

Teresa Komu

PURSUING THE GOOD LIFE IN THE NORTH

*EXAMINING THE COEXISTENCE OF REINDEER
HERDING, EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES AND NATURE-
BASED TOURISM IN NORTHERN FENNOSCANDIA*

UNIVERSITY OF OULU GRADUATE SCHOOL;
UNIVERSITY OF OULU,
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY



ACTA UNIVERSITATIS OULUENSIS
B Humaniora 177

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**PURSUIING THE GOOD LIFE IN THE
NORTH**

Examining the coexistence of reindeer herding,
extractive industries and nature-based tourism
in northern Fennoscandia

Academic dissertation to be presented with the assent of
the Doctoral Training Committee of Human Sciences of
the University of Oulu for public defence in the OP-
Pohjola auditorium (L6), Linnanmaa, on 17 January 2020,
at 12 noon

UNIVERSITY OF OULU, OULU 2020

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Acta Univ. Oul. B 177, 2020

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ISBN 978-952-62-2501-2 (Paperback)
ISBN 978-952-62-2502-9 (PDF)

ISSN 0355-3205 (Printed)
ISSN 1796-2218 (Online)

Cover Design
Raimo Ahonen

JUVENES PRINT
TAMPERE 2020

Komu, Teresa, Pursuing the good life in the North. Examining the coexistence of reindeer herding, extractive industries and nature-based tourism in northern Fennoscandia

University of Oulu Graduate School; University of Oulu, Faculty of Humanities, Cultural anthropology

Acta Univ. Oul. B 177, 2020

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Abstract

This dissertation argues for an understanding of land use negotiations in terms of overlapping projects of striving for the good life in northern Fennoscandia. The dynamics of coexistence between reindeer herding, the extractive industries and nature-based tourism are examined in the Torne River Valley area, of the Swedish-Finnish border region. Here, the collision of competing livelihoods offers a passageway to examine the differing understandings of how to be well and live well in the North. The study is based on ethnographic research methods, mainly semi-structured interviewing and participant observation, and has a long-term perspective on issues around land use.

The dissertation first discusses the various ways in which the impacts of mining and reindeer herding on the well-being of local communities can be understood. Then, the study examines the interplay between trying to live well as part of one's community while struggling to secure the continuity of one's livelihood in the decision making of a specific livelihood group during local land use negotiations. Finally, the influence of various cultural conceptions, future visions and longstanding cultural dreams concerning mining and the North on current land use disputes over mining in northern Fennoscandia is scrutinised. An approach that takes into consideration the good life and its pursuit is a step towards a holistic understanding of the behaviour and motivations of residents in local communities during land use negotiations and alleviating the current polarisation of the discussions around mining.

Keywords: anthropology of the good, extractive industries, Lapland, reindeer herding, resource conflicts, tourism, well-being, wilderness

Komu, Teresa, Hyvän elämän tavoittelua pohjoisessa. Tarkastelussa poronhoidon, kaivostoiminnan ja luontomatkailun yhteiselo pohjoisessa Fennoskandiassa

Oulun yliopiston tutkijakoulu; Oulun yliopisto, Humanistinen tiedekunta, Kulttuuriantropologia

Acta Univ. Oul. B 177, 2020

Oulun yliopisto, PL 8000, 90014 Oulun yliopisto

Tiivistelmä

Väitöskirjassa ymmärretään pohjoisen Fennoskandian maankäyttöneuvottelut päällekkäisinä hyvän elämän tavoittelun projekteina. Tutkimuksen kohteena on poronhoidon, kaivosteollisuuden ja luontomatkailun yhteiselo Tornionjokilaaksossa, Suomen ja Ruotsin raja-alueella. Täällä kilpailevien maankäyttömuotojen yhteentörmäys tarjoaa mahdollisuuden tarkastella erilaisia tapoja tavoitella hyvinvointia ja hyvää elämää pohjoisessa. Tutkimus pohjautuu etnografisiin tutkimusmenetelmiin, pääasiassa puolistrukturoituun haastatteluun ja osallistuvaan havainnointiin, ja maankäyttöön liittyviä kysymyksiä tarkastellaan pitkän aikavälin näkökulmasta.

Ensiksi väitöskirjassa käsitellään erilaisia tapoja ymmärtää kaivostoiminnan ja poronhoidon vaikutukset paikallisyhteisöjen hyvinvointiin. Seuraavaksi tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan, kuinka yksittäisen elinkeinoryhmän toiminta paikallisten maankäyttöneuvotteluiden aikana muotoutuu elinkeinon edustajien pyrkiessä samaan aikaan elämään hyvin osana laajempaa yhteisöään sekä turvaamaan oman elinkeinonsa jatkuvuuden. Lopuksi tarkastellaan kuinka erilaiset kulttuuriset käsitykset, tulevaisuuden visiot ja pitkäaikaiset kulttuuriset unelmat liittyen kaivostoimintaan ja pohjoisuuteen vaikuttavat nykyisten pohjoisen Fennoskandian kaivoskiistojen takana. Hyvään elämään ja sen tavoitteluun liittyvien kysymysten huomioiminen maankäyttöneuvotteluiden tutkimuksessa on askel kohti paikallisyhteisöjen jäsenten toiminnan ja motiivien kokonaisvaltaista ymmärtämistä ja kaivosten ympärillä käytyjen keskustelujen kärjistymisen lieventämistä.

Asiasanat: erämaa, hyvinvointi, hyvän elämän antropologia, kaivosteollisuus, Lappi, luonnonvarat, matkailu, poronhoito

To all the night owls who sleep late and get things done

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to my supervisors Vesa-Pekka Herva, who helped me to find my own voice as a researcher, Hannu I. Heikkinen, who has been patiently supervising my work since the beginning of my Master's thesis, and Simo Sarkki. This research was made possible by the funding from the Academy of Finland's Arctic Academy Programme project "Understanding the cultural impacts", the Norwegian Research Council project "Primary industries and transformational change", and the University of Oulu Graduate School. I wish to thank all the co-authors of the articles published as part of this thesis, in particular Élise Lépy who I have yet to mention. Thank you to Sami Lakomäki and Roger Norum for your valuable comments and helping to check my grammar, to Magdalena Naum for our insightful discussions on early modern mining and to Petteri Pietikäinen for your book recommendations. I also wish to thank everyone who attended the research seminars on cultural anthropology as well as the lovely ladies from our "Varjoseminaari" for your insights and peer support. I am also thankful to Eve-Riina Hyrkäs for our delightful conversations at the university. Thank you Janne Ikäheimo for drawing the map for me. I give thanks to the pre-examiners of my thesis Franz Krause and Nuccio Mazzullo, and to the anonymous reviewers of the articles who all helped me to improve my work. My sincerest gratitude belongs to all the people I interviewed for this study. Without you this truly wouldn't have been possible.

Finally, I wish to say thank you to the most amazing man who has been supporting me all along this eventful journey, Mikko. Our road together continues from here.

November, 2019

Teresa Komu

List of original publications

This thesis is based on the following publications, which are referred to throughout the text by their Roman numerals:

- I Lépy, É., Heikkinen, H. I., Komu, T., & Sarkki, S. (2018). Participatory meaning making of environmental and cultural changes in reindeer herding in the northernmost border area of Sweden and Finland. *Int. J. Business and Globalisation*, 20(2), 203–221. doi:10.1504/IJBG.2018.089868
- II Heikkinen, H. I., Lépy, É., Sarkki, S., & Komu, T. 2016 (2013). Challenges in acquiring a social license to mine in the globalizing Arctic. *Polar Record*, 52(4), 399–411. doi:10.1017/S0032247413000843
- III Komu, T. (2019). Manoeuvring conflict: Industrial land use projects and “refusal to resist” among reindeer herding communities in northern Fennoscandia. *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, doi:10.1080/00141844.2019.1580304
- IV Komu, T. (2019). Dreams of treasures and dreams of wilderness: Engaging with the beyond-the-rational in extractive industries in northern Fennoscandia. *The Polar Journal*, 9(1), 113–132. doi:10.1080/2154896X.2019.1618556

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1 Introduction

We paint landscapes with our dreams. A promotional video of the Finnish mining industry, *Lapland: Our Heart is Gold and Other Minerals* (Joulupukki TV, 2011), presents a picture of Lapland as a fantastic combination of exotic northern wilderness and of great potential for industrial development. Imagery of large open-pit mines and of the massive machinery needed to operate them are brandished side by side with romanticised views of northern landscapes. Nature-based tourism activities such as, canoeing, downhill skiing and dog sledding coexist in harmony with industrial activities. Naturally, the symbol of the North, the reindeer, makes a brief appearance in the video as well. The clip of a single reindeer seemingly grazing in a barren landscape serves more as a reference to the status of reindeer as a tourist attraction than it does to reindeer herding as a livelihood that is often at odds with mining activities. The Lapland depicted in the video is at the same time industrial and thoroughly mythical.

The imagery in the video, while probably familiar to the contemporary viewer, actually reflects longstanding dreams, worldviews and cultural conceptions that have been projected on mining and on “the North”. On the one hand, the industrial utilisation of the North’s natural resources has been seen as a means to realise aspirations of prosperity and well-being. On the other hand, the North has been perceived as an exotic wilderness, a gateway that offers an escape from the troubles of modern society. Indeed, we draw our sources of livelihood from the surrounding environment. To an extent, then, our environment sets the boundaries for what we perceive as possible: do we have ore for mining, or do we have landscapes for nature-based tourism? Yet, as already mentioned, we also paint landscapes in our own image. Hence, the well-being and pursuit of the good life by people living in northern Fennoscandia¹ is shaped not just by the concrete boundaries of the surrounding environment and the dynamics between the different livelihoods and ways of living they enable, but also by the various imaginations projected on the North.

In this study, I examine the relationship between reindeer herding, extractive industries and nature-based tourism in the Torne River Valley area of the Swedish-

¹ The part of northern Europe comprising Finland, Sweden, and Norway. The term refers to a cultural and political grouping of Finland with Scandinavia.

Finnish border region (see Map 1).² The focus of my study is on competing livelihoods with differing relationships to the environment, and how these livelihoods are connected to various understandings of how to be well and live well in the North. These differences come to the fore in land use negotiations, which form the temporal and geographical framework of my study. In my analysis, I regard land use negotiations as contention between different future visions of how to pursue and generate well-being within local communities but also for society at large. The three livelihoods in this study – mining, reindeer herding and nature-based tourism – can be seen as manifestations of divergent dreams of how to pursue the good life. David G. Anderson (2017, 137) has commented that research on “life-lived-well in Northern places” should approach the topic from various standpoints. Here, I discuss the pursuit of the good life in the context of northern land use at various levels: from the viewpoint of the generation of well-being by single livelihoods, as part of negotiations between competing livelihoods, and land use negotiations in relation to dreams and cultural conceptions regarding the North and mining. My research is situated within the “anthropology of the good”, in other words, anthropology focused on the study of well-being and the pursuit of the good life (Robbins, 2013).

² In practice, the area where I conducted my interviews covers the larger Muonio and Torne River Valley area. The area is named after two rivers, the Muonio River and the Torne River, which together form the national border between Sweden and Finland. However, in order to ease readability and because I largely focus on the Torne River Valley area and on the two municipalities, Kolari and Pajala, located there, I refer to my study area as the Torne River Valley.



Map 1. Key locations in the study area (Originally in Article IV, Komu 2019, published by permission of T&F).

The extractive sector is a highly contested industry that triggers strong emotional responses in both its advocates and opponents, and in the general public. Likewise, the current discussions around mining in northern Fennoscandia are particularly polarised. Concerns over the environmental impacts caused by mining are framed against the fact that a traditional northern livelihood and way of life, reindeer herding, and the rapidly growing tourism industry are both directly dependent on nature. New mining projects have been targets of vocal resistance (Hughes, 2014; Kyytsönen, 2018; O'Donoghue, 2015; Vidal, 2014). On the other hand, they have invoked great hopes and excitement (Leisti, 2013; Mainio, 2018; Pohtila, 2018). However, the lived realities of local communities facing planned mining projects are not always as clear-cut or overtly contradictory as depicted in such narratives. I present a new viewpoint for studying land use discussions in northern Fennoscandia; instead of highlighting the conflicting interests at play, I emphasise the common pursuit of the good life that takes different, and at times overlapping, manifestations for tourism entrepreneurs, reindeer herders and proponents of mining. In so doing, I aim to mitigate the current polarisation.

1.1 Positioning the research: Studying well-being in the context of land use

At first, my approach was to carry out a rather conventional study on land use conflicts and their management. However, land use issues are also connected to bigger, even “existential” questions of how to be well and live well as a part of one’s environment. As my research developed, I started to become aware that underlying the conflict over the mining projects there was a more profound “discussion” going on. Issues related to well-being and the good life kept surfacing in the midst of conversations with my informants. While describing their thoughts towards the planned mines and discussing their livelihoods and those of others, my informants were also talking about what mattered to them in life and what did not and shared their hopes and fears towards the future. In addition, they reflected on how they thought one should interact with one’s environment and pondered about their place in their communities now and in the future. Essentially, discussions regarding the mine seemed to invoke understandings of the good life and of good ways to live with one’s environment.

Hence, what I aim to do with this dissertation is to go deep into the issues behind land use disputes and explore how various livelihoods are connected to different future hopes and dreams, worldviews and ways of pursuing the good life. I examine local land use negotiations through the viewpoints of *the good life* and *coexistence*. Livelihoods, their practice and land use negotiations provide the starting points for my analysis. I am interested particularly in how the sources of livelihood that come to be utilised locally influence the way the lives and identities of people and their communities are shaped, and especially in how they are connected to diverse ways of pursuing well-being and envisioning desirable futures. These themes provide a connection between the differing viewpoints on the original articles in this thesis. Alongside approaches on governance, economics and power relations, a viewpoint focusing on well-being is needed to enable a holistic understanding of questions around natural resource use.

The struggle amid resource conflicts I wish to highlight in my thesis then, is not just the one over resources or power, but also the one towards living well. For example, while interviewing an elderly Saami reindeer herder, he told me that he and his wife were in danger of being evicted from their house because it was in the way of one the planned mines in the Swedish Pajala municipality. The mine was also threatening the viability of his livelihood. However, this man, at risk of losing his home, also assured me how much his community needed this mine in order to

have a future. While the planned mine could justifiably be described in the case of the Saami herder as *extractive violence* (Sehlin MacNeil, 2017), it simultaneously symbolised hope for a better future for the municipality. In the middle of this dualistic dynamic around the planned project, the inhabitants of the municipality are each pursuing forms of well-being, all the while trying to live well as members of their communities.

In this study, the collision of competing livelihoods offers a passageway to examine the different understandings of how to be well and live well in the North. I situate the present land use disputes in the framework of dynamics of competing livelihoods, in which conflict can *coexist* with co-operation (see also Calestani, 2009). A similar idea, that disagreement rather than a state of constant agreement is the normal state of societies, has been expressed before in studies on conflict management in natural resource use (see for example Kyllönen et al., 2006, 688). Coexistence is often used interchangeably with peaceful coexistence and co-operation. Here, by coexistence, I refer to simultaneous coexistence of various livelihoods without making assumptions about the nature of said coexistence.

Currently, the Torne River Valley, and especially the Finnish Kolari municipality, is an intersection for three of the most significant and contested livelihoods in Lapland: reindeer herding, nature-based tourism and mining. With the simultaneous existence of livelihoods that can be difficult to reconcile with each other, conflicts concerning natural resource use are inevitable. However, the relationship between reindeer herding, nature-based tourism and mining is not exclusively defined by conflict, as I will show throughout this study. This viewpoint on coexistence allows more room to “convey the messiness of the social world” (Biehl & Locke, 2010, 321) and for bringing forward local inhabitants’ own understandings of their situation in other than a conflict/consent binary.

In addition to the “anthropology of the good”, by dealing with human-environment relations this study belongs to the field of environmental anthropology (see for example Townsend, 2018), where the study of livelihoods is a classic theme (Kallinen, Nygren & Tammisto, 2012). A current approach in environmental anthropology on land use conflicts engages political ecology so as to emphasise unequal power relations, political factors and the access and control over resources as relevant factors in environmental negotiations – or rather, environmental struggles (see for example Karlsson, 2018; Paulson & Gezon, 2004). For example, Macintyre and Foale (2004) examine how Melanesian communities deliberately take advantage of the image of “noble primitive ecologist” as a strategy when making legal claims for compensation with mining companies. While I do

acknowledge the existence and influence of power relations, I do not use them as a predefined, explanatory tool in my research. Nevertheless, though the struggle over the control of resources is not the focus of this study, it forms the background for my examination on the pursuit of the good life.

Questions around land use and the reconciliation of competing livelihoods are topics of steady scientific interest. A great deal of the research on land use has approached these issues from the viewpoints of either governance and management, or by emphasising power relations. The engagement of indigenous and traditional communities with extractive industries is often divided into two exclusive categories: either resistance/conflict or co-operation/consent (see for example the overview by Horowitz et al., 2018). Stammmler and Ivanova (2016) have suggested adding a third category of engagement, “co-ignorance”. Vast amounts of research on the relationship between mining and local communities focus on the conflict between the two. These studies have explored conflict resolution strategies for mine management (Hilson, 2002; Kemp, Owen, Gotzmann & Bond, 2011), determinants of social conflict (Haslam & Tanimoune, 2016), and strategies and discourses used by social movements resisting mining projects (Conde, 2017). In addition, some studies address the broader phenomenon of social non-acceptance of mining (Badera, 2014). In Fennoscandian context, the conflict perspective and a focus on power relations stands out in recent studies on the relationships between reindeer herding and mining (see Johnsen, 2016; Lawrence & Larsen, 2017; Sehlin MacNeil, 2015; Sehlin MacNeil, 2017) and between mining and the tourism industry (Lyytimäki & Peltonen, 2016; Similä & Jokinen, 2018).

Overall, when one looks at the common topics of research on extractive industries, mining appears as an inherently problematic activity that needs to be managed, assessed and gained acceptance for. A great deal of mining research has focused on questions of local acceptability of mining projects and on the concept of “social license to operate”³ (for example, see Koivurova et al., 2015a; Moffat & Zhang, 2014; Tarras-Wahlberg, 2014; Wilson & Stammmler, 2016). The usefulness of the concept has also been criticised, for example by Owen and Kemp (2013). In addition, the topic of mining sustainability has been discussed from the perspective of local communities (Kokko, Buanes, Koivurova, Masloboev & Pettersson, 2015; Suopajärvi et al., 2016), and from the perspective of companies (Hilson & Murck, 2000; Laurence, 2011), as well as from a perspective that is critical of the term

³ “Social license to operate” alludes to a mining company’s need to gain an unofficial social consent for their operations.

“sustainable” itself when it comes to mining (Kirsch, 2010). Another major topic is research on the environmental impact assessment (EIA) (Pettersson, Oksanen, Mingaleva, Petrov & Masloboev, 2015) and the social impact assessment (SIA) (Suopajarvi, 2013; Suopajarvi, 2015) processes of mining projects. In addition, there are studies that have paid attention to the assessment and management of the cumulative impacts of mining projects (Franks, Brereton & Moran, 2010). Also, Koivurova et al. (2015b) have studied the legal protection of traditional Saami livelihoods from mining. The highly contested nature of the mining industry has also produced calls for engagement with the emotive and affective dimensions of the extractive sector (Ey, Sherval & Hodge, 2016), perhaps inspired by the recent affective turn in social sciences (Skoggard & Waterston, 2015). A recent compilation book by Mononen, Björn and Sairinen (2018) addresses mines and mining from a phenomenological perspective.

A majority of the research on mining conflicts presents them as problems of governance, and focus on present-day issues. However, several studies have illustrated the importance of examining mining conflicts with a long-term perspective. For example, Acuña (2015) explains resistance to mining projects in Peru with past colonial relations and emphasises the will to preserve local cultures and environment instead of economic factors. Likewise, perhaps simplifying the issue to some extent, some researchers have seen the modern mining projects in northern Fennoscandia as a direct continuum of historically unequal State-Saami power relations (Persson, Harnesk & Islar, 2017) and as part of the colonial exploitation of northern natural resources that began in the 17th century (Ojala & Nordin, 2015, 17). A political ecological study by Himley (2014) shows how local mining history is mobilised in contemporary conflicts over mining. Kivinen, Vartiainen and Kumpula (2018) discuss how “the shadow” of the remains of past mining activities may affect local residents’ land use long after the mine closure.

In anthropology of mining, common topics of research have revolved around issues of labour, the study of mining corporations from within, globalisation, indigenous and human rights, social movements, access and control of resources, the role of NGOs in mining disputes and the study of mining communities. So far, anthropological interest in mining has geographically centred on, but not been limited to, Latin America, Asia-Pacific and Africa. The focus on the southern regions is probably a result of the fact that the mining boom in the 1980s led to an expansion of mining to new, remote areas in the South, often inhabited by indigenous communities. (Ballard & Banks, 2003; Smith & Kirsch, 2018.) In addition, anthropologists have made unique contributions to mining research, for

example by exploring the discursive realm of mining corporations (Tsing, 2000) and the cultural meanings underlying resource development (Trigger, 1997). Researchers have also discussed the role of anthropologists navigating mining conflicts (Coumans, 2011) and set agendas for a radical re-thinking of capitalism and corporations (Kirsch, 2014).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, new trends have emerged in the anthropology of mining. Attention is now given to critical views on corporate social responsibility (CSR) in mining contexts, environmental issues of mining, on the changing human–environmental relations brought by mining development, and on mining conflicts. According to Jerry K. Jacka, research on the “materiality” of resources, gender and “remote” mining may become future areas of anthropological interest in mining. (See overview by Jacka, 2018b.) Recent anthropological research has also explored the temporalities, especially future imaginations, of mining (see overview by D’Angelo & Pijpers, 2018). Some researchers don’t bother to hide their bias against mining. For example, Jacka (2018b, 71) formulates what he sees as the purpose of the anthropology of mining as follows: “The anthropology of mining, as such, provides a critical perspective of the destructive processes and effects of resource extraction in which we, as consumers, are all complicit.”

In research on reindeer herding and land use, two major trends emerge. One major trend is research focused on pasture conditions. It can be divided into research focusing on the impact of reindeer grazing on vegetation (den Herder, Kytöviita & Niemelä, 2003; Tømmervick et al., 2004) and on the other hand, the effect of pasture conditions on reindeer (Helle & Kojola, 2008; Kumpula & Colpaert, 2007). The limits and possibilities of the adaptation of reindeer herding to changing environments has likewise been a target of research interest (Heikkinen, Kasanen & Lépy, 2013; Löf, 2013; Oskal, Turi, Mathiesen & Burgess, 2009).

