). Therefore, wind power together affects the traditional livelihoods and cultural continuity of the Sámi (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025; Båld, 2025). Wind turbines damage sacred places and significantly disturb reindeer and reindeer herding, which are vital parts of Sámi life (Båld, 2025; Kårtveit, 2021; Markkula et al., 2024). Since wind power generates these harms and reproduces the marginalisation of Sámi opinions, in the name of so-called green transition, it has been considered as green colonialism (Kårtveit, 2021).

Sápmi is the traditional homeland of Sámi people located in Northern Finland, central and northern parts of Norway and Sweden, and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. (Båld, 2025.) Even if Sámi communities live in four states, their culture, languages, and identity are not divided by the state borders, and they consider themselves as one people (Amnesty International, 2025, 13). The states have different policies regarding wind power. There are currently no operating wind turbines on Finland's side of Sápmi, although proposals and debates around establishing them have intensified, and planning processes are already underway (Amnesty International, 2025, 18; FCG, 2024). Tensions regarding wind power are higher in Northern Finland than elsewhere in the country because space for other land use forms than industrial ones, such as reindeer herding, is required (Peltonen et al., 2024, 67). In 2019, the four northernmost counties of Sweden had 1,577 wind turbines and more have been planned afterwards (Horskotte et al., 2022, 79). In Norway, there are over 550 wind turbines in the reindeer herding areas located in Sápmi (Horskotte et al., 2022, 79). Since Sámi identity transcends

national borders and wind power infrastructure may be located near the borders, the impacts of wind power development can extend beyond state boundaries (Kårtveit, 2021).

Accelerating climate change demands rapid action, especially in relation to use of energy and fossil fuels (Tornel, 2023, 44). Renewable energy solutions, such as wind power, are pressured to be developed to achieve the goals to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the Nordic states (Båld, 2025; Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2024). This focus on sustainability has led to green transition in the energy sector which aims to shift the dependence away from fossil fuel energy to low-carbon energy (Gad et al., 2018; Kårtveit, 2021; Mósesdóttir, 2024, 1; Tornel, 2023, 44). However, sustainability encompassing environmental, social, and economic dimensions is a political concept. It can lead to widely different visions and solutions varying on how the three elements are weighted against each other, and who the sustainable development is made for. (Gad et al., 2018; Kårtveit, 2021, 157.)

Green transition is argued to reproduce colonialism in Indigenous lands. Renewable energy solutions require land from where to extract raw-materials and build energy infrastructure on (Tornel, 2023). Indigenous people around the world are struggling with historical and continuous land grabs due to colonialism (Daigle, 2025a, 184). Now, some of the most critical land use conflicts in Indigenous territories happen in the name of green transition (Mósesdóttir, 2024, 1). Capitalist and industrial land use, such as energy infrastructure, may conflict with Indigenous ways of using land, reducing the land Indigenous people can access (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 293; Tornel, 2023; Whyte, 2016). Thus, renewable energy solutions are not separate from geopolitical tensions even if they aim to guarantee stable access to energy (Kårtveit, 2021, 160; Tornel, 2023, 44). The effects of these land dispossessions can be devastating, as for many Indigenous communities, land is a vital aspect and a facilitator of the worldviews, identities, livelihoods, and ways of being (Daigle, 2025a; Daigle 2025b; Tornel, 2023; Whyte, 2016.) To study the Sámi communities' experiences and stances regarding wind power, this thesis draws on the theories of environmental justice in Indigenous contexts and settler colonialism.

Although some research on the justice implications of wind power development in Sápmi exists, it has primarily focused on Norway and Sweden (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025; Båld, 2025; Cambou, 2020; Cambou et al., 2021 Mohammed, 2026; Mósesdóttir, 2024; Vasconcellos et al. 2025). Few of these studies — and more broadly, few critical examinations of wind power in the region — have explicitly analysed how colonial histories and ongoing settler colonial relations shape the justice dimensions of wind power development (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025; Båld, 2025; Fjellheim, 2023; Mohammed, 2025). Research on how Sámi communities in Finland experience the justice implications of these projects remains limited (Nysten-Haarala et al., 2021). More broadly, the literature emphasises either reindeer herders' perceptions or natural-science analyses of interactions between wind farms and reindeer, with less attention to wider Sámi perspectives and justice-related questions (Båld, 2025; Fjellheim, 2023; Nysten-Haarala et al., 2021, 2).

To address these gaps and given both the limited Finland-focused research and the growing interest in developing wind power on Finland's side of Sápmi, this thesis centres Sámi voices from Finland. My research data emphasises the perceptions of Sámi activist, and thus, it broadens the range of viewpoints beyond the reindeer herders. As my data includes discussion related to wind power projects in Sápmi also outside Finland, I am not following the colonial state borders strictly and consider Sápmi as a whole. This emphasises a decolonial approach and acknowledges Sámi communities as one people in my thesis (Amnesty International, 2025, 10).

The main objective of my thesis is to contribute to the understanding of how Sámi communities within Finland perceive wind power development in Sápmi. I interpret those perspectives through the theories of decolonial environmental justice and Indigenous environmental justice, which remain scarcely used in the existing research of this topic in this context. I analyse how claims of environmental (in)justice relate to settler colonialism. Theoretically, I contribute to the understanding of how environmental justice need to be considered in the context of Sámi people. The purpose is to gather information discussing the related experiences of Sámi across different types of media. The results could be engaged in policy, legal, and planning contexts to

benefit the Sámi community and make more just decisions in relation to land use in their traditional land. Based on the research gap and objectives, I formulated two research questions:

1. How do Sámi communities in Finland perceive environmental justice in relation to wind power development in Sápmi?
2. How can the environmental justice experiences of Sámi communities related to wind power in Sápmi be interpreted through the framework of settler colonialism?

I answer these research questions by triangulating various written qualitative research materials that are created by or with Sámi living in Finland. My data consists of thirty Instagram posts by Sámi, a novel by Sámi author Niillas Holmberg, and four different types of documents related to Sámi perceptions of wind power in Sápmi. Using these datasets, I centre Sámi experiences and expressions without generating a new dataset that would require additional active participation from Sámi people who may already be affected by research fatigue (West, 2025, 38-49). Thus, this is a conscious choice to increase the ethicality of my thesis. As a research method, I use qualitative theory-driven content analysis.

2 Setter colonialism and environmental justice in Sámi context

I begin my theory section by defining settler colonialism and Indigenous people, including the context of Sámi. Secondly, I define environmental justice in the settler colonial context. Lastly, I explore the concept of Indigenous environmental justice and how Sámi-specific environmental justice can be developed within the concept. The framework combines literature on how environmental justice is shaped in the context of Indigeneity and settler colonialism. These theories build the analytical framework of my empirical data.

2.1 Settler colonialism and Indigenous peoples

Settler colonialism is a form of colonialism where the currently dominant group has obtained land and established a new society in that land by eradicating Indigenous societies, including their culture and political organisations (Kuokkanen, 2020a, 512; McGregor et al, 2020, 36). It can thus be seen as a structure of replacement of Indigenous culture, economies, and political institutions, eventually replacing Indigenous people (Kuokkanen, 2020a; Whyte, 2018, 137). This can be achieved by land occupation, control of resources, displacement of the Indigenous people, or forced assimilation (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 105; Kuokkanen, 2020a). This leads to social and ecological elimination. (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 105; Wolfe, 2006). In colonialism, including settler colonialism, the power of a certain group over another includes imposing the dominant group's systems of law and governance on the repressed one (McGregor et al., 2020). Thus, settler colonialism is a structure of oppression (Whyte, 2016).

Settler colonialism applies to Sápmi as a structure of replacement. Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Russian settlers have aimed to replace Sámi societies with their own. The settler colonialist mode of domination is apparent in how the states have used the land and resources of Sápmi and marginalised the communities in the past and present. (Kuokkanen, 2020a.) The four states have differences in their histories of settler colonialism (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 281). However, the formation of each of the states' historical and current borders has led to dividing and forcibly relocating Sámi

communities from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century. After this, Sweden continued forcibly relocating Sámi families in the first half of the 20th century, harming psychological and social well-being. (Sirniö et al., 2025, 7.)

Some historians still maintain an ideology that colonialism or assimilation has not taken place in Nordic countries (Kuokkanen, 2020a, 513). However, many pieces of literature and research prove otherwise, supporting the settler colonial history of Sápmi (e.g. Båld, 2025; Kuokkanen 2020; McGuire, 2022). The Nordic states have an integration-based approach of settler colonialism that is maintained through structures, practices, and policies that assimilate or erode the Sámi and their culture (Junka-Aikio, 2023; Kuokkanen, 2020a, McGuire, 2022). Education and social welfare systems have had a vital role in the assimilation as they were seen to be fulfilled only if Sámi learned the majority language of the state (Sirniö et al., 2025, 5; Kuokkanen, 2009, 98; 99). The assimilation in the late 19th and early 20th century was supported by eugenics research (Sirniö et al., 2025, 5).

Settler colonialism in the Nordic states is different from many other examples, as the settlers did not come from overseas but from other parts of the current states' areas. Additionally, the land ownership of the Sámi families was fully recognised and accepted by the authorities from the 17th century to the 19th century. (Kuokkanen, 2020b, 299.) Expansion of the Finnish settlement, referring to ethnic Finns moving towards Northern regions, has taken place over centuries, causing the Sámi withdrawal toward Northern parts. As a result of growing settlement and legislation, the land of Sámi has become fragmented due to dispossessions and Sámi governance systems, cultures, and nomadic livelihoods assimilated into Finnish and agrarian ones. Thus, the results have been similar than in other settler colonial states. (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 281, 282.)

To this day, Finland actively adapts the logic of elimination against the Sámi through policies and legislation that undermine Sámi rights (Kuokkanen, 2020b, 299; 300). However, elimination is not similar across different settler colonial contexts. In Sápmi “elimination” has happened slowly through assimilation of culture, not through literal physical extermination, as in North America. Settler colonial studies have received critique for universalising the “elimination” logic, which flattens the diversity of

Indigenous experience. Additionally, if the elimination of Indigenous people and their societies is seen as inevitable, Indigenous people are seen as passive victims, their resistance and agency hopeless, and positive change not feasible. (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 282; 283.)

As seen in the above definition of settler colonialism, Indigenous peoples are the ones facing its consequences. There is no official definition of Indigenous people due to the diversity of the communities. Instead, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues has formed a list to understand the term (United Nations, n.d.). A key criterion for Indigenous peoples is self-identification at individual level, but also that they are accepted as a member by the community. The list also recognises historical continuity with pre-settler/precolonial societies, a strong link to local natural resources and territories, distinct political, economic or social systems, as well as language, culture, and beliefs from the dominant group of the society. (United Nations, n.d.) Sámi communities are culturally and linguistically diverse group of Indigenous people. Their traditional homeland, Sápmi, is located across Norther Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Kola-Peninsula in Russia. (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 281; Kårtveit, 2021, 158.)

Veracini (2020, 479) argues that settler colonialism has constituted indigeneity: while communities now called Indigenous existed before settler colonialism, they only became 'Indigenous' through their oppressed position in relation to incoming settlers. However, indigeneity cannot be defined solely based on settler colonialism. Indigeneity is not just a place-based existence created by colonialism, but it involves land-based knowledge, practices, and relationships. Indigenous peoples constantly maintain and recreate these culturally embedded aspects, thereby reshaping their worlds. Thus, Indigenous life existed before colonialism, still evolves, and encompasses far more than just the effects of colonialism. (Daigle, 2025a, 183; Daigle, 2025b, 6; Myhal and Carroll 2023, 101.) Nevertheless, Indigenous peoples are crucial in understanding settler colonialism. To avoid reproducing settler colonial logics that render them invisible, they must be meaningfully engaged in research on settler colonialism (Carey & Silverstein, 2020, 10; J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, n.d.). Carey and Silverstein (2020, 14) claim

that settler colonial studies should be defined by Indigenous realities, including Indigenous knowledge and critique of the field.

Unlike traditional colonialism, settler colonialism prioritises the exploitation of land itself, treating Indigenous peoples as a barrier rather than a resource (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 282). Thus, settler colonialism has been integral to the development of industrialism and capitalism, as resources have been exploited from Indigenous lands (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 105.) In contrast, traditional colonial powers exploited Indigenous peoples for workforce that was vital to benefit the usually faraway motherland. In settler colonialism, the settlers consider themselves as the rightful owners of the new land, yet the Indigenous people resist against the land dispossession and by solely existing invalidate the settlers' thinking. (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 282.) Natural resource extraction has been significant part of colonialism of Sápmi for centuries. The Nordic settler colonialism has included the extraction of, for example, iron ore and timber, encouraged with state policies and legislation. This has contributed to industrialisation and modernisation of the states since the 19th century (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 281; Sirniö et al., 2025, 1; 4; 11).

Today, green energy and resources for the industry are additional natural resources exploited from Sápmi (Sirniö et al., 2025, 11). To understand the wind power discourse in Sápmi, the industrial developments must be considered in the historical settler colonial context. In the name of green transition, there have been several plans for wind farms in Sápmi without the acceptance of local communities. This violates the consultation obligation Nordic states have with Sámi people (Fjellheim, 2023; Junka-Aikio, 2023, 293). The realisation of the plans would violate the land rights and livelihoods of Sámi communities. (Cambou, 2020; Cambou et al., 2021; Fjellheim, 2023; Kårtveit, 2021.) Today, any project that significantly impacts the land use in Sápmi must be at least consulted with the Sámi parliament before it is advanced (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 294; 295; Kuokkanen, 2020b, 300). Yet, the Sámi parliaments are forced to integrate with the states' democratic processes, strengthening state power and suppressing Sámi self-determination (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 293; McGuire, 2022, 6; 7). However, Junka-Aikio (2023, 294) argues that Sámi land rights and the power of Sámi Parliament in

Finland are currently strengthened. This leads to Sámi communities' possibility to slow down or rejects land use plans within Finland.

Colonial power relations are unequal between the state and Indigenous people (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025). According to Rodrígues (2021), coloniality is experienced in three forms of structural violence: coloniality of power (political, economic, and cultural domination), coloniality of knowledge (epistemic and cognitive violence, imposing a singular knowledge of the world), and coloniality of being (relating to identity). Listrovaya (2025) describes the exposure of Indigenous peoples to displacement, environmental burdens, and land dispossession as colonial ecological violence due to patterns of marginalisation and resource extraction. The colonial violence is facilitated by ideologies of white supremacy and racism, as they devalue Indigenous land and people, making the people invisible. With those ideologies, Indigenous knowledge can be claimed as wrong, for example, by arguing that they use the nature improperly. The state has a crucial role in settler colonialism as it continues to differentiate and dominate people through policies and laws reproducing settler colonial structures. (Kojola & Pellow, 2021; Whyte, 2022.) The violence towards Indigenous people can include long-term physical, emotional, and spiritual harms, and premature deaths for both humans and non-human beings (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 102). Ignorance of Indigenous rights and knowledge continues the structures of settler colonialism and shapes the social and environmental conditions for Indigenous people (Listrovaya, 2025, 365).

