

# **Artemis of Lapland**

Corporate legitimacy and governance of nature in Finnish  
Lapland

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The study explores why and how is the legitimacy of the mining project in Sokli, Savukoski municipality in North-Eastern Finland contested. The concept and theory of legitimacy is often neglected in research concerning mining and the concepts of acceptance and social license to operate are found in the mainstream of research. The study discusses the possibilities and challenges the theories and concept of legitimacy in the context of mining. Furthermore the Sokli mine is analyzed in the wider context of the expansion of extractive frontier towards peripheries. This expansion has been described to be permitted by a new coalition between the state and private corporations. Moreover the new coalition has been linked to a new development paradigm portrayed as (neo-)extractivism. The literature on extractivism has focused strongly to Global South despite the process' global character.

A case study approach is adapted. The data consists of five semi-structured interviews conducted with locals in Savukoski region. Complimenting the interview data, the analysis is extended to four official documents by stakeholders of the possibly forthcoming mine in Sokli.

In the light of a diverse combination of legitimacy theory created in this thesis the legitimacy of the Sokli mine is contested primarily on moral grounds. The mine does not fit into the locals' conception of how the environment ought to be utilized. The mine also makes the development of traditional livelihoods in the area harder. In sum the locals' vision of the future of the municipality and their conception of development contradicts with the expansion of the extractive industry. Finnish mining legislation is one of the most important structural permitting condition, which in Savukoski is contested and considered illegitimate. On the other hand the mine is supported mainly for its possible tax revenue and because it creates jobs. Employment moreover is a core argument supporting mining in Finland. There have been controversies between estimations and fulfilled revenues and jobs. The environmental disaster and suspicious practices by mining authorities in the area were often referenced and the case of Talvivaara had effected attitudes towards mining in Savukoski.

The case study demonstrates an exception in the landscape of mostly positive and legitimate attitudes towards mining in Finland. Moreover the global expansion of extractives and the global rush for land have resulted in strong political opposition and mobilization in for example Latin America but not similarly in Finland. The further commodification of nature might in the future lead to political turmoil also in Finland if the legal conditions for mining persist. The larger structural shift away from the Nordic welfare state needs to be further researched in the context of extractive industries.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords

(neo-)extractivism, legitimacy, social license to operate, acceptance, extractive industry, natural resources, Sokli

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*Artemis was the goddess of nature, hunting and wildlife in the Greek mythology. She was the one to rule the nature. Artemis did not care about men and decided to stay a virgin her whole life.*

## **1. Introduction**

The main focus in this master's thesis is the corporate legitimacy of governance of nature<sup>1</sup> in the case of the Sokli mine in Savukoski municipality, located in North-Eastern Finland. The Global North, also known as the Arctic and sub-Arctic, is going through drastic changes in an accelerating pace. The rising temperatures caused by climate change have and will open new possibilities for massive resource extraction in the North. I argue that the *Arctic boom* (e.g. Howard 2009) is mainly driven by the extraction of resources that lie in Arctic and Sub-Arctic subsoil and seabed.

The two main elements of the discussion concerning the Arctic have been strategic and economic. This categorization does not necessarily show the complexity of the developments in the Arctic, but rather illustrates the two main streams of activity in the area. Strategically, the Arctic sea remains international open waters, meaning that no country actually owns the Arctic Sea nor the seabed as of now. Recently in 2014, both Russia and Denmark presented claims for the Arctic seabed around the North Pole (BBC, 2014). Certainly one of the strongest driving forces behind the rise in global interest towards the Arctic is the melting of the Arctic Sea ice, a casualty of climate change.

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<sup>1</sup> By governance in this thesis I refer to a wider setting of actors, such as NGO's, corporations and social movements, who along with the state govern and use power in the governance and use of for example natural resources.

The melting of the ice in the north brings along the prospects of the opening of the Northern Sea Route, which is primarily seen as a vast economic opportunity. Not only have the so-called traditional Arctic countries<sup>2</sup> shared this interest, but India and China as observers in the Arctic council are also becoming all the more powerful players in the Arctic. (Prasad das, 2013.) China in particular has shown explicit interest in becoming a prominent force in the reshaping of the global and Arctic cargo infrastructure (e.g. The Guardian, 2013 and Kröger, 2015, 2). The Northern Sea has both economic and strategic importance since estimations say around 20 % of the world's undiscovered oil and natural gas is located in the Arctic seabed (Ernst & Young, 2013). It has been estimated that the Northern sea route would cut the distance between Shanghai and Northern Europe by approximately 6400 kilometers (4000 miles) and saving medium-sized bulk carriers two weeks and approximately 360 000€ each journey (The Guardian, 2013). Moreover, the extractive activities (exploration and extraction) on land are increasing alongside with the offshore industries. These activities and the current related developments in the area have been met with less academic interest than the hydrocarbon extraction in the Arctic Sea.