The other major trend is research focused on competing land use and reindeer herding (Burkhard & Müller, 2008; Pape & Löffler, 2012). Single studies have focused, for example, on the relationship between reindeer herding and forestry (Horstkotte, Sandström & Moen, 2014; Widmark, 2006), conservation (Heikkinen, Sarkki, Jokinen & Fornander 2010), wind farms (Tsegaye et al., 2017), hydropower construction (Karjalainen & Järvikoski, 2010) and the oil industry (Stammler & Ivanova, 2016). In addition, the study by Jokinen and Hast (2016) examines the reconciliation of mining with reindeer herding and nature-based tourism. Researchers have examined the participation of Saami herders on the assessment of cumulative effects of land use (Larsen, Raitio, Stinnerbom & Wik-Karlsson,

2017) and on the planning processes of mining projects (Nygaard, 2016). Several studies have juxtaposed the views of herders with State policies regarding the management of herding (Forbes et al., 2006; Marin, 2006). The interest in the role of traditional ecological knowledge in Saami reindeer herding is often combined with land use questions. For example, researchers have examined how the traditional knowledge of herders often contrasts with the management policies of the State (Heikkilä, 2006b; Johnsen, Mathiesen & Eira, 2017; Kitti, Gunsley & Forbes, 2006) and how it could be incorporated into land use planning processes (Eythorsson & Thuestad, 2015). Additionally, research has been made regarding the views of the administration in charge of reindeer herding towards herding (Raitio & Heikkinen, 2003) and on the nature of public discourse towards reindeer herding (Heikkilä, 2003; Heikkilä, 2006a).

Social scientists have contributed by focusing on sociocultural and economic sustainability of reindeer husbandry (Heikkinen, Lakomäki & Baldrige, 2007; Jernsletten & Klovov, 2002). The research focusing on reindeer economics in Finland has examined the impacts of the current support policy and subsidies on reindeer herding (Saarni & Nieminen, 2011) as well as the economic state and economic success factors of herding (Rantamäki-Lahtinen, 2008). Alongside the economic and employment impacts of reindeer herding, researchers have acknowledged the social significance of herding to its practitioners (Kietäväinen, Vatanen & Ronkainen, 2013). In addition, anthropological research has provided insights regarding the nature of the human-animal relations in reindeer herding (Anderson, 2014; Anderson, 2017; Beach & Stammeler, 2006).

In research on reindeer herding, the cultural and economic significance of the livelihood tend to be given the most attention. When well-being has been the explicit target of interest, researchers have usually studied the well-being of herders rather than the role of reindeer herding as a source of well-being. For example, Daerga, Edin-Liljegren and Sjölander have studied work-related health problems of reindeer herders (2004) as well as having examined various health-related quality of life factors among reindeer-herding families (2008). Burkhard and Müller (2008) evaluate the well-being of Saami herders with various social and economic welfare indicators. Jaakkola, Juntunen and Näkkäläjärvi (2018) study the impact of climate change on the health and well-being of reindeer-herding Saami. The rare study utilising ethnographic fieldwork by Tervo and Nikkonen (2010), regarding Saami reindeer herders' own perceptions of their well-being, emphasises the role of the environment as the basis of Saami well-being. Among other factors, participation in the yearly events of herding work, such as reindeer round-ups and

earmarking, were identified as a meaningful part of one's social life. In one of the few studies that focuses on non-Saami reindeer herding, Pohjola and Valkonen (2012) examine current threats and needs regarding the well-being of herders in the southern herding area in Finland. The challenges faced by modern reindeer herding are evident as the biggest threats to the well-being of herders are identified: growing predation, ageing of herders, decrease of workforce, economic insecurity, burden of growing workload, internal tensions causing difficulties in co-operation and feeling a lack of control over one's livelihood. Lastly, an article by Nils Oskal (2000) makes an interesting contribution by describing the Saami herders' understandings of a worthy life through the concept of *reindeer luck*. According to Oskal, with Saami herders the conceptions of a good life are tied with conceptions of reindeer. While reindeer luck does not in itself mean a good life, having a prospering reindeer herd is an important ingredient of it. A prospering herd can be obtained not only by treating one's reindeer well, but also by living one's life well and by "getting along" with one's social and ecological environment. (Oskal 2000.)

1.2 Objective and research questions

In this study, I examine the relationship between different livelihoods and the pursuit of the good life in the context of land use negotiations. I focus on the dynamics of coexistence between reindeer herding and the extractive industries and, to a lesser extent, nature-based tourism, in the Torne River Valley of the Swedish-Finnish border region. Natural resources for mining, reindeer herding and nature-based tourism can also be seen as sources that enable distinct ways of living. Different livelihoods contain understandings of appropriate human-environment relations, influence what is perceived to be a good way to live and create certain kinds of conditions for well-being. Therefore, the conditions of practicing a livelihood set one framework for living and being well. This approach is relevant especially in the context of Finnish Lapland, where in the 1990s half of the population still made their living in occupations that were based directly on nature (Suopajärvi 2003, 219).

My research questions are:

1. What are the different ways in which the impacts of mining and reindeer herding on the well-being of local communities and livelihood practitioners can be understood?

2. How is the decision making of specific livelihood groups being shaped by the social dimensions of life in local communities during land use negotiations?
3. How are current land use disputes over mining in northern Fennoscandia being influenced by different cultural conceptions, future visions and longstanding cultural dreams?

The first question is answered mainly with Article I and Article IV (Chapter 3), the second with Article III (Chapter 4) and the last question with Article IV (Chapter 5). Findings from Article II are utilised to discuss and reflect on issues related to the last two questions. Overall, the findings from the articles engage in a dialogue throughout this study. I consider my thesis an opening of an in-depth discussion on the roles the pursuit of the good life and well-being have in land use conflicts and negotiations. I share the aspiration of Walker and Kavedžija (2015, 17), to scratch the surface about “what gives lives a sense of purpose or direction, or how people search for the best way to live” in the context of natural resource use.

1.3 Co-operation with research projects

My PhD thesis developed at the interface of several major research projects, by utilising diverse research material collected for these projects. My Master’s thesis was executed in collaboration with the *Different Land use Activities and local Communities in Mining projects – model for the best regulation and practices* (DILACOMI) -project (2011–2013), funded by the Finnish Funding Agency for Technology and Innovation (TEKES). The main objective of DILACOMI was to develop best practices for the sustainable management of mining projects, particularly in Northern Finland, through two pilot cases: the reopening phase of the iron mine of Hannukainen in Kolari and the working gold mine of Suurikuusikko in Kittilä. The project published a guidebook on best practices in mining (see Kokko et al., 2014). My Master’s thesis *Retoriikkaa vai sosiaalista kestävyyttä? Poronhoitoyhteisöjen osallistaminen kaivostoiminnan suunnitteluprosesseissa Muonion lapinkylässä ja Muonion paliskunnassa 2011 – 2012*⁴ (Komu 2013) examined the participation of two reindeer herding communities in the official planning processes of the Hannukainen mining project in Kolari, Finland and the Kaunisvaara mining project in Pajala, Sweden.

⁴ *Rhetoric’s or social sustainability? Participation of reindeer herding communities in the planning processes of mining projects in Muonio Saami Village and Muonio Reindeer Herding Co-operation in 2011–2012.*

I also utilise the material I collected while working as a research assistant for the project *Impacts of Climate Change on Arctic Environment, Ecosystem Services and Society* (CLICHE) (2011–2014), funded by the Academy of Finland under the Finnish Research Programme on Climate Change (FICCA). The general aim of the consortium was to investigate the effects of climate change both in natural and human environments in the European Arctic. I was involved in WP 8, which investigated the potential impacts of climate change on Arctic herding communities and the possibilities for increasing their adaptive capacity to environmental changes with four reindeer herding communities of both Finnish and Saami herders in the Muonio and Könkämäeno river valleys (see for example Heikkinen et al., 2013).

Additionally, I use the interview material I collected for the project *Understanding the Cultural Impacts and Issues of Lapland Mining: A Long-Term Perspective on Sustainable Mining Policies in the North* (2014–2018) that partly funded the first year of my thesis research. The project was funded by the Academy of Finland's Arctic Academy Programme (ARKTIKO, 2014–2020). The objective of the project was to study the historical foundations of the current issues around Lapland mining and the complex cultural impacts of mining in a long-term and cross-disciplinary perspective, including the Torne River Valley area (see for example Naum, 2016). I was involved in a work package that examined the linkages between the contemporary concerns and discussion around mining to historical mining and its heritage with a case study of the currently planned Hannukainen mine in Kolari, Finland.

This research was also carried out in collaboration with the project *Resource Extraction and Sustainable Arctic Communities* (REXSAC) (2016–2020). REXSAC focuses on extractive industries in the Arctic as cultural, social, economic, and ecological phenomena. The project is funded by Nordforsk as one of four new Nordic Centres of Excellence in Arctic research, under the programme “Responsible Development of the Arctic: Opportunities and Challenges – Pathways to Action”.

Due to my chance to work with several research projects I have studied the coexistence of herding and mining from diverse viewpoints. The dialogue between the different approaches has allowed a multifaceted examination of the coexistence of mining and reindeer herding. This led me to a viewpoint that emphasises, not the conflict between competing livelihoods, but the role of social connectedness and the coexisting pursuits of the good life in local land use negotiations.

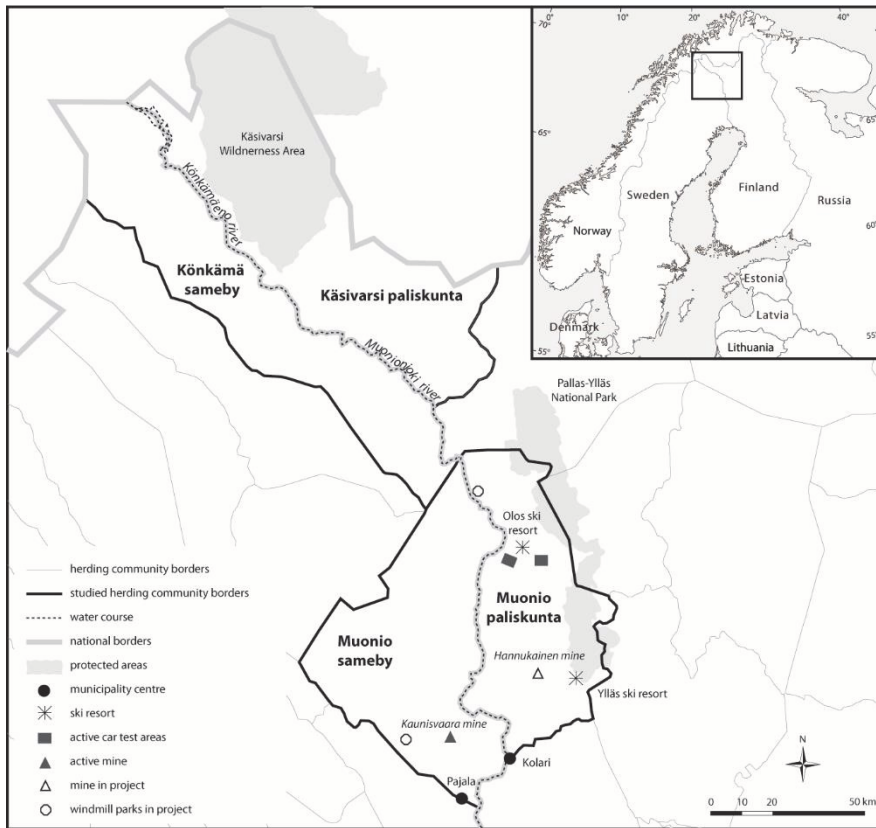
1.4 Original publications

- I Lépy, É., Heikkinen, H. I., Komu, T., & Sarkki, S. (2018). Participatory meaning making of environmental and cultural changes in reindeer herding in the northernmost border area of Sweden and Finland. *Int. J. Business and Globalisation*, 20(2), 203–221. doi:10.1504/IJBG.2018.089868
- II Heikkinen, H. I., Lépy, É., Sarkki, S., & Komu, T. 2016 (2013). Challenges in acquiring a social license to mine in the globalizing Arctic. *Polar Record* 52(4), 399–411. doi:10.1017/S0032247413000843
- III Komu, T. (2019). Manoeuvring conflict: Industrial land use projects and “refusal to resist” among reindeer herding communities in northern Fennoscandia. *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, doi:10.1080/00141844.2019.1580304
- IV Komu, T. (2019). Dreams of treasures and dreams of wilderness: Engaging with the beyond-the-rational in extractive industries in northern Fennoscandia. *The Polar Journal* 9(1), 113–132. doi:10.1080/2154896X.2019.1618556

My thesis is article-based. The articles are arranged thematically, each of them dealing with the coexistence of competing livelihoods from a different perspective and with a different spatial and temporal scale. In the original articles, issues around well-being are not the focus of explicit attention, but are nevertheless discussed by implication. I have given the insights from each of the articles a new reading through the concepts of coexistence and the good life. The overarching theme in this collection of articles is the various perspectives they provide for examining well-being and the pursuit of the good life as components of land use negotiations.

Article I is based on the project *Impacts of Climate Change on Arctic Environment, Ecosystem Services and Society* (CLICHE) (2011–2014). I conducted the 11 semi-structured interviews among reindeer herders and transcribed most of them. I was involved in planning the interview questions with Mervi Kasanen and we also analysed the completed interviews. The theoretical approach used in the article was developed by Hannu I. Heikkinen and Simo Sarkki. I participated in planning the workshop related to the article and in developing the future scenarios that were utilised in the workshop. Heikkinen and Kasanen carried out the workshop in practice. Élise Lépy and Hannu Heikkinen had the main responsibility of writing this article and Sarkki and myself participated in writing and in the conceptual planning of the article.

Article I explores the adaptation possibilities of four reindeer herding communities regarding environmental changes at the northernmost Swedish-Finnish border region (see Map 2). The article is based on interviews and a workshop during which a scenario exercise was used for discussing potential future transformations of herding with reindeer herders. We explore the interplay between cultural resilience and transformation of herding livelihood and our results emphasise the prominent place of culture within reindeer herding. With a new reading of the insights from this article, I will explore the connection between well-being and doing, as in practicing a livelihood, and contemplate the significance of cultural continuity for well-being from the perspective of a livelihood facing potential transformations. In addition, the article forms the background for my understanding of reindeer herding livelihood and its wider environmental context. It also directed my interest towards the common features in Saami and Finnish herding that arise from the practice of the same livelihood.



Map 2. The four herding communities included in this study. Showing the locations of the planned mining projects on the areas utilised by Muonio Sameby and Muonio Paliskunta (Originally published in Article I, Lépy, Heikkinen, Komu & Sarkki, 2018, published by permission of Inderscience).

Article II is based on the project *Different Land use Activities and local Communities in Mining projects – model for the best regulation and practices (DILACOMI)* (2011–2013). The material utilised in the article was collected in collaboration with the project research team (see Table 1 in Article II, pp. 403). The Finnish Kolari case in the article utilises material I collected for my Master’s thesis. I conducted ten interviews with seven reindeer herders and two mining company representatives during three field visits. I transcribed and analysed these interviews. In addition, I conducted participatory observation in four meetings and one panel discussion related to the official planning process of the Hannukainen project and in one meeting and one field visit arranged by the project research team. Hannu I.

Heikkinen was the main author in the paper and built the theoretical section. The development of the article was co-authored, and all authors participated in writing the paper.

In Article II, we examine issues related to the “social license” (SL) to mine in two case studies from Finnish Lapland, the Suurikuusikko gold mine of Agnico-Eagle Mines Ltd. in Kittilä and the Hannukainen iron mine project of Northland Mines Ltd. in Kolari. We do this by tracing the linkages of single mining operations to other localities and across spatial and temporal scales and explore their effect on the acceptability of mining. The main results emphasise the importance of transparency in mining operations and the continuity of communications with local stakeholders in building and maintaining the SL to mine. I utilise the insights of this article, which provide an industry perspective on the local acceptance of mining projects, by comparing them to the insights of Articles III and IV, which deal with attitudes towards mining from the perspective of local communities and livelihoods. I discuss how local attitudes and responses to new mining projects cannot always be predicted from real-life developments or opportunities for influencing the project outcomes and introduce a new level of analysis to the approach utilised in Article II for studying local mining projects. Cultural understandings and local dreams of a better future, as well as the aspiration for communal continuity and of living well as part of one’s community may also play a meaningful part in explaining local responses to development projects.

Article III is a case study of two reindeer herding communities facing planned mining projects in the border area between Sweden and Finland: the Swedish Muonio Sameby and the Kaunisvaara mining project in Pajala and the Finnish Muonion Paliskunta and the Hannukainen mining project in Kolari. I analyse the herding communities’ strategies for dealing with industrial land use projects by conceptualising their approach towards the projects as “refusal to resist”. I argue that local communities may utilise refusal to resist in a situation where they wish to secure the continuity of their livelihood without risking their outer group social relations. Article III is based on the material from my Master’s thesis complimented with new interviews I conducted for the project *Understanding the Cultural Impacts and Issues of Lapland Mining: A Long-Term Perspective on Sustainable Mining Policies in the North* (2014–2018). After a new reading of the existing material, I became interested in why, despite facing potentially harmful project impacts and being unsatisfied with the official planning processes, the two herding communities of my case study were not openly resisting the mining projects. Here, I discuss the insights from this article from the viewpoint of how local social

dynamics both enable and limit the pursuit of the good life of individual livelihood groups.

Article IV examines a present-day mining dispute in a long-term perspective. I discuss how the argumentation for and against the planned reopening of the Hannukainen mine in the Finnish Kolari municipality echoes various recurring dreams and cultural understandings of mining and the North. My results emphasise the role that dreams, of prosperity and of a better future, have in mining and that the existence of two contrary cultural visions, of wilderness and of upcoming prosperity, contributes to the polarisation of discussions around northern mining projects. The article is based on the interview material I collected for the project *Understanding the Cultural Impacts and Issues of Lapland Mining: A Long-Term Perspective on Sustainable Mining Policies in the North*. In my thesis, I discuss the role cultural understandings, mental images and dreams of a better future have in land use negotiations and how they create different understandings of and possibilities for pursuing well-being in the North.

2 Studying coexisting dreams of a good life

2.1 The anthropology of the good

2.1.1 (*The lack of*) Anthropological research on well-being

Well-being has only recently become a target of overt focus in anthropology. While the early ethnographies can be read as descriptions of the various ways people may pursue the good life, explicit theoretical discussion concerning well-being has been missing from the field. Neil Thin (2008, 152; 2009, 31) argues that research on well-being is needed for gaining a better understanding of peoples' motives, for the wish to feel good has a central role in both individual and collective motives. Hence, in order to be a truly relevant discipline in the real world and to really achieve a holistic view of human life, Thin maintains that anthropology needs to start engaging more in the study of well-being and its pursuit. According to him, well-being is currently a largely under theorised topic in anthropology and while we have many accounts of human suffering, we are missing an understanding regarding what being well means. (Thin 2009, 26, 39.)

Well-being has been one of the key questions among Western philosophers and researchers alike (for an overview of studies dealing with how various philosophers have discussed happiness see Frey & Stutzer, 2010b, 2). Aristotle was one of the first Western philosophers to ponder on happiness. His thoughts and the concept of *eudaimonia* are still referred to in current studies on well-being and happiness (see for example Ahmed, 2010; Fischer, 2014; Jiménez, 2008b). All the key Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment thinkers focused much of their analysis and rhetoric on happiness. Well-being is particularly prominent in the work of Emile Durkheim, with terms like “happiness”, “life satisfaction” and “health” cropping up repeatedly in all of his key texts (see for example Vowinckel (2000) on the place of personal happiness on Durkheim's moral policy). However, in the 20th century empirical social research flourished with scarcely any attention to happiness. (Thin 2008, 136.) After the horrors of two World Wars, the post-war era was characterised by scepticism towards happiness by scholars and politicians especially in Western Europe and North America (Marklund, 2013, 12).

As evidence of the lack of theoretical discussions concerning well-being in anthropology, Thin (2009, 27) lists the absence of concepts such as “well-being”, “happiness” and “quality of life” from most of the discipline's key introductory

texts, reference books and encyclopaedias. While anthropologists have essentially described different ways to pursue the good life and discussed things related to well-being in their ethnographic works, they often have either not directly used the term or well-being has not been the focus of explicit attention (Jiménez, 2008b, 2; Matthews & Izquierdo, 2009a, 9). For example, while Marshall Sahlins (1981[1972]) discusses the *original affluent societies*, he is also indirectly talking about well-being. The lack of anthropological as well as sociological research on well-being is also noted in the literature review on well-being research by Cronin de Chavez, Backett-Milburn, Parry and Platt (2005).

Somewhat provocatively, Thin (2009, 24–25) claims that those anthropological ethnographies that have described well-being in societies now largely read as “lost Eden myths” that describe the paradise-like lives of pre-modern people. To these ethnographies Thin includes, among others, *Stone age economics* (1981[1972]) by Sahlins, *Tristes tropiques* (1973[1955]) by Claude Lévi-Strauss and the ethnographies from Jane Belo (1935), Michelle Rosaldo (1980) and Helena Nordberg-Hodge (1991). These ethnographies, which started to appear after the 1960s, were a reaction to early anthropological research that had considered hunter-gatherers as “primitive”, “miserable”, even “subhuman”, and aimed at showing that the members of these simpler societies were also pursuing their understanding of the good life (Kaplan 2000, 302). For a number of reasons, anthropologists often chose not to write about the cruel, violent, or harmful practices they witnessed among the traditional small-scale societies they were studying (Edgerton, 1992, 4–5). However, David Kaplan (2000, 304) claims that while many anthropologists have by now refuted the idea of hunter-gatherers as “affluent”, “happy-go-lucky” people, many continue to believe that their lifestyle contains “some profound insight into the human condition, and they therefore very much want that vision to be true”. Indeed, the recently published books by political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott in *Against the grain* (2017), and anthropologist James Suzman in *Affluence without abundance* (2017) seem to echo the idea of hunter-gatherers as ideal societies and the arguments made by Marshall Sahlins over 40 years ago.

Thin, who is currently the most outspoken anthropologist regarding the discipline’s lack of interest on well-being, notes that it is as if there is an “institutional aversion” in sociocultural anthropology to study well-being, and

especially the subjective experience of happiness.⁵ In contrast, anthropologists have been disproportionately interested in various forms of ill-being and suffering. Thin links this aversion to the discipline's general disinterest in studying emotions, the fact that anthropologists have usually been more interested in studying oddities and pathologies than the assumed default state of well-being and to an unwillingness to make cultural comparisons due to cultural relativism. (Thin, 2009, 24–30.) Other anthropologists, such as Gordon Matthews and Carolina Izquierdo (2009a, 8–12) and Benjamin Nick Colby (2009), have likewise noted the connection between the lack of anthropological research on well-being and the reluctance of anthropologists to make cultural comparisons due to cultural relativism as well as past excesses in the discipline's history in drawing moral judgements from such comparisons.

However, some subfields of anthropology seem to have been more interested in well-being than others. According to Thomas Weisner (2009, 231–232), cross-cultural study of child and family well-being has always been a central theme in the field of psychological anthropology and in the study of childhood and parenting. Also, medical anthropology has traditionally dealt with issues related to well-being (Matthews & Izquierdo, 2009a, 11). Moreover, Skoggard and Waterston claim that there has, in fact, been a longstanding interest in anthropology towards studying emotion. At least, the recent “affective turn” in anthropology and social sciences has brought a new focus and emphasis on emotions. (Skoggard & Waterston, 2015, 112.)