Settler colonialism is both a historical and ongoing structure since the settlers never left the land (Carey & Silverstein, 2020; Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 105). In traditional colonialism, colonisers left the land geographically or politically, which formally led to decolonisation (Carey & Silverstein, 2020). Decolonisation is a process that challenges practises that allowed colonialism and yet sustain colonial durabilities (Legg, 2017, 347). It aims to reveal and deconstruct various forms of colonial power, such as those inherent in institutions and cultural structures. This may include the transformation of education and knowledge to shift away from prevailing colonial assumptions, worldviews, and values. Decolonisation includes a phase of acknowledgment of Indigenous peoples' oppression and loss to colonialism. This enables analysing the

current effects of colonialism and envisioning a better future. (Kuokkanen, 2007, 146; 147.) Postcolonialism, however, refers to the ongoing effects of colonialism in states that were under colonial rule but gained independence (Carey & Silverstein, 2020, 1). Therefore, postcolonialism is not an adequate term to describe the conditions in the Nordics, where the settler never left. Decolonisation is an ongoing process in the Sápmi area of the Nordic states (Kuokkanen, 2007).

2.2 Concept of environmental justice in colonial settings

Many of the above-mentioned settler colonial practises, especially those concerning land acquisition and resource extraction, relate to questions of environmental justice (EJ). Therefore, in this thesis, I utilise the concept of EJ to understand the consequences of wind power and its acceptability among the Sámi communities. EJ refers to the equitable sharing of environmental harms and benefits through fair treatment of the people affected by the environmental conditions (Kårtveit, 2021). Disadvantaged groups of people, such as Indigenous people, people of colour, women, and people with disabilities, are more likely to suffer environmental harms while gaining less of the benefits compared to privileged white populations. (Listrovaya, 2025, 365; Whyte, 2016). Thus, people facing environmental harms are people who already face various forms of oppression, such as structural racism. Initially, the harm refers to toxic environments that harm human health and community cohesion. (Whyte, 2016.) Since the Sámi have faced oppression due to settler colonialism, EJ as a concept is fitting to study the perspective of the Sámi.

There is a small but growing number of research combining EJ and settler colonialism, especially based in North America (Bray, 2021, 588). Even if the Nordic context is different, they both share the structure of settler colonialism. Therefore, some parts of this literature are also applicable in the context of Sápmi. In the context of EJ the settler colonialism can be understood in three interconnected ways (McGregor et al., 2020; Kojola & Pellow, 2021; Whyte, 2022). First, settler colonial practices produce environmental injustices through land dispossession, resource extraction, and

marginalisation. Second, settler colonialism itself constitutes a form of environmental injustice, as it entails ongoing social and ecological domination. Third, it operates as an underlying structure that explains why environmental injustices affecting Indigenous peoples are systematic rather than accidental.

Braverman (2021, 9) argues that all environmental issues in settler colonial contexts are EJ issues, as they are inseparable from power relations and combine disproportionate harm to both the earth and the people. Whyte (2016, 172) argues that Indigenous people suffer environmental injustices because of settler colonialism. As settler colonialism can be framed as violence against Indigenous realities and life, often related to the environment, it creates environmental injustice. (Bacon, 2019; Kojola & Pellow, 2021; Listrovaya, 2025; Whyte, 2022.) These environmental injustices result in impoverishment of Indigenous people, lands, and cultures (Whyte, 2016; Kojola & Pellow, 2021 106). Wind power in Sápmi is seen to lead to environmental destruction (Kårtveit, 2021, 172) that may result in widespread injustices to various entities of Sámi worldview interconnecting elements of nature and human society (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025, 5; Båld, 2025, 220).

EJ has become a widespread multi-disciplinary concept used to address structural challenges, considering for example, climate justice, energy justice, and just transition (Schlosberg et al., 2025, 401). Altogether, EJ encompasses those themes that are present in the case of Sámi communities and wind power. EJ studies add a human dimension to the traditional study of environmentalism, which neglects human communities, and how they are notably and unevenly impacted by environmental threats. The incorporation of the human dimension is critical, as environmental injustices harm not only ecosystems but entire communities, including their identities and knowledge. These harms can inflict emotional and psychological trauma on human and non-human populations. (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 102.)

Perhaps the most widespread understanding of EJ follows the tridimensional justice definition by Nancy Fraser (Fraser, 2008; Rodrígues & Inturias, 2018, 91). Based on that, EJ consists of distributional, recognition, and participation justice. Distributional justice refers to fair allocation of environmental harms and benefits (Schlosberg, 2007). Wind

turbines can create distributional injustice for Sámi by harming traditional ways of living, especially reindeer herding (Båld, 2025; Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025). Recognition justice is about identifying and acknowledging the cultural identity of a group, to understand what they value in life (Schlosberg, 2007; Tornel, 2023). Participation justice refers to the possibilities to engage and influence decision-making concerning the environment. It challenges the institutionalised exclusion of certain groups. (Schlosberg, 2007; Tornel, 2023, 45.) Sámi communities' voices and concerns are occasionally misrecognised in legislation, media, and consultations, reflecting recognition and participation injustice (Båld, 2025; Fjellheim, 2023; Kårtveit, 2025, Persson, et al., 2017).

The tridimensional EJ framework has been criticised for not being inclusive enough. It shows how (in)justice can be experienced without a deeper examination of the underlying reasons. The framework may not fully capture the full range of lifeways or beings that should be considered under distributive justice when assessing harms and benefits (Båld, 2025; Álvares & Coolsaet, 2020). Regarding recognitional justice, misrecognition of different worldviews, modes of living, knowledge, value systems, and relationships with other-than-humans is a risk if Indigenous views are not part of the construction of EJ framework (Båld, 2025; McGregor, 2020). Procedural justice may fail if power asymmetries are not considered. This can result in decision-making processes that appear fair but ultimately deny less powerful stakeholders' meaningful influence over outcomes (Båld, 2025; Kårtveit, 2021).

The tridimensional framework tends to fall back to the state, its policies, and institutions, for example, in how people can participate (Tornel, 2023). Nysten-Haarala and colleagues (2021, 13), for example, claim that it has to be noted how the means of participation of Sámi are built on the rules that the majority, the state, has created. That may complicate Sámi self-determination. Kuokkanen (2020a, 520) claims that state policy is never neutral but a strategy of settler colonialism. Thus, the emphasis on the state creates limitations in addressing the root causes of injustices, which may be inherent in the state and its institutional procedures (Kojola & Pellow, 2021; McGregor et al., 2020). Consequently, the attempt to create justice within the realms of traditional

EJ can lead to new injustices, reinforcing the root causes, such as colonial power relations (Àlvarez & Coolsaet, 2018).

Understanding of EJ has shifted towards pluralist critical approaches of EJ (Schlosberg et al., 2025, 406). According to Schlosberg and their colleagues (2025, 415) these approaches of EJ share a critical and deconstructive approach to discourses and experiences of power, capital, colonisation and race. Transformative justice requires altering the social structures that produce and perpetuate inequality, rather than merely addressing its symptoms (Tornel, 2023). This critique of EJ is especially relevant in Indigenous and colonial contexts. Therefore, I utilise the decolonial approach of EJ and Indigenous EJ in this thesis. With those, I aim to better encompass the perspective of justice Sámi people express.

Decolonial critique of EJ includes questions of colonialism and indigeneity and, therefore, is valuable for my theoretical framework. Decolonial turn shows how differences and otherness are mistreated in the modern world, also affecting the concept of EJ (Tornel, 2023, 50). Decolonial EJ questions the universality of EJ and the scientific neutrality of the concept since oppressed communities' perceptions have not been apparent in the concept creation (Àlvarez & Coolsaet, 2018). Without decolonial critique, distributional harm risks being interpreted solely through the lens of capitalist modes of production or anthropogenic notions of justice. Moreover, through settler colonial frameworks, states and corporations systematically devalue certain human and non-human entities, establishing priorities that contradict Indigenous ways of being (Kojola and Pellow, 2021, 104).

The three-dimensional EJ approach may misrecognise how Indigenous peoples' requests for justice concern what coloniality has appropriated from them (Álvarez & Coolsaet, 2018, 56). Power, both colonial and capital, explains many of the causes of environmental (in)justices (Rodrígues & Inturias, 2018; Schlosberg et al., 2025, 407). Therefore, decolonial EJ acknowledges both (Álvarez & Coolsaet, 2018). If dialogue around EJ neglects the root causes of a conflict in settler colonialism and ignores Indigenous knowledge and practise, it presumably results in facilitating the more powerful stakeholder. By incorporating the voices of Indigenous people, decolonial EJ

aims to reconstruct those harmful asymmetric power relations that marginalise Indigenous worldviews (Álvares & Coolsaet, 2018; Tornel, 2023). Therefore, it is vital in settler colonial context of EJ.

Àlvarez and Coolsaet (2018, 64) highlight how the theoretical framework of EJ needs to be place-based rather than universal. Decolonial EJ highlights the need to include Indigenous worldviews, knowledges, ways of living, and values in the concept of EJ (Àlvarez and Coolsaet, 2018; Båld, 2025, 219). Indigenous people should be seen as knowledge holders who can construct the concept of EJ fitting for them (Àlvarez and Coolsaet, 2018, 64). As settler colonialism operates through the domination of knowledge and ways of being, decolonial EJ is a counterforce to it in the context of EJ. Àlvarez and Coolsaet (2018, 64) propose a "victim-centric" definition of EJ, acknowledging how the livelihoods of the oppressed have been affected by colonialism and capitalism. According to these, EJ in Sápmi should be defined by Sámi communities: their knowledge and experiences. Schlosberg and colleagues (2025, 410) argue that some critical approaches of EJ emphasise how EJ is constructed through social movement activism, recognising the contributions of activism and community participation. This understanding supports the idea that Sámi activism in relation to wind power developments in Sápmi shapes the understanding of EJ in that context. Ignoring epistemologies of the Sámi who are impacted by the environmental conditions continues the power imbalance and domination and creates epistemic injustice (Fjellheim, 2023, 45).

In the context of energy projects, decolonial EJ is needed because mainstream perspectives on the projects consider hegemonic understandings of good life and development as objective knowledge (Tornel, 2023). Tornel (2023) argues that these can legitimise energy projects by promoting the right to energy or green transformation, while overlooking Indigenous values. Moreover, he argues that energy policies often ignore historical, spatial, and structural injustices, including capitalism and settler colonialism, leading to recognitional injustice (Tornel, 2023, 47; 48). Colonial power relations are apparent in energy production, where Indigenous lands are treated as empty (terra nullis) (Tornel 2023, 47; 48). Therefore, they are turned into sacrifice zones

for resource extraction, disproportionately affecting local communities by creating environmental hazards and degradation (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 109; Tornel 2023, 47; 48). In those areas, lands and lives are devalued and, thus, regularly damaged or destroyed to gain capitalist accumulation (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 109).

Sirniö and their colleagues (2025) claim that Sápmi has an increasing risk of becoming, or already is, a green sacrifice zone, a place where infrastructure for green transition is built. Sámi members have argued that wind power developers portray the sites in Sápmi as empty wilderness (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025, 6). Wind power in Sápmi may lead to environmental degradation and hazards on traditional Sámi livelihoods (Mósesdóttir, 2024; Kårtveit, 2021). Thus, wind power can be seen as a new form of colonialism in Sápmi (Båld, 2025, 226) and a decolonial perspective is essential when discussing wind power in Sápmi. Not including a decolonial approach when theorising EJ in a settler colonial context continues to fail the Indigenous communities and their justice (McGregor et al. 2020, Kojola & Pellow, 2021; Whyte, 2022). However, decolonial EJ does not provide a specific justice framework. Therefore, the next chapter examines Indigenous environmental justice as a mean to develop a Sámi-specific EJ framework.

2.3 Indigenous environmental justice and Sámi perspectives

Indigenous environmental justice (IEJ) is a distinct framework from traditional EJ. It aims to address limitations in the traditional EJ framework, such as failing to recognise Indigenous legal positions, cultural practices, worldviews, and relationships (Bray, 2021, 590; Båld, 2025; Daigle, 2025b). IEJ validates Indigenous knowledge, worldviews, other-than-human elements, and value systems when examining justice. (McGregor, 2020, 36.) It demands self-determination and autonomy, cognitive justice, and justice for more-than-human entities (McGregor, 2020; Tornel, 2023, 52). Cognitive justice challenges the colonial imposition of reality by demanding recognition for marginalised ways of knowing, ontologies, and conceptions of justice. It ensures that alternative realities are not erased or subordinated. (Tornel, 2023, 52.) IEJ strives to uphold Indigenous capabilities to live according to their own cultural understandings and

values in their territories (Tornel, 2023). IEJ is not merely an extension of EJ but a separate and sovereign framework (McGregor, 2020). On the contrary, Schlosberg and colleagues (2025, 416) consider that integrating Indigenous notions would strengthen the broad pluralist framework of EJ. They acknowledge that Indigenous perspectives of EJ are widely recognised as important in the current, critical theorisation of EJ. However, they argue that certain notions of IEJ, such as justice for more-than-humans and cultural relationships with nature, have become marginalised within the wider EJ discourse. Therefore, to ensure that Sámi-specific justice claims are not diluted or overlooked, IEJ is treated as a distinct concept in this thesis. Following McGregor's (2020) conceptualisation of IEJ, it does not treat Sámi experiences and knowledge merely as an input into traditional EJ, but as the foundation for a distinct justice paradigm. Sámi understandings of justice are grounded in their worldviews, and injustices are shaped by asymmetrical power relations (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025; Kårtveit, 2021; Mósesdóttir, 2024). Yet, literature that combines settler colonialism and environmental justice in the context of Sámi is scarce, especially in Finland.

In this thesis, decolonial EJ serves as a broader critique of power, while IEJ provides the Indigenous-specific tools to redefine justice in Sápmi. Table 1 summarizes key conceptual differences between decolonial EJ and IEJ based on the literature used in my theoretical framework. The distinction is important because the two concepts lead to different analytical and political implications, since decolonial EJ aims to deconstruct power relations and IEJ to make Indigenous notions prevalent in the concepts of EJ in contexts concerning Indigenous peoples.