It is also worth noticing that onshore and offshore natural resource exploitation are not separate processes, they are intertwined<sup>3</sup>, and share a variety of development dynamics such as the permitting legislation and the shift towards neoliberal resource governance paradigm. This is seen clearly in the case of the Finnish Northern train track plans. The train track shows interestingly how development processes have causal or intertwined spatial land use implications that ought to be analyzed as a part of the same process sharing certain developmental dynamics. Whereas in Latin America the (neo-)extractivist development paradigm is shifting away from market oriented development

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<sup>2</sup> Russia, USA, Canada, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Sweden and Finland.

<sup>3</sup> The Finnish shipping industry seems to be benefitting greatly from the new and forthcoming need for icebreaking in the Arctic sea. Finland is putting major effort in developing icebreaker technology, given that the need for icebreakers seems to be rising in the future. See for example Suomen Kuvalehti (2015) <http://suomenkuvalehti.fi/jutut/kotimaa/oljynporaus-alkaa-alaskassa-suomalaiset-jaanmurtajat-ovat-jo-matkalla/?shared=81440-b6aba394-999> and Valtioneuvosto (2013).

paradigm towards, or back to the, developmental state paradigm, Finland seems to be following the old extractivist route strongly led by multinationals.

In the Finnish context, the debated mineral boom's most important agents are private multinational corporations that have collaborated with the State of Finland. The expansion of extractive industries towards the North, in Finland namely in Lapland and Eastern Finland, has received some notable attention (e.g. Rytteri, 2012 and Sairinen, 2011) and mining issues are also a perennial themes in the Finnish media<sup>45</sup>. The environmental disaster in Talvivaara nickel mine has provoked strong criticism in Finland (e.g. Kauppinen & Oinaala, 2016). Furthermore, the governance of nature in Finland has been widely discussed, the most recent debate concerning the planned renovation of legislation regarding Metsähallitus, the state owned enterprise administering one third of the Finnish territory and natural resources. Also the protraction of construction of the nuclear power plant Olkiluoto 3 has been widely discussed in the Finnish media<sup>6</sup>. In academic literature, the larger contextual and paradigmatic shift concerning land use change, politics of nature and the governance of nature still remains mostly unstudied (Kröger, 2015).

Globally the expansion of extractive activities has become a subject undergoing intense debate, especially in the context of the so-called developing states or the Global South. The expansion is often linked to high prices of primary materials fueled by China's growing need for natural resource (e.g. Veltmeyer & Petras, 2014). (Neo-) Extractivism and extractivism are concepts that have been created to understand the dynamics between the rise of extractive industries and development. (Neo-) Extractivism is a growth-oriented development "path" as Burchardt & Dietz (2014) put it. Central to the path is the extraction of natural resources and their exportation. The resulting revenue is then used for improving the living conditions of people, which makes extractivism a development path. (Neo-) Extractivism is also linked to a new coalition between the (capitalist)

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<sup>4</sup> HS (2/2014)

<sup>5</sup> YLE (2009)

<sup>6</sup>HS (2016)

state and extractive capital (Veltmeyer & Petras, 2014, 2). Moreover, the expansion has been linked to new capitalist expansion and capitalism's ability to create 'cheap natures' in peripheries (Moore, 2015) The concepts of extractivism or (neo-)extractivism have been applied mostly to the contexts of The South, especially Latin America. As Kröger (2015, 2) notes, the anglophone literature on Arctic extractivism is practically non-existent. Both the need to extend the discussion to anglophone literature and the interest to apply development studies' academic tools to the context of the shifting conditions of Finnish welfare state are drivers for this thesis. In a broader context the well known works of Arturo Escobar (1995, 1999, 2006) and Eduardo Gudynas (2011, 2013) on criticism towards Western modernity and capitalist environment-human relationships are foundational to this master's thesis.