According to Sherry Ortner, before the 1980s anthropology was dominated by a “culturalist” perspective, led by Clifford Geertz. This orientation saw culture, not political or economic forces, as the driving force behind peoples' lives. (Ortner, 2016, 49.) Anthropology was largely focused on studying the “other”, the savage and the primitive (Robbins, 2013). Then, at the end of the 1980s, increasing concerns were raised of frequent misrepresentations of the “other”. Researchers

⁵ Some scholars continue to critique the interest in individual happiness. According to Carl Marklund (2013, 14), critics have claimed that attention on the individual pursuit of happiness instead of societal happiness supports a materialistic approach towards life, which in turn lends support to “‘neoliberal’ biopolitics”. Sara Ahmed has claimed that a focus on individual capability to achieve happiness and well-being does not encourage people to act towards wider social change and thus serves to maintain the existing socio-economic order. She quite cynically views happiness, i.a. as “means to justify oppression”. (Ahmed 2010, 2.) While not the focus of this study, it is interesting to note that in happiness studies the influence of various worldviews and political ideologies on the study of well-being seems particularly pronounced, especially when it comes to emphasising the role of either the individual or the societal structures for achieving well-being.

began to worry that any claims of “otherness” of persons or groups would work toward their domination and exploitation (Robbins, 2013, 449). An example of this is the book *Orientalism* (1978) by Edward Said, in which he claims that the “Orient”, the “East”, was created by the West as the “Other” that could be exploited, romanticised and colonialised. This was also the time when James Clifford and George Marcus questioned in *Writing Culture* (1986) whether anthropologists could say anything valuable about the “other” at all. According to Thin (2008, 147), in the late 20th century, pathologism infected anthropology as an over-reaction to earlier romantic relativism. The upcoming interest on suffering then can be seen as a counter-reaction to the “othering”.

From the 1990s onwards, well-being became an important term in social sciences, economics, development studies, psychology and public health, but not in anthropology (Jiménez, 2008b, 2; Matthews & Izquierdo, 2009a, 3). Interest in the “other” came to be replaced in anthropology with an interest in the “suffering subject”. Ortner (2016, 49–51) calls this field of anthropology focused on suffering “dark anthropology”. It can be characterised as research with a special interest in power, structure, oppression, inequality, neoliberalism, patriarchy and colonialism. According to Ortner, this “dark anthropology” has its roots in political economy, Marxist inspired anthropology of the 1960s and 1970s and in the rise of postcolonial theory and feminist studies. It borrows theoretically mainly from early Foucault and Marx. (Ortner, 2016, 49.)

Joel Robbins and Sherry Ortner offer different explanations for the emergence of anthropology focused on the dark side of human lives. According to Ortner (2016, 52–58), the rising anthropological interest in suffering was the result of a global increase of suffering caused by the forces of neoliberalism since the 1970s. Therefore, the interest in suffering would have reflected real-life changes in the human condition. Her explanation has been criticised by James Laidlaw (2016). He points out that Ortner left out from her account all the major positive developments of the period⁶ and questions whether all the negative changes listed by Ortner can so unambiguously be attributed to neoliberalism (Laidlaw, 2016, 17–19).

⁶ There are many other contemporary voices claiming that in fact, our lives are currently better than ever. In *Better angels of our nature: Why violence has declined* (2011) Steven Pinker argues that we currently live in the most peaceable era of human species due to decline in violence of all forms, from warfare to child abuse. Pinker emphasises that modernity, technology, science, humanism and individual rights, despite often being targets of social criticism, have played a crucial role for this decline. On the other hand, the empirical research and data collected to the online publication *Our World in Data* shows significant global declines in extreme poverty, child mortality and rises in political freedom, vaccination,

It may be productive to take notice of the fact that dark anthropology originated after a notably self-critical period within anthropology. Robbins (2013) argues that a focus on the universal experience of trauma offered a way out of the “othering” of research subjects, which had come to be seen as problematic among researchers. The new focus on the universal phenomenon of suffering provided a way to connect emphatically with those who were studied. Robbins argues that this change in anthropology’s relation to those it studied was caused by wider cultural transformations in the West: the concept of the radically “other” lost its significance for the West’s self-understanding and for the way the West understands its relation to the wider world, and the rise of humanitarian and human rights discourses. (Robbins, 2013, 453–454.)

At the beginning of the 21st century, well-being began to gain broader attention among anthropologists, perhaps now as a reaction to earlier focus on suffering. Several anthropological studies emerged with an interest in topics such as value, morality, well-being, imagination, empathy and hope (Robbins, 2013). Before this, research on well-being was done by a few lone scholars (for examples of such research, see Matthews & Izquierdo, 2009a, 9). The two compilations of anthropological writings on and theorising of well-being from Alberto Corsín Jiménez (2008a) and Matthews and Izquierdo (2009c), have no precedent in the history of the discipline. This “anthropology of the good” is comprised of studies on how people in different cultures strive to create a good life, how people understand and define good, what kind of better worlds people imagine and how they try to get to them (Robbins, 2013, 459).

2.1.2 Study of well-being in social sciences

The empirical study of happiness and subjective well-being was for a long time the province of psychology (see review from Diener & Seligman, 2004). Nevertheless, among psychologists too there has been a shift in the past decades from the study of mental illness and ill-being to the study of mental health and well-being (Matthews & Izquierdo, 2009a). The current psychological research has approached subjective well-being from mainly three perspectives: the hedonic approach, the eudaimonic approach, of which the latter can be traced back to

education and literacy (Roser, 2019). Similar findings regarding a global improvement of well-being can be found in *Gapminder*, an independent foundation that collects data and creates global statistics (<http://www.gapminder.com>).

Aristotle, and life satisfaction (see review on the hedonic and eudaimonic research by Ryan & Deci, 2001 and a comprehensive review by Sirgy, 2012). In the hedonistic approach the focus is on happiness and pleasure attainment. The eudaimonic approach, which has garnered less attention among researchers than the former, focuses on self-realisation and sees well-being as a process instead of an outcome (see review focusing on the eudaimonic approach by Deci & Ryan, 2008). Research on life satisfaction focuses on the individual's own assessment of their satisfaction with their lives (Sirgy, 2012, 13) In addition, the field of psychology has had an increase of research engaging with the topic of culture in relation to subjective well-being (see introduction to the special issue on culture and subjective well-being on *the Journal of Happiness Studies* by Suh & Oishi, 2004).

The traditional approach towards well-being in the field of economics has been by measuring welfare with a focus on individual income or gross national product per capita. During the 21st century, economists too have become interested in measuring subjective well-being (see for example the two reviews on the state of happiness research in economics by Frey & Stutzer, 2010a; 2010b). The capability approach by Amartya Sen (1999), which focuses upon the individuals' capability for achieving the kind of lives they have reason to value, has had widespread influence in the context of human development. The most recent research on economics acknowledges the importance of cross-cultural comparisons, values and non-material aspects alongside material aspects on well-being (Cronin de Chavez et al., 2005). Currently, many studies on subjective well-being have cross-disciplinary overlaps between psychology and economics (see for example review by Dolan, Peasgood & White, 2008).

Much like in anthropology, subjective well-being has not been a common topic in sociology, though such research does exist (Cronin de Chavez et al., 2005; see also review on sociological research on subjective well-being by Veenhoven, 2008). Sociologists have tended to concentrate on ill-being and social problems or on aspects of social well-being such as social equality and social cohesion (Veenhoven, 2008). Nevertheless, sociologists have made significant contributions to quality of life research, especially to social indicators research and happiness studies, and particularly in the fields of the sociology of work and sociology of the family (Veenhoven, 2007). However, according to Mark Cieslik (2015), some sociologists have a similar aversion to the study of happiness as anthropologists, seeing it as banal, superficial and connected to the problems of modernity.

2.1.3 Some issues of note on the anthropological research of well-being

Probably due to the past under theorising of the questions related to well-being, many of the new anthropological works on the topic have formulated their analytical frameworks around Western political philosopher's thoughts (see for example Fischer, 2014; Jiménez, 2008b). At times, for example Aristotel' ideas are discussed almost as if they are timeless truths instead of ideas arising from a specific cultural, geographical and temporal context. Also, the title "Pursuits of happiness" of the book edited by Matthews and Izquierdo (2009c) seems to be a reference to the American Declaration of Independence, though the "pursuit" has been changed into "pursuits" in order to emphasise the cross-cultural and societal variation in the pursuit of well-being. The reader should thus be aware then, that some of the new anthropological approaches on well-being may not be entirely free of ethnocentrism. To lessen the possibility of falling into ethnocentric conclusions in my own work, I form my own framework based on anthropological perspectives on well-being that arise from research conducted among various cultural and social contexts.

For Robbins, the intention of the "anthropology of the good" should not be in replacing the studies on suffering but to compliment them. For him, the movement should be about bringing back cultural comparison beside studies of suffering that are focused on human universals. Robbins hopes that the movement would explore the differences in how people in different cultures understand and strive for the good in their lives. According to Robbins, this diversity has not been visible in the works on suffering in which there are many ways of suffering and only one kind of model for the "good".⁷ (Robbins, 2013, 456–457.) Nevertheless, for example Matthews and Izquierdo (2009a) are interested in discovering human universals on well-being – even though they admit that not all the authors in their edited volume agree with such an objective.

Matthews and Izquierdo (2009a, 12) agree with Thin that anthropologists could make a meaningful contribution to the study of well-being by soft cultural comparison. Thin (2009, 25) argues that it is worth recognising that "some cultures, or institutions, beliefs and practices are better than others at allowing people to achieve well-being and to achieve meaningful lives". Many anthropologists would

⁷ Indeed, as if they had embraced the famous sentiment from Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* (1998[1877]): "All happy families are alike; each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way."

no doubt regard such a statement to be highly controversial. Nevertheless, as Robert Edgerton demonstrated in *Sick societies* (1992) some cultural traditions, beliefs and practices can be downright harmful to members and communities adhering to them.⁸ A study by economists Frey and Stutzer (2010a) likewise indicates that an individual's happiness is to some degree determined by the characteristics of the society one lives in. In the following, based on the recent anthropological works on well-being in various cultural contexts, I will discuss, in addition to the discovered cultural differences, the apparent similarities and overarching elements in the pursuit of the good life, possibly arising from our common humanity.⁹

2.1.4 Anthropological framework for examining the pursuit of the good life in the context of land use negotiations

I have formed my framework for studying the pursuit of the good life in the context of land use negotiations based on the existing anthropological studies on well-being. The starting point of this study is the concept of *the good life*. More specifically, I study the *pursuit* of the good life. I understand this pursuit as a future oriented process that is simultaneously enabled, shaped and restricted by the existing structural conditions. In other words, people strive to live well and be well while being guided by their future aspirations and fears and being bound by the “the realm of what is seen as possible” (Fischer, 2014, 6). Here, the pursuit of the good life encompasses three main aspects: *generation of well-being* (e.g. material, social), *living well* and *future dreams or aspirations*. Lastly, it is useful to clarify the relationship between the concepts of culture and well-being. I treat well-being and culture as concepts of equal standing, between which a feedback loop exists. That is, while well-being is culturally understood, cultural change may be induced by the pursuit of well-being.

Next, I will discuss how anthropologists have defined some key concepts related to the study of the “good life”. In the literature, individual researchers may employ the terms “good life” and “well-being” interchangeably and often in a conflicting manner, while others make clear distinctions between the two.

⁸ To these he includes, i.a., slavery, human sacrifice, extreme forms of genital mutilation, headhunting, torture, feuding, ceremonial rape and painful male initiations (Edgerton, 1992, 1, 8).

⁹ While some anthropologists wish to concentrate on emphasising cultural differences and variety, there are anthropologists interested in finding features that are common for all human societies. For example, a compilation of human universals by Donald E. Brown can be found in the appendix of Steven Pinker's book *The Blank Slate* (2002) or from the web page: <https://condor.depaul.edu/~mfiddler/hyphen/humunivers.htm>.

Furthermore, concepts “well-being”, “well-faring” and “welfare”, are currently used, at times, in an overlapping manner. The conceptual inconsistencies most probably reflect the fact that this field of research is still relatively new and not yet very well delineated.

Generally, anthropological studies on the “good life” emphasise the differences in how well-being is understood in different social and cultural contexts and the importance of the social dimension for well-being. Matthews and Izquierdo (2009a) remark that this likely reflects, in part, the nature of anthropological methods. While the desire for the good life may be universal, what constitutes the good life is culturally understood (Langer & Højlund, 2011, Robbins, 2013). Edward Fischer (2014, 1) argues that most peoples’ understanding of well-being goes beyond material conditions, to which he includes income, health and security. For example, social well-being has for long been a target of research interest (for example see literature review by Teghe & Rendell, 2005) and the importance of social factors for well-being, for example the existence of social capital, is well acknowledged in research on well-being (see for example Diener & Seligman, 2004).

This kind of holistic understanding towards well-being has become visible in recent political discussions. According to Carl Marklund, governments and NGOs have during the 21st century shown growing interest towards non-economic and immaterial factors in promoting well-being and individual happiness. For example, “satisfaction with life” was added alongside traditional measures of well-being, such as gross domestic product (GDP). (Marklund, 2013, 13.) In short, simple measure of income is not a sufficient measure of a good life or simply keeping people alive is not enough for their well-being.

Matthews and Izquierdo (2009b) suggest that the social and interpersonal dimension is the most pivotal realm of well-being, for human beings are fundamentally both physically and socially dependent on others. Individual well-being is to some degree bound with collective well-being. Additionally, while the pursuit of a good life is an individual endeavour, communities as well can aim to ensure their prosperity and continuity. (Langer & Højlund, 2011, 2, 4.) Weisner (2009) emphasises in his study the collective basis of well-being by having families and not individuals as the unit of analysis. All in all, social connectedness seems to have an important role in the well-being of both individuals and communities (Matthews & Izquierdo, 2009b).

Given the pivotal role of the interpersonal dimension for well-being, my unit of analysis will be livelihood groups and their collective pursuit of well-being. Furthermore, I will examine the livelihood practitioners as members of larger

communities, not as isolated groups. The reindeer herders and tourism entrepreneurs of this study live in small communities. It is reasonable to assume that the social dynamics within said communities and aspirations of communal prosperity and continuity have some effect to their decision making and actions in land use negotiations.

The interpersonal dimension seems to be a universal aspect of human well-being, but the degree to which its meaning is emphasised varies culturally. For example, to the Australian Aboriginals studied by Daniela Heil (2009), well-being is generated by being thoroughly engaged in social life and by being a member of a social group. On the other hand, modern Western approaches to well-being have focused on the individual (Heil, 2009, 90). Nevertheless, sociologist Ian Burkitt (1991) has argued that the “Western self” too is fundamentally a “social self” as well, for the Western individuality is built within social relations. Likewise, David Buchanan (2000), who has studied public health promotion in North America, has suggested that individual and community well-being could be enhanced by improving the quality of shared community life and social solidarity.

The social dimension may at times be more important for the overall experience of well-being than the physical dimension. For Matsigenka in Peruvian Amazon, social conflict brought by unwanted modernisation and major cultural changes created a sense of diminished overall well-being despite experiencing improvements in their physical well-being (Izquierdo, 2009, 74). Likewise, an aboriginal community in Heil’s (2009) work was more interested in the well-being of their families than in their own physical well-being. In Chapter 3, I discuss and compare the relationships of reindeer herding and mining to the generation of both social and material well-being. While anthropologists have so far focused on the role of social connectedness for well-being, I suggest that a more holistic understanding on the significance of material well-being is equally warranted.

While social interaction has a role in generating well-being, individual well-being is also restricted, hindered and shaped by the dynamics of social life. Thin (2009, 31) notes that whether one is living a good life is judged by others according to cultural and social principles. Alluding to the capability approach by Sen, Melania Calestani (2009) argues that social interaction affects peoples’ capability to “choose the lives they have reason to value” and obliges them to follow shared values. The dynamics of social interaction, according to her, are formed by the coexistence of collaboration, unity and co-operation with conflicts and moral obligation. Furthermore, collective understandings of good life and well-being restrict, compete and contrast with individual ones. (Calestani, 2009, 142.) Hence,

the way that individuals pursue their sense of well-being can end up in direct conflict with the ideas of the state, or about the welfare of the population as a whole (James, 2008, 70). Moreover, one's pursuit of well-being may be harmful for others (Langer & Højlund, 2011, 2).

This aspect of well-being is particularly relevant to consider when studying land use negotiations. One's pursuit of well-being through a specific livelihood, for example mining, may hinder the ability to live well for the practitioners of competing livelihoods, for example for reindeer herders. Therefore, Chapter 4 presents a case study that explores the tension between a collective pursuit of well-being through mining and the differing aspirations of local herding communities. I explore how the dynamics of social life within local communities influenced the course of action taken by two reindeer herding communities.

What constitutes a good life and *how* to live a good life are closely associated, but not synonymous, with the notion of well-being. Thin (2009, 31) argues that all cultures and societies “distinguish ‘feeling well’ from ‘living a good life’, and base much of their moral debate and existential meaning-making on this distinction”. Not all cultures have a word that could be translated to well-being, but they may have concepts referring to living well instead. In Papua New Guinea, the closest notion to well-being is referred to with the concept of *mad ife*, meaning “good ways” (Hirsch, 2008, 55). And, for example, South Asian Jainism is a religion characterised by asceticism and devaluation of worldly well-being, but it can nevertheless be analysed as an ideology of how to live a good life (Laidlaw, 2008).

Well-being, good life, and *happiness* are often understood as equivalents. For example, Matthews and Izquierdo (2009a) connect well-being with “the state of being happy”. However, the pursuit of a good life does not always entail happiness and is by contrast associated with morality and values. For example, Buchanan (2000, 103) has suggested that well-being should be understood as “living one's life in accordance with values that matter”. It is possible to live what oneself and others would evaluate as a “good life” without much happiness. Not all cultures value happiness and its pursuit in the same way. In collectivist societies living well as part of a group can be considered more important than pursuit of individual happiness, which is in contrast highly valued in the Western cultures. (Thin, 2009, 30, 35.) The distinction between “being well” and “living well” proves a useful one when I discuss in Chapter 4 how trying to live well as part of one's community may at times be as powerful a motive in land use negotiations as driving one's interests.

In the Merriam-Webster dictionary, well-being is defined as “the state of being happy, healthy, or prosperous” (Well-being, 2019). So far, anthropological works

have understood well-being either as a *state of being* or as a *process*. To Matthews and Izquierdo (2009a, 3) well-being is a state of being well (physically, psychologically, socioeconomically and culturally) on a both individual and community level. However, some researchers have rejected using the concept “well-being” in favour of “welfare”. They feel the former is currently used in a “depoliticised and individualised way” because it refers to an individual state of being, while welfare refers to collective social and political action. (See James, 2008; Langer & Højlund, 2011, 2.) On the other hand, Weisner (2009, 230) defines well-being as an ongoing process that is embedded in a specific local context. Likewise, Fischer (2014, 2) sees well-being as “an arduous work of becoming”, filled with ups-and-downs.

Susanne Langer and Susanne Højlund (2011) have come up with their own, Ingold-inspired concept of *well-faring*, derived from “welfare” and “way-faring”. It is a concept meant especially for examining how people pursue a good life (Højlund, Meinert, Frederiksen & Dalsgaard, 2011, 47). Højlund et al. (2011) define well-faring as a process and practice that is shaped by both an individual as well as the individual’s structural conditions. The approach of Langer and Højlund (2011, 8) emphasises the role of social interaction and the active engagement between the individual and their environments (cultural, economic, political) in shaping the pursuit of the “good life”. However, other researchers have likewise taken into consideration the wider social, economic and political contexts of their studies and understood the nature of well-being as a process. It seems somewhat unclear then what added value a new concept of “well-faring” would add to the study of well-being.

Related to the understanding of well-being and the pursuit of the good life as a process is the idea of generating well-being by *doing*. Weisner (2009, 229) defines well-being as “engaged participation in everyday cultural activities that are deemed desirable by a community”. Similarly, Naomi Adelson (2009, 112) found in her study regarding a Canadian Cree community, that their well-being was related to a possibility to engage in traditional hunting activities, through which the Cree maintained their connection to land. Thus, well-being is not generated solely by *having things*, but also by being able to *do things* that are considered valuable and desirable by an individual and the individual’s community. In Chapter 3, I discuss how the value of reindeer herding could be seen, not only in its role in preserving cultural traditions or in generating income, but in the generation of well-being by engaging in the everyday practice of reindeer herding.

A tension between the agency of an individual and the structural conditions restricting an individual's well-being and pursuit the good life is constantly present in anthropological studies on well-being. To what degree then, is one's well-being dependent on having control over one's own life? The desirable amount of control an individual should have over one's own life varies culturally. For example, Indian middle-class men associate well-being with being guided in life by one's family. To them, being left alone in charge of one's decisions would equal to being abandoned. (Derné, 2009.) Additionally, externally imposed control can enhance the well-being of people if it is perceived as a positive change and/or if it supports already existing notions of well-being and good life. Hirsch describes how the arrival of colonial law on the lives of Fuyuge people of Papua New Guinea was an introduction of an unprecedented force of external coercion to their lives. However, by putting a stop to a cultural practice of *ha u bab*, the existence of violent, powerful men, the arrival of colonial law succeeded in enforcing the Fuyuge's own understanding of "good ways". (Hirsch, 2008, 55–56.)

Nevertheless, coercive control over one's life seems to have negative ramifications on well-being if it is thought to be externally imposed instead of a matter of internal culture (Matthews & Izquierdo, 2009b, 254). Furthermore, William Jankowiak (2009) argues that having some degree of control over one's life is a universal requirement for well-being and for living a meaningful life. He bases his claim on his research on the effect the communist movement had in the lives of people in Maoist China. The total control of peoples' social circumstances brought upon a nation-wide depression, sense of alienation and lack of sense of any meaningful future. (Jankowiak, 2009.)¹⁰ Ability to live well and to be well is thus connected to power relations, but the connection is not straightforward.

The fact that an individual's actions and choices are limited does not yet automatically diminish one's well-being but depends on how this limitation is perceived by individuals and communities. The ability to have some degree of control over one's future is a notable issue in land use negotiations. For example, do people feel they have the ability to influence the outcomes of land use planning and thus their own future? The "social license" employed by mining companies is an example of an industry response to this issue. On the other hand, there is the question of when is the practice of a livelihood, for example reindeer herding, so

¹⁰ According to Jankowiak (2009) the same phenomenon has followed other communist movements as well.

much out of the control of the livelihood practitioners themselves that it starts to diminish their sense of well-being?

It seems that the possibility to dream and aspire towards a better future has an important role for one's sense of well-being. Fischer (2014, 5) emphasises the importance of paying attention to people's aspirations, dreams, hopes and fears when studying well-being. Imaginations of a better future guide the way people orientate in the world and navigate their lives (Fischer, 2014, 6; Højlund et al., 2011, 46; Robbins, 2013, 457).¹¹ Likewise, Langer and Højlund (2011, 2) maintain that pursuing the good life is a future-oriented process. Both agency and future aspirations are bound by "the realm of what is seen as possible" i.e. structural conditions¹² (Fischer, 2014, 6; Højlund et al., 2011). Agency, future aspirations and structural conditions are then all interlinked in the pursuit of the good life.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the role of dreams and future aspirations in land use negotiations and how they emerge in specific local contexts, in this case the Finnish Kolari municipality. This approach is particularly relevant when examining the extractive industries and nature-bound tourism in northern Fennoscandia, due to various utopian and dystopian constructs having been projected upon the North for centuries. Next, we will take a look at these different ways the North has been constructed over time and at how different livelihoods emerge in a certain time and a place depending on the existing circumstances but also because of changing imaginations regarding what will bring well-being.