Table 1 Key differences of decolonial EJ and IEJ based on the studies used in this theoretical framework

Decolonial EJ	**IEJ**
Examines (settler) colonial structures and governance in relation to the concept of EJ	Centres and validates Indigenous notions: worldviews, culture, and knowledge in construction of EJ concept
Focuses on dismantling colonial power structures to accomplish EJ and decolonial conceptualisation of EJ	Emphasises on and aims for Indigenous self-determination
Calls for inclusion of Indigenous epistemologies in the concept of EJ	Acknowledges settler colonial structures as a source of injustice

IEJ recognises the agency of more-than-human beings and the earth itself. Concepts such as “rights of nature” and “buen vivir” (“living well”) reflect Indigenous-informed visions of life grounded in the relationships and inherent rights of nature (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025, 2; McGregor et al., 2020; Whyte, 2016). In contradiction to the capitalist view of nature, many Indigenous philosophies do not see it as property or resource but as alive and full of spirit (McGregor, 2020). A people-centred view of EJ imposes dominance over nature, which leads to environmental degradation. It does not recognise how Indigenous communities are impacted differently by the degradation compared to the majority population, due to their different understanding of wellbeing. (McGregor, 2009; Whyte, 2016, 162.)

IEJ emphasises relational and reciprocal responsibilities to take care of the human and the more-than-human world (McGregor, 2020; Whyte, 2016). This creates deep and harmonious relationships with nature, which is apparent in the Sámi worldview (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025, 2; Whyte, 2016, 166). According to the Swedish Sámi Parliament, the traditional Sámi worldview is based on a holistic perspective where landscape, nature, and humans construct an indivisible whole (Båld, 2025, 220). Complementary, according to Blokzijl & Rasch (2025, 5), the Sámi perspective on just energy transition is rooted in the holistic worldview, which consists of a web of humans and non-human entities.

Indigenous philosopher Kyle Whyte (2016) argues that the reciprocal relationships that connect people, plants, animals, and ecosystems, as well as taking care of each other, are systems of responsibilities. Systems of responsibilities shape how communities experience the world and their place in it. (Whyte, 2016, 163; 164.) A sense of place means a sense of experiencing, being and relating to the world through shared meanings. Additionally, a particular Indigenous knowledge can emerge from the systems of responsibilities. (Tornel, 2023, 55.) Land is understood as a field of those relationships. Thus, land forms a basis for many Indigenous identities, beliefs, and ancestral relations. (Simposon, 2016; Tornel, 2023, 55; Whyte, 2016, 163; 164.) Industries of green transition in Sápmi destroy land that can destroy the Sámi communities’ ancestral memory, spiritual identity, and cognitive connections to place

(Sirniö et al., 2025, 18). Connection with the natural world can also be a foundation for Indigenous governance, laws, languages, and overall well-being. Therefore, achieving IEJ requires restoring and sustaining Indigenous relationships to land. (Daigle, 2025b, 7.)

Settler colonial domination disturbs the relationships of human and non-human and consequently systems of responsibilities (Whyte, 2022, 127). For many Indigenous peoples, injustice occurs when settler institutions undermine the relationships necessary for maintaining cultural, political, and economic practices (Whyte, 2016, 159; 164; Kojola & Pellow 2021). Resource extraction, for instance, interrupts these connections, causing long-lasting emotional, cultural, and livelihood harms, since the changes in land alter how people see their place in the world. This loss might lead to disruption on livelihood, cultural and spiritual practises, such as fishing, hunting, and rituals. (Whyte, 2016; Kojola & Pellow 2021.) If extractive industries such as wind power in Sápmi harm more-than-human entities, such as reindeer, they may damage the entire Sámi systems of responsibilities. Since this would prevent future generations from living according to Sámi reality (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025) it can be described as environmental violence towards Indigenous people and, thus, according to Whyte (2016; 2022) and Kojola and Pellow (2021) reflects environmental injustice.

According to Whyte (2016) the interruption of systems of responsibilities weakens communities' capacity for collective continuance. Collective continuance means the society's capabilities to continue life according to its worldviews (Whyte, 2016). It resembles capabilities approach from Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum to EJ. It means that EJ manifests as the possibility for Indigenous communities to sustain the lives and livelihoods they value. It highlights community-based definition of the capabilities. (Schlosberg & Carruthers, 2010.) Collective continuance is upheld by systems of responsibilities and Indigenous social institutions. (Whyte, 2016.) Thus, capabilities approach or collective continuance includes the distinct political, economic, and social systems, alongside culture and beliefs, that define Indigenous communities. Therefore, collective continuance lies at the core of IEJ.

When the Indigenous systems of responsibilities and institutions are changed too rapidly with the means of the settler society, it brings environmental injustice, targeting

self-determination and social resilience of Indigenous people who do not have enough time to adapt (Whyte, 2016, 166). Settlers know little about the land they occupy and have different cultural and economic values. Therefore, they establish their own collective continuance, for example, through extraction such as deforestation, or their own ways of enjoying nature, such as hiking. (Whyte, 2016.) Sámi worldviews may contradict with the worldview of those who operate extractive industries in Sápmi. Persson and colleagues (2017, 27) found that Sámi stakeholders in Swedish mining projects expressed a local, traditional, environmental, cultural, and anti-neoliberal worldview. On the other hand, the business stakeholders of Swedish mining projects in Sápmi followed a neo-liberal and profit-focused worldview. When Sámi culture is interpreted using the monetary values and capitalistic accumulation, the value of reindeer herding and Sámi culture are continuously misrecognised and subordinated in institutions. This led to Sámi stakeholders feeling that power was used over them. (Persson, et al., 2017, 24.)

Indigenous aspirations for IEJ are complicated as they address the impacts of environmental degradation as part of settler colonial domination (Whyte, 2022, 141; 142). Settler colonial violence of damaging ecologies affects resilience, adaptive capacity, and sustainability of Indigenous communities while forcing them to live in tiny areas of land (Whyte, 2022, 142; 143). Thus, the impacts of climate change fall disproportionately on Indigenous peoples, even if they are not involved in settler colonialist extractive industries that have been drivers of climate change (Whyte, 2022, 142). In Sápmi, land use together with legislation has prevented Sámi from accessing their territories as structures of settler colonialism (Kuokkanen, 2020a, 518; Lawrence, 2014). The land of the Sámi people has become fragmented (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 282). It limits Indigenous peoples' possibilities to take part in the decision-making processes, as their territories are owned and managed by settlers. Thus, this land dispossession affects Indigenous peoples' self-determination. The reduction of land and environmental change have compelled to adapt traditional lifestyles, even if the community would want to maintain the traditional ways. (Whyte, 2022, 141; 142.) According to Whyte (2016; 2022) and Kojola and Pellow (2021), current forms of land dispossession of Indigenous lands are settler colonialism. Whyte (2022, 140) describes

these continuous settler colonial structures that increasingly marginalise Indigenous people over time, deepening settler ignorance towards Indigenous peoples, as vicious sedimentation.

Many Indigenous people see the climate and environmental crisis as more critical than the majority population (McGregor et al., 2020). The sub-arctic climate is warming nearly four times faster than the world on average (Rantanen et al., 2022). This creates a burden for Sámi communities and their culture in addition to that resulting from the fragmentation of land (Båld, 2025, 218; Junka-Aikio, 2023, 282; Kuokkanen, 2020b, 295). Moreover, some Indigenous peoples may recognise the global approaches to the problems as insufficient based on their knowledge (McGregor et al., 2020). Mainstream environmental movements are argued to be based on generalised human mismanagement of natural resources and tied with settler colonialism, ignoring Indigenous knowledge and worldviews (Bacon, 2019, 61). It is argued that transformative change for global society to mitigate climate change and environmental harm can benefit from Indigenous epistemologies (Listrovaya, 2025, 365; McGregor, 2020; Todd, 2016).

Moreover, the notions of sustainability might be conflicting between Indigenous communities and market focused states. According to Gad and colleagues (2018, 2), sustainability can incorporate aspirations for resource exploitation for economic development, business strategies, and social planning. On the other hand, it can include Indigenous efforts to maintain community and traditional ways of life. Therefore, sustainability is a political concept dependent on actors' views of what should be sustained, in relation to what, and how. It produces different, even contradicting, discourses and visions of future developments. (Gad et al., 2018, 2; 9.) According to McGregor and colleagues (2020), Indigenous people demand that a just sustainability transition must consider other-than-humans and all relations in nature. Sustainability of Sámi communities can be understood in various ways. According to Kårtveit (2021, 173), two of them are traditionalist and modernist perspectives. According to the first one, traditional industries, such as reindeer herding and small-scale fisheries, represent sustainable use of natural resources and lead to sustaining

Sámi communities and cultural heritage. The latter refers to an ideology where the sustainability of the community is dependent on attracting and keeping enough young people in the area by offering work and economic opportunities. This requires innovations and adaptations, whereas the first perspective calls for sustaining the old ones. (Kårtveit, 2021, 173.)

Given the importance of land and nature to Indigenous realities and life, territorial struggles, due to settler colonialism, risk justice (Tornel, 2023). Tronel (2023) argues that resisting land occupations forms the foundation for IEJ. Similarly, Kojola and Pellow (2021) argue that resistance to environmental injustices could be better understood by incorporating analyses of the ideologies and processes of settler colonialism, at least in the context of North America. Indigenous peoples are resisting the appropriation of their territories and demanding sovereignty to heal human and nonhuman life (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 110). Therefore, Indigenous people demand for EJ and decolonisation simultaneously (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 110; Whyte, 2022, Whyte, 2016). Tornel (2023, 58) argues that everyday practises can function as resistance when they challenge national narratives of development and modernisation that violate the land.

IEJ goes beyond merely recognising Indigenous identity in building justice. It requires addressing the root causes of the injustices by confronting colonial oppression, centring Indigenous knowledge, and affirming Indigenous sovereignty, regardless of state recognition or approval. (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025, 2; Båld, 2025; Kojola & Pellow, 2021; McGregor, 2018). Indigenous ecological and institutional systems should be emphasised to respond to the challenges of settler colonialism and exit inherently violent relationships between settlers and Indigenous people (Kojola & Pellow, 2021; Listrovaya, 2025, 367; Tornel, 2023; Whyte, 2016, 172). IEJ highlights Sámi agency in building EJ framework. Constructing Sámi EJ should be based on their Indigenous rights and traditional worldviews (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025). Additionally, to ensure justice, institutions should be transformed to resolve historic and continuous inequalities (Fjellheim, 2023, 45). Currently, there is no standardized or widely adopted Sámi EJ framework in research. Nevertheless, some scholars have aimed to develop appropriate frameworks. For the Sámi perspectives on justice of wind energy

developments Blokzjil & Rasch (2025) suggest a framework that uses elements of other-than-humans, multiple ways of being in the world, diverse ways of knowing, temporality, and historical processes of dispossession. This framework combines topics I discussed in this section. Mohammed (2026, 10; 11) claims that restorative justice must be included in energy justice discussions related to Sámi to build fairness and equity for Indigenous peoples. This means repairing past harm, preventing future injustices, and respecting Indigenous self-determination. These could be examples of a “victim-centric” approach to EJ, which Àlvares and Coolsaet (2018) suggested to decolonise the concept.

3 Sámi communities and wind power

In this chapter, I will first discuss Sámi communities and their legal position, focusing on Finland. I will explore the organisation of Sámi people, their rights, livelihoods, and activism. In the second chapter I will discuss green transition and wind power as part of it in the Nordic context. I will explore wind power developments and their consequences in Sápmi. The recent wind power developments have mostly taken place elsewhere than Finland. Nevertheless, the developments have sparked opposition and discussion among the Sámi communities in Finland, making them relevant for my thesis.

3.1 Sámi communities and their legal position

Sámi people are an officially recognised Indigenous people. In total in Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia there are approximately 100 000 Sámi. (Human right centre, n.d.) In Finland there are approximately 11 500 Sámi of which 71 percent live outside of Sápmi since many of them have moved for work or study reasons (Eriksen et al., 2025, 12; Kuokkanen, 2020a, 519). Sámi in Finland speak three different Sámi languages, Inari Saami, Skolt Saami and North Saami, which are all endangered (Eriksen et al., 2025, 11; Ranta, 2025, 11).

Traditional livelihoods of Sámi include fishing, hunting, berry and plant gathering, and reindeer herding. Other, publicly recognised, Sámi traditions are handicrafts, joik (traditional Sámi singing), and nature survival skills. However, Sámi communities are heterogeneous, and for some, traditional livelihoods have been based on agriculture. (Toivanen, 2022, 221-224.) Fishing, hunting, and reindeer herding as Sámi livelihoods were the only legal forms of land use in Sápmi until the late 17th century. Until the late 18th century those were protected from the harm of agricultural land use. (Kuokkanen, 2020a, 512.) Today, reindeer herding in Sweden and Norway is an exclusive right of Sámi, but in Finland, non-Sámi can also practise it (Nysten-Haarala, et al., 2021, 3). In Finland, a parliamentary law on reindeer husbandry has dedicated an area where

reindeer herding is possible for any resident in the area who are citizen of the European Economic Area. There are 56 herding districts in Finland, located in Northern part of the country. 13 of the northernmost herding districts are part of Sápmi and, thus, reindeer herding as a right for Sámi is secured against other land use. (Käyhkö & Horstkotte, 2017, 22-24.)

According to the Sámi community members who participated in Blokzijl and Rasch's study (2025), reindeer herding establishes a collaborative relationship between people, nature, and reindeer, and their well-being is interrelated. Reindeer are thus a crucial part of the Sámi culture. According to the participants in the study living and working with family and extended family to take care of the reindeer strengthens the family relations. The participants described how reindeer connect present-day Sámi with their ancestors and future generations. The herders feel a responsibility to take care of the land and the reindeer given by their ancestors and to be given to their offspring. Living a nomadic lifestyle together with reindeer enabled Sámi to live in the Arctic because by moving around, scarce resources can be used effectively. Reindeer herding gave the Sámi access to food, warm clothes, and transport. The participant in the study told how a myth about an agreement between the Sámi and reindeer works as a ruling principle for at least some Sámi reindeer herders. The agreement includes decisions of how people take care of the reindeer and the land in exchange for using the reindeer's products. (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025, 4; 5.) Supportingly, reindeer herder participants in Markkula and colleagues' study in recognised reindeer herding as an essential carrier of Sámi culture (2024, 1210). It represents Sámi cultural heritage and is part of the worldview as it passes traditional knowledge and continues the connection to land (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025; Käyhkö & Horstkotte, 2017, 20). Thus, harm on reindeer herding risks undermining the existence of Sámi worldviews, may prevent future generations from living according to it, and affects the well-being of all the human and more-than-human participants of the practice (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025).