I will argue in this master's thesis that the globally occurring development of the Arctic is mainly driven by the extraction and exploitation of natural resources<sup>7</sup>. In the case of Finland, the expansion is made possible by favourable institutional shifts, mainly the globally most attractive mining legislation and the shift of the the Nordic welfare state towards a Schumpeterian competitive workforce state (Kantola & Kananen, 2013). Another permitting factor for the expansion of extractive industries is the fact that mining enjoys a rather widespread acceptance in Finland. Furthermore, the mine of Sokli is a significant exception from the general rule. The legitimacy of the mining industry, the current mining legislation and legitimacy of the corporation led governance of nature in Finland has received little academic attention.. This notion should therefore direct my interest towards the managing practices and governance of natural resources in Sokli: what is in fact contested and what is legitimate in the case of the Sokli mine?

The Arctic boom has both intended social, economic and cultural consequences but unintended effects as well. I believe the family of theories, namely

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<sup>7</sup> I use the concept of natural resources in a broad sense covering material and immaterial resource and also the holistic aspect of functioning ecosystem services as a natural resource.

legitimacy theory and the extractivism and (neo-)extractivism discussion, as well as the legacy of the discipline of development studies among social sciences will provide me with the right set of tools to access and understand the Arctic boom and the ways in which environment is increasingly governed by corporations in the North.

In a moderately smaller scale, the question of what really is opposed when locals contest mining is relevant to, first of all, understanding and explaining the process of extractive expansion and its social consequences and, secondly, to address the local perceptions more efficiently in the academic literature. Why is the legitimacy of the mining operator lost or diminished? What is actually illegitimate in the case of Sokli?

A literature overview of the topics is introduced in the first section. I will discuss extractivism and (neo-) extractivism and political ecology theories in particular. Antonio Gramsci's central thoughts might also be helpful to explain why we have a mining boom in Finland. Secondly, I will thoroughly present and discuss the concept and theories of legitimacy and eventually construct a heterodox analytical framework for the research data. Thirdly, the methodology used in and stemming from this theoretical and conceptual framework will be introduced. After this, a brief history of mining in Finland with the main features of the Finnish mining legislation and the case of Sokli are presented. An analysis section will follow where I present the analysis of the research data. Before concluding remarks I will discuss the main findings of the analysis in the light of related literature.



## 2. Literary overview

The relation between nature and development has been of persisting interest in development studies. (Koponen et al. 2016, 283.) Nature and the environment is also a development question per se. The ecological conditions and global ecological challenges are intertwined with social development as the idea of sustainable development has become the new paradigm of development as demonstrated by the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015. For almost half a decade the idea of limits to growth has already penetrated our thinking due to the ground breaking *Limits to Growth* in 1972 commissioned by the club of Rome. The new development agenda clearly illustrates how the question of nature has become of great importance and interest in both academic literature in various disciplines and also of practical policies and the media.

What is it that is changing then? On one hand the question is about societal relations with the web of life as a whole: how is the environment a part of the society and how do we understand and relate ourselves with nature? As Arturo Escobar (1999, 1) puts it, the construction of the idea of nature is shifting according to time and cultural, social and political factors. The idea of nature, as socially constructed as it is, contains a lot of human history (Williams, 1980, 68). The moral and ethical principles ought to be also applied to the interaction between human and nature are debated and researched especially in environmental philosophy (e.g. Naess, 1989). Barbara Bender (1993, 246) notes that the conceptions of nature are based on particular social, political and economic setting they stem from. According to this line of thought, conflicts rise when people have different conceptions and aspirations towards nature. Moreover, the “question of nature” has been of perennial interest in the tradition of political ecology (e.g. Peet et al., 2011; Neumann, 2005; Escobar, 2006; Bebbington & Bury, 2013) and in literature related to politics of nature (e.g. Carter, 2001). Escobar has criticised the traditional political ecology of the essentialization of nature and the inherent idea that nature and society are somehow separate. According to Escobar (1999), modernity and capitalism have

separated society from nature. Nature, therefore, in the mainstream line of thought somehow exists outside of history and human context. Escobar argues that, on the contrary, what people see as natural is also cultural and social since natural and the natural is socially constructed. This notion is also shared by Erich Zimmermann, who argues that natural resources are constantly rediscovered rather than being stable (Koponen et al., 2016, 289). Escobar calls for Latourian deconstruction of the idea of nature (Escobar, 1999, 2; see also Cornwall, 2007).