2.2 Ethnographic context

My research area belongs to a region that is generally perceived to be a geographical, political and economic periphery. I focus on the Torne River Valley area of the Swedish-Finnish cross-border region. The Torne River Valley formed a historically and culturally uniform area for 600 years until the area that is currently known as Finland became a Grand Duchy of Russia in 1809.¹³ The Torne River Valley, and the Swedish Pajala and Finnish Kolari municipalities that belong to it, are "small places" with "large issues" (Eriksen, 2004). Here, mining, reindeer

¹¹ Both Fischer (2014) and Højlund et al. (2011, 46) are inspired by the ideas of Arjun Appadurai, for example by his interpretation of "agency as an orientation towards the future".

¹² Interestingly, Fischer (2014, 6) calls structural conditions "opportunity structures". This is in line with his approach of "positive anthropology" and seems to be in order to emphasise that instead of only limiting, structural conditions also enable action.

¹³ Before this, the geographical area of present-day Finland had been a part of the Kingdom of Sweden.

herding, and nature-based tourism have a long history of coexistence that is marked with periods of both conflict and co-operation. Each of the three livelihoods offers its own viewpoint to human-environment relations and creates its own framework for the pursuit of the good life in the North.

“The North” has been continuously a target of outside projections with various cultural, scholarly and imaginative constructions since classical antiquity (Byrne, 2013, 7; Herva & Lahelma, 2019).¹⁴ The North was commonly associated with features that evoked connotations of death: coldness, barrenness, desolation and remoteness (Hansson, 2012; Ryall, 2014, 122, 124). Nevertheless, there exists a long, peculiar tradition of placing visions of upcoming prosperity in the North. The poorly known region has been an ample target for projections of various outside desires, fears and imaginations of hidden riches.¹⁵ For example, the ancient Greeks believed that beyond the barrenness and cold of the far North, a paradise of peace and plenty existed. The utopian visions regarding the North may have been fuelled by the fact that the region was for centuries a source of many coveted treasures: furs, amber, ivory and magical unicorn horns¹⁶. (Davidson, 2005, 51, 24.)

Starting from the 17th century explorations to the northern Fennoscandia increased and travel writings began to replace previous imaginations of the North which had been mainly based on speculation (Naum, 2016). In the early modern period, the North was perceived to be simultaneously a utopian land full of potential and a dark, barbarian world (Davidson, 2005, 21–27), a utopia and a dystopia (Naum, 2016). The value of the North was in the potential to turn its natural resources into great riches through agriculture and mining, it was a “place where dreams come true” (Naum, 2016, 501–502).

During the 19th century, thoughts and attitudes towards the once-dreaded North began to change. The harsh northern Fennoscandia, and the Arctic in general, became targets of romanticising (Byrne, 2013, 6; Hansson, 2012; Ryall, 2014, 122, 124). The change reflected a larger phenomenon concerning how the idea of wilderness was understood in America and in the Western world, which was influenced by Romanticism and the American cultural construct of the frontier

¹⁴ As an example of modern projections, Matti Enbuske (2012, 213, 215) has noticed an inclination in contemporary history research to paint both Lapland and its inhabitants as mysterious, and to portray the history of Lapland’s settlement and land use as a unique phenomenon. The continuing tendency to romanticise and mythologise the North and its inhabitants is also noted by Möller and Pehkonen (2003).

¹⁵ Which perhaps explains why modern visions of great resource potential in the Arctic are being placed further and further north, to the last “frontier”, as the northern regions become more and more well-known (see for example Haley, Klick, Szymoniak & Crow, 2011).

¹⁶ Today, we know these to be narwhal tusks.

(Cronon, 1996, 9–10). Modernisation and accompanying industrialisation and urbanisation gave birth to a new appreciation for places considered wildernesses. The image of North transformed from a dangerous region into a place of nostalgic return to pre-modern lifeways (Byrne, 2013, 9; Hansson, 2012). Earlier interest in scientific explorations and in the exploitation of natural resources was accompanied by a new-found aesthetic appreciation of northern landscapes and a will to preserve traditional cultures (Byrne, 2013, 12).

Travel writings from mainly Swedish and British explorers, scientists and tourists played an important part in formulating the image of the North, by first depicting Lapland as a dangerous, even evil place but also in the emergence of the new paradigm that began to portray the northern region as a suitable tourism destination (Byrne, 2013; Hansson, 2012; Naum, 2016; Ryall, 2014). Travellers began to view the North as a place for “authenticity and unspoiled nature”, an “Arctic Eden” (Hansson, 2012; Naum, 2016, 490). The idea of Lapland as a romantic and exotic wilderness is also reflected in the Finnish landscape paintings depicting northern Finland from the 19th century to the early 20th century (Hautala-Hirvioja, 2011). In other words, the idea of the romantic wilderness, in the sense that Lapland is being marketed to modern day tourists, has its roots in the 19th century.

Our image of the North continues to be a mix of the imaginary and actual northern worlds. When the North is understood as a utopian wilderness, industrial utilisation of natural resources in the region becomes inherently problematic, for such a view invites hostility towards modernity and to all industrial projects representing it (Cronon, 1996, 14). Resource conflicts in the North are no doubt born out of concrete difficulties to reconcile subsistence economies with industrial resource use. However, they are also being fuelled by a tension between “preservation” and “progress” that has become a persistent theme in attitudes towards the North. The contemporary visions concerning the future of the Arctic are dualistic views of either “boom or doom”. The future of the North is simultaneously seen as one of environmental concern and of great economic potential. (Arbo, Iversen, Knol, Ringholm & Sander, 2013.) Indeed, these coexisting, contrary dreams projected onto the North: of prosperity and of wilderness, have not remained as mere dreams. They continue to act as guiding notions behind attitudes towards land use in Finnish Lapland, as we will see in the following Chapters. As such, these dreams are connected to understandings of how to bring about well-being in the North.

2.2.1 Living with reindeer in the Torne River Valley...

As reindeer herding, mining and nature-based tourism have emerged and developed in specific historical, cultural and material conditions, they all reflect the different worldviews of the time of their origin. Reindeer herding is one of the oldest livelihoods still practiced in Fennoscandia. Through time, its practice has been characterised by variation rather than a static state and market forces and State intervention have been influencing the development of herding for hundreds of years (Lundmark, 2007). Reindeer pastoralism evolved originally among Saami people hunting wild deer. At first, Saami lived mainly by hunting and fishing, owning only a few reindeer as a decoy for trapping wild deer and as draught animals. For a long time, reindeer herding, with herds usually of a few dozen animals, existed as part of mixed economies that included fishing, hunting, gathering, trade, transport and seasonal paid work. Until the 19th century, herd sizes rarely exceeded 100 animals, though there were exceptions. Only during the 19th century did reindeer herds of over 200 animals start to be common and it became possible to live off herding alone. The rise of full-time reindeer pastoralism was influenced by a population increase in the North and expanding market relations from the second half of the 18th century and onwards. This generated more possibilities for external income for herders which enabled growing herd sizes. Also, the decreasing number of wild reindeer meant that the supply of reindeer meat would have to be met by domesticated reindeer. (Bjørklund, 2013, 176–177, 180, 183–185.)

Until the 18th century and even after, Saami reindeer herding culture in Finland was divided between the western, year-round reindeer nomadism where one owner could have hundreds of reindeer and the more common eastern herding, where one only had a few reindeer and supported oneself mainly with hunting and fishing. There are records of herd sizes of hundreds, even one thousand reindeer from the 17th–18th centuries. The earliest mentions of reindeer herding practiced by Finnish peasants date back to the end of the 17th century, and by the late 18th century this “peasant reindeer herding” was well established in some regions. Herding techniques were adapted mainly from the eastern practices, but also new innovations were developed. Herding took place in the peasant’s living environment as part of a diversified economy. At the end of the 19th century reindeer herding in general in Finland began to be characterised by large herds and meat production. (Kortesalmi, 2008, 21, 25–26, 28, 43, 593, 596, 598, 604.)

In the Torne River Valley area, reindeer herding continues to be an important component of Saami culture, but also an essential part of the traditions and

economy of the non-Saami rural population (Heikkinen, 2002; Jernsletten & Beach, 2006). Since the end of the 17th century, non-Saami inhabitants living in the area have owned, even been dependent on, reindeer that were taken care of by Saami in exchange for compensation (Jernsletten & Beach, 2006, 101; Kortessalmi, 2008, 110; Teerijoki, 1993, 92).¹⁷ On the Finnish side of the border, herding began to be typically practiced by Finns from the end of the 19th century and onwards (Kortessalmi, 2008, 135, 596). Reindeer herding knowledge was passed on from Saami herders to Finns, who were working as their hired hands (Heikkinen, 2002, 101). Also, as a remainder of the long history of non-Saami involvement in reindeer herding, the Torne River Valley, along with the nearby Kalix River Valley, are the only areas today in Sweden where non-Saami can own reindeer and participate in the herding activities (Jernsletten & Beach, 2006).¹⁸

Today, only about a fourth of all herders in the whole of Finland are Saami but generally Saami herders have bigger herds than their Finnish counterparts (Samediggi, n.d.). In this regard Finland is an exception compared to Norway and Sweden, where reindeer herding is an exclusive right of the Saami.¹⁹ However, the Finnish governance usually acknowledges the cultural and social significance of herding only when it comes to Saami reindeer herding (Heikkinen et al., 2003, 40). Likewise, some researchers emphasise that reindeer herding is a culturally significant livelihood and a way of life exclusively to Saami herders (Dana & Light, 2011; Mazzullo, 2010, 108). Nevertheless, there are families among the Finnish herders in the Torne River Valley with a long history of herding and livelihood practitioners to whom herding is an important way of life around which social life is centred (Heikkinen, 2002, 195, 100–101, 225).

¹⁷ This historical practice is still visible in the way the herding communities of this study operate today. In the Swedish Muonio Sameby the Saami herders take care of reindeer owned by non-Saami landowners in exchange for compensation. In the Finnish Muonio Paliskunta, a similar but more informal division exists between reindeer herders and reindeer owners, though the majority of them are Finns.

¹⁸ This form of reindeer herding is called concession reindeer herding (*koncessionsrenskötsel*). Concession reindeer herding is conducted below the Swedish Saami Territory Border in the Kalix and Torne River Valleys. In a concession Saami Village (*Sameby*), herding activities are conducted by Saami, but non-Saami can own reindeer and sometimes participate in the herding activities. There are eight concession herding villages. To read further on concession reindeer herding, see Jernsletten & Beach (2006).

¹⁹ The purpose of these exclusionary rights was in part inspired by a will to protect the Saami culture and well-being. However, according to Lennart Lundmark (2007, 13), in Sweden, this act was also motivated by a demeaning assumption of the time that the Saami “were only fit for reindeer husbandry” and therefore needed to be prevented from engaging in other livelihoods besides herding and hunting-fishing. In other words, how outsiders thought the Saami should and should not pursue well-being.

Current reindeer herding is based on free grazing of semi-domestic reindeer, whose yearly rhythms of movement the herding activities, and thus the lives of the herders themselves, follow. Reindeer herding is dependent on access to vast, undisturbed pastures. (Jernsletten & Klov, 2002.) The nature of the livelihood, and herding culture along with it, have changed considerably from their early days. In the present-day Torne River Valley, herders are utilising snowmobiles, quad bikes, GPS collars and aircraft, along with help from traditional herding dogs to control their herds. The introduction of motorisation has made it possible to travel longer distances and to control bigger herds with lesser amounts of people. Furthermore, instead of migrating great distances with their herds, the herding communities of today work within closed borders and each herding community is assigned with the maximum amount of reindeer allowed after the autumn slaughters. It continues to be common for reindeer-herding families to have mixed economies.

Consequently, the increase of competing land uses, such as forestry, tourism, windmill farms and infrastructure projects, is considered the biggest challenge to today's reindeer herding as other land use cause loss and fragmentation of pastures (Beach, 2004; Forbes, 2006; Heikkinen, 2002; Jernsletten & Klov, 2002; Pape & Löffler, 2012). In the past, during bad grazing conditions in winter, reindeer could either rely on tree lichen or they could be moved by herders to pastures with better conditions. Today, with forestry having greatly diminished the existence of old forests and tree lichen, the closed borders and growing amount of other types of land uses, herders are increasingly relying on supplementary feeding, especially in Finland. On the Finnish side of the border region, herders occasionally bring reindeer to calve in corrals to cope with bad pasture conditions and increasing predation or may feed reindeer periodically in corrals during winter. In Muonion Paliskunta, increasing land use has led to such fragmentation of pastures that reindeer must at times be transported in cars to different pasture areas. Both supplementary feeding and mechanisation are costly which, in turn, puts pressure to grow herd sizes. Despite recent general increase in herding income²⁰, the high production costs keep reindeer herding mainly as a poorly profitable livelihood in Finland (Saarni & Nieminen, 2011).²¹ For example, in Muonion Paliskunta there

²⁰ Due to increase in both producer price levels and animal-based subsidy (see the abstract in English by Saarni & Nieminen, 2011, 6).

²¹ However, there is considerable variation within different herding co-operatives and within different households in a herding co-operative (Honkanen et al., 2008, 125).

was said to be only one family that could make a living solely based on reindeer herding.

Reindeer herding is a culturally, socially and economically meaningful livelihood in northern Fennoscandia. Currently, reindeer are utilised economically in three main ways: the selling of reindeer meat, in the tourism industry and as an important part of the image of Lapland (Kemppainen, Kettunen & Nieminen, 2001).²² Reindeer are the representation of the North (Müller-Wille et al., 2006). The existence of reindeer and herding culture is vital for the tourism industry in northern Finland (Jernsletten & Klovov, 2002, 131). Moreover, reindeer herding has a role in maintaining the well-being and vitality of northern communities. Several studies have noted that it contributes to keeping remote areas inhabited (see for example Jernsletten & Klovov, 2002, 131; Raitio & Heikkinen, 2003, 12; Siitari, Kemppainen et al., 2001) and in sustaining local economies (Heikkinen et al., 2003, 20; Honkanen et al., 2008, 123; Jernsletten & Beach, 2006, 113). The significance of herding for local employment and economics has great regional and local variation (Kietäväinen et al., 2013). However, when it comes to visions concerning a better future for northern regions of both Finland and Sweden, the hopes of regional and national authorities continue to gravitate towards other sources of livelihoods, especially tourism and industrial projects, such as mining.

2.2.2 ...And hunting for treasures

Just like reindeer herding, mining ventures have a long history in the Torne River Valley. Though the state control and the industrialisation of Lapland began full force only after the second World War (Valkonen, 2003, 11), the state-led utilisation of natural resources in northern Sweden and Finland began in the 16th century (Ojala & Nordin, 2015, 11). During the early modern period, mining and metal production became a target of significant interest to the Swedish Crown. Even though farming was the primary industry at the time, mining was regarded as an important source of employment, well-being and of “prosperity for the State and its subjects” (Naum, 2018, 2–3). Sweden’s interest in metals was fuelled by the mercantilist economic theory and the country’s involvement in the Thirty Years’ War (Naum, 2016, 491). Additionally, mining offered a solution with farming for

²² Total turnover of reindeer economy in 2001 was estimated to be around 340–350 million marks (72 365 061–74 493 euro). 220 million marks (46 824 451 euro) came from the retail of reindeer meat and 100 million marks (21 283 euro) from reindeer related tourism. (Kemppainen et al., 2001.)

the Swedish Crown to achieve its goal of increasing the cultivation and inhabitation of the northern “wilderness” (Awebro, 1993, 370, 372, 374; Naum, 2018, 10).²³ Mining ventures brought forth a myriad of social, cultural and environmental transformations in northern Finland and Sweden. New infrastructure was established, and systematic mapping of the region began. (Naum, 2018, 785–786.)

The search for ore deposits reached the Torne River Valley halfway through the 17th century (Awebro, 1993, 361). In 1646, the Kengis ironworks was established in the Swedish Pajala, simultaneously beginning the history of mining in Finnish Lapland. From early on, the Finnish Kolari area was closely connected to Kengis. The remnants of a small Juvakaisenmaa iron ore quarry, that was established for Kengis in the 17th century, are in Kolari. Most importantly, the area provided coal for the ironworks (Kerola, Heiskari, Koskela & Mansikka, 2010). The burning of coal is depicted on the current coat of arms of Kolari, recalling its mining heritage. For the next 200 years Kengis ironworks influenced the region of the Torne River Valley. The ironworks brought new forms of livelihood and modern influences on the local people and contributed in solidifying the northern settlement. The Kengis ironworks never reached financial success and its operation time was characterised by hardships. Yet, optimism towards its potential remained. (Kerola et al., 2010.) Similarly, none of the mining projects of the 17th century succeeded but faith in mining as a source of prosperity persisted (Naum, 2018, 786).

During the early modern period, the relationship between mining and local inhabitants was ambiguous. Saami prospectors played an important role in discovering ore findings for 17th century mining ventures. Some of them were probably motivated by the fact that copper, for example, was a valuable metal for the Saami.²⁴ Furthermore, the reporter of a finding could receive a generous personal reward. (Nordin & Ojala, 2017, 114–116). While the Kengis was a target of controversy during its time of operation, much like many of the current mines are in northern Fennoscandia, the opposition in this case did not come from the local people. Kengis had the support of the local peasants and the Saami, who both appreciated the additional income the ironworks provided during difficult years (Awebro, 1993, 366–376). With their reindeer sleds, the Saami were essential for the transportation of ore for the early mining projects in northern circumstances. While there are cases where the Saami were forced to work for the mines (see Ojala

²³ The aspiration to increase the population of northern Finland continues today, and again the solution is seen to be, among other things, in mining (Suopajärvi, 2015, 45).

²⁴ For example, Saami drums had often adornments made from copper (Nordin & Ojala, 2017, 114).

& Nordin, 2015, 12) the case from the Kengis indicates that their participation was sometimes voluntary as well.

During the 18th century, the development of the northern parts of the Swedish Empire that had begun in the early modern period, became more determined. New settlement, agriculture, new productive livelihoods and the raising of the material living standards of locals in Lapland were promoted. In line with the ideas of the Enlightenment, this was thought to benefit the Empire and enhance the well-being of the local population. The region with its vast natural resources was seen as the “land of the future”. Mining had not lost its importance as a potential source of wealth and increasing the northern population was thought to also help exploiting the northern metals and minerals. A pioneering governor in the development of Lapland envisioned that the region would become the “mining territory of the future” and the Torne River Valley would become the centre of economic life. (Enbuske, 2015.) Of course, this grandiose vision was never realised. The production of metals lost their significance in the beginning of the 19th century. The future hopes for the northern region and the advancement of settlement were now placed on agriculture. (Awebro, 1993, 379–380; Naum, 2018, 10.)

After Kengis burned down and was finally closed in 1879, no other mines operated in Finnish Lapland until the 20th century. Yet, an interest in metals continued to play a significant role in the development of Lapland after a gold discovery in 1836. The 19th century was a time of active gold prospecting, with even a few notable gold rushes, though miniscule compared to those in the America at the time. (Stigzelius, 1987.) The search for gold generated more individual disappointments than prosperity, but it contributed to the modernization of Lapland (Partanen, 1999). Simultaneously, the gold rushes re-produced the image of Lapland as an exotic place with dreamlike potential for prosperity (Herva & Lahelma, 2019, 40). Moreover, Lapland’s gold history is another example of the continued relationship between metals and dreams.

The modern history of mining in the Finnish Kolari began 300 years after the Kengis ironworks was established. A State-led mining company Rautaruukki Ltd. established two mines in the municipality: the underground Rautuvaara mine (1962–1988) and the open-pit Hannukainen mine (1978–1990). In addition, a State-led company Partek Ltd. operated a limestone quarry and a cement factory in Kolari from 1968 to 1989. The two mines had an important role for local employment by generating 250 new, well-paid jobs (Alajärvi, Suikkanen, Viinamäki & Ainonen, 1990, 18). Like their predecessors, the modern mines furthered the development of

local infrastructure. A wide road was built, along with the northernmost train station in Finland²⁵ and the Äkäslompolo village got its first streetlights.

The time with the mines was generally described to me as the time of prosperity, especially for the village centre of Kolari, which became the municipal centre with 106 new apartments (Alajärvi et al., 1990, 18). The mining company offered housing, public services and arranged social activities (ibid.), as was the custom at the time (Hentilä & Lindborg, 2009, 11). Most of the local people working in the Hannukainen and Rautuvaara mines were from the southern part of the municipality. The northern fell area and the Äkäslompolo village on the other hand, had been gaining the interest of tourists since the 1930s. Here, the residents were slowly beginning to switch from agriculture to small-scale homestays. While tourism continued to be small business in the municipality, the first transitions to full-time tourism happened in 1966. (Niskakoski & Taskinen, 2012, 10.)

By 1990, both mines were closed due to poor profitability. The whole industry in Finland had been suffering from waning mineral deposits and especially from poor profitability due to declining world market prices of minerals. Even during its operation time, the mine had received financial support from the State. To object the closing of the mine a petition with over 5000 names was collected in Kolari. (Alajärvi et al., 1990, 16, 19.) The southern village centre of Kolari took the hardest hit. As it was described to me, shops closed, apartments were left empty and people moved out. The remains of the mines were left unrestored. However, the contributions to local infrastructure by the mines aided the growth of nature-based tourism in the northern part of the municipality. Even today, the wide road and the train station help with accessibility to Äkäslompolo and to Lapland's other tourism destinations. From the 1980s, Äkäslompolo began its development into a tourism village, rarely found in Finland.

2.2.3 Growth of nature-based tourism in the Kolari municipality

At present, tourism is the most important and growing livelihood in Kolari.²⁶ With Hiihtokeskus IsoYlläs ski resort on Ylläs fell (*Yllästunturi*), that has the fourth biggest annual revenue of all ski-resorts in Finland (Jänkälä, 2019), and the popular

²⁵ The construction of the railway was finished in 1973.

²⁶ 48% of the municipality's economy and 40% of employment came from tourism in 2011 (Matkailun tutkimus- ja koulutusinstituutti, [MTI], 2013).

Pallas-Yllästunturi National Park²⁷, the municipality's public image and economy rely heavily on nature-based tourism. There are still many small homestays in Äkäslompolo, often run by the third generation. In this sense, tourism is also a "traditional" livelihood and way of life in Äkäslompolo. That said, tourism entrepreneurs I interviewed felt that their livelihood never gained much respect from the southern municipality or from the local government compared to the value mining had had. Furthermore, the development of tourism in the area was described as a constant battle between them and the local government. The existence of the mines seems to have created a social division in the municipality between people in the southern part of the municipality who had worked in the mine and people in the northern part who relied on nature-based tourism and reindeer herding (Article IV). In that sense, the current conflict over the re-opening of the Hannukainen mine is part of a longer continuum of conflicts between the local government and the local tourism entrepreneurs.

The change in attitudes towards natural resource use in Lapland contributed to the rise of nature-based tourism. For a long time, the people of Lapland made a living through mixing small-scale farming, reindeer herding, fishing, hunting and berry picking (Suopajärvi, 2003, 206). After the Second World War, the modernisation of Lapland began, and the region became the economic backbone of Finland. This change was influenced by the need to pay off war reparations and to rebuild the country after the war (Valkonen, 2003, 196). It was believed that the industrial utilisation of Lapland's natural resources, such as forestry and hydropower construction, could bring prosperity for the whole nation and local well-being. (Suopajärvi, 2003, 211–212; Valkonen, 2003, 196, 11.)