Sámi communities have high level of political organisation compared to many other Indigenous groups, yet they face struggles to gain full self-determination (Kuokkanen, 2009). Traditionally, Sápmi was divided into dozens of siidas, which represented the

social and political organisation of the Sámi. Siida comprised a few extended families and their lands and waters. Currently, Sámi in Norway, Sweden, and Finland have their own parliaments that collaborate with each other and Sámi organisations in Russia through The Sámi Parliamentary Council (Sámediggi, n.d.). The Sámi parliaments work through representative democracy. Elected bodies represent Sámi in their respective states and work as advisors in Sámi-related affairs. However, their political and decision-making power are limited. The Sámi parliament in Finland has mainly power over cultural autonomy. Land rights and ownership are struggles that the parliament has failed to keep even on their own agenda. (Kuokkanen, 2009, 99; 100; 105.) These institutions have adopted mainstream Nordic political structures and practises and have left the traditional Sámi self-determination means, such as siidas, aside (Kuokkanen, 2009, 107).

Sámi people in Finland have a constitutional right for cultural autonomy, meaning that they can maintain and develop their languages and culture. To guarantee this environment to practise the culture, such as reindeer herding land, should be secured (Nysten-Haarala et al., 2021, 13). Sámi people's rights should primarily be considered as Indigenous rights. These rights should not only be based on national law but on constantly developed international law and the United Nations' declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples. Naturally, minority and human rights must also be considered when assessing the rights of Sámi. (Heinämäki, et al., 2017, 22-27.) According to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Indigenous people, such as any people, have a right to self-determination (Heinämäki, 2021, 14). As land use is highly intertwined with Sámi culture, land use rights should be ensured. The actual possibility to use and govern the traditional territories, and to be meaningfully part of decision-making related to those territories, are the most crucial aspects in Indigenous self-determination. (Heinämäki, 2021.) Only consultation of Indigenous peoples may not be enough to secure these rights. Thus, Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) based on UN's declaration has become an important protocol to ensure self-determination. (Heinämäki, et al., 2017, 26.)

In 2025, Finland legislatively reformed its Act on the Sámi Parliament. The Sámi Parliament of Finland had demanded a revision of the act for thirty years, since the founding of the Parliament. (Sámediggi, 2025b.) This reform aims to improve Sámi people's self-determination by strengthening the negotiation obligations and the conditions of the Sámi parliament to improve linguistic and cultural autonomy (Ministry of Justice, 2025). According to Tuominen (2025, 961-963) the reformed negotiation obligations has potential to increase the realisation of Sámi rights regarding land use investments.

Additionally, the Sámi Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Finland aims to strengthen Sámi rights. The final reports of the commission were released in the end of 2025. The work aimed to gather Sámi people's experiences of discrimination from the Finnish state and other actors, and how those experiences have shaped and continue to shape Sámi people's lives. The purpose is that the state of Finland takes responsibility of its actions. The work of this commission should work as a foundation for structural change and trust-based interaction with Sámi communities and Finland's state, enhancing Sámi rights. A similar process of truth and reconciliation has taken place in Norway and is planned in Sweden (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Concerning the Sámi People, n.d.), showing that these states follow each other's political and legal work.

Sámi activism, as well as other Indigenous activism, has had an important role in advancing Indigenous legal norms and rights nationally and internationally in the last half-century (Kyllönen et al., 2024). Sámi activism experienced an upsurge during the 1970s and 1980s hydropower dispute over the Alta River. It gathered Sámi from across the Nordic states to protest. After that, several land use plans in Sápmi, including Fosen wind farm project, have gathered Sámi activists from across state borders. Sámi activism has made the position and situations of Sámi more globally visible. (Minde, 2005; Nykänen, 2022; Ristaniemi, 2025, 53; 54.)

Sámi activism strives for decolonisation (Magnani & Magnani, 2022, 388). Since the current developments in Sápmi affect the future of the youth, many young Sámi work actively towards protecting the culture. This may include Sámi activism, which is

currently especially targeting mining, transport, and wind power developments. (Ojalainen, 2026.) Ristaniemi (2025, 61) found that Sámi women feel responsibility towards future generations and the cultural environment at a relatively young age. Often, the feeling of responsibility of the youth is carried through acts of activism, even if the person may not consider themselves an activist (Ojalainen, 2026). Kyllönen and colleagues (2024) argue that social media is one of the principal tools used by Sámi activists to communicate their demands, raise awareness of their protests, and expand the range of discourses beyond the prevalent ones. Sámi youth's resistance may incorporate everyday activities. According to Dankerstein (2022), those activities represent acts of having fun and showing Sámi spirit. Even if the youth does not consider it activism, it could be seen as resistance (Dankerstein, 2022). Nowadays, Sámi receive support from non-Indigenous entities who consider the rights of Sámi communities to their lands and resources crucial. Through this wider opposition, capital extractive projects in Sápmi face challenges. (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 293.) In 2023 Amnesty Finland founded an activist group called Amnesty Sápmi. A similar group has been functioning in Sweden since 2018. They aim to bring forth Sámi activism and current events. (Fofonoff, 2023.)

3.2 Green transition and wind power in Sápmi

The European Union (EU) has set Finland a goal to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 50% from the 2005 level by 2030, considering the emissions not part of the EU's emissions trading system. Finland is aiming to reach this with energy efficiency and increasing renewable energy to compose at least 62 per cent of the total final energy consumption. (Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment of Finland, 2024.) As an EU member state, Sweden has similar aims. Norway has set similar targets for itself, aiming to reduce greenhouse gas emissions at least 50 per cent by 2030 compared to the level of 1990 as a nationally determined contribution under the Paris Agreement (Norwegian Ministry of Climate and Environment, 2021). Wind energy is one key form of energy to

reach these goals. These goals reflect the green energy transition, which means the shift from fossil fuels to sustainable energy (Cambou, 2020, 312).

The main reasons for wind power developments and their acceptability in Finland have related to economic benefits and a scarcely settled population (Peltonen et al., 2024, 41; Skjaerseth et al. 2023). Nevertheless, the acceptability varies regionally and between municipalities (Peltonen et al., 2024, 44). In Norway development of wind power has been supported by arguments relating to employment opportunities and investments in local industries in addition to those relating to green energy transition (Kårtveit, 2021).

Båld (2025, 218) claims that the green energy transition is primarily driven by the pursuit of economic growth. This perspective reinforces discourses of the state as a "market-actor", and its function is simply to create a fair market of competition between landowners and energy representatives. Such a view aligns with neoliberal discourse of how the market can provide solutions for any problem. Technical solutions, for example, for climate change, are seen as non-political and non-ideological, even if they are connected to the inherently political nature of resource extraction taking place in Indigenous territories. Market rationalities do not consider this and thus reproduce inequality while depoliticising power relations. (Lawrence, 2014, 1049; Dean, 1998; Ong, 2006, 3.)

There is a growing number of examples that the green transition has negative impacts (Cambou, 2020, 311). Indigenous people have contributed relatively little to deforestation and the burning of fossil fuels that drive climate change. However, they suffer many of the consequences (Whyte, 2016; Wildcat, 2009). Many Indigenous people are claiming that policies and legislation for green transition do not align with their interest (Cambou, 2020, 311.)

Peltonen and colleagues (2024) claim that wind power is the newest significant factor affecting land use in Sápmi in Finland. Similarly, wind power affects the land use in Sápmi in Sweden and Norway (Cambou, 2020; Båld, 2025). Other cumulative land use stressors in Sápmi are related to for example mining, forestry, tourism (Båld, 2025).

Sámi organisations, together with some environmentalists, political parties, and reindeer herders, have expressed wide opposition of the developments across Nordic countries (Kårtveit, 2021; Närhi, 2024). Sámi members, and especially reindeer herders, have opposed the wind power developments in their homeland due to negative impacts on their livelihood. In Sweden and Norway, this has led to lawsuits from Sámi against the wind power developers. (Båld, 2025, 224; Cambou, 2020; Vaconcellos Oliveira et al., 2025; Mósesdóttir, 2024.) Even if lawsuits have not, to this day, taken place in Finland, distrust towards the institutions deciding on land use has also been apparent in Finnish reindeer herding areas (Peltonen et al., 2024, 68). Since reindeer herding in Finland is not the exclusive practice of Sámi people, tensions may arise between Sámi and non-Sámi herders. Non-Sámi could feel that wind power and other profitable forms of land use are justified even if reindeer herding suffers. (Junka-Aikio, 2023, 292.)

In reindeer herding areas in Finland, including Finland's side of Sápmi, it is forbidden by law to use the land in a way that notably disturbs reindeer herding. In those areas, the development of wind power is criticised with current and future harms and the history of land use that has forced local communities to adapt without their recognition. (Peltonen et al., 2024, 67; 68.) A former president of the Sámi council Aslak Holmberg emphasises the importance of recognising how traditional Sámi lands have already been extensively dispossessed in the past when planning current land use (Närhi, 2024). In 2023 the Sámi Parliament in Finland stated to oppose wind power in their homeland even if they consider the green transition important (Sámediggi, 2023). There is scarce research done in Finland linking wind power and Sámi communities. However, wind power in Sápmi has been a topic of discussion at least in some documents of the Sámi Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Finland and on social media.

In Finland's side of Sápmi, there is only one small area of wind turbines in Eanodat (Enontekijö), which has mostly stopped its functions in the past years (Peltonen et al., 2024, 68; 69; Lipponen, 2022, 64), and currently, there are no planned wind power developments in Finland's side of Sápmi (Näkkäläjärvi et al., 2024, 71). The municipalities of Anár (Inari) and Ohcejohka (Utsjoki) in Sápmi, in Finland, have decided to ban wind power infrastructure in their area (Peltonen et al., 2024, 68). Metsähallitus is

a Finnish state-owned enterprise that manages the state-owned land and governs over 90 per cent of the traditional Sámi land in Finland (Kuokkanen, 2020b, 300). The current plan of Metsähallitus, which states not to develop wind power in Sápmi in Finland, is valid until 2027 (Lipponen, 2022, 31). After that, wind power may be a topic of discussion, meaning that understanding the stance of the Sámi community is important to ensure just decisions. Sámi communities have been part of making these decisions to not advance wind power developments (Peltonen et al., 2024; Lipponen, 2020). However, the Regional Council of Lapland in Finland has included the area of Sápmi in the most recent solar and wind power study, which aims to create a knowledge base for the implementation of green energy in the area (FCG Finnish Consulting Group Oy, 2024).

Two recent and widely opposed wind power projects have taken place in Norway. Fosen wind farm began in 2010 when Norwegian authorities gave a permit for four wind farms in Fosen. Soon after, Sámi reindeer herders started a legal action against two of the permits. They argued that the wind farms would violate their cultural rights and lead to loss of reindeer pasture. This did not prevent the wind farms, and the turbines began operation in 2019-2020. In 2021, the Norwegian Supreme Court ruled that the permits were a policy failure since they violated Sámi rights. Yet, the dispute between Sámi and Norwegian government continued and led to protests in 2023. A group of young Sámi from different states and their supporters demanded the removal of the wind turbines. The removal demand failed. However, Sámi herders received monetary compensation and were given a veto right for new permits for the two wind farms once the current ones expire in 2043 and 2045. (Mósesdóttir, 2024.) Ecological justice was central in many of the Sámi reindeer herders and their supporters' stances in the Fosen wind farm debate. Ecological justice advocates land use should not harm local ecosystems as harm to ecosystems could disturb the holistic worldview. (Mósesdóttir, 2024, 9.)

The second case, called Davvi wind farm, started in 2019 when a company asked for permission to build a wind farm in Finnmark. The wind farm would affect also areas in Ohcejohka, as the planned area is on the Finnish Norwegian border. (Kårtveit, 2021.) St1, a Finnish energy company, was part of the Davvi project planning (STT, 2021). It was

planned to be the largest wind power plant in Northern Europe. The plans were made for a large wildlife area just north of the mountain of Rásttigáisá, which is considered sacred within the Sámi community. The company did order some environmental impact assessments, the results being “somewhat negative”. Consultants hired by the local reindeer herders claimed that the effect of a wind farm there on the reindeer herding community will be devastating. (Kårtveit, 2021.) In 2025 plans for Davvi wind farm were rejected. According to Norway’s energy regulator the reason was impacts on wilderness and Sámi culture. Nevertheless, the regulator stated that building renewable energy in Finnmark is still a priority. (Rasmussen, 2025.)

Wind power has been noticed to disturb reindeer up to 6 kilometres from the turbine (Båld, 2025; Eftestøl et al., 2023). Reindeer avoid the turbines during construction and operation due to human-induced disturbances such as movements and noise (Båld, 2025; Nysten-Haarala et al., 2021). This affects the migration routes and may disturb grazing affecting their survival (Båld, 2025). According to McGuire (2022, 7), wind farms make the grazing land unusable. Due to this, herds may mix with each other, and ecological balance of pastures may be upset (Kårtveit, 2021). Herders have found all this to increase their workload (Båld, 2025; Eftestøl et al., 2023). There is growing research regarding reindeer and wind power conducted in Sweden and Norway (Båld, 2025). Additionally, wind turbines affect other flora and fauna besides reindeer such as birds and bats (Eftestøl et al., 2023).

According to Kårtveit (2021, 165), most Sámi activists experience wind power development in Sápmi as deeply unjust. It creates the double burden of climate change and climate change mitigation (Båld, 2025). The development of wind power is considered a form of colonialism in Sweden and Norway (Kårtveit, 2021; McGuire, 2022, 7). Not only does wind power disturb reindeer herding, but it also continues land and resource extractions from Sámi, resulting in environmental destruction and damaging sacred places and Sámi cultural heritage (Kårtveit, 2021).

Wind power as an industrial development threatens traditional livelihoods and violates land rights of the Sámi and in the name of “green” transition. (Cambou, 2020; Cambou et al., 2021; Kårtveit, 2021.) Therefore, it can be described as green colonialism. A

former President of the Sámi Parliament in Norway, Aili Keksitalo argues that developing green power is colonialism over again, grabbing the land of the Sámi. (Kårtveit, 2021, 164; 165.) Because colonialism in Sápmi is a form of settler colonialism, this new form could be seen as a continuity of it.

Sámi people have been able to influence decisions over wind power in their lands, for example, concerning Davvi (Rasmussen, 2025; Peltonen et al., 2024; Lipponen, 2022). Despite the success, according to Kårtveit (2025, 166) many Sámi members in Norway see their involvement in decision-making related to wind power as a trap, just a formality. They argued that Sámi opinions in the final decisions are ignored by the businesses that hold more power, revealing dominant power relations (Fjellheim, 2023; Kårtveit, 2021). Kårtveit (2021, 167) presented an example where Sámi were told to pick one mountain with less value between two valuable mountains by a company that said the other will have wind turbines. After the Sámi had picked one, the company claimed that their plan was now accepted by the Sámi. These kinds of experiences shape the experience of Sámi that they are not listened to since they did not have a possibility to oppose the plan (Kårtveit, 2021, 167). Moreover, Båld (2025, 228; 229) found that the consultation focuses of exchange of information instead of meaningfully engaging Sámi stakeholders, and that Swedish authorities fail to recognise Indigenous knowledge compared to information of the businesses.