From the 1970s and onwards, industrial resource use started to give way to growing nature conservation and tourism, which centred in Lapland (Valkonen, 2003, 16, 18). For example, the end of the 1970s saw the rise of local movements against hydropower construction (Suopajärvi, 2003, 212). According to Jarno Valkonen (2003, 19), this change in attitudes towards natural resource use was partly influenced by the fact that the mechanisation of forestry and agriculture had created a need for new sources of employment. The great hopes of the State towards the industrialisation of Lapland never quite materialised (Suopajärvi, 2003, 211).

It should be noted that there exist two diverging viewpoints regarding how the industrialisation and modernisation of Lapland is interpreted in research. Ilmo

²⁷ The park was established in 1938. After expansion in 2005, it became the third biggest national park in Finland. 549 200 people visited the park in 2018 (Metsähallitus, n.d.).

Massa (1983; 1994) describes this process as ecological colonialism, of exploiting the natural resources of Lapland for the needs of the South and sees industrial natural resource use in general as part of “exploitative economy”. In this perspective, Lapland and its inhabitants are seen as victims of modernisation processes, not as active agents that are part of these processes. Furthermore, modernisation and industrial resource use are seen as inherently undesirable. On the other hand, Valkonen (2003, 201–202) suggests that this view of historical injustices in Lapland’s resource utilisation can also be seen as a story, shared by the inhabitants of Lapland, through which resource use in Lapland is being understood and explained. This story is characterised by a predetermined power imbalance and juxtaposition between South/centre/nation state and North/periphery/local communities. Concerns raised by some researchers that northern Finland could be turned into a raw-material periphery during the recent mining boom (for example, see Moisio, 2012, 18) can be seen as manifestations of this story. Furthermore, the way mining activities in Lapland are interpreted depends on through which viewpoint the issue is being scrutinized.

In any case, after the 1980s, the future hopes of prosperity in Lapland have largely relied on upholding the image of Lapland as a “wilderness” (Valkonen, 2003, 11). The clean, peaceful and beautiful nature of Lapland is the main attraction for both domestic and foreign tourists (Suopajärvi, 2003, 214). This is true in Äkäslompolo as well, where according to tourism entrepreneurs I interviewed, the tourists wish to experience peace, quiet and untouched nature. Hence, the utilisation of natural resources should have as little effect as possible on the environment and landscapes (Valkonen, 2003, 200). While nature-based tourism has a fairly long history in Lapland, the past four years have been characterised by exceptionally rapid growth and record numbers of visitors (Visit Finland, 2019). Environmental awareness among tourists and the popularity of nature-based tourism are expected to grow still (Jänkälä, 2019).

While nature-based tourism had started its growth in Kolari and in the Finnish Lapland in general, a broader change in attitude towards the mining industry occurred in the 1980s. General awareness towards environmental and social problems related to mining increased dramatically. (Auld, Bernstein & Cashore, 2008.) In response, participatory planning and environmental impact assessment of mining operations became standard procedures for new projects (Ballard & Banks, 2003, 291). Mining companies began to acknowledge the importance of local opinion for securing their operations. The concept “social license to mine” was coined by a mining executive Jim Cooney in the late 1990s. It indicates the need

for companies to secure an unofficial social “license” for their operations in addition to the official license to operate (Owen & Kemp, 2013). However, these changes in industry practice were not enough to stop the public perception of mining from shifting towards negative (Ballard & Banks, 2003, 291).

In 1994, after a decline in domestic mining activities, the previously closed operational environment of mining in Finland and Sweden was opened for foreign companies (Hentilä & Lindborg, 2009, 11). The global rise in mineral prices in the beginning of the 21st century caused a mining boom resembling a gold rush in northern Fennoscandia. Already in 2006, there were 6 discovered metallic ore deposits, 17 carbonate mines and 16 industrial mineral operations in Finland (Heikkinen, Noras & Salminen, 2008). Most mines in northern Finland are located in peripheral areas (Haveri & Suikkanen, 2003). These are often the same areas where nature-based tourism and reindeer herding are found.

2.2.4 Clash of conflicting visions of a better future

When Northland Resources Ltd., a European exploration and development company, started working in the Torne River Valley in 2005, the projects were first met with great enthusiasm in the Kolari and Pajala municipalities (Waara, Berglund, Soudunsaari & Koskimäki, 2008). The company planned to operate two mining projects as a single operation: the Kaunisvaara mining project in the Swedish municipality of Pajala, consisting of three open-pit mines, and the Hannukainen mining project in the Finnish municipality of Kolari, a reopening of an old open-pit mine but on a bigger scale. The projects were managed by two sister companies; the Kaunisvaara project by Northland Sweden Ltd. and the Hannukainen project by Northland Mines Ltd.

Both the Kolari and the Pajala communities have been described as “dying municipalities”. Mining projects were expected to bring new job opportunities, boost the regional and local economy and improve local services and infrastructure. (Jakobsson & Waara, 2008, 13.) The single strongest argument for the mine was the creation of new jobs in both Kolari and Pajala (Poelzer & Ejdemo, 2018, 20). Furthermore, some of the municipal office-holders I interviewed considered the mining jobs to be “better” than those in tourism – a view that was frustrating to the tourism entrepreneurs. They would be year-round, with a higher salary and pensions. With a long history of mining, Kolari is still regarded as a “mining and tourism municipality” in their municipal strategy (Municipality of Kolari, 2012).

The first mine of the Swedish Kaunisvaara project, Tapuli, begun production 2012, and the planning processes for the other two mines were under way. However, Northland ran into financial difficulties with the newly opened mine. The Swedish Tapuli mine was shut down after only two years of activity in 2014. That same year, Northland Resources completed the EIA for the Finnish Hannukainen mine. Shortly afterward, the company declared bankruptcy. The plans regarding the Hannukainen mine in Finland were buried with it. In 2015, talk of reopening the mine re-emerged, this time at the hands of a small Finnish company, Hannukainen Mining Ltd. In 2018, the Swedish Kaunisvaara project was also restarted by a new company, Kaunis Iron Ltd. (Nilsen 2018). However, the overall positive or neutral attitude that had surrounded the reopening of the Hannukainen mine in the beginning had by now polarised into two opposing groups (see also survey results by Kivinen et al., 2018, 8, and by Similä & Jokinen, 2018, 155).

The tourism entrepreneurs in Äkäslompolo and the people living in the northern “fell villages”, as my informants called them, were strongly against the mine and began to protest the project during the EIA process. The old Hannukainen mine is located approximately 10 km from the Äkäslompolo village, close to the tourism centre of Ylläs. While everywhere else in Kolari the population and economy is declining, the northern tourism villages have been steadily growing (Similä & Jokinen, 2018, 155). The tourism entrepreneurs feared that reopening the mine would threaten the viability of nature-based tourism in the area. This was based on the assumption that tourists, especially foreign, would perceive the mine negatively (Article IV). This assumption is given support by a survey conducted by Similä and Jokinen (2018, 153). A petition against the project was established, along with a Facebook group “Ylläs ilman kaivoksia” (*Ylläs without mines*), and the tourism entrepreneurs took part in a fund raising campaign to hire experts for the planning process (Similä & Jokinen, 2018, 153). Those who endorsed the mine were, roughly speaking, the people living in the southern “lake villages”, along with the local government. They lived in the area that had benefitted from the previous mines and did not make a similar living in nature-based tourism. In the end, these two parties differ in their vision on what the future of the municipality should be built upon: nature-based tourism or mining, and on whether it is possible for mining and tourism to coexist in the area.

2.2.5 Silence of herding communities

Just like for nature-based tourism, mining activities can pose a threat to local reindeer herding. Mining is one of the most troublesome land use forms to coordinate with herding for it can cause permanent loss of pasture, the location of the mineral deposit is immovable, and the transportation of ore often relies on trucks or railways, which can cause great reindeer fatalities and disturb the traditional migration routes of reindeer. Among the four herding communities in this study, Kōnkämä Sameby, Muonio Sameby, Käsivarren Paliskunta and Muonion Paliskunta, mining activities were perceived as one of the most important threats to their livelihood even if there wouldn't have been any active plans for mining in their area (Article I). However, the existence of reindeer herding in an area earmarked for mining was largely absent from public discussions in both Kolari and Pajala.

Both mining projects were to be situated on the pastures of reindeer herding communities: *Muonio Sameby* (Saami Village) in the Swedish Pajala municipality and *Muonion*²⁸ *Paliskunta* (Reindeer Herding Co-operative), which operates within two Finnish municipalities, Kolari and Muonio. These herding communities had formed one of the key stakeholder groups for the mining companies during the EIA processes, because as a traditional, and in the case of Saami reindeer herding an indigenous, livelihood the right to practice reindeer herding is protected in law. Northland Resources conducted specific assessments on the reindeer herding communities (Ekenberg, 2010; Itkonen, 2012). The purpose of these latter assessments was to evaluate the possible impacts of the mining projects on reindeer herding and to find ways to either mitigate their impact or compensate for them. However, the assessments are not lawfully binding which is why both reindeer communities in this study wanted additional compensation agreements with the mining companies.

The Swedish Kaunisvaara mining project is the first vast land use project planned on the pastures of Muonio Sameby. Muonio Sameby gathers around 3,900 reindeer. The community consists of eight concession holders, i.e. active herders, with 13 family members. Additionally, the village has 65 non-Saami landowners, who own reindeer. It is the biggest concession Saami village by surface area and

²⁸ These are two separate communities. The similarity in names is most probably a relic of the past unity of the Torne River Valley area. Nevertheless, in the past as well the Torne River may have functioned as a boundary between the two herding communities because watercourses are perceived as “natural” boundaries by reindeer (Krause, 2010, 72–73).

the number of active herders. Muonio Sameby is an exception among Swedish concession villages because all the herding activities are done by Saami members. It is the only concession village to be a member of the *Svenska Samernas Riksförbund*, the leading Saami organisation in Sweden. Most of the herders are part of Sevä and Suikki families that have been herding reindeer in the area since the 18th century. (Ekenberg, 2010, 19, 15).

All the three planned mines as well as their infrastructure would be situated on the community's summer pastures. The mining project's ore transportation route was planned to go right alongside the lower part of these pastures, which could lead to considerable reindeer fatalities. When I conducted the interviews with Muonio Sameby in 2011–2012, the negotiations between them and Northland Sweden had already been ongoing for over seven years. In 2011, the company ceased negotiations with the herding community regarding new project developments, right after they had gotten permits for the first mine. During my second meeting with their herding leader, in 2012, the negotiations had restarted. The first mine of the Kaunisvaara project had begun production that same year, and the planning processes for the other two mines were under way. However, the mining company had not yet finalised a compensation agreement with the herders nor had they implemented any of the mitigation measures mentioned in the assessment.

Muonion Paliskunta gathers approximately 6,000 reindeer. The community consists of 129 reindeer owners (2009–2010), of which 27 are full-time herders. For most members, reindeer herding is a secondary occupation. Today, majority of the herders in Muonion Paliskunta are ethnically Finnish. A quarter of the pastures of the Finnish Muonion Paliskunta are under the influence of competing land uses, namely tourism, forestry and automobile-testing areas (Itkonen, 2012, 16). At the time of the planned mine these areas saw the highest number of traffic incidents of all herding areas in Finland (Itkonen, 2012, 4; Reindeer Herders' Association, 2012). The herding community's relationship with local nature-based tourism is complex. On one hand, the constantly growing tourism causes disturbance and fragmentation of reindeer pastures. On the other hand, tourists are an important market for direct meat sales and the Pallas-Yllästunturi National Park is an important grazing and breeding area for reindeer.

Both the Hannukainen mine and its main infrastructure would be situated near the reindeer community's main Lamunmaa round-up corral, which was considered an essential place for the handling and sorting the reindeer during autumn slaughters. The proximity to the active mine would most probably make the utilisation of the corral impossible. The loss of the corral would also be a serious

symbolic blow for Muonion Paliskunta for according to the herders I interviewed the roughly two-hundred-year-old Lamunmaa place had “always” been used by herders in the area. The planned railway for ore transportation could cause extensive reindeer fatalities on the lower part of the herding community. With Muonion Paliskunta, I conducted the interviews in 2011–2012, approximately one year after their negotiations with Northland Mines had begun. I interviewed the herders in Muonion Paliskunta again in 2015, when the opposition towards the mine was very vocal among the tourism entrepreneurs but the herders were remaining silent.

2.3 Material and methods

The coexistence of reindeer herding, mining and, to a lesser extent, nature-based tourism is studied in this research with a focus on reindeer herding. Therefore, the main group of my informants consists of reindeer herders from four herding communities: *Muonio Sameby*, a Swedish concession herding village, *Könkämä Sameby*, a Swedish Saami herding village, *Muonion Paliskunta*, a Finnish herding village, and *Käsivarren Paliskunta*, a Finnish Saami herding village. I also interviewed the representatives from the Finnish mining company Northland Mines, who were in charge of negotiations with the reindeer herders and of the official assessment made of the reindeer herding community. Despite my efforts, the representative from the Swedish mining company Northland Sweden unfortunately never responded to my requests for an interview. Additionally, I interviewed tourism entrepreneurs and municipal office-holders from the Finnish Kolari municipality for a comprehensive understanding regarding the local negotiations around the Hannukainen mine. These two groups also came up frequently in the interviews with reindeer herders: municipal office-holders in the role of an adversary to herding and as advocates of mining, and tourism as a local livelihood whose relationship to herding is ambiguous and whose practitioners were openly against the mine, unlike the reindeer herders.

Table 1. Research materials collected by the author per article.

	Study site	Informant group	Collected	Material	Project
Article I	Kolari and Enontekiö municipalities, Finland, Pajala and Kiiruna municipalities, Sweden	Muonion Paliskunta, Käsivarren Paliskunta, Könkämä Sameby, Muonio Sameby	2012, during a two-week field period	11 semi-structured interviews, reindeer herding workshop (2013)	CLICHE
Article II	Kolari and Pajala municipalities	Muonion Paliskunta, Muonio Sameby, Northland Mines	2011, during three field visits	10 semi-structured interviews, participant observation in six meetings, one field visit	-
Article III	Kolari and Pajala municipalities	Muonion Paliskunta, Muonio Sameby, Northland Mines, Municipal office-holders	2011, 2015 during four field visits	17 semi-structured interviews, participant observation in four meetings	Understanding the cultural impacts and Issues of Lapland Mining
Article IV	Kolari municipality	Tourism entrepreneurs, Muonion Paliskunta, municipal office-holders	2015, during a two-week field period	12 semi-structured interviews with 14 informants, participant observation	Understanding the cultural impacts and Issues of Lapland Mining

My main research material consists of semi-structured interviews (see Table 1). This format of interviewing fitted my research setting where each informant would be visited a limited amount of times compared to longer fieldwork settings where shorter interviews can be made more often with more improvisation (Fontein, 2014, 78). I had a set of prepared research questions, but I also added new questions based on what the informant was talking about and gave room for them to introduce new topics of discussion. Remembering the interview situation, the emotional state and non-verbal communication of the informants while they discussed certain topics, whether they were laughing because they thought it was funny or whether they were being cynical and so on, was essential for making sense of the “apparent

contradictions, groping's and suggestions" that is the reality of any interview. (Davies, 2002, 95, 96–98.)

The fact that I was able to talk to many of my informants repeatedly during the five-year period gave me a chance to take note of the changes and developments, and on the other hand of the constant, in their attitudes regarding a continuously fluctuating situation. A good example is my first two interviews with the herding leader from the Swedish Muonio Sameby, whose attitude towards the actions of the mining company changed from near panicked to considerably calmer in the span of only one year. With one-off interviews and field visits, it is next to impossible to get a concise picture of situations and livelihoods that are constantly in a state of change, such as new mining projects and reindeer herding. Taking note of the different phases in the coexistence of herding and mining during my research period directed my view towards emphasising the multifaceted nature of the situation.

In total, I have made 33 interviews with 27 informants. I interviewed seven reindeer herders from the Finnish Muonio Paliskunta twice and the herding leader of the Swedish Muonio Sameby three times. Interviews were done in Finnish and in *Meänkieli* ("our language"), which is a Finnish dialect spoken in the northernmost part of Sweden along the valley of the Torne River. The fact that I am not fluent enough in Swedish to use it in interviews put some limitations on my interviewing in the Swedish case as I was only able to interview people who spoke Meänkieli. Also, all the interviews with Saami herders from the Finnish side were made in Finnish, for I am not fluent in Saami. It is possible that some informants would have been more comfortable if we had conversed in Saami, especially because Saami is their "working language" when herding.

The duration of interviews ranged from 30 min to 2,5 hours, the average interview lasting around one hour. I recorded and transcribed the interviews, with the informant's permission. During two interviews recording was not possible due to background noise, in which cases I wrote notes by hand. In the beginning of each interview, I explained to the informants the topic and aims of the research and gave them a general idea regarding who else would be interviewed for the study. Each informant was given the option to appear anonymous. However, the informants who could be recognised by the use of their title, such as the mining company representatives and herding leaders, all gave consent to appear with their real names. Because some of the interviews were made for larger research projects with multiple researchers, the informants were given a choice to determine whether

other researchers besides me had access to listen to the recordings and/or read the transcriptions.

I have re-analysed the interview material utilised in the original articles. I analysed the interviews using abductive content analysis. Therefore, my chosen theoretical viewpoints and concepts of well-being and coexistence were guiding my content analysis, but the contents of my data also lead me to re-evaluate and change my theoretical approach. I classified the parts from the interviews I deemed important/interesting and then arranged them into broader themes. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2002, 95–99.)

I approached the herding communities first by being in contact with the designated herding leaders. I explained my research topic to them and asked for their permission to do research among the herding community. Additionally, I enquired if the time I was planning to do the interviews was suitable with their herding work at the time. The herding leaders do not necessarily have the most authority within the herding community regarding the practical herding work. They are rather the public representatives of their communities and are in charge of handling the bureaucracy related to their community. The herding leaders are what could be called “gatekeepers” of their communities whose approval for doing research in their herding community should be obtained (Jeffrey & Konopinski, 2014, 33). Part of the informants I picked myself, such as with the tourism entrepreneurs and municipal office-holders, while others were identified by using a snowball technique, which means that I asked from the person I had just interviewed who they thought I should talk to next. This way, instead of me solely deciding whose opinion counted, this method helped me to find the voice of those whose views were held in high regard by their communities.

There is a clear gender imbalance in my informants, with only four of them being women. Given the topic of this research, having a gender balance in the informants is not necessary. The imbalance is also in itself interesting, reflecting the fact that in my study area, those with perceived status and important voices among their communities in the discussions around mining, herding and tourism are often middle-aged, men. The imbalance is also likely partially the result of my chosen method for finding informants. It is probable that a male informant is more likely to have male than female acquaintances in their social circle, leading me to interview more males. In addition, I noticed that while the wives of the herding men did have knowledge of the craft and opinions concerning the negotiations around land use issues, they were hesitant to participate in the interviews. In retrospect, I should have encouraged them more to share their viewpoints. Adding

female voices to this research would have probably opened new perspectives to the topic at hand and is something worth being conscious of in further research.

All of the reindeer herders interviewed for this study are in some way distinguished members of their communities: either they are herding leaders, possess a considerable number of reindeer, are held as knowledgeable of their craft or they are people whose decisions concerning everyday herding work other herders follow. I also interviewed reindeer herders who were designated by their own communities to represent them in the negotiations with the mining companies. All the reindeer herders interviewed, both Finns and Saami, are either full-time herders or retired former full-time herders whose main livelihood is reindeer herding. Most of them have also other sources of income, such as meat processing and tourism, and it is common that the wife works outside the home. These other sources of income were primarily considered as means to maintain the herding lifestyle. Moreover, no herder truly seems to retire completely. All of the “retired” herders I interviewed were still actively doing herding work or at least kept a couple of reindeer around near their homes. The tourism entrepreneurs I interviewed are mostly, though not all, people who run the business in second or third generation and thus have long family ties to Äkäslompolo. I assumed that they would have more knowledge of the local history than the people who have moved there recently.

I made most of the interviews with reindeer herders at the informant's homes and often the wives (as majority of my informants are men) and/or children, and in one case the informants' mother, were present. I have two group interviews where the wife and the wife and son, who was taking up herding, are actively participating in the interview. On the other hand, most tourism entrepreneurs preferred to meet me at their workplace or in a separate building next to their home, maintaining a level of distance between me and their private lives. With reindeer herders, with the exception of herding leaders, no such distinction between their private lives and their work identity seemed to exist. Other places for interviews vary greatly from the informant's work office to a public swimming hall and from the conference rooms of Metsäntutkimuslaitos (*Finnish Forest Research Institute*) and the University of Oulu to a reindeer cabin. As is customary in Finland, I was usually offered coffee during the interviews when they happened at the informants' home. I also often stayed talking with the informants for a while after the interview was finished.

The interviews were made during six field visits. Five of these visits were to the Finnish Kolari municipality, from which I visited the neighbouring Swedish Pajala, and one to the Finnish Enontekiö municipality, from which I visited the

neighbouring Swedish Kiiruna municipality. Duration of these visits ranged from five days to two weeks and they were made between 2011 and 2015. Because reindeer herding is a nature-bound livelihood, and because reindeer herders' rhythms of living are bound to the rhythms of reindeer and their environment²⁹, interviewing the herders requires time and flexibility. While I could call the tourism entrepreneurs, municipal office-holders and mining representatives and agree on a fixed date and time for the interview, this was not possible with reindeer herders. I needed to reserve several days for making the interviews and be prepared for last minute cancellations and for interrupted interviews. The time of the interviews was usually confirmed a couple of hours earlier, which was often the time it took me to drive to the informants' place from where I was staying.

When the reindeer go, so do the herders – a fact I encountered first-hand during my last field visit in 2011. I had arranged the visit so I could interview more reindeer herders from the Swedish Muonio Sameby. I had been in contact with the herding leader and been given his assurances that the time of my visit would be appropriate to them. However, a couple of days after my arrival, I finally heard that the herding leader's reindeer had left their winter pastures too early. He had had to follow the animals to their spring pastures far away on the fells. Attempts at arranging interviews with other herders of the Sameby without him failed. During my contact with the Muonio Sameby, the herding leader was the person who would arrange my meetings with other herders. He was not willing to give me their contact information and they did not wish to meet me without the presence of the herding leader. The herding leader himself explained this being because of the socially isolated nature of his small herding community. It is also my interpretation that the herding communities in the Swedish side of the border were more wary of strangers than the Finnish herding communities were. Only on my third interview with the herding leader, I was “let” into his home, the previous two having been conducted in a more neutral conference room provided by me.

Overall, getting the Swedish herders more involved in the research would have demanded long-term involvement and visiting the herders at their place of work so they would get to know me before agreeing on an interview. Even with the Finnish herders, it was easier to agree upon an interview if I could showcase that other herders had already “given their blessing” to me and my research. The herders were also often interested in knowing who else I had interviewed. For example, a herder

²⁹ See study by Franz Krause (2010) on how various “natural” rhythms of the river and the rhythms of human activities together constitute the whole of life by the Kemi River.

from the Swedish side of the border enquired if I had interviewed a certain herder from the Finnish side of the border, who was known to possess a herd of a respectable size. It is worth mentioning that my experience with Muonio Sameby was mirrored in the herders' interaction with the mining company. The herding leader from Muonio Sameby had also had difficulties in getting the other members to participate in the meetings with the mining company. The general reluctance of herders to participate in the official meetings related to the planning process of the mining projects was expressed by the herding leaders both sides of the border.