4 Data and methods

In this chapter, I will present the research materials and methods I use. I will explain how my data is selected and gathered. I will discuss how I apply the method of qualitative content analysis in this thesis. I will insert my theoretical analysis framework and explain how it was created. Lastly, I will discuss research ethics and my positionality, which is crucial in research involving Sámi people.

4.1 Methodology and data collection

I use a qualitative research method in this thesis. For qualitative research, it is important to find people who know about the phenomena as much as possible or who have experienced it (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, 98). In this thesis, those people are the Sámi who are actively following, questioning, or experiencing what happens in the Sápmi. For this reason, this thesis uses content produced by people who are active in the societal discussion relating to Sámi and who have produced the content from the perspective of the Sámi. I gathered my data from three distinct types of material: a novel, documents, and Instagram posts.

All the research data used is secondary data, meaning that they have been created without a researcher (Vuori, 2021). This way, I acknowledge the research fatigue expressed by members of Sámi community. I do not, for example, interview Sámi about topics they have already discussed in the content they have created. For example, Helga West discussed this in her book Puhu nukke (West, 2025, 38-49). The three different forms of data offer different perspectives. The novel offers cultural understanding through narrative expressions. The documents represent institutional or otherwise well-structured texts of actual experiences, facts, and opinions. The Instagram posts bring out the perspective and argumentation of Sámi activist in a less formal way. The data emphasis activist perspectives.

The research material of this thesis is formed by triangulating different data sources. Triangulation means combining different methods, researchers, data sources, and theories (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, 167). By combining different data sources, I will not focus on one perspective only. This increases the validity of the research (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, 166; 167). As the content regarding wind power in Sápmi from the perspective of Sámi is rather scarce, using different types of material can offer a better understanding of the whole. Next, I will introduce each piece of the research material.

A novel: Halla Helle, Niillas Holmberg

I chose the novel Halla Helle by Niillas Holberg as one part of my research material. It follows the criteria to find the people who know about the phenomena as much as possible or who have experienced it, as it is written by a Sámi author focusing on Sámi perspectives. I will analyse the parts of the novel that discuss wind power, thus extracts from the pages 154-155, 170-181, 214-231, and 332. In the novel, there is a wind power development planned on Norwegian side but affecting the Finnish Sámi community as well. This is explored through consultations between the Sámi characters and the company. Even if the case is fictional, it reminds of the Davvi wind farm plan. It is important to acknowledge that the novel does not describe the reality or evidence what has happened, but rather it offers me cultural understanding of how wind power and its environmental justice are understood from the perspective of Sámi. From the novel, I analyse how wind power and its relation to Sámi and Sámi livelihoods are presented, how justice or (in)justice related are presented, and what kind of resistance is constructed.

Documents

I chose four documents that consider wind power in Sápmi from the perspective of Sámi. Document 1,”There’s nowhere left to go” – new industrial land use pressures in the Sámi homeland, is created by a Finnish researcher Kukka Ranta and published by

the Finnish government relating to the Sámi Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Finland. It focuses on wind power planning in Finland and brings out Sámi perceptions of those plans and communities' experiences of how they have not been included in the decision-making. While my research focus is on perspectives form Finland Document 2, Sámi youths' declaration on climate change, is created by the Youth councils of the Sámi parliaments from the three Nordic countries. This cross-border scope aligns with my decolonial approach, which treats Sápmi as a unified territory and reinforces the idea that the Sámi are one people whose experiences can transcend colonial state borders. The document focuses on the opinions of the youth regarding climate change and its mitigation within Sápmi. Moreover, I chose two articles/essays written by Sámi community members. Document 3, Eco-Colonialism: The new age of threats to Indigenous Peoples, is written by a Sámi activist Petra Laiti. It discusses eco-colonialism related to wind power in Sápmi. Document 4, Puhdas tuulivoima ja likaiset saamelaiset (Clean wind power and dirty Sámi), is written by Eleonora Alariesto, a Sámi master's student in Arctic World Politics. The essay explores the political, cultural, and epistemic dominant power relations between Sámi and Nordic states, combining these with perceptions of wind power. These followed the criteria to find the content from people who have the best knowledge from Sámi perspective or who have experienced the development of wind farms in Sápmi.

Documents are seen as resources, meaning that I focus on the content that is in the document. In this approach, the descriptions in the documents work as evidence of what has happened (Alastalo & Vuori, 2021). From the documents, I analyse how the Sámi are recognised or have not been recognised as actors in the wind power development, what is considered relevant in the wind power development and in its justice, and what is not. I will analyse the parts of documents that are about wind power if the whole document is not. (See Appendix 1 for a list of the documents).

Instagram posts

I gathered 30 Instagram posts relating to wind power from 10 public Instagram accounts of members of Sámi communities living in Finland. This was done systematically by starting from well-known Sámi community members and applying the snowball sampling (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, 99) to find other Sámi members' profiles by checking who have interacted with the posts or profiles. I went through the posts until 2021 and collect the ones that mention wind power in Finnish or English. For clarity, I only analyse the texts from the posts, excluding audiovisual elements. From these posts, I will analyse how the environmental justice of Sámi is argued; what (in)justices and justice claims are represented, how they argue about the wind power, and what topics are related to the development of wind power (e.g. colonialism, sustainability, Indigenous rights, energy supply) and how. The posts were gathered between February 11th 2026, and February 17th 2026. (See Appendix 2 for a list of the posts).

Many of the posts discuss the Fosen case and the related protests in 2023 (see 3.1). Some of the posts discuss Davvi (see 3.1) and some wind power in a more general way grouping it with other harmful land use in Sápmi. Some are related to politics. For example, 13 of the selected posts are from a politician Janne Hirvasvuopio, and some of his post relate to promoting his political agenda under elections.

4.2 Content analysis and analysis process

I used qualitative content analysis to analyse all the data. With content analysis it is possible to analyse any written data systematically and objectively. Content analysis aims to provide a clear summary of the researched phenomena. The aim of qualitative research is to describe real life, find and reveal facts (Hirsjärvi ym., 1997, 152). Therefore, the aim is not to prove already existing claims, but to find and reveal new ones. With content analysis, I aim to organise the data and add value to the information by creating coherent, clear, and meaningful information about the environmental justice of wind power in Sápmi. This is done by gathering, conceptualising, and categorising scattered data. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, 117; 122.)

I used theory-driven content analysis to answer the research questions. Even if the EJ of wind power in Sápmi is not heavily researched yet, EJ is, and therefore, theory-driven analysis can be adapted (Elo et al., 2022). Thus, I can combine the phenomena of wind power in Sápmi with the already existing theory of EJ and settler colonialism. I followed the analysis process from Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2018, 127-131) and Elo and colleagues (2022). The first step of the analysis was to create an analysis framework based on the theoretical framework of my thesis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2018, 127-131). However, before that step I had already familiarised myself with the materials, so I had an idea what kind of topics were discussed. As a second step, I looked for the parts of the materials that answer my research question and chose the meaning units. The meaning units are coherent segments that express a complete thought, for example, one paragraph in an Instagram post. (Elo et al., 2022, 219.) Thirdly, I reduced the meaning units, making them clear. After that, I started placing the reduced expressions into the analysis framework under the corresponding codes (Elo et al., 2022, 222). This coding is done using NVivo software. I analysed the parts of the data that directly discuss wind power and related topics. Additionally, parts discussing green transition or industrial land use in Sápmi were taken into the analysis if it was clear that wind power could be considered as part of those broader concepts.

I created a theory-driven analysis framework including the elements that Blokzjil and Rasch (2025) argue need to be included in a framework researching justice in energy transitions in the context of Sámi. Those five elements are: other-than-humans, multiple ways of being in the world, diverse ways of knowing, temporality, and historical processes of dispossession. To comprehensively answer the first research questions, I added a category of rights and self-determination, since they are at the core of IEJ (Båld, 2025; McGregor, 2020). Therefore, the predetermined categories are: Other-than-humans, Ways of being and knowing, Temporality and future generations, and Rights and self-determination. These categories may construct the Sámi notions of EJ. To answer the second research question, I added more theory-based categories about the structures of settler colonialism and decolonial EJ to supplement the historical processes of dispossession suggested by Blokzjil & Rasch (2025). Thus, the predetermined categories under the second research question are: Settler colonial

power, Marginalisation, Land dispossession and resource extraction, Assimilation, Decolonial agency, and Critique of wind power. This way, I can clearly answer both questions and see the intersections between them if a meaning unit is coded under both.

Table 2 shows the theory-based categories that guide my content analysis. The categories are split under three head categories: Indigenous notions of EJ, Settler colonial structures, and Decolonial EJ. Under those, I link the categories to corresponding theories found in the theoretical framework. Some may be relevant to more than one theory. The first head category answers research question one and two, latter offer answers mainly for question two.

Table 2 Analysis framework

Head category	**Category**	**Theory link**
Indigenous notions of EJ	Other-than-humans	IEJ
	Ways of being and knowing	IEJ, Decolonial EJ
	Temporality and future generations	IEJ
	Rights and self-determination	IEJ
Settler colonial structures	Settler colonial power	Settler colonialism, Decolonial EJ
	Marginalisation	Settler colonialism
	Land dispossession and resource extraction	Settler colonialism
	Assimilation	Settler colonialism
Decolonisation	Decolonial agency	Decolonial EJ
	Critique of wind power	Decolonial EJ, IEJ

Therefore, my analysis consists of two complementary levels of analysis. Research question one examines the concrete experiences of EJ in relation to wind power among Sámi communities. Research question two interprets these experiences within the framework of settler colonialism in order to identify how wind power is connected to structural power relations. The analysis relating to the second question can draw on the

same pieces of data as the first question or on other pieces of data that directly address the colonial structures or decolonisation. With the analysis, I can discover which theories of EJ are relevant in this context and what role settler colonialism plays in the EJ experiences of Sámi communities. Therefore, my thesis contributes to the theoretical understanding of EJ in the Sámi context.

4.3 Research ethics and positionality

Since I am conducting research concerning the Sámi, it is essential to follow the Ethical Guidelines for Research involving the Sámi in Finland (Heikkilä et al. 2024). The guidelines are based on the self-determination right of Indigenous people, including Sámi, and the freedom of science required in the Constitution of Finland. They are made to address the historical and present unequal power relations. They aim for more ethical dialogue between the Sámi and science and to create culturally safe conditions for the research.

The guidelines consist of four main aspects (Heikkilä et al. 2024). The first one, reciprocal communication and engagement, I have considered by assessing that the significance and impacts of my research on Sámi communities and society are positive. The second aspect, assessment of the benefits and risk of the research and the positionality of the researcher and the research, I have considered by evaluating that the research questions, theoretical framework, and methods are appropriate from the perspective of the Sámi. I respect the ownership rights of knowledge and the fact that some Sámi knowledge may not be shared with others by only using publicly available content. The third aspect, appreciation of and respect for Sámi society and knowledge, is considered by familiarising myself with Sámi culture and society. In my research, I acknowledge and recognize Sámi knowledge, rights, traditions, and livelihoods and appreciate them. Additionally, I use data that is already created by Sámi member discussing their experiences of the researched phenomena. Thus, I do not have to burden Sámi with interviews or other active research involvement. Moreover, this aligns

with the claim that Sámi have the right to participate in the knowledge production regarding them. The fourth aspect, obligation to return and share information, is considered by sharing my thesis with the Enjustice project, which has the possibility to share and return the information to the Sámi community as part of a larger research project. Enjustice is an international research project that aims for just green transition bringing forth voices of Indigenous and grassroot local communities from Greenland, Lithuania and Sápmi (Enjustice, 2026).

I must recognise my own positionality, since I am researching the Sámi as an outsider who is part of the Finnish dominant population. This is highly relevant, as I research the perspective of Sámi. I aim to comprehend how Sámi communities understand and experience EJ in relation to their worldview and experiences of settler colonialism. However, even if I extensively familiarise myself with Sámi worldviews and culture, in addition to settler colonialism in Sápmi, I cannot fully understand the culture, worldview, or experiences of the Sámi. Thus, I cannot entirely reproduce those aspects in my research. I rely on the information I have learned, emphasising the information, including research, created by members of Sámi communities.

Language plays a relevant role in my positionality. All the research material I use are in Finnish or English, as I do not speak any Sámi language. I recognise that thoughts, ideas, or experiences cannot be comprehensively translated into another language. Additionally, some topics may be discussed only in Sámi languages. I aim to research and write from a decolonial perspective using the theories of decolonial EJ and IEJ. Even if I examine the opinions of Sámi people in Finland, state borders do not play a crucial role in my research. Many of the data sources include wind power projects from Sápmi outside Finland. Indicating that it does not matter where the discussed wind power developments happen in Sápmi because Sámi are one people and state borders set by other-than Sámi being colonial. However, my research is done within the parameters of academic science, that is largely rooted in Western settings ignoring Indigenous epistemologies (Kuokkanen, 2009). My motivation to study Sámi perceptions of wind power arose from learning the colonial history and continuity in Nordic countries especially in relation to resource extraction.

5 Findings

In this chapter, I present the findings of my analysis. This chapter proceeds through the structure of the analysis framework by starting with Sámi notions of IEJ in relation to wind power developments. After that, I analyse the structures of settler colonialism, and the efforts of decolonisation in the context of my thesis. At the beginning of each head category is a summary of the most relevant findings. My analysis demonstrates how Sámi communities in Finland perceive and experience wind power developments, and how settler colonial structures are both perpetuated through these initiatives and actively opposed. Table 3 presents the key findings of each category. It includes the most impactful or interesting findings in relation my theoretical framework and practical life of Sámi communities.

Table 3 Key findings (D = document, I = Instagram post, N = the novel)

Head category	**Category**	**Key findings**	**Corresponding data**
Indigenous notions of EJ	Other-than-humans	Wind power threatens losing traditional and sacred land.	D1, D2, D3, D4, I2, I11, I13, I14, I15, I17, I18, I20, N
	Ways of being and knowing	Wind power threatens livelihoods, traditions, language, and traditional knowledge by damaging land and relationships.	D1, D2, D3, D4, I2, I4, I13, I14, I18, I19, I20, I23, I28, N
	Temporality and future generations	Wind power threatens continuity of culture.	D1, D3, D4, I4, I14, I20, I22, I23, I28, N
	Rights and self-determination	Violating self-determination enables wind power planning. Wind power infrastructure violates cultural rights.	D1, D2, D3, D4, I1, I12, I14, I19, I23, I28, I30
Settler colonial structures	Settler colonial power	Wind power developments continue settler colonial domination through political, cultural, and epistemic domination. Especially political domination is seen to be continued in wind power development	D1, D3, D4, I1, I4, I8, I9, I13, I14, I15, I16, I17, I18, I23, I25, I30, N
	Marginalisation	Wind power development continues to marginalise Sámi communities in decision-making leading to indirect and protracted ways to influence.	D1, D3, D4, I13, I14, I18, I20, I29, N

Head category	Category	Key findings	Corresponding data
	Land dispossession and resource extraction	Constructing wind power continues land dispossessions as they lead to land loss without consent.	D2, D3, D4, I2, I4, I18, I20, I28, N
	Assimilation	Wind power infrastructure threatens to assimilate Sámi communities. Assimilation to states' structures facilitates wind power developments.	D1, D4, I4, I28, N
Decolonisation	Decolonial agency	Decolonial agency through protests, social media activism, art, and cultural revitalisation is pervasive and a counterforce for settler colonial power.	All the data
	Critique of wind power	Wind power is criticised because it continues colonialism. It's promises or positive effects are seen dubious.	D2, D3, D4, I2, I4, I7, I18, I20, I23, I25, N

5.1 Indigenous notions of EJ

This category highlights how wind power developments threaten continuance of Sámi culture, and how wind power developments violate the self-determination and cultural rights of Sámi people. The findings reveal how traditional land, livelihoods, traditions, languages, and traditional knowledge are important factors of the Sámi worldview, as their sustainability is experienced and argued to be at a severe risk because of the land use wind power requires. Relating to other-than-human approach, wind power developments were especially considered as a threat to the land. Ways of being and knowing were highly present in the data. It became apparent that wind power developments are seen to disturb livelihoods, culture, and reciprocal relationships with nature. Consequently, wind power was seen as a threat for future as the maintenance of culture becomes harder in damaged and diminished lands. As wind power infrastructure disturbs the important factors of the worldview and culture, it violates the cultural rights of the Sámi people. The data imply that developing wind power in Sápmi is only possible if the self-determination of Sámi communities is violated. The data

frames these rights as highly important for Sámi, as their violations are described as heavy.

5.1.1 Holistic worldview

Within this section, I analyse the three predetermined categories: other-than-humans, ways of being and knowing, and temporality and future generations. They all relate to Sámi ontology and contribute to the holistic worldview of Sámi people (see 2.3). Ways of being and knowing were highly interconnected with other-than-human perspectives in the data and complement each other. Thus, dividing them strictly as two separate sections of findings would not give a comprehensive understanding, as the interdependency of elements would not be as clear as the data implies. Temporality and future generations are seen as a continuation of the first two categories.

Wind power is seen as a threat to traditional Sámi lands (D1, D2, D3, D4, I2, I14, I15, I17, I20, N). Sámi in the data express concern and fear that the traditional lands might be lost to wind power and the infrastructure it requires. Supplementary infrastructure, such as electricity lines and roads, already modify the environment and can damage the land as it is described as fragile (D3, D4, I2, N). The fear of losing lands is not just a feared expectation. According to couple of Instagram posts Fosen wind farm has resulted in local Sámi losing over half of their traditional lands in the area (I14, I15, I17). At least in Finland, Sámi do not have ownership over most of their traditional lands (see 3.1). Thus, the fear is not about losing legal ownership of the lands. Rather, it concerns the potential disappearance of the lands as they currently exist – which harms the practise of livelihoods and the worldview.

At least parts of the traditional lands that are at risk are considered sacred. Thus, the fear of losing lands also means fear of losing sacred places (I11, I13, I18, I20, N). This makes the fear graver, as losing land impacts the traditional understanding of the world (N). Thus, the harm to other-than-human elements, land, is connected with Sámi ways of being and knowing the world. Moreover, wind power infrastructure modifies the

environment radically. This affects how Sámi can use the land and how they perceive the landscape and place, affecting their worldview. The effects on the landscape are feared, and wind turbines are perceived as ugly (N, I8).

Figure 1 A picture from Hildá Länsman's Instagram post (I23) depicts how the effects of Fosen wind farm and the imagined effects of Davvi wind farm are perceived.

It is not just land that is lost and damaged, but reindeer herding land and pastures (D1, D4, I13, I14, I15, I20, I23, N). "*The turbines would devastate the fragile nature of the area and completely destroy the lands used for reindeer herding"* (I13). This is a relational harm that might not seem as relevant to others than Sámi but is serious for Sámi communities. Figure 1 represents how devastating the effect on landscape, reindeer herding land, and life of the reindeer is seen to be. When the reindeer are forced into smaller areas of land, it can bring along more risks:

> Thus, it would not matter that wind parks are unprohibited areas, since the reindeer will avoid the area anyway, pushing the animals into narrower territories and causing increased pressure on biodiversity in increasingly smaller areas of land. (D3)

Consequently, wind power development harm reindeer herding (D1, I4, I19, I20, I28, N). Wind power development is seen to fully halt and destroy reindeer herding. When the pastures are damaged, and as reindeer avoid the turbines, the grazing rotation of reindeer is disturbed (D1, D3, D4, N). This complicates the work of herders.

The harm wind power development causes to nature is seen as severe as it damages Sámi communities' reciprocal relationship to nature and reindeer (D2, I2, I13, I18, I20, N). The responsibility of the Sámi towards nature, meaning how the environment is traditionally taken care of, is damaged. This is a harm for the Sámi ways of being and knowing the world but also increases the harm on nature as Sámi cannot preserve biodiversity (D2). The relationship with reindeer is profound and reciprocal, and at risk because of wind power developments:

> "Do you know, friend", he says firmly, addressing the Norwegians, "that none of us in this room would exist without reindeer? Reindeer have sustained us for thousands of years"[1] (author's translation, N, p.176)

Wind power development relation to Sámi culture is dual. First, because the relationships between Sámi and nature are damaged, wind power is seen as a threat to culture (D1, D2, D3, D4, 12, I4, I14, I20, I23, I28, N). "*It is simultaneously about exploitation of Sámi culture and livelihoods since they are dependent on a close relationship with nature"*[2] (author's translation, I2). Land-based livelihoods as part of culture are threatened, even beyond reindeer herding (D3, D4, I2, I23). That harm on livelihoods threatens the income of Sámi (D3, I2). Additionally, wind power threatens other cultural traditions (e.g. I23). It harms the language (e.g. D2) and traditional knowledge (e.g. D2, I20) as those partly stem from the traditions and livelihoods. Second, wind power developers misrecognise or disvalue Sámi culture in their plans (D1, D2, I4, N). They do not consider what the culture requires to survive and thrive ignoring Sámi livelihoods, and other aspects of culture such as language.

Wind power threatens the continuity of Sámi culture; thus, Sámi life (D1, D3, D4, I4, I14, I20, I22, I23, I28, N).

> In Sweden and Norway, Sámi life has in recent years been continuous tilting at windmills: a battle waged for the culture and life of an entire people.[3] (author's translation, D4)

The threat of losing lands creates uncertainty about the future since land is a crucial enabler of the culture and part of the holistic worldview. Wind power development makes maintenance of culture, such as traditions, reindeer herding, and language, more difficult (D1, D4, I14, I22, I23, I28). Wind power is even considered as a "destructive force" towards the already endangered culture (D4). Thus, the harms to ways of being and knowing the world discussed within this chapter are seen as threats to the future and survival of the people (D1, D3, D4, I4, I20). As the Halla helle novel implies (p. 180): if Sámi worldview is destroyed Sámi people stop being Sámi, thus the Sámi life or identity perishes.

This affects the future generations of Sámi (D4, I1, I20). The future visions and ways to consider future generations are contradictory with wind power developers and Sámi communities. For example, visions of whether people live exclusively in the cities or also in rural areas such as Sápmi in the future can contradict (D4). Additionally, perceptions of what a sustainable future is and how to build one can contradict (I1, I20).

> Mika (St1's representative) said e.g. that he works to ensure that future generations have the right to a good life – but what about Sámi's future generations who will not be able to learn their traditional skills and sustain their culture, because you steal and spoil our lands?[4] (author's translation, I20)

5.1.2 Rights and self-determination

The data indicates that violating the self-determination right of the Sámi people enables wind power developments in Sápmi. Plans for wind power are made without the consent of Sámi communities. The negotiation obligation with Sámi and FPIC is neglected and misrecognised. (D1, D2, D3, D4, I1, I12.) This means that Sámi do not

have the possibility to meaningfully participate in the decision-making, violating the right to self-determination over the use of their territories. Document 1 describes how possibilities to build wind power in Sápmi on Finland's side were explored even after Sámi actors, together with others, had decided not to build wind power in the area (see 3.1). Generally, the Sámi voices present in the data are highly against wind power in the area. Thus, other-than Sámi are only able to advance the planning by violating the rights of self-determination.

Opinions of Sámi are misvalued and not listened (I13, I18, I20, N). Even if the Sámi have the possibility to discuss with the wind power developers, the experience of not being heard is apparent in the data. This tells how the right to self-determination is downplayed and ultimately violated. The novel and Instagram post 20 reveal narratives of how the wind power companies are not truly interested in the opinions of Sámi or are not familiar with the right of self-determination.

> We asked Mika what sustainable there is in the Davvi wind farm, which St1 is planning on the sacred fjeld of Rástigáisá, and why the project has not been suspended. "I would never say something like that if some group comes to tell me their opinion, no matter how right it is, that we would then suspend a project based on that", Mika answered. What if the "some group" is an Indigenous people whose stolen and colonised lands he is using?[5] (author's translation, I20)

One the other hand, the violations of rights do not only enable developing wind power in Sápmi but also are a consequence of wind power infrastructure. The data implies that wind power infrastructure on the traditional lands leads to violating the cultural rights of Sámi people, as has already happened in Fosen and the Supreme Court of Norway ruled the wind farm as unlawful (I14, I19, I23, I28). As discussed in 5.1.1, wind turbines obstruct the requirements for traditional ways of life. If that happens, cultural rights are violated.

Several pieces of the data highlight how these are also human rights violations. The violations happening related to wind power developments are named to be a threat to the foundations of EU (I1) and challenge the respect of human rights in Nordic countries (I30). This reveals the gravity of the situation.

> One people cannot decide for another. Finns cannot decide for the Sámi. The cornerstone of international law is the self-determination right of all peoples.[6] (author's translation, I30)

5.2 Settler colonial structures

Within the head category of settler colonial structures, I analysed power, marginalisation, land dispossessions, and assimilation. Settler colonial power is seen as underlaying structure and a facilitator of the other structures of settler colonialism. The three other categories are seen as parts of structure of replacement. I analysed how these structures were discussed in the data in relation to wind power and if wind power developments continue, the structures and, thus, settler colonialism. The findings in this section reveal that wind power threatens continuing settler colonial structures in Sápmi. Wind power developments are enabled through settler colonial domination and marginalisation of Sámi communities from the related decision-making explaining the findings in 5.1.2. If wind power is constructed, it is seen to lead to continuity of land dispossessions and assimilation.

5.2.1 Settler colonial power

I divided the analysed forms of power into four categories based on the theoretical framework: political, cultural, epistemic, and capital power. Political power was the most apparent and had significant consequences in relation to Sámi rights, participation, and marginalisation.

Political domination of the states enables right violations (see 5.1.2) in three ways. With political domination I mean how the states, or other actors, can decide over Sámi people. First, political domination explains how it is possible to develop wind power without the consent of Sámi communities (see 5.1.2). Document 4 names the power struggles in Sápmi as the political dominance of the Nordic countries that contributes to

leaving Sámi constantly out of the decision-making. The data discusses how "*Illegal windmill farms are forced upon us*" (I9) and "*St1 is attempting to force themselves into our territories*" (I13). These show that the companies and states at least perceive that they have a more powerful position that Sámi people (e.g. I9, I13, N).

Second, the political power of the states and companies enables those entities to rule on how Sámi can participate in decision-making. This is especially apparent in document 1 and the novel. Sámi entities, such as the Sámi Parliament, are integrated into the states' systems. Thus, they might lack real self-determination power (N). The Sámi Parliament of Finland was forced to participate in wind power planning to aim to get their opinions heard, even if they expressed how they do not want this planning to even happen (D1). Negotiation obligation is interpreted through the understanding of the state and not Sámi people (D1). Political domination is continued if participation happens by the means of the states.

Third, through examples from Fosen it is shown how the state has the power to choose what is seen as important and worth political or legal action, even if Sámi communities are actively voicing their stances and opposition. The data discusses how the state of Norway took over two years to act to repair the right violations happening in Fosen (I4, I14, I15, I16, I17, I23, I30). At the same time, young Sámi activists were prosecuted for protesting the wind farm (I8, I16). Thus, even if Norway eventually took action to repair the violations (I26), it was not seen as a priority.

Cultural and epistemic domination of the majority population, state, and corporations enable devaluing the opinions, needs, and knowledge of Sámi people. Life of the majority population is valued and developed at the expense of traditional Sámi land and culture (D3, D4, I18, I25, N). This indicates how the culture such as values and ways of seeing the world of the majority population has a dominant position. Energy is produced for the needs of others, and majority population decided what is clean, sustainable, and wanted (N, I25, D4). Some of the data pieces indicate how wind power is seen similar to any other non-Sámi ways of land use taking place in Sápmi.

> It's that it's always for someone else, not us. It's always so that other people can come here and feel as though they've accomplished something. So that

> they can come and experience, develop, build, rest, photograph, fish, hunt, use, use, use and use, because their needs are the ones that matter. (I8)

Regarding epistemic domination, knowledge regarding land use of the companies, majority population, and state are considered as valid. This is problematic since the knowledge of wind power developers and Sámi communities can be contradicting (D4, I1, I13, N). "*Behind colonial power lies the assumption that states know better than the Sámi how to effectively utilise natural resources*"[7] (author's translation, D4).

Capital domination is not widely discussed in the data, but parts of it still imply that capital domination is happening when wind power farms make money at the expense of Sámi. The data indicates that wind power developers see capital accumulation as more important than protection of Sámi rights and way of life (I14, I18, I25, N). It is mentioned how wind power projects make money for others at the expense of Sámi (I14, N). Monetary compensation to win Sámi over for the companies is considered an assumption of bribery and not accepted, as money cannot replace the damage wind power can have (D4, N).

5.2.2 Marginalisation

As discussed in the chapter 5.1.2 and 5.2.1 Sámi opinions and needs are ignored or disvalued, and Sámi communities left out of the decision-making process even against their rights. All those experiences indicate that wind power developments continue to marginalise Sámi from meaningful and effective participation related to making decisions over their territories and traditional land use (D1, D3, D4, I13, I18, I20, N). Document 4 explicitly mentions how the marginalisation is enabled through the colonial power relations.