Besides interviews, I engaged in participant observation during six meetings and one field visit (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). I attended four meetings related to the official planning process of the reopening of the Hannukainen mine in Kolari, in Finland. I did this with a permission from both the herding leader of Muonio Paliskunta and of the executive director of Northland Mines. Two meetings designated for reindeer husbandry (22.9.2011 and 26.1.2012), a working group for reindeer herding arranged by the mining company (26.1.2012) as well as a meeting between Muonio Paliskunta, their adviser from Reindeer Herding Association (*Paliskuntain Yhdistys*) and a consult, from the consulting and engineering company Pöyry, who was in charge of writing the assessment on reindeer herding (22.9.2011). I paid attention to who was present in the meetings, what was talked about, how it was talked about and took note of the emotional states of the participants, which would not have been possible by only reading documents. This gave me valuable context for when we would discuss the planning process in the interviews. For example, I witnessed a short, emotional burst of frustration from the herding leader of Muonio Paliskunta, in a meeting in which the atmosphere could otherwise be characterised as calmly rational. It seemed to reveal a glimpse of the hidden tensions among the reindeer herders.

While I had the chance to observe the communications between reindeer herders and the representatives of the mining company in the official meetings in Finland, I should note that the official setting does not make up the complete picture of the relationship between herders and the mining companies. Especially with Muonio Sameby and the Swedish mining company, the mining company representatives were also visiting the reindeer round-up corral of Muonio Sameby, and the herding leader and the mining company representative had several one-to-one impromptu meetings and phone calls between them.

Additionally, I did participant observation in a panel discussion regarding the reconciliation of mining and tourism in Kolari (27.1.2012). I also participated in a meeting with the executive director of Northland Mines, which was followed by a

field visit lead by the same executive director to the old ruins of the Hannukainen and Rautuvaara mines in Kolari (16.8.2011). The meeting and the field visit were arranged by the DILACOMI-project. During my first trip to Kolari, I also visited the main round-up Lamunmaa corral of the Muonion Paliskunta with one of the reindeer herders as my guide. It was this same corral that was being threatened by the planned mining project.

I used a range of maps as an aid while interviewing reindeer herders. This helped me to visualise how both the herding activities and the planned mines were situated. They also worked as a tool for discussing the possible impacts of the mines on reindeer herding. For the needs of the CLICHE –project, I drew maps with reindeer herders situating their pastures, herding routes, corrals and all the activities impacting their work, including areas with predators, competing land use, roads where a lot of reindeer get hit by cars, and so forth, on their herding area. Working with these maps was essential for my understanding of the larger context of reindeer herding and their coexistence with the various social and ecological components of their environments. It is against this wider background that their encounters with the planned mines must be understood and situated. In addition, I have complemented the interview material by examining the official assessments on reindeer herding regarding the two mining projects, by following the media coverage regarding the planned mining projects and reindeer herding, the reports on the mining company's website and the documents released by the municipality of Kolari as well as with some statistics on reindeer herding and nature-based tourism.

3 Two ways to live well in the North?

3.1 On reindeer herding and the generation of well-being by doing

Research on well-being suggests that well-being can be generated, not only by having things but also by *doing*. I regard the practice of reindeer herding as a way to pursue the good life in the North. Nevertheless, reindeer herding can be quite a taxing way of life. The four herding communities included in Article I are facing multiple challenges with increasing land use and predation, challenging weather conditions, increasing workload and financial vulnerabilities. Despite all of this, quitting reindeer herding seems to be the last option for its practitioners.³⁰ For example, an elderly Finnish herder reflected, with a somewhat tragic undertone, that reindeer herding is in one's blood and therefore one continues with it no matter what:

If you would have to do some other work with such small salary you would have to be crazy to do it. But this is, many of us have this defect in our blood. (Muonion paliskunta, 2012)³¹

In the following, I consider what elements in herding could contribute in making it a meaningful, worthwhile way of life for its practitioners despite all the challenges that come with it. By answering this question, I will discuss the livelihood's relationship to the generation of well-being.

One obvious motivation to practice herding, is as a source of income. While the direct income generated by herding may not be great from the viewpoint of a single household or as a part of a municipality's total economy, it may be just enough to for example enable and motivate a family's living in northern Finland (Kietäväinen 2012, 46). According to Kietäväinen et al. (2013, 34, 36), herding can bring a sense of security by providing for its practitioners, perhaps a minor, but nevertheless a stable income. Nevertheless, as I noted earlier, one of the biggest challenges of reindeer herding today is its poor profitability. Furthermore, Heikkinen et al. (2007, 3637) have noted that while some reindeer herders in Finland have adopted new strategies to improve their income from herding, the further development of these neo-entrepreneurial strategies is simultaneously being

³⁰ Vaarala, Pohjola and Romakkaniemi (2012, 96) have made a similar conclusion among Finnish reindeer herders operating in the southern reindeer herding area.

³¹ Quotes are translated by the author from Finnish and Meänkieli.

hampered by the herders preference to maintain the traditional, social mode of herding work.

Likewise, we noted in Article I that the reindeer herders of our study preferred maintaining cultural continuity rather than economic profit in their decision making. Other studies have made similar findings, noting that the continuity of reindeer herding practices and traditions are important values for herding communities (Heikkinen et al., 2007, Magga, Mathiesen, Corell & Oskal, 2009). However, some researchers have made rather biased assumptions regarding the motivations of livelihood practitioners based on their cultural and ethnic background. Dana and Light (2011, 347) have suggested that while the Saami practice herding to “maintain cultural tradition”, for ethnic Finns herding is “simply a means to profit”. Our findings in Article I, my interviews with the reindeer herders in this study, as well as other existing studies on Finnish reindeer herding (see for example Heikkinen (2002) which is based on long-term fieldwork, and Vaarala et al., 2012,) all point to the importance of reindeer herding as a way of life regardless of the ethnicity of herders. On the contrary, while it was more common for my non-Saami informants to have other subsistence activities besides herding, they were explained as means to earn money so they could continue with herding as a way of life. In fact, it could be argued that herding has greater financial significance to those (often Saami) herders to whom it is the sole occupation than for whom it is one of many sources of income.

Does the meaningfulness of herding then, come from maintaining cultural continuity and tradition? I suggest that “maintaining cultural continuity” is not yet a meaningful motive in itself. I think we should go further than mere “keeping up tradition is important” to explain why people do what they do and why what they do is important for them. If we assume that maintaining tradition is important for its own sake, we may end up with conclusions that imply that any cultural change that leads to loss of tradition, even though it would be favoured by livelihood practitioners themselves, is a negative one (see for example Kitti, Gunsley & Forbes, 2006, 160). On the contrary, we maintain in Article I that it is important to differentiate between unwanted and desirable changes from the perspective of the livelihood practitioners. As a whole, herding culture can be characterised by the importance of continuity for its practitioners in the presence of constant changes (see Ingold, 2000, 147).

Historical overview of reindeer herding reveals that the livelihood has gone through substantial changes through time (Chapter 2.2.1.). Herders have been willing to change their livelihood practices in ways that can lead to loss of

traditional practices and knowledge, for example by willingly adopting the snowmobile and other modern technology. To shed light on why livelihood practitioners perceive some changes as a negative and some as a positive it could be useful to ask, whether said change had a positive or a negative effect on the well-being of herders. In other words, can certain ideas and institutions imported from the outside be adopted by herders in a way that would sustain their sense of living well (Hirsch, 2008, 57). For example, it has been suggested that the introduction of new technology has increased the well-being of herders by easing up the physically demanding herding work (Rantamäki-Lahtinen, 2008, 3). Indeed, it was pointed out by my informants that the adoption of modern technology is also a matter of improving the safety of herders who at times work long distances from nearest settlement in bad weather conditions.³² As Hirsch (2008) notes, a cultural change that improves well-being may be preferable to maintaining cultural traditions.

Continuing tradition and attachment to place can give people a sense of purpose and identity in itself. According to philosopher Charles Taylor (1992, 27–28) identity provides one with a frame for what is worth doing in life, along with the moral compass with which to make sense of life and navigate it. Here, I am reminded of an elderly herder who remarked that he did not remember a day when he would not have thought of reindeer. Kietäväinen et al. (2013, 34, 36) note that reindeer herding has a role in providing stability to one's life and a sense of belonging, through maintaining one's social relations and relation to place. It is common in Finland to have people who own only a couple of reindeer. For them, the significance of herding is not in providing income but in providing a meaningful part of one's identity and a sense of community. (Honkanen et al. 2008, 127; Kietäväinen et al., 2013, 33.) Hence, having a meaningful identity through herding could contribute in the possibility to live a life that gives one a sense of purpose and belonging.

Yet, livelihoods, sense of identity, cultural practices and traditional knowledge do not survive if they lose their viability and meaningfulness to people adhering to them and they are not actively maintained (see Ingold, 2000, 147). In the scenario workshop discussed in Article I³³, the reindeer herders of our study rejected

³² However, for example driving quadbikes on rough terrain is not only physically demanding, but also dangerous at times. Every now and then reindeer herders have serious accidents, even deaths, by toppling over and getting stuck under the heavy machinery.

³³ We discussed four alternative future scenarios with herders: scenario A “maintaining traditional reindeer herding”, scenario B “reindeer farming”, scenario C “compensated ecosystem service producer”, and scenario D “ecotourism entrepreneurship”.

“maintaining traditional reindeer herding” (the scenario A) as a possible desirable future. Given the current state of their livelihood, they considered maintaining traditional herding as a dead end. However, while they were ready to make some changes to livelihood practices, there were certain elements in herding whose preservation seemed to be paramount for herders. I suggest that it is these elements in reindeer herding that make it a meaningful way of life for its practitioners and thus contribute in making herding a desirable way to live.

The elements of herding that our informants considered to be the most important to preserve, and which I interpret to be the most meaningful ones to them, were the social cohesion of and co-operative work within their communities and the continuity of northern human-environment interactions (Article I). The results are in line with the findings made by Tervo and Nikkonen (2010) regarding Saami reindeer herders’ own perceptions of the constituents of their well-being. These are the elements that would be lost in the two future scenarios that the herders in Article I found undesirable: reindeer farming (scenario B), where reindeer are kept in corrals year-round like cattle, and herding where the focus is on nature-based tourism activities (scenario D). In both these scenarios, the co-operative nature of the herding work has changed into working alone and the interactive relationship to environment entailed in traditional herding is no longer needed.

The meaningfulness and well-being generated by reindeer herding would then be also connected to the everyday practice of reindeer herding, tied to a specific physical and social environment. This is in line with my general view on herding, discussed in Article III, which follows Tim Ingold’s (2000, 60) approach to human-environment relations. Ingold emphasises the examination of the active engagement of human beings with the multiple components of their world. Following Ingold’s definition, reindeer herding can be seen as a cultural way of life that forms through the herders’ active engagement with their environments. Here, what one *does* is more important than who one was born to be. Note that Ingold himself does not make a connection between doing and well-being but focuses on the connection between culture and doing. Certainly, I do not claim that all culturally embedded beliefs or practices are connected to the generation of well-being and to living well.³⁴

³⁴ Even though there have been some entries suggesting otherwise. For example, John Bodley states in the online edition of *Encarta* that “anthropologists work from the assumption” that all cultures give “meaning to the lives of its members and allows them to work and prosper” (as cited in Thin, 2009, 25).

A perspective that emphasises reindeer herding as *doing* highlights the fact that the practice of reindeer herding should not be considered to be meaningful for its own sake, or only for the sake of income provided by it, but for the certain kind of way of life it enables: one with social connectedness, a feeling of belonging, and an interactive relationship to one's environment.³⁵ For example, while reindeer farming could have similar significance as a provider of income for its practitioners, it would likely not have the same significance as a way of life and as a source of well-being because it would be missing other valuable elements of herding. What is more, the community cohesion and co-operative nature of herding work lead to formation of "social capital", i.e. social resources, for an individual practicing herding (Kietäväinen et al., 2013, 33–34, 36). According to studies on social epidemiology, the existence of social capital indicates a community with trust, reciprocity and participation towards achieving common good, as well as better community health, less social isolation and less psychological stress (Sapolsky, 2004, 377–379). Reindeer herding then, can offer its practitioners a way of life with social connectedness, a feeling of being engaged in social life and being a member of a social group, which according to anthropological research on the good life, are important elements for one's well-being.³⁶

The cultural significance of reindeer herding, to northern regions and to its practitioners, is commonly referred to as a justification for the need to preserve the viability of the livelihood. But without informed knowledge about what exactly are the features of herding that make it a meaningful livelihood we may end up in a situation where reindeer herding still exists, but the livelihood is in danger of losing the very features that motivate reindeer herders to continue with it and contribute to the generation of holistic well-being. For example, current attempts by Finnish government to increase the profitability of herding by encouraging the centralisation of ownership of reindeer has resulted in decreasing workforce (Heikkinen et al., 2007, 21, 31) – diminishing the social dimension of herding. On the other hand, reindeer herders should not be expected to maintain traditional herding practices for the sake of preserving cultural continuity if they become counter-productive for the vitality of the livelihood. Furthermore, by understanding

³⁵ The interactive relationship to one's environment can be included to encompass the relationship between herder and reindeer. While an in-depth examination of this human-animal relationship is out of the scope for this study, there exists a great deal of research that focuses on it (see for example Anderson, 2014; Anderson, 2017; Beach & Stammler, 2006; Mazzullo, 2010).

³⁶ The role of social life in creating well-being is also acknowledged by some widespread political reports, for example by the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005).

what makes herding a meaningful way of life we can begin to gain a better understanding of why herders at times do engage in practices that seem counter-productive, for example in unprofitable supplementary feeding.

As studies on well-being have suggested, one part of being and living well is in one's the ability to engage in practices considered valuable and desirable by the individual and their community. For example, the ability of herders to practice reindeer herding in a way that supports their core values within their way of life. Mining and tourism as well can generate well-being through providing social activities and as sources of shared communal identity. The ability to work and to be able to support oneself and one's family, whether through tourism, herding or mining, is in itself important for one's sense of well-being. Nevertheless, by understanding herding as more than a source of income or as a "cultural hobby" we can begin to see that ensuring the viability of reindeer herding can be meaningful not only for the continuity of the livelihood but for the overall well-being and vitality of northern communities. The everyday practice of herding seems to have a role in generating well-being that goes beyond material well-being: it can be a reason to stay, a way to make life more fulfilling in the North.

3.2 Mining, materialism and the promise of communal continuity

Western culture has for a long time connected individual well-being with prosperity and high material standards of life (along with good physical health) (Marklund, 2013, 12). It is no wonder then, that the material goods and the economic progress brought by mining has been connected to the generation of "good-quality social life" through centuries ("Finland's Minerals Strategy", 2010; Naum, 2018, 785–786, Trigger, 1997, 164). Unlike with reindeer herding, the promises of mining are focused on the generation of material goods, economic progress and on the raising of "living standards" (Hirsch, 2008, 57, 61). Alongside focusing on the environmental impacts of mining, Finnish newspapers have highlighted the economic benefits of northern mining projects (Harju, 2019). The municipal officeholders I interviewed in Finnish Kolari in Article IV, hoped that the Hannukainen mine would boost the local economy, increase the population and "raise the general spirits" in the municipality. The single strongest argument for the mine was the creation of well-paid jobs (see also Kivinen et al., 2018, 16). This held true in the neighbouring Swedish Pajala as well (Poelzer & Ejdemo, 2018, 20).

However, the material-centric promises of mining that come with varying environmental costs simultaneously expose extractive projects to critique: instead

of generating well-being, the accumulation and consumption of resources can be seen as a threat to the well-being of societies and communities. In their study on the changing cultural meanings of greed, Oka and Kuijt (2014, 36) propose that global companies are today's icons of greed and excess. Out of all global industries, mining is perhaps the most strongly associated with this trait.³⁷ This association goes back to at least the 17th century (Naum, 2019, 2, 19).

According to Oka and Kuijt (2014, 41), the 16th and 17th centuries were marked by a belief that accumulation and consumption would lead to a well-being and prosperous society. Thus, greed was, in fact, good. However, the 21st century has largely been marked by a moral condemnation of greed, which is now seen as destructive for society. (2014, 41, 44). Later, we will see that even reindeer herding, a livelihood very different from mining when it comes to natural resource use, has faced accusations of greedy overconsumption of resources. Likewise, the informants opposing the reopening of the Finnish Hannukainen mine associated the project with greed in which case everything goes for the sake of money:

It'll start leaking somewhere, I think. That same thing may very well happen here, they'll kill the salmon in the waterway and no matter if they make some money (reindeer herder; Muonion Paliskunta, 2015).

Hence, whether mining is associated with the generation of well-being or ill-being, is also culturally understood.

The mining industry has come to represent the many hazards associated with modernity. The idea of the horrors of western way of life and of modernisation has a long and enduring history, driven by, for example, the ideas of counter-Enlightenment (as discussed by Pinker, 2002, 6–8; 2018, 29–35). According to Neil Thin, the anthropologists of the 20th century largely believed that modern civilisation and progress decreased human happiness. This belief was accompanied by an assumption that pre-industrial people, the “noble savages”, were not primarily motivated by material wealth and, because of that, they were happier than people in Western societies who were thought to “have largely reduced their motives to the selfish focus on financial profit.”. Thin claims that popular discourse along with many social scientists continue to share an assumption that people living in modern civilisations are less happy than they would be as hunter-gatherers – or perhaps as reindeer herders. (Thin, 2008, 141, 143, 134.)

³⁷ For example, a quick Google search offers numerous opinion pieces where it is suggested that current mining ventures are being driven by greed (see for example Hartio, 2015; Huttunen, 2018; Koskiniemi, 2012; Prashad, 2019; Rutledge, 2017; Widdup, 2018).

If we are to believe that modernisation decreases human well-being, we may be biased to think that there is something more noble in anti-utilitarian motives and downplay the importance of material well-being. Indeed, if land use negotiations are seen as a debate between different understandings of how to pursue the good life, is one way better than the others? Is the social connectedness and the interactive relationship with one's environment entailed in reindeer herding an inherently "better" way to pursue well-being than industrial development and the material wealth brought by mining?

I have been careful not to make an "anti-utilitarian interpretation" that the act of herding should be seen as a meaningful end in itself (Thin, 2008, 139). The reindeer herders in my study area do still maintain one of the core values of their livelihood that "reindeer should feed the man, not the other way around". They have to make a living like everybody else. Reindeer herding without the possibility of generating material well-being would damage the continuity of the livelihood. On the other hand, even though material wealth is emphasised when mining is discussed, this material wealth may symbolise communal continuity and lead to the generation of holistic well-being.

After all, all the talk about jobs and better pay and having new people move to the municipality because of a new mine are expressing a desire to have a prospering, well-being, vibrant community with a future. The meaningfulness of material wealth is thus connected to a promise of social well-being and of ensuring communal continuity. This makes me ponder if there is something about material wealth that holds universal appeal to human nature? Does the idea of having "more" bring us a sense of security? We are better able to take care of ourselves and others and thus are better able to secure a future for our community. Certainly, feeling that one doesn't have enough or as much as others is considered as a major psychosocial stressor and a reliable indicator of poor health (Sapolsky, 2004, 372–374).

4 Struggling to survive and struggling to live well

4.1 “Refusal to resist” and the social dimension of life

It was discussed earlier that individual well-being is to some degree bound with collective well-being. I suggest that the pursuit of living well and being well of livelihood groups is similarly being shaped, hindered and enabled by the social dynamics of their larger communities and societies. In this Chapter, I discuss why two herding communities, despite anticipating harmful impacts from mining projects and being unsatisfied with their planning processes, decided to not resist them (Article III). To understand the herders’ decision, I analyse how the structural conditions, livelihood characteristics, as well as the coexistence of co-operation, conflict and moral obligation in the local social dynamics created both incentives and limitations for their actions.

In Article III, I conceptualised the disparity between the herders’ public display of co-operation and private distress towards the mining projects as a *refusal to resist*. In other words, even though the two herding communities were against the mining projects, they did not resist them. Elisa Sobo (2016, 346) has used the concept of refusal similarly in her work when she defined a stance as “refusal to refuse” (vaccination) to indicate that a decision to vaccinate was in that case unusual. Such conceptualisation highlights the agency in the act of abstention as well as the fact that the herders chosen approach towards the projects seemed to serve a social purpose. For example, after my discussions with the municipal office-holders and mining company representatives in Kolari it became clear that they were under the misleading impression that the reindeer herders were feeling “cautiously positive” towards the planned mine. In public, the herders had largely hidden their anxieties towards the project.

For the herders I interviewed, the idea of resistance seemed useless as the arrival of mining appeared inevitable at the time. Neither of the herding communities believed that any of the assessed negative impacts on reindeer herding would prevent a mine from receiving its permits. In land use planning, northern municipalities in both Sweden and Finland tend to favour livelihoods that can bring more jobs and tax revenue than reindeer herding (Jernsletten & Klovov, 2002). Nevertheless, some municipalities have indeed rejected planned mining projects because of their potential negative impacts on reindeer herding, but only on areas

with Saami majority where herding is an economically meaningful industry for the whole municipality.³⁸ Considering this, the reindeer herders' pessimistic attitudes in this case study seem to indicate the lack of value they felt the society placed on their livelihoods, and above all the low social status they perceived they had in their own municipalities. This view of herders is important to note especially in the Finnish case. It was widely believed by the municipal residents and by the municipal office-holders I interviewed that, in Finland, municipalities have a final say regarding whether a land use project can be carried out on their area. We have yet to have a case in Finland though, that would either prove or disprove this theory. In any case, for a livelihood then, having the support of the local government could be crucial in land use negotiations.

Whereas the two reindeer herding communities in my study expressed a feeling of lack of support from their municipalities, the opposite was true for the planned mining projects. Both mining projects in Pajala and Kolari were at first surrounded by an aura of excitement that reached almost utopian like proportions (I will discuss this more in-depth in Chapter 5). There was tremendous social pressure for the herders to welcome the projects as they resided in communities that were heavily pro-mining. For example, the herding leader of Muonio Sameby explained in a news article that public resistance towards the mine in the small Swedish Pajala community would be "social suicide" (Nordberg Juuso, 2013).

Moreover, my informants feared that at best, protesting might only worsen other people's already negative perceptions of reindeer herding and cause conflict within the municipalities. Indeed, much like mining today, reindeer herding too is a controversial livelihood and the public discourse around herding is similarly polarised. For example, in 2017 the Finnish news media reported that reindeer herding has "become a problem" and an environmental threat in Lapland (Miettinen, 2017). According to Lydia Heikkilä (2003), the media tends to highlight the negative features of herding.³⁹ Such discourse has its roots in environmentalism, and it has strong moral undertones: reindeer herding is "too modern" a livelihood and herders themselves are close to environmental criminals by maintaining oversized herds and by "hating" predators. Heikkilä claims that reindeer herding's

³⁸ The Arctic Gold mining project in Kautokeino, Norway, in 2015 (the case is discussed more in-depth in Johnsen, 2016; Nygaard, 2016) and a project by the Karelian Diamond Resources in Utsjoki, Finland, in 2015 (O'Donoghue, 2015). It should be noted also, that in Finland there are no mines in operation in the Saami native region in the northernmost Lapland.