> The Sámi are routinely not included in decision-making processes when it comes to their lands and that they often have to go to great lengths to push the states to implement the Indigenous Peoples' right to self-determination. (D3)

Marginalised position of the Sámi communities leads to difficult, lengthy, and burdening ways to influence the decision-making (D1, D3, I14, I20, I29, N). The novel discusses

how Sámi seemingly have formal ways to participate, such as consultations, but even those are made difficult and time consuming. Documents 1and 3 describes how the ways of influencing decisions and defend rights for Sámi are narrow and negligible. Thus, Sámi communities must file lawsuits, pursue justice through the UN's human rights monitoring bodies, and engaging in direct action, such as protests (D1, D3). These actions are described as *a fight* to continue Sámi culture (I14) describing the effort and toughness of the ways to influence.

5.2.3 Land dispossession and resource extraction

As seen in 5.1 wind power threatens to take over traditional Sámi lands. This is tied with settler colonialism (see 2.1). In the data wind power is stated to steal, spoil, dispossess, and violently oppress the traditional Sámi lands (D2, D3, D4, I2, I4, I18, I20, I28, N). These indicate how land use of wind power is tied with land dispossession. Some of those pieces of data name that the land use of wind power is part of colonialism. Land dispossession is enabled through the right violations (see 5.1.2) and colonial power (see 5.2.1) as decision over land use are made without consent of Sámi.

Land dispossession is especially problematic as it continues settler colonialism and leads to detrimental consequences (see 5.1.1). Additionally, it narrows the already diminished space of traditional Sámi lands. As the document 1 describes there is no place for Sámi to go if wind power dispossesses their lands (p.71).

Other parts of the data focus more on how historical land dispossessions affect the justness of wind power. The novel argues how Sámi communities have had to adapt to the effects of land dispossession in history and how they are not willing to continue doing it because of wind power (p. 175; 271) Supportingly, Instagram post 28 discusses the Nordic countries have profited of Sápmi: "*Enough has been taken from the Sámi people, and it's time to put a stop to the exploitation of our lands*".

Natural resource extraction was not discussed directly in relation to wind power. Thus, it may not be seen as a form of resource extraction but solely a land extraction. However, land can be seen as a resource as it enables Sámi culture and different forms of land use, including wind turbines.

5.2.4 Assimilation

The parts of data that are relevant for this category were highly interlinked with the categories of ways of being and knowing the world and temporality and future generations. Erosion of culture, which can lead to assimilation, is much discussed in the data (see 5.1.1). Couple of pieces of the data explicitly describe wind power infrastructure as assimilation through this erosion of culture (D4, I4, N).

As wind power developments are a threat for Sámi way of being and knowing, and survival (5.1.1) they may be seen a threat for assimilation. Survival of the people does not indicate literal elimination of the people but erosion of culture and, thus, assimilation. Instagram post 23 discusses how wind power developments threaten the right to live as Sámi. Similarly, Instagram post 4 states how colonialism and assimilation has taken more indirect ways informs of investments for green transition, but they are still continuity of those colonial structures. If there is no possibility to live as Sámi assimilation would likely happen. The novel describes how land dispossession and erosion of the worldview lead to assimilation of Sámi identity:

> "I assert that if we allow these people to erect three hundred wind turbines on Rastigaisa, we will cease to exist. We will become something else."[8] (author's translation, N, p. 180)

In addition to the new ways of assimilation wind power developments bring, the novel discusses how historical experiences of assimilation increase the injustice of wind power development.

Within 5.2.1 I described how the state and corporations use political power to decide how Sámi are able to participate. This includes assimilation of Sámi entities into state

structures, possibly diminishing actual self-determination of Sámi communities (D1, N). Thus, assimilation of Sámi people can be seen as a facilitator of wind power developments and not only a consequence.

5.3 Decolonisation

Within this head category, I analysed the efforts of Sámi communities for decolonisation. Decolonial agency works to change and oppose settler colonial structures. I analyse those actions tied with wind power developments. Critique of wind power may also be seen as an effort of decolonisation, since many of those discourses relate to criticising the continuity of colonialism wind power developments proceed. Thus, the criticism aims to bring another, decolonial, perspective to see wind power in Sápmi. The findings in this section strengthen the idea that wind power developments in Sápmi and settler colonialism are tied together. Decolonial agency is pervasive in the whole data. It uses forms such as social media activism, protests, art and cultural revitalisation. The data implies that Sámi do not accept the injustices related to wind power development and have hope for better. Criticism of wind power in Sápmi employ green colonialism discourse. Additionally, the criticism exposes contradictions in the commitments of wind power developers.

5.3.1 Decolonial agency

I consider decolonial agency as acts to change or oppose the settler colonial structures tied with wind power development as decolonial agency. Even if marginalisation has made the participation of Sámi more difficult (see 5.2.2), Sámi communities are active and aim to influence the decision-making. Sámi people do not perceive themselves as powerless, even if power over them is apparent in the data. Neither they consider wind power developers as invincible.

> They (St1) do this, because they can. They don't know that they cannot succeed, because the possibility of losing does not occur to them. (I13)

The data consists of and includes several points of discussion that can be interpreted as manifesting decolonial agency. Thus, the mere existence of the data shows that Sámi culture is alive and fought for. Decolonial agency could be seen as a counterforce for settler colonial power.

Much of the data themselves are forms of decolonial agency. They voice Sámi experiences and opinions in forms of articles, social media activism, and literature. Additionally, the novel discusses music as a way to express opinions and opposition against wind power. All of these include demands such as self-determination, environmental impact assessments, support for Sámi culture, and end of oppression (D1, D2, I7, I14, I19, I20, I26, I28, N). *Greater respect and recognition of Sámi rights and traditions are essential to preserve our culture and way of life*. (I28)

Some of the Instagram posts directly target the companies and their representatives or politicians by tagging them to the posts (I13, I16, I20, I29). This way the Sámi clearly show their aim to influence and to make decision-makers responsible for their actions. Moreover, the posts include Sámi activist slogans, such as ČSV and expressions of how Sámi persist (e.g. Ellos Sápmi) (I8, I15, I16, I17, I20, I25). These show how the posts are part of larger Sámi activist movement. Additionally, I2, I4 and I12 were created in collaboration with other activist organisations, possibly strengthening the message.

Solidarity across Sámi communities is present in the decolonial agency (D2, I3, I14, I15, I17, I23, I24, I27, N). This includes collaboration between Sámi communities from different states (e.g. D2, I24, N). By attending protests or making Instagram posts concerning a specific case and its injustice Sámi from Finland express solidarity for other Sámi communities (I3, I14, I15, I17, I23, I24, I27). Because the solidarity crosses the colonial state borders it is decolonial. It aims to emphasise that Sámi are one people and the state borders colonial, thus, not relevant for Sámi communities.

> One of the most important missions Saami youth organizations share is to make the colonial borders obsolete. If there is one thing the Nordic states have succeeded in with their increased pressure and rights violations, it is

> that the cross-border Saami youth collaboration has turned a whole new chapter. ... We need each other more than ever, but it's not just that. We also want to be with each other more than ever. (I24)

Protests were one of the most discussed and present forms of agency, especially in the Instagram posts (D3, I3, I8, I14, I15, I16, I17, I19, I20). These protests fight against wind power. Simultaneously they fight against colonial structures (I15, I20) that have taken away the land of Sámi (I17), and domination that leads to violating rights (I8, I14, I16, I19, I20).

Cultural revitalisation can be seen as a form of decolonial agency (N, I5, I11). This was much discussed in the novel; how revitalising traditional knowledge, traditions, stories, and practises can work as opposition of industrial land use, strengthen self-determination, and identity of Sámi people. Similarly, Instagram post 5 discusses how the colonial relationships with states and Sámi communities can be healed if Sámi cultural heritage is returned to the communities. Additionally, the Sámi do not settle for monetary compensation of wind power but keep requiring continuity of their worldview and values (I14, I19, I26, N). These examples of agency actively oppose assimilation and aims for decolonisation.

As seen in 5.2.2 marginalisation has led to other forms of influencing decision-making beyond institutionalised forms of political action. However, institutional political action was discussed in couple of data pieces in relation to for example the Sámi youth organisations and the Sámi Parliament of Finland, and how they aim to oppose wind power developments (D2, I1, I6, I7, I24, I30). Thus, it is still a form of agency and can aim for decolonisation. Nevertheless, within this data other forms of agency are more prevalent.

Even if this category shows how Sámi have agency and hope and are active in advocating justice for them, ongoing defending of Sámi life naturally creates burdens for the communities. This occurs not only because of wind power but also other legal and land use battles. Thus, injustices accumulate to Sámi as an Indigenous minority affecting well-being.

> The continuous defence of culture and livelihoods drains significant resources and energy from Sámi communities, hindering the development of the culture and livelihoods. This also has implication on the well-being of individuals.[9] (author's translation, I4)

5.3.2 Critique of wind power

Wind power is criticised through the ways that it brings harm to Sámi communities (see 5.1 and 5.2) continuing colonialism. Sámi communities contest wind power developments' "positive" effects such as better future, common good, and sustainability (D4, I4, I18). As seen in the previous findings wind power does not serve these things for Sámi communities. Additionally, discourses in the novel are sceptical towards employment opportunities of wind power. It also brings out how the landscape harm of wind turbines may decrease tourism. Sámi people see the promises of wind power developers as contradicting and, thus, as something to criticise.

> "Sustainability means living in harmony with nature", said Mika – while simultaneously funding a project that will actively destroy our way of life, a way of life at the heart of which is living in harmony with nature.[10] (author's translation, I20)

Sámi communities consider wind power, together with other "green" industrialism, as a continuum of colonialism. This is shown by the findings in 5.2 but also in discourses of green colonialism which is much used in data (D2, D3, D4, I2, I4, I7, I23, I25, N). Sámi communities do not see green transition as green or good, but rather two posts name it as "black industrialism" (I4, I25). The novel discusses how the distinction between green transition and green colonialism is difficult to do if the infrastructure takes place in Sápmi where Sámi people might not have real self-determination.

Discourses of green transition may legitimise colonial practises in Sápmi (D4, I2, I25). It is seen that discourses of green transition hide the colonial effects it has in Sápmi. Thus, Instagram post 2 describes it as "greenwashed colonialism". Since green transition is largely perceived as necessary and sustainable, it might be harder to fight colonialism that is framed as thus (I25, see epistemic power 5.2.1).

The values and needs of Sámi people are contradicting with those of the wind power developers. Sámi persisting their values leads to criticising wind power developments. The land use forms are different between the state and Sámi communities (D1, N). The goals of those actors are also vastly different – the state is seen to aim for capitalistic accumulation (I14, N) whereas Sámi communities aim to continue their nature-bound culture and worldviews.

Sámi communities are not against climate change mitigation, but against those measures that bring harm to them and continue colonisation (D1, D2, I4, N). Sustainable development and green transition ask for people to sacrifice some things to support the "common good" and this is seen unfair because of colonial history and right to live in a Sámi way.

> They tell us, everyone has to sacrifice something. To that we say, when a colonizer has already taken everything you have, there's nothing more you have left to sacrifice. (I25)

While most pieces of the data do not critique wind power in other contexts, some pieces of the data question wind power in total as a mean to mitigate climate change (I1, N). It is seen to add to consumption, and harm the environment and biodiversity. Climate change, however, is seen as grave. It creates a double burden with its hegemonic top-down mitigation efforts, such as wind power (D1, I2, I4, I22, I29). This is a cumulative effect increasing injustice of wind power.

6 Discussion and conclusion

In this thesis, I explored the justice of wind power as a form of land use stressor in Sápmi. I analysed the related perceptions, opinions, and experiences from Sámi communities living in Finland. This was valuable as research about them is scarce and the interest to develop wind power in Finland's side of Sápmi growing. My research approach was to triangulate various types of qualitative data collected from different sources and analyse them with theory-based content analysis. The data triangulation allowed me to conduct ethical research following the ethical guidelines (Heikkilä et al. 2024) and considering Sámi communities expressions of fatigue due to excessive research participation (West, 2025, 38-49). This upholds the justice themes in this thesis by supporting self-determination and recognising the needs and wishes of Sámi communities. I conducted my analysis with the theories of settler colonialism, decolonial EJ, and IEJ. This allowed me to examine the argument, that EJ issues in settler colonial contexts are always related to the colonial structures and power relations (Braverman, 2021, 9; Whyte, 2016; 2017), in the context of Sámi people and wind power. Additionally, through the theory of IEJ, I could centralise Sámi worldviews. Based on this research design, I asked two questions.

First, I asked **"***How do Sámi communities in Finland perceive environmental justice in relation to wind power development in Sápmi?"* To answer this, my findings show a consensus that wind power development in Sápmi exposes environmental injustices for Sámi communities and is not wanted by them. Earlier research from Sweden and Norway support these findings (Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025; Båld, 2025; Cambou, 2020; Cambou et al., 2021 Mohammed, 2026; Mósesdóttir, 2024; Vasconcellos et al. 2025). My thesis added perceptions from Finland. However, the state borders remained rather irrelevant in relation to the unjustness of wind power. The Sámi contributing to the data emphasise Sámi as one people who support each other and feel the burdens of wind power developments as collective.

The most discussed injustices in my analysis related to land, culture, reindeer herding, violations of the rights, and continuity of colonialism. The findings indicate that wind power developments in Sápmi result in holistic, relational, and context-based environmental injustices. Thus, theories of IEJ, developed largely in North America (McGregor, 2020; Whyte 2016; 2022), were fitting to describe the experiences and perceptions of Sámi communities. My findings imply that lack of self-determination is at the root of the injustices. This aligns with McGregor's (2020) ideas that Indigenous voices must be valued to achieve IEJ but also asks for real self-determination for Sámi in order to the injustices to be fixed.

When researching or enhancing Sámi EJ, emphasis should be placed on the holistic worldview with systems of responsibilities (McGregor, 2020; Whyte 2016; 2022). The threat of land loss due to wind power construction is seen as a catalyst for other threats, injustices, by disturbing the holistic worldview (Båld, 2025, 220; Blokzijl & Rasch, 2025, 5; see 2.3). These findings support Tornel's (2023) argument that territorial struggles risk justice in Indigenous contexts. The findings indicate that when the relationships with the land are harmed, cultural continuity is threatened. This advocates Whyte's (2016; 2022) theories of how disturbing webs of relationships can contribute to harming the collective continuance of a community. Thus, reciprocal relationships should be emphasised in IEJ in relation to Sámi communities, as Whyte has argued in other Indigenous contexts (2016, 2022). The findings further imply that Sámi identity is tied with land and the holistic worldview, supporting research from Simposon (2016), Tornel (2023, 55) and Whyte (2016, 163; 164), underscoring how pervasive the threat posed by wind power development is.