³⁹ See Heikkilä (2003; 2006) on the public discourse around reindeer herding, or what she calls "reindeer talk".

negative public image has worsened their possibilities to influence land use negotiations. (Heikkilä, 2003, 135, 137, 139.) Furthermore, reindeer herding is criticised in general for being an unprofitable livelihood that is maintained by taxpayer money (Beach, 2004, 119; Heikkinen, 2002, 253). In addition, reindeer herding can often have a negative reputation within the local communities they operate. Because herding is a land-intensive livelihood, it is almost always at odds with new development projects, causing conflicts with other local actors. The livelihood can be regarded as an obstacle for northern industrial development. (Beach, 1997, 130; Beach, 2004, 119; Heikkilä, 2003, 140; Heikkinen, 2002, 253; Pape & Löffler, 2012.)

While herding has been promoted as a sustainable way to manage northern ecosystems (Burkhard & Müller, 2006), the livelihood has faced accusations of threatening the northern landscapes by overgrazing since the 1980s (den Herder et al., 2003; Tømmervick et al. 2004). Jarno Valkonen has made an interesting suggestion regarding the source of criticism on reindeer herding. According to him, the livelihood fails to match up with the outside expectations of what herding should be: a traditional livelihood that holds up the image of Lapland as a mythic wilderness. (2003, 193–194.) Not only then is reindeer herding at odds with aspirations of development, it also does not fit into the image of “noble savages in the wilderness” either – the two cultural dreams projected onto Lapland.

The herders in my case study from Article III did have means to defend their livelihood regardless of having no support from their municipalities or despite the recommendations of the official planning processes. We conclude in Article II that these days, the free media offers local communities a way to affect the outcome of planned mining projects. As discussed earlier, tourism entrepreneurs in Äkäslompolo have been vocal of their opposition of the Hannukainen mine in the media (Kyytsönen, 2018; Leisti, 2017; Raunio, 2017; Säilä, 2014). Having a sustainable image is important for modern mining companies and they regard the media as the forum that reveals the state of a company’s public image. According to a mining company representative in Article II, if a company does not have the “social license” to mine you can “read it in the newspapers”. Bad publicity can in turn have a negative effect on a project’s financing. Thus, local people can influence the outcome of planned projects through generating negative publicity. Additionally, in a case where a minority group like reindeer herders does not have the support of their larger communities, they may gain the support of the greater public instead by going to the media.

However, the herding communities in this study did not utilise the media to their advantage. Even during the distressing communications break Muonio Sameby had with Northland Sweden Ltd., the herding leader stressed to me that he would go to the media only if the negotiations would not be restarted. Indeed, in order to understand the herders' refusal to resist the mining projects, we must first understand the nature of the herding livelihood and reindeer herders as members of larger social communities, to whom it is valuable to have good social relations. However, it is worth mentioning, that the decided approach was not uncontested within the herding communities. Particularly in the Muonio Paliskunta some herders expressed disappointment with the fact that they were not, as a group, openly protesting the mine (Article III).

The desire of the herders to co-operate should be seen against the nature of reindeer herding as a way of life that entails a particular attitude towards the environment. Article I illustrates how both co-operation and adaptation are fundamental elements of reindeer herding. Hence, negotiating with a mining company could be at least partly embedded in this general "dialogic" attitude of reindeer herders towards the co-inhabitants of their world. Other researchers regarding the broader worldview of herders have made similar findings. Johnsen et al. (2017) discuss how for Saami herders in West Finnmark, Norway, it is important to "seek balance" in the relationship between nature, reindeer and humans. Oskal (2000, 179) notes that according to Saami worldview "reindeer herders should not conquer the world but try to get along with it and come to an understanding with it". It does not seem too farfetched to speculate, that "seeking balance" with one's environment could be, not only a necessary skill for herding, but also a part of a broader outlook on *how to live well* as a herder.

Having said that, the herders' stance towards the mines should not be solely attributed to characteristics and traditions of their livelihood – on account of all the herding communities that have chosen to resist development projects, such as the Kallak mine in Kvikkjokk, Sweden (Hughes 2014). The social and political circumstances surrounding the chosen strategy should always be accounted for. However, the co-operative ethos in reindeer herding makes a decision to resist seem all but self-evident. Perhaps in some cases, resistance has been a reaction against the fact that this co-operative ethos is used against herding in land use planning, by appealing to a "diehard myth of the continuous adaptability" of reindeer herding despite the increasingly shrinking pastures (Lawrence & Larsen, 2017, 8). The decision to resist then could be a conscious denial of the existence of this co-

operative ethos in an attempt to end the use of this myth against herding in land use negotiations.

While saying “no” is a deliberate move away from something, it is simultaneously a move towards something else (McGranahan 2016, 319–320). By refusing to resist, the herders of this study were opening a path towards future co-operation with the mining companies. We should not assume though, that behind refusal to resist there would always be a desire for co-operation. Stammeler and Ivanova (2016) describe a case between a Russian reindeer herding community and a mining company whose relations with each other are characterised by *co-ignorance*, where there is no conflict but no co-operation either between the two parties. Thus, a community’s decision to refuse to resist could precede either co-operation or co-ignorance. Both co-operation and co-ignorance avoid the social conflict that comes with resistance. With the latter approach though, the community has decided not to engage at all with the development project. Refusal to engage with the permitting and planning processes of development projects, an act of refusing the authority of the State and institutional structures (McGranahan 2016, 323), may be a valid approach for some local communities, as suggested by Lawrence and Larsen (2017, 12).

However, the reindeer herders in this case study seemed to believe that co-operation and being proactive would offer them a better chance to ensure the continuity of their livelihood. Protesting the mine had the potential to protect their livelihood if successful, but it would also endanger the herders’ relationship to the mining company and to other members of the municipality. It would be more useful for reindeer herders to be able to negotiate with the mining company and try to find ways to adjust mining operations to reindeer herding, instead of herders alone trying to adapt to mining. For example, it would have been paramount for the mining company to co-operate with Muonio Sameby on arranging the truck transportation of ore in order to diminish reindeer fatalities:

We have had good conversations and we want this transportation as well, and that it would be as much as possible arranged the way we want it. That they [mining company] would listen to us, understand us, that now it is important to direct the road there, make a protective fence here, because we have a lot of reindeer on this area during such and such a month. That they would listen to us and not just start driving. (Muonio Sameby, 2011)

In addition, public co-operation with mining companies was seen as a way to better people's negative perceptions towards herding. Especially for the Swedish Muonio Sameby, the mining company also appeared as a potential ally.

Maintaining healthy relationships with other land users and members of the local community thus appeared as an integral element of securing the continuity of their livelihood in long-term. This willingness to co-operate is at least as much born out of necessity to protect one's livelihood, as it is the result of a worldview that values harmonious relations. Entering disputes was a problem for herders, as an older herder sagely remarked: "a reindeer herder needs no enemies" (Muonio Paliskunta, 2015). He went on to explain that their livelihood is vulnerable to outside malevolence since the herders' possession, the reindeer, are out in the open. For example, there have been recent news reports of two separate cases of free-grazing reindeer from Muonio Paliskunta being shot or wounded with an air rifle (Lakkala, 2017; Lauri, 2018). I find it quite telling that in the interviews I had with reindeer herders, the wish for healthy social relations often manifested in descriptions of their absence: whether it was the lack of co-operation with a husky safari entrepreneur over their routes, the unwillingness of municipal office-holders to familiarise themselves with reindeer herding, or the lack of dialogue with the mining company.

In addition to healthy social relations, having some degree of control over one's future may be a necessary requirement for well-being and for living a life that feels meaningful. Pohjola and Valkonen (2012) identified the feeling of a lack of control over one's livelihood as a major threat to reindeer herders' well-being. Likewise, in Article I, we defined preconditions for future adaptation of reindeer herding together with members from four herding communities. The three preconditions were: 1. to revise and improve the subsidy systems, 2. to modify the predator policy in both Sweden and Finland, and 3. to negotiate and co-operate more with other land users. Two things are noteworthy here. First, out of the three major preconditions identified, two are not in the reindeer herders' own hands but rely on the actions of external institutional frames (e.g. laws, environmental management, other land uses) and of the greater society. Second, the preferred approach for herders in my study area to deal with increasing land use was by co-operation, not resistance.

When examined against the broader circumstances concerning the possibilities of herding communities to influence their overall situation, refusal to resist comes across as an approach that offered the herders in this study a possibility to gain some agency over their future. Accepting one's inability of action would mean

accepting one's own powerlessness. When the lack of opposition can be seen as a choice, as Sobo (2016, 343) observed, it enables the herders to define their situation in their own terms. Refusal to resist then, does not necessarily indicate a submission to the hegemony of mining discourse from herders. Most importantly, perhaps, the case in Article III illustrates the worry of Owen and Kemp (2013) towards the possibility of interpreting the absence of resistance as a "social license" to mine. Defining a local community's approach to a development project as "refusal to resist" could be a useful way to bring forth the lack of consent in a situation that is otherwise characterised by willingness for co-operation and a lack of visible conflict.

Lastly, this Chapter is based on interview material I collected between 2011–2015. Since then, the approach of the Finnish Muonion Paliskunta regarding the reopening of the Hannukainen mining project seems to have changed. In 2017, the herding community gave a public announcement on a Facebook page "Pro Ylläs", now declaring their opposition towards the planned mine. The public announcement is said to be brought on by land use planning decisions made by the local government which not only would designate an area for mining activities that is currently being utilised by reindeer herding but was made without negotiating with the herding community. (Pro Ylläs, 2017.) The announcement illustrates the fact that local attitudes towards mining are always viable to change. It also supports my conclusions in this Chapter regarding the importance of co-operation. The herders in Muonion Paliskunta had refused to resist the mining project with hopes of reciprocity and co-operation with other local actors. Their public opposition seems to be a reaction to the unwillingness of the local government to meet the needs of reindeer herding.

4.2 On the weight of the "common good"

That individual well-being is to some degree bound with collective well-being and that ensuring the communal continuity is in the individual's interest, are likely relevant factors in land use negotiations. The case in Article III suggests that the struggles of local livelihood groups amid land use negotiations are not only about struggles to secure the control over resources in land use negotiations. At times, the pursuit of social groups to secure their own interests may be countered with a moral obligation towards other members of the community. Additionally, individuals and groups may make sacrifices for the sake of the greater good to ensure the continuity and well-being of their wider communities.

Likewise, the herders in Article III were struggling with a moral dilemma concerning the mining projects. On one hand, they hoped to maintain their own way of life. On the other hand, they seemed to question whether it was morally right to publicly try to stop the mines from coming given the possible benefits it could bring to the wider community. They knew that their small livelihood could not offer a living to the majority of the people in their municipalities. This moral dilemma manifested also within the herding community itself: should a single herder facing devastating negative impacts from the mine accept the decision not to resist the mine if the continuity of their way of life as a whole could be secured? In this light, the herding communities' refusal to resist seems like a compromise between the two obligations: their own survival versus the survival of the greater community.

Fischer (2014, 179) notes that cross-cultural studies utilising the Ultimatum Game⁴⁰ have shown that individuals tend to choose co-operation at the expense of their immediate material self-interest. Therefore, social dynamics of land use negotiations should not be limited only to examinations of power relations where the "interest" groups are analysed through the framework of a power struggle, in which they end up as either "winners" or "losers". It may be useful to also examine the different social groups in land use negotiations as members of larger social units whose well-being may be in the interest of everyone involved.

Land use negotiations can raise profound questions about the future of one's community and about one's ability to make a living and continue one's way of life, as in the case studies presented here. I suggest that industrial land use projects, such as mining, with major potential impacts on local communities, can bring about a "moral breakdown" in the members of the affected communities. According to Jarrett Zigon (2008, 165) a moral breakdown "occurs when some event or person intrudes into the everyday life of a person and forces them to consciously reflect upon the appropriate ethical response (be it words, silence, action or non-action)". In the case of land use negotiations, the result of a moral breakdown would be reflected in the response towards a planned project – is it resistance, support or

⁴⁰ As explained by Fischer (2014, 163): "In the Ultimatum Game, two players are anonymously paired with each other and a sum of money (x) is given in cash to Player A. Player A's sole move is to offer Player B a portion (y) of the total x . Knowing the amount (x) that Player A has received, Player B's one move is to either accept or reject the offer. If Player B accepts, he keeps the money offered (y) and Player A keeps the rest ($x - y$). If Player B rejects the offer, the money is returned to the main pot and neither player receives anything. Thus, the game consists entirely of Player A making an offer and Player B either accepting or rejecting that offer."

being silent? As we have seen, in the case of herders of this study, their response was refusal to resist the projects.

One could ask, was there a lack of similar sense of obligation towards the greater community on the behalf of the local tourism entrepreneurs who did resist the mine in the Finnish Kolari municipality? Not necessarily. The response from tourism entrepreneurs should be seen against the prominent role nature-based tourism currently has in Kolari. Unlike somewhat marginal reindeer herding, tourism industry is currently the biggest employer in Kolari. From the perspective of tourism entrepreneurs, the future of the municipality relies on the continuity of their livelihood. Because, in the eyes of the tourism entrepreneurs, the mere existence of the mine would threaten the continuity of their livelihood (discussed more in-depth in Chapter 5), resisting the mine is an attempt towards securing the continuity and well-being of their community as a whole. As one tourism entrepreneur described the social ill-being and uncertainty the mine would bring:

We are talking about great social conflicts and economic losses here. For 20 years of work. I don't understand who does it serve. Not to mention about my children and grandchildren... What about the people who are, what happens after the 20 years? (2015)

Researchers have rightfully pointed out that appeals to the greater common good can be used to consistently override the interests of minority groups in land use planning (see for example Raitio, 2003, 204; Smith, 1997). Indeed, it is not without problems, to discuss that individuals and individual groups may at times put the common good before their own interests or feel conflicted by going against it. These kinds of statements could easily be turned into a demand to do so, which is not my intention here. Nevertheless, to reduce the weight of the greater common good and the well-being of one's broader community, to just that, a tool of subordination, would dismiss a profound part of social reality and of being a social animal.

Audra Simpson (2016, 331) has made a necessary remark that there is "nothing easy" about refusal. Indeed, there is an element of self-sabotage in refusal that I argue should not be dismissed or romanticised. In the reindeer herding communities' refusal to resist the planned mining projects, there is an imminent personal and communal cost with no certainty of deliverance. Behind the herders' willingness to take such a risk may be their readiness to sacrifice economic profitability to secure the continuity of their way of life, as discussed in Chapter 3.1. Despite the Muonio Sameby's efforts at building alliances with the mining company, they were left

without compensation after the Swedish Tapuli mine went bankrupt (Nyberg, 2017). The negotiations between Muonio Sameby and the new mining company Kaunis Iron are ongoing, but a year after the Swedish mine was relaunched the herding community remains without a compensation agreement. Nevertheless, in a news article concerning the state of relations between the mining company and Muonio Sameby, the new herding leader acknowledges again the benefits the mine could bring for the rest of the Pajala community. (Länk, 2019.)

Michael Lambek (2010, 1) has a notion that I find to be at the centre of local land use negotiations, that people “are trying to do what they consider right or good, are being evaluated according to criteria of what is right and good, or are in some debate about what constitutes the human good”. And, just like Lambek argues, in research this struggle is often neglected in favour of emphasising power and conflicting “interests”. We should represent the full spectrum of the motivations behind people’s actions. Part of that is acknowledging the struggle of trying to do what is right, while trying to live well as part of one’s community, even though it may come at a cost of personal happiness and well-being. The important thing to note here, is that without doubt all the parties of the conflict here, reindeer herders, tourism entrepreneurs and mining proponents, were trying to do what *they* considered right and good.

5 Dreaming of a better future in the North

5.1 Dream industry, harm industry

During my research on the local dispute around the Hannukainen mine in the Finnish Kolari municipality, I learned that the expectations towards the possible reopening of the old mine had reached dreamlike levels before the project was shut down. Likewise, according to studies made by Waara et al. (2008, 3, 9) and Haikola and Anshelm (2018), the planned Tapuli mine in the neighbouring Swedish Pajala municipality had attained near “myth-like elements” among the locals and had become a target of overblown dreams before it was shut down.

When my informants opposing the mine in Kolari described the atmosphere in the municipality, they repeatedly used words that emphasised the irrational nature of the excitement surrounding the mine: people backing the mining project were said to be “daydreaming”, half of Finland was “infatuated” with mines and the arrival of mining had been touted as a “paradise” in Kolari. Among residents of Kolari, the reopening of the Hannukainen mine had spurred on wild visions of turning the mining remains into ski slope, swimming pool or a ski resort after the mine would be shut down – visions that everyone I interviewed thought were unrealistic, especially considering that until then nothing had been done to restore the previous mining remains. Municipal office-holders confessed to me that they had continued to believe in the project, even after they had started to have doubts concerning the mining company’s ability to plan and operate a working mine. What I found out is that the cases of Pajala and Kolari are not one-off instances but local manifestations of a larger phenomenon around mining.

I argue in Article IV that there is a recurring phenomenon of mining projects being targets of dreams of prosperity and of a better future. With dreams, I refer to expectations that are peculiarly overblown and persistent, despite the fact that they rarely materialise in full, if at all. This phenomenon can be found among communities from various cultural and geographical backgrounds (see recent research addressing expectations towards modern mining projects: Engwicht, 2018; Filer & Macintyre, 2006; Haikola & Anshelm, 2018; Pijpers, 2016; Poelzer & Ejdemo, 2018; Wiegink, 2018). Likewise, according to Herva and Lahelma (2019, 35–36, 40) the early modern mining ventures in northern Fennoscandia had a distinctive utopian, or “irrational” dimension to them, and this “utopian legacy” can be identified still in the current mining projects. These dreams affect not only how

local communities may respond to planned mining projects but also how our societies in general approach mining.

Part of the attraction with mines lies in related technological achievements and in the idea that with technology humans can overcome the chaos of nature. In the early modern period, mines were subjects of fascination with their potential for scientific exploration, diverse subterranean phenomena, and technological innovations (Naum, 2019). To the municipal office-holders I interviewed, a successful mine without negative impacts was a matter of good planning. Thus, their trust in mining seemed to derive from a general trust in technology and rational calculations. In similar fashion, David Trigger (1997) has suggested that modern mining is entailed with development ideology. The image of mining that the industry wishes to portray is that of “greatness of economic success linked to grandeur of technological scale and high-quality human performance”. (Trigger, 1997, 166.)

Hence, an important element in the mining discourse is depicting technical achievements of mining, by for example “repetitive proclamations about the extremely large scale of the technology” (Trigger, 1997, 165). During my visits to Kolari, I noticed that this rhetoric was employed by the Finnish representatives of Northland Mines. I heard many times the proud proclamation, intended to impress its listeners, that Hannukainen would become the “Europe’s largest open-pit mine”. While the massive scale of the mine was the very reason that turned the tourism entrepreneurs against the project (Article IV), monuments in general have through time fascinated human nature. Be it manmade Egyptian pyramids and modern skyscrapers or natural formations such as the Grand Canyon, monuments inspire awe and fear in us. The 19th century romanticism even had a name for these kinds of places, though it applied only to natural formations. *Sublime* landscapes were places that inspired feelings of both awe and fear (Cronon, 1996, 9–10) – similar feelings that can be evoked by standing near vast open-pit mines.

In addition, in our culture, mines are constructed as a source of wealth (see also Filer & Macintyre, 2006).⁴¹ While this construction is undoubtedly related to the concrete material gains brought on by mines, the unrealistically high expectations towards mining projects may also arise from an association of mines with treasures. I suggest in Article IV that a deep-rooted cultural association between mines and

⁴¹ While we should not assume that cultural constructions of mining do not vary around the world, it is quite interesting that Filer and Macintyre found this same association of mining with wealth in a very different cultural context in Melanesia.

treasures can be traced back to early modern understandings of ore deposits as gifts (Fors, 2015, 31–32, 35). Finnish folklore contains numerous stories regarding hidden treasures and of instructions for obtaining them (Sarmela, 2007, 452–459). Both hidden treasures and underground metals and minerals are characterised by great potential accompanied with great uncertainty. It is not uncommon to see metals and minerals referred to as “treasures” in present-day Finnish news articles about mining (see for example Malin, 2008; Ronkainen, 2018). Treasures embody the human dream of gaining happiness through sudden wealth (Sarmela, 2007, 452–459). Likewise, metals and minerals today hold a symbolic value beyond their mere material worth through their inherent promise of a better future (Engwicht, 2018, 263). Thus, mining entails the “promise of happiness” that Sara Ahmed (2010) has written about. This promise leads to perceiving mining as something “good” and “right”. From this follows that those who advocate something that is perceived as good, must therefore be good and “right” also.

Hence, I argue that support towards mining projects is built upon, not only on real-life developments and rational calculations, but also on underlying cultural dreams and meanings given to mining and metals. It is fruitful to compare my argument to our findings in Article II. Here, we demonstrate how local attitudes towards mining projects are connected not only to developments in the actual mining sites, but also to processes taking place in other localities, for example to the failure of the Finnish Talvivaara mine (Rautakoura, 2012). We conclude that while companies can use success stories for promoting new mines, failed projects could turn the public opinion negative towards mining. Furthermore, we note that local support towards a planned mine may change if the reality fails to meet the promises made by mining companies.

However, after continuing local research, my conclusions in Article IV introduce a new level of examination for the approach utilised in Article II. My findings in Article IV suggest that peoples’ attitudes towards mining projects do not necessarily follow or cannot be predicted only from real-world developments. Local mining operations are also linked to wider sociocultural imaginaries that surpass various spatial and temporal scales. In fact, local belief in mining may persist despite having had negative experiences with mining or seeing examples of failed projects. Local support towards mining persisted both in Kolari and in Pajala (Haikola & Anshelm, 2018, 27) even after the failure of the new mining projects. Other studies have made similar findings where local communities stay enthusiastic towards new mining projects despite having negative past experiences with mining. As Filer and Macintyre noted, there is enough evidence of wealth brought by

mining to feed fantasy-like expectations towards new mining projects. (Filer & Macintyre, 2006, 224.) It is perhaps exactly this inherent promise in mines, of a better future, that despite the uncertainty of success continues to maintain their allure.

But could these overblown expectations accompanying new mining projects simply be a product of propaganda meant to harness people to support the goals of mining companies and the state? For example, Veli-Pekka Tynkkynen (2016a; 2016b; 2019) has studied how the biggest gas company in Russia is engaging people to further the interests of both the company and the state by controlling the narrative around the gas industry and by making promises of a better, prosperous future. Certainly, the need to try to convince locals of the benefits of state-driven mines was acknowledged already in the early modern period. Negative responses towards mining were countered with assurances of the mines' benefits for the local people (Naum, 2018, 3–4). Similarly, Leena Suopajarvi (2015, 36) argues that the rhetoric in the social impact assessments of new mining projects during the 2000s in Finnish Lapland legitimised mining. Moreover, the current operation model in the mining industry helps to fuel fantasy-like expectations towards new projects. According to Anna Tsing (2000, 120, 127) mining industry's dependency on external finances has created an operation model where funding for projects is partly attracted by grandiose promises and by making the projects "look better than they are".

I agree with Robbins (2013, 457) that dreams of a better future "can be put to use in ideological projects that support the continued existence of structures of suffering". However, I also agree that this would offer a very limited perspective on studying imaginations. The excitement around the Swedish Pajala mine for example was fuelled not only by company representatives and consultants but by financial analysts and local politicians, as well as government and State representatives (Haikola & Anshelm, 2018, 578). Today, regional and national governments perceive mining as the solution to unemployment, economic decline and out-migration in northern parts of Finland and Sweden. Reminiscent of the hopes attached to mining hundreds of years before, the mining industry is entrusted to turn "a depopulated region into a region of the future". (Persson, Harnesk & Islar, 2017, 23; Suopajarvi, 2015, 45.) It seems all too cynical to assume that all the hype surrounding new mining projects would merely be the results of carefully planned and coordinated propaganda strategies.

Making promises of happiness and well-being in the argumentation of land use negotiations is not necessarily inherently suspicious. If we agree with Fischer (2014,

1), the purpose of economics and politics should be understood as providing the good life for people that fits their understanding of well-being. The problem then would arise in situations where there is disagreement whether a certain project would in fact enhance well-being for local people. In that case, no doubt, assurances by the state or mining companies are in danger of sounding like attempts at manipulation and justification to people who have other ideas about how to pursue well-being or whose pursuit of the good life, for example through reindeer herding or nature-based tourism, is being threatened by these development projects.

However, the views of reindeer herders and tourism entrepreneurs regarding what Lapland needs do not represent all people living in Lapland. As I discuss in Article IV, with the municipality of Kolari as an example, there are many people in northern Finland and Sweden to whom nature-based tourism and reindeer herding cannot offer a meaningful future. Their expectations towards the planned mining projects, which may or may not be fulfilled by establishing a mine for 20 years, are nevertheless born out of very real local needs. As Tsing (2000, 121) points out, the success of the dreamlike promises of mining projects depends on their compatibility with regional, national and local “dreams”. Tynkkynen (2016a, 395) as well acknowledges that the promises made by the Russian gas company discussed earlier are also responding to the needs and expectations of the Russian people. We should not dismiss the dreams of those locals who do want mining projects as simply “misguided” or as not truly representing what the “locals” want, even if it does not fit into some preconceived notion of how people should think about mining or what local people should want for Lapland – indeed, even if it does not fit into *our* ideas regarding what Lapland does and does not need.

In the end, having a pristine environment may mean very little if it comes with a dying municipality. This takes us to the importance the ability to dream of a better future has for our overall sense of well-being. For communities such as Kolari and Pajala, whose schools and services are closing, and people are moving out, mining projects may bring a promise of, not only future prosperity, but the possibility to have a future to begin with. For example, the members of the Swedish municipality of Pajala considered the project to be their “last chance” (Waara et al., 2008, 3). To claim that mining is a hurt business (Benson & Kirsch, 2010, 461, 465, 471), period, or that mining is extractive violence (Sehlin MacNeil, 2017), period, would dismiss the fact that dreams of a better future are very much an important part of the mining business too. Their effect on land use negotiations need to be taken into consideration.

5.2 Dreams of prosperity, dreams of wilderness and the nightmarish reality of ambivalence

In Article IV, I introduce two simultaneous and contrary cultural dreams projected onto the North. As I discussed earlier, there exists a long tradition of situating visions of upcoming prosperity in the North. The North has been seen as a resource and as an industrial space. From the 19th century onwards, the North has also been constructed as a utopian wilderness. These two contrasting cultural projections of the North enable simultaneous and conflicting visions placed on the region. The North is, on the one hand, an area of untouched nature and, on the other hand, promising ground for mining activities.

The existence of these two contrary cultural dreams or projections has led to a tension between environmental preservation and economic progress concerning attitudes towards the North. While these dreams have a long history, they continue to influence future visions concerning how to pursue the good life in contemporary Lapland: through preserving its “untouched” nature, or through generation of development. The mining industry happens to resonate with both visions by making promises of prosperity and by posing a threat of environmental catastrophes. Hence, I argue that the existence of these contrary cultural dreams is one reason behind the polarisation of discussions around northern mining projects such as in the case of the Hannukainen mine that was planned on an area marketed as wilderness in Finnish Kolari.

These visions of the North influence local perceptions of desirable future directions and choices regarding how to pursue well-being. In both cultural projections, the North is constructed as a periphery. However, “periphery” can be viewed to be either a positive or a negative feature. When periphery signifies political and economic marginality, it is inherently a negative feature (Valkonen, 2003, 204). In that case, the unwanted peripheriness can be dispelled by establishing industrial projects such as mining. This is one of the current strategies in Finland for preventing out-migration from Lapland (Suopajarvi, 2015).

However, being a “periphery” can also be a desirable thing. Local livelihoods, such as reindeer herding and nature-based tourism, thrive with large open spaces. In their case, the peripheriness of Lapland is a desirable feature, not an unwanted one that needs to be dispelled with development projects. For example, developments in Lapland that are generally considered as undesirable progress can be beneficial for local reindeer herders. In the southern reindeer herding area, decline in farming and out-migration have released new space for herding and

doing so, decreased conflicts between herders and other locals. (Pakkanen & Valkonen, 2012, 28.) Periphery can also signify a frontier where society ends and nature begins, a wilderness (Valkonen, 2003, 204). In this scenario, there is no ideological place for industrial projects.

Within these dreams of a better tomorrow, is the idea that life so far has been unsatisfactory and needs to be improved. In the two cultural projections of North, it is the outsider, the mining company, the nation state, or the foreign tourists and tourism organisations, striking claims what Lapland should and should not be according to their own ideas of what is good: a resource for development, or a wilderness for tourism. It is noteworthy, that while the Northland Mines was still in operation, the mining company representatives I interviewed identified second-home owners as the most vocal group opposing the mine. The fact that the petition against the mine has by now garnered over 50 000 names illustrates the fact that the case of the Hannukainen mine has evolved from a local affair into a national concern in Finland (Pikkarainen, 2019). If mining is framed as *resource colonialism* (Naum & Nordin, 2013, 4), then nature-based tourism as well could be seen as a form of *ideological colonialism*. In both, the North is exploited or constructed for outside needs in ways that disregard whatever ideas the locals may have about their own situation.

Nonetheless, while the dream of northern wilderness and the dream of upcoming prosperity may originate from outside projections on the North, these dreams are simultaneously locally adopted and produced, as was the case in Kolari. Local communities dependent on nature-based tourism need to uphold what they know to be an illusion of wilderness for tourists. As an elderly tourism entrepreneur put it, tourists in Äkäslompolo “think they are in untamed wilderness”, alluding to the fact that the locals know this is not the case. The Pallas-Yllästunturi National Park, for example, is a workspace for reindeer herders, where they can drive freely with quad bikes while tourists stay on the marked trails. Nevertheless, the idea of having windmills near Äkäslompolo was unheard-of for both tourism entrepreneurs and for the municipal office-holders, who did not have a problem with the planned mine, I interviewed for they would ruin the landscape. On the other hand, unlike the lights from the planned mine, the lights from ski-slopes were not a problem. Thus, local living is dependent on outside perceptions they have little to no control of, and local development projects need to fit into a narrow and fuzzy idea of what a “wilderness” is. One tourism entrepreneur pondered on the irrationalities inherent in both tourism and mining:

And then somebody is making a mine and I am against it, it does not make me a better person. I am in this same damn machine with this tourism. Making fake snow in the winter and heating swimming pools when it is minus 40 degrees. Just as insane. So, it is a matter of which insanity is ultimately more insane and here we are that there is no right answer. (2015)

The dreams of wilderness and of prosperity both paint a black-and-white picture of mining activities and of the relationship between mining and nature-based tourism. The reality, however, is characterised by ambivalence. Our culture has for centuries had an uneasy relationship with mining, which is echoed in current discussions around extractive industries. The debate regarding the justification of mining is not a modern phenomenon but was just as passionate during the 17th century as it is today. The argumentation for and against mining has likewise remained remarkably similar. More or less, the debate continues to revolve around the moral acceptability of human interference in the subterranean that mining requires. According to Magdalena Naum, in the early modern period, much like today, the critics of the past considered mining as an “unnatural” and “destructive” activity that was driven by human greed and would cause harmful social and environmental repercussions by “wounding the organic body of the Earth”. On the other hand, the proponents of mining felt that the human intervention and control of nature was justified and appealed to the material benefits gained from mining. (Naum, 2019, 2–3, 19.)

Therefore, while mining projects can pose a concrete threat to local livelihoods and cause real environmental problems, our society’s difficult relationship with mining may also be related to the fact that there is something unsettling about mining in general. Besides immediate conflicts of interests (e.g. over land use), disputes around mining may echo deeper moral and “existential” issues. Certainly, if nature-based tourism and reindeer herding create certain kind of ideas of how to live well as part of one’s environment the unsustainable use of non-renewable resources for short-term benefits in mining would most probably go against it.

While there are characteristics of mining that seem to appeal to human nature, as discussed previously, there may be something morally and cosmologically unnerving, troubling and disturbing in engaging with the subterranean worlds. For example, there are many examples in popular culture that indicate the morally questionable nature of mining. In J.R.R. Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings* (1995 [1954]) mining too greedily into a mountain releases a destructive entity, Balrog. In James Cameron’s movie *Avatar* (2009), the whole existence of the planet of the indigenous Na’vi is being threatened by extractive resource use. These modern

examples could, of course, be explained by the fact that the history of industrial mining is marred by environmental catastrophes, social problems and even violence and warfare (Ballard & Banks, 2003). Nevertheless, the attitudes of the people living in the early modern period were not influenced by similar experiences of mining and yet, many of them held deep suspicions against the act of disturbing the underground.

Indeed, there seems to be a disconnect in our society between utilising the goods that are the product of mining and accepting that in order to have these goods we need to have mines somewhere. We are utterly dependent on something we do not really approve of. There is even a term for this phenomenon of widespread social non-acceptance of mining: NIMBY (Not In My Backyard), which can be described as resistance of inhabitants towards a development project which would serve other purposes than local. The existence of this phenomenon is referenced commonly in regard to mining projects (see Menegaki & Kaliampakos, 2014) and some researchers seem to treat it almost as a “syndrome” of sorts (see for example Badera, 2014).

Related to a similar issue, Tynkkynen (2019, 60) has noted in his research concerning energy cultures, how alienated European consumers have become concerning fossil energy. He ponders whether the Russian way of making a society’s dependency on energy visible in the everyday life would be a more rational way to deal with the issue.⁴² Likewise, our culture and lifestyle are built on the products of mining: aircraft, bus, train, cars, phones, televisions, fertilisers, medical practices like minor and major surgery, conduction of water, electricity and gas and the processing of solar, wind and water energy all need minerals (Taylor, 2014). Furthermore, extractive practices have been essential in many of the major transformations in the human past. To gain an understanding on the importance of metals and minerals for human development in the Western thinking, one only needs to look at how the periods of human (technological) prehistory are named in archeology: the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age.

In the same way, while the immediate relationship between reindeer herding and mining, or between tourism and mining, in the Torne River Valley is characterised by conflict, the relationship between the livelihoods as a whole is complex. Mining ventures have not only threatened but also aided the pursuit of the good life through tourism and reindeer herding. Mining and tourism have been intertwined in northernmost Europe since the early modern period. Sweden’s first

⁴² Though he makes clear that there are evident issues with the Russian energy culture as well.

copper and iron mines were tourist attractions (Naum, 2019). Finnish Lapland's 150-year history with gold prospecting continues to have a significant role in tourism (Partanen, 1999; Stigzelius, 1987). In the 1980s, nature-based tourism and mining coexisted in Kolari without problems. Back then, the Rautuvaara and Hannukainen mines operated on a smaller scale but also the expectations of tourists were different than they are today (Article IV). Also, the tourism industry in the present-day Kolari has benefitted indirectly from the existence of mining in the area, with creation of beneficial infrastructure. Now, the mere presence of mining in the area threatens the existence of nature-based tourism due to an ideological incompatibility.

Likewise, some herders from Muonio Sameby had occasionally been working in the nearby Swedish Kiiruna mine in order to earn supplementary income. Many of the adaptation measures and of the technology currently utilised by herders in Torne River Valley (Article I), are made possible by the existence of mining. This new technology has improved the work safety for herders and possibly enhanced their well-being. What is more, given how new technology has contributed to some major transformations in herding practices, modern reindeer herding is, to some extent, the product of a culture built on mining and oil – certainly not separate from it. Of course, these indirect effects of mining on reindeer herding have not been entirely positive. Mechanisation of herding, though voluntarily embraced, is one of the lead reasons behind the livelihood's poor profitability. The direct impact of having mining in the same area on the other hand, as discussed before, can be catastrophic for herding activities.

Mining can cause concrete, serious environmental and social repercussions and threaten local well-being. The overt polarisation of public discussions around northern mining, does not, however, provide a complete picture of either the local realities of dealing with planned mining projects or of the relationship between mining and local livelihoods, namely nature-based tourism and reindeer herding. Polarisation emphasises the negative sides of these local land use disputes around mining and makes them appear unresolvable. However, getting behind the cultural understandings and future dreams influencing local land use negotiations could be useful for alleviating the polarisation of discussions around mining. At present, the ambivalence regarding our cultures relationship with mining and the idea of Lapland as wilderness makes it difficult to have an honest discussion about the extractive industries and their place in the North.

6 Conclusion

Here, I have argued for an understanding of land use negotiations in terms of overlapping projects of striving for the good life in northern Fennoscandia. At the centre of this study are the two reindeer herding communities facing a decision whether to resist something that is harmful to them but also desired and needed by many others in their community. It is the counter-intuitive act of refusing to resist the mining projects that leads us to the main themes of this study: the pursuit of the good life and the role dreams play in it. This study speaks of the complexity of the local realities behind land use negotiations and shows how inaccurate harsh juxtapositions, such as those of local communities–mining companies or traditional–modern, can be for describing such situations.

First, I examined the various ways the impacts of mining and reindeer herding on the well-being of local communities can be understood. Material goods and economic progress have for a long time been associated with generation of well-being in the Western societies. Due to its perceived small economic impact, reindeer herding tends to be left behind during land use planning. Nevertheless, reindeer herding continues to offer a meaningful way of life to its practitioners. I suggest that being engaged in the everyday practice of reindeer herding generates holistic well-being for northern communities through the social connectedness and the interactive human-environment relationship entailed in herding. Therefore, the meaningfulness of reindeer herding to its practitioners would be foremost tied to the kind of way of life it enables, where the ability to make a living by herding is but one aspect. Understanding what makes herding a meaningful way to live for its practitioners and how the everyday practice of herding is connected to generation of well-being can help in creating policies that aim at sustaining the features of the livelihood whose preservation is a priority for reindeer herders themselves, rather than focusing solely on the poor profitability of the livelihood.

Mining is predominantly associated with generation of material wealth and development, and thus with the generation of well-being. However, extractive industries are simultaneously being associated with greed, environmental destruction and the hazards of modernity, which, in turn, are connected to decreasing human happiness. From the perspective of the local nature-based livelihoods in my case area, the arrival of mining represented discontinuity and a threat to social and economic well-being. However, the mining projects also represented a promise of continuity for some residents of Pajala and Kolari municipalities, regardless of the projects' short estimated lifespan. The material

goods provided by mining symbolised the promise of a better future and of a vibrant community. Hence, despite their differences, both reindeer herding and mining can be associated with expectations of material well-being, generation of social well-being and of maintaining communal continuity. On the other hand, both industrial mining and nature-based reindeer herding have faced similar accusations of environmentally destructive practices in the name of greed, thus painting them morally questionable ways of pursuing the good life in the North. It illustrates how our attitudes towards various forms of resource use are always relative and culturally understood.

Second, I describe how the decision making of specific livelihood groups is shaped by the social dimensions of life in local communities during land use negotiations. I examined why the two herding communities in my case study did not resist mining projects they perceived to be potentially very harmful. The reindeer herders' decision to refuse to resist the planned mining operations can be seen as an attempt to provide room to manoeuvre in a difficult situation, facing an uncertain future. The herders are wishing to preserve the vitality of their livelihood while striving to maintain healthy relationships with other land users and members of the local community. At the same time, their means to pursue the good life is juxtaposed with an effort to live well as part of one's community. Indeed, "refusal to resist" can in this case be understood as a way of "keeping doors open" for co-operation. How the studied reindeer herding communities reacted towards the planned mining projects cannot be reduced to any single factor. The reaction should be seen as emerging from the intrinsic character of reindeer herding as a form of engaging with the environment, as much as from the specific social and political circumstances. A deeper understanding of the local dynamics between the different interest groups, and their broader cultural underpinnings, are elementary for appreciating local attitudes and responses to mining plans.

My findings point to the need of minority groups, such as reindeer herders, to maintain a careful balance in local social relations during land use negotiations. Furthermore, they show that the actions taken by specific livelihood groups during land use negotiations may be influenced not only by a will to advocate one's own interests but also by sense of responsibility towards the well-being and continuity of their larger communities. Moreover, the absence of resistance should not be equated with a consent of local communities affected by development operations, nor should it be taken as a "social license" to mine. Other researchers have suggested that in some instances it might be fruitful to talk about *toleration* of development projects (Meriläinen-Hyvärinen, Heikkinen & Kunnari, 2016).

Toleration, however, may elicit associations of passivity. This study has emphasised the existence of agency in an approach that could be deemed as passive by an outsider as well as the efforts of local actors to find alternative ways to counteract powerful institutions with their own means and with a long-term view over their future. In a way then, the Chapter 4 is also discussing dreams, those of the reindeer herders. Behind their refusal to resist seems to be a dream of co-operation, of being valuable members in their larger communities and the dream that it is possible to find ways to continue their unique way of life in the future.

Land use conflicts are often dealt with as pragmatic issues tied to a specific time and a place. This study has shown that current land use disputes over mining in northern Fennoscandia are being influenced by various cultural conceptions, future visions and longstanding cultural dreams concerning mining and the North. These concepts and dreams form the cultural and ideological foundations for appropriate and desirable ways to utilise natural resources in the North. Thus, they have a role in creating different pathways for the people living in the North to pursue well-being. Local people may embrace and renew these dreams, but they are also being restricted by them and may engage in resistance towards them. In contemporary Finnish Kolari, tourism entrepreneurs embrace the idea of wilderness to further their business, but it comes with a cost. The coexistence of mining and nature-based tourism, which was possible in Kolari as recently as in the 1980s, has become unthinkable due to increasing expectations of tourists to experience wilderness. Local possibilities of economic development are being limited by fuzzy outside expectations projected on the local environment. Other livelihoods such as mining and reindeer herding are being judged by how well they support and fit into this expectation.

These cultural dreams also influence the decision making of local groups during land use negotiations. Mining has a long history of being associated with promises of prosperity. Studies on mining from various geographical and cultural contexts consistently describe how overblown promises and expectations of new mining projects build up support towards mining. This aura of excitement may hinder dialogue on actual benefits and risks related to new projects and prevent local groups from voicing their reservations towards it. Local communities caught up by big promises may not use the necessary caution while approaching new projects, and overblown expectations of employment and prosperity can override social and environmental concerns. Currently, the plans to re-open the Hannukainen mine continue to move forward despite the obvious lack of its “social license” illustrated by the strong opposition from local tourism entrepreneurs. What

is more, disproportionate expectations towards mining rarely materialise in full, if they materialise at all. This creates disappointments that would have been avoidable with more realistic expectations.

Moreover, our attitudes toward mining in general may be influenced by the fact that there is something existentially unnerving about engaging with the underground. I suggest that these conflicting cultural constructions and dreams of the North and of the extractive industries fuel the polarisation of northern discussions around mining. However, as I have discussed throughout this paper, at the local level the relationship between mining, nature-based tourism and reindeer herding has always been far more nuanced and intertwined. Being aware of the role that dreams and various cultural conceptions play in land use negotiations enables the opening of constructive dialogue between the opposition and the proponents of mining projects and is a step towards creating more sustainable communities.

Current anthropological research on the good life tends to emphasise the importance of social connectedness for human well-being. While my findings likewise point to the importance of the social dimension, they also call for examination of the interconnections between material and social well-being in the context of land use. Further research on the meanings of material well-being would expand current understandings of the components of the good life. The examination of the good life in the context of land use negotiations also calls for further anthropological research on the pursuit of living well as an element of human-environment relations, and on place belonging as a source of well-being. Another fruitful topic for a follow-up study would be to compare the findings of this study to land use practitioners', such as reindeer herders, tourism entrepreneurs or mining proponents, own explicit understandings of what it means to live well and be well. Moreover, further research could pay more attention to the similarities and differences between Saami and Finnish reindeer herders regarding their understandings of the "good life".

Some scholars, even Joel Robbins (2013) to some extent, have treated "dark anthropology" and the "anthropology of the good" as complimentary viewpoints, that can be applied according to one's wishes to study either the "good" or "bad" aspects of life (see for example Jacka, 2018a; Jorgensen, 2018; Knauff, 2018; Ortner, 2016). Lars Rodseth (2018), on the other hand, has called for integration of the two viewpoints. In contrast, I lean towards the interpretation of Laidlaw (2016), who sees the anthropology of the good as an alternative viewpoint to research that has been defined here as dark anthropology. Indeed, this study has illustrated that power, inequality and suffering are not separate subjects from the research on the

pursuit of the good life but entailed in it. Land use negotiations are unfortunately as much about broken and unfulfilled dreams as they are about dreams of a better future.

The good life and its pursuit are abstract, yet important matters. Here, I have studied what can be found in the area overlapping land use management and well-being. Land use negotiations are not only about rational matters of management and economics, or about various interest groups struggling over the right to utilise natural resources. At the core, issues around land use are also about people, striving to support themselves and their families, wanting to do things they find meaningful, pondering between right and wrong, and dreaming of a better future. Matthews (2009) suggests that “what makes life worth living” is a universal pursuit that, though it varies greatly individually, is culturally formulated and channelled institutionally. The study of land use negotiations with a focus on well-being has the potential to reveal the similarities and variances between different livelihood practitioners’ understandings of the good life, and also, what kind of ways for living and being well are being valued and encouraged by the society.

In this study I have moved my scale of analysis from the immediate contestation of competing livelihoods to the wider sociocultural imaginaries and strategies that may lie behind – and endure – the immediate issues and confrontations of land use negotiations. I have argued against an over-emphasis of clashing positions, and a concurring interpretation of the lack of conflict as consent, for a more nuanced understanding of the multiple agencies and subject positions in land use conflicts. Instead of different “land uses” that are conflicting, I have paid attention to differently situated (while nonetheless related) people, whose livelihoods may be associated with different land uses, but whose positions are not limited to this. An approach that takes into consideration the good life and its pursuit could prove fruitful for catching and explaining the behaviour of residents in local communities of the North who are caught in land use negotiations.

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Publications III and IV are pre-copyedited, author-produced versions of articles accepted for publication in *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* (III) and *The Polar Journal* (IV) following peer-review.

The version of record (Article III) is available online at:
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2019.1580304>.

The version of record 9(1), 113–132 is available online at:
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ISBN 978-952-62-2501-2 (Paperback)
ISBN 978-952-62-2502-9 (PDF)
ISSN 0355-3205 (Print)
ISSN 1796-2218 (Online)