Place-based definition of justice, where Sámi people hold the knowledge to define justice for themselves, is an important aspect in constructing IEJ according to my findings aligning with Àlvarez and Coolsaet's (2018) study. My findings show contradictions in Sámi communities and corporations or states' needs, values, and visions of a sustainable future complementing Tornel's (2023) and Persson and colleagues' (2017) findings (see 2.2 and 2.3). Sámi who contributed to my research material view sustainability as a possibility to maintain the traditional worldview and

practises following the traditionalist perspective from Kårtveit (2021, 173). Thus, what might not be an environmental harm, injustice, for others is that for Sámi communities, indicating that IEJ is context-based. Violations of Sámi rights imply that corporations or state actors do not understand, or want to recognise, what contributes to cultural rights in the context of Sámi people. Moreover, context-bound historical injustices of settler colonialism and other cumulative burdens are increasing the injustice of wind power.

In my second research question, I asked: **"***How can the environmental justice experiences of Sámi communities related to wind power in Sápmi be interpreted through the framework of settler colonialism?"* To answer this, my findings indicate that wind power developments in Sápmi and settler colonialism are seen inseparable. This supports the previous research that has stated wind power to be a form of colonialism (Båld, 2025; Kårtveit, 2021; McGuire, 2022, 7). All the studied structures of settler colonialism were perceived as facilitators or consequences of wind power development in Sápmi.

Therefore, theories that combine settler colonialism and EJ, once again largely developed in North America (Bray, 2021, 588; McGregor et al., 2020; Kojola & Pellow, 2021; Whyte, 2022), are relevant in the context of my thesis. Even if the erosion of culture and disturbance on Sámi relations might not be the intention of wind power developers, those can be seen as results of settler colonialism. The findings showed how Sámi culture is misrecognised in wind power plans, indicating that the settlers who plan the developments aim to establish their own collective continuance on the lands of Sámi following Whyte's (2016) theories.

Wind power developers are interested in the land in Sápmi as a resource, dispossessing the land and leading to cultural erosion and assimilation. This shows that the developers reproduce Nordic settler colonial logics (Junka-Aikio, 2023; Kuokkanen 2020a, see 2.1). The findings suggest that political domination, marginalisation, and assimilation to state structures lead to weak legal positions of Sámi, through which it is possible to ignore Sámi voices and violate rights to advance wind power developments. The persistent planning of wind power projects, despite Sámi opposition and the repeated failure to obtain necessary permissions, reveals how settler colonial power

structures endure in Sápmi. If the colonial structures and processes are not interrupted, increasing marginalisation of Sámi people may continue, leading to vicious sedimentation of settler colonialism (Whyte, 2022, see 2.3). Following the structure of replacement (Kuokkanen, 2020a), eventually the Nordic majority population could replace Sámi communities, wind farms being one of the enablers of the replacement.

However, the findings reveal a counterforce for this vicious circle through resistance and criticism. Wind power was not opposed as a detached incident but as connected with settler colonialism, thus the opposition simultaneously aims for decolonisation. When the burdens of wind power developments are framed as environmental injustices, EJ is fought for by the Sámi communities through decolonial action. These align with the theories of how Indigenous peoples' demands for EJ and decolonisation are intertwined (Kojola & Pellow, 2021, 110; Whyte, 2022, Whyte, 2016). The resistance to land dispossession serves as protection for their relationships, culture and way of life.

Moreover, the expressions of injustice reveal that settler colonialism has not been successful. Sámi continue to perceive their culture, worldviews, and Indigenous rights as important, something to fight for. When those aspects are violated, it is felt as injustice even if the event takes place far from Finland (Fosen case, see 4.1).

The overall findings of my thesis are significant as they show that theories of IEJ together with settler colonialism depict the justice perceptions and experiences of Sámi communities in relation to land use issues. Given the importance of land to create justice and continuity, Sámi specific justice framework could comprehensively centralise the position of land. Additionally, the findings indicate that environmental injustice in land use matters should be considered as or with settler colonialism. While Blokzjil and Rasch (2025) highlight historical processes of colonialism increasing injustice, it might be even more important to assess how land use continues settler colonialism, as it remains a key factor of injustice in Sámi context.

It is important to note that even if theories of IEJ and settler colonialism work well in assessing EJ in Sápmi, both must be contextualised. Contextualisation of IEJ is a crucial part of the concept and highlights Indigenous groups' self-determination of what their

worldviews are, thus what is just for them. Contextualising settler colonialism prevents faulty conclusions, for example, in relation to elimination. Moreover, researching and building EJ for Sámi need to consider all cumulative burdens for example other land use stressors, such as mining or forestry. Some of them, such as climate change, may not be a straightforward consequence of settler colonialism, adding yet another layer to the justice framework.

Additionally, the findings signify how achieving climate change mitigation goals can increase injustice and rights violations for Indigenous people, supporting previous studies (Mósesdóttir, 2024; Daigle, 2025b). Thus, sustainability work done in Nordic countries may be failing, at least in respect of social sustainability. The findings show that the concept of sustainability is not neutral nor universal (Gad et al., 2018) since Sámi communities view climate change mitigation as vital but the current means, such as wind power in their homeland, as ineffective and violent. This emphasises the need for more context-specific sustainable development solutions. However, it must be ensured that climate change is mitigated worldwide because of its global impact. Perhaps, the most unjust outcome for Sámi communities is accelerating climate change that would further damage their culture and lives (Båld, 2025).

The violations of rights and Sámi communities' experiences of injustice demonstrate how Nordic countries use colonial power. In a broader geopolitical context, the threats on human rights may also reflect a deeper crisis in the rule-based international order present in public discourse (e.g. Nuuttila, 2026; Vartiainen, 2026). However, Finland reformed the act of the Sámi Parliament in 2025, which could strengthen the realisation of the rights. This was done after most of the data used in this thesis were published, possibly affecting the findings. Thus, there is hope that this reformation brings increased self-determination for Sámi communities, shaping their future encounters with wind power developments more just.

The triangulation of the different research materials enabled me to gather fragmented data and combine even short expressions regarding wind power development in Sápmi into a comprehensive understanding of how Sámi activists in Finland perceive the phenomenon. I was able to obtain data that included perceptions of more individuals

than would have been possible with for example interviews. Additionally, this method revealed how decolonial agency is constructed, as the data sources themselves function in this manner.

Aligning with previous studies of Båld (2025) and Mósesdóttir (2024), my thesis calls for Sámi actors to have real self-determination and an influential role in decision-making related to their lands. The reformed act of Sámi Parliament, FPIC, and the rights of the Sámi people need to be closely followed, and their actual effectiveness to bring justice estimated. There is a need for future research on how the theory of IEJ can be applied in other Sámi related matters. Future research should focus on how Sámi communities envision just future concentrating on land use governance, self-determination, and possible preferred development. It could draw on the theory of IEJ. This research could not only help others to understand what Sámi people wish, hopefully increasing the respect of their opinions, but possibly also bring forth more issues in the hegemonic sustainable development that require modification. Additionally, future research on what decolonisation is for Sámi and what Nordic states must do to support it, would be valuable when aiming to solve land use conflicts. Perceptions of wind power might be beneficial to study with a different cohort as this thesis focused on activist voices within Sámi youth and adults. This thesis argues that as long as settler colonial structures persist in the Nordic states, land use projects in Sápmi led by other-than-Sámi, such as wind power, expose environmental injustice to Sámi communities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Documents

	Name of the document	Year	Publisher and author(s)	Type of document	Which parts included in analysis
D1	"There's nowhere left to go" – new industrial land use pressures in the Sámi homeland Special report for the truth and reconciliation commission concerning the Sámi people	2025	Finnish government / Kukka Ranta	Special report for the truth and reconciliation commission concerning the Sámi people	1. johdanto 2. teolliset maankäyttöpaineet saamelaisalueella 5. tuulivoima saamelaisten kotisuetualueella 6. Johtopäätökset
D2	Sámi youths' declaration on climate change	2021	The Youth councils of the Sámi parliaments of Finland, Sweden and Norway	Declaration of the Nordic Sámi Youth Conference	Full document
D3	Eco-Colonialism: The new age of threats to Indigenous Peoples	2021	Goethe Institute Finland, Petra Laiti	Article	Full article
D4	Puhdas tuulivoima ja likaiset saamelaiset	2025	Kaltio, Eleonora Alariesto (in collaboration with Metsäliike)	Essay	Full article

Appendix 2. Instagram posts

	Publisher	Date	Link
I1	Aslat Holmberg	25.10.2025	https://www.instagram.com/p/DQOgaJAjBYe/?hl=fi&img_index=1
I2	Suvi West, Elokapina	17.6.2025	https://www.instagram.com/p/DLADMD_tbHv/?hl=fi&img_index=1
I3	Janne Hirvasvuopio	15.5.2025	https://www.instagram.com/p/DJrKGKIN1Sa/?hl=fi
I4	Suvi West, Petra Laiti, Kontekstimedia, Tutkijat Palestiinan puolesta	6.2.2025	https://www.instagram.com/p/DFu2RZxM6qb/?hl=fi&img_index=1
I5	Janne Hirvasvuopio	15.9.2024	https://www.instagram.com/p/C_8qTNsteSv/?hl=fi&img_index=4
I6	Janne Hirvasvuopio	4.6.2024	https://www.instagram.com/p/C7yIiZut2GJ/?hl=fi
I7	Janne Hirvasvuopio	15.5.2024	https://www.instagram.com/p/C6_gcGzN-0I/?hl=fi&img_index=2
I8	Janne Hirvasvuopio	8.3.2024	https://www.instagram.com/p/C4Q4J0-N0RE/?hl=fi
I9	Janne Hirvasvuopio	7.1.2024	https://www.instagram.com/p/C10JWLftHb4/?hl=fi
I10	Janne Hirvasvuopio	29.12.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/C1b9u7CNick/?hl=fi
I11	Janne Hirvasvuopio	21.12.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/C1HUQsgtJiH/?hl=fi
I12	Kontekstimedia, Emmi Nuorgam, Javiera Marchant Aedo	21.12.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/C1HQeL1NzsX/?hl=fi&img_index=8
I13	Petra Laiti	13.11.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CzlNnYkANDB/?hl=fi&img_index=1
I14	Janne Hirvasvuoprio	15.10.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CyZV0l-tnpW/?hl=fi

I15	Janne Hirvasvuopio	12.10.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CyS51pvNrFZ/?hl=fi
I16	Niila-Juhán Valkeapää	12.10.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CySQ810IGqf/?img_index=3
I17	Janne Hirvasvuopio	11.10.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CyQFcinNfSM/?hl=fi
I18	Petra Laiti	25.9.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CxnQh9wNyx0/
I19	Petra Laiti	11.9.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CxDdelgtotK/?hl=fi
I20	Aarni Pieski, Lotta Hagelin	5.9.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cw0aYHSozwd/?img_index=1
I21	Janne Hirvasvuopio	4.9.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CwwuC8Ethdj/?hl=fi
I22	Janne Hirvasvuopio	4.8.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CvhsnLVNPmD/?hl=fi
I23	Hildá Länsman	17.5.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsV69rFNMvw/?hl=fi
I24	Petra Laiti	25.4.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CrdKZKwNo93/
I25	Petra Laiti	20.4.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CrO3-YGPTHU/
I26	Suvi West	4.3.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CpV-CpEN8GW/?hl=fi&img_index=2
I27	Emmi Nuorgam	28.2.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CpNHnEoN5Bq/?hl=fi
I28	Hildá Länsman	28.2.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CpNGoNmtKy9/?hl=fi
I29	Anne Olli	23.2.2023	https://www.instagram.com/p/CpA0ACRtM8V/
I30	Aslat Holmberg	8.12.2022	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cl6uSk_PnDV/?hl=fi&img_index=1

Appendix 3. Origina texts of translated citations

1. ”Tiiäkkö sie kaveri” hän jatkaa nyt lujasti norjalaisia puhutellen, “että tätä koko huoneellista ei olisi ilman poroa? Poro on elättänyt meitä tuhansia vuosia” (N, p. 176)

2. Kyse on samalla saamelaisten kulttuurin ja elinkeinojen riistämisestä, sillä ne ovat riippuvaisia läheisestä yhteydestään luontoon. (I2)

3. Ruotsissa ja Norjassa saamelaisten elo on viime vuosina ollut jatkuvaa taistelua tuulimyllyjä vastaan: taistelua, jota käydään kokonaisen kansan kulttuurista ja elämästä itsestään. (D4)

4. Mika mm. sanoi tekevänsä työtä, jotta seuraavilla sukupolvilla olisi oikeus hyvään elämään – entä saamelasten tulevat sukupolvet, jotka eivät pääse oppimaan perimätaitojaan ja ylläpitämään kulttuuriaan, kun te varastatte ja pilaatte maamme? (I20)

5. Kysyimme Mikalta, mitä kestävää on Davvi-tuulivoimahankkeessa, jota St1 suunnittelee saamelaisten pyhälle Rástigáisá-tunturialueelle ja miksi hanketta ei pysäytetä. ”En mä voi koskaan tollaseen juttuun niin sanoa, jos joku ryhmä tulee kertomaan jonkun mielipiteen, vaikka se ois kuinka oikea, että sen pohjalta lähdetään sitten joku hanke keskeyttämään”, vastasi Mika. Entä kun ”joku ryhmä” on alkuperäiskansa, jolta varastettuja ja kolonisoituja maita hän käyttää? (I20)

6. Yksi kansa ei voi päättää toisen kansan asioista. Suomi ei voi päättää saamelaisten asioita. Kansainvälisen oikeuden kulmakivi on kaikkien kansojen itsemääräämisoikeus. (I30)

7. “Koloniaalisen vallan taustalla piilee ajatus siitä, että valtiot tietävät saamelaisia paremmin tehokkaasta luonnonresurssien hyödyntämisestä” (D4).

8. ”Väitän, että jos annamme näitten ihmisten pystyttää Rastigaisan alueelle kolmatta sataa tuulimyllyä, me lakkaamme olemasta. Meistä tulee jotakin muuta.” (N, p.180)

9. Jatkuva kulttuurin ja elinkeinojen puolustaminen vie saamelaisyhteisöltä valtavasti voimavaroja ja resursseja, mikä hankaloittaa kulttuurin ja elinkeinon kehittämistä. Sillä on vaikutus myös ihmisten hyvinvointiin. (I4)

10. ”Kestävyys on elää luonnon kanssa tasapainossa”, sanoi Mika – samalla kun hän rahoittaa hanketta, joka aktiivisesti tulee tuhoamaan elämäntapaamme, jonka keskiössä on eläminen tasapainossa luonnon kanssa. (I20)