Societal relations with the web of life shed light to the logics, reasoning and politics of the utilization of natural resources. A particularly interesting field of literature related to utilization concerns governance of natural resources. According to Koponen et al (2016, 283), the problematics of natural resources in Global South include the unequal distribution, access to and ownership of (natural) resources. The same problematics apply also to the North as I will argue later. The question has received some notable attention in Latin American context. Recently the concepts of extractivism and (neo-)extractivism have been widely used to describe and analyze a general shift in development thinking, which has emphasized the recently (re-)activated developmental role of the state (Burchardt & Dietz, 2014; Yates & Bakker, 2014) and a more profound criticism towards the Western idea of development and modernity (Gudynas, 2011 & 2013; Escobar, 1995, Veltmeyer & Petras, 2014) but also to highlight the conflictual character of the extractive industries (McNeish et al., 2015; McNeish, 2013, Cáceres, 2015; see also Martínez Alier, 2002) and extractive economies (Omeje, 2008). Moreover the strength of the concept is that it offers a theoretical link between development and extraction of (natural) resources. Resource intensive development has been and still is a question of the North (Walker, 2001) and increasing an issue in the peripheries, such as the Arctic (Grinspun & Mills, 2015; Howard, 2009; Ruel, 2011; Anderson, 2009). As Veltmeyer and Petras (2014) argue, peripheral societies have surrendered their sovereign power to their own wealth in order to have access to the new world order in the process

of globalization. Peripherality is to be understood here as the South and also the peripheral parts of the North, such as Lapland in Finland.

As Kröger argues (2015, 1), according to the World Development Report in 2010 (World Bank, 2010) large-scale land transactions and resulting landscape changes have increased since 2005 especially in Latin America and Asia. This might demonstrate the widely spread favoring of large development projects over smaller ones, which is inherent in extractivism as development. The increase in land transactions and resource investments in general is described as a phenomenon called Global land grab (Edelman et al., 2013) or Global Rush for Land (Wolford et al., 2013). The resource investments in the South relate to securing access and commodification of, for example, bio-fuels, oil, food and arable land, metals, natural gas and precious minerals. As Kröger notes (2015, 1), the land grab literature is focused predominantly on the South – the North has not received attention. It is therefore worth highlighting the global character of the rush for land and finding interconnections and shared mechanisms of the phenomenon in both North and South. The most profound question here therefore is who benefits of the resource intensive development and the global shift in ownership of resources. In the context of the commodity boom the principal beneficiaries have been transnational corporations that dominate extractive industries (Veltmeyer & Petras, 2014, 33).

Moreover, due to the permitting drivers, globalization of capital and the lowering barriers for investment, land and space in general are becoming increasingly ‘foreignized’ (Zoomers, 2011). Kröger (2015) brings the analysis of spatial change and capitalism to the Finnish context. Veltmeyer and Petras’ argument seems to have relevance in the Finnish context since, according to Kröger (2015, 4), Finland has an internationally unique exploration system and legislation, which permits the capture of mineral wealth. The concept of alienation from nature, originating from Karl Marx’s work, has some resemblance with the foreignization of land (Peet et al., 2011, 14-15). Where alienation for Marx meant the worker’s alienation from work, in a national scale

the alienation from nature could be understood as giving away of the nature formerly considered a national asset.

The concepts ‘Social license to operate’ (Jartti et al., 2014; Franks & Cohen, 2012) and ‘acceptance’ (Jartti et al., 2012; Rytteri, 2012) have been used almost synonymously to describe the legitimacy of the use of power exercised by mining operators. Jartti et al (2014, 28-29) present legitimacy and acceptance as both formal and content-related. Formal acceptance for Jartti et al. refers to the legal and administrative procedures and by content they refer to the substance of use of power by a corporation. Most importantly, it is the citizens and locals who grant the content-related legitimacy to the legitimacy object. It is therefore possible to imagine a situation where a mining operator, for example, has granted formal legitimacy from the authorities but does not have content-related legitimacy granted by locals. Social license to operate as a separate concept from legitimacy according to Jartti et al refers to an interactive relation between a corporation and the local people, which is constantly renegotiated. Social license to operate might also be lost (Jartti et al., 2014, 29). As in the case of Sokli, it remains unclear whether it is the relation between the corporation and the locals (Social license to operate) which is contested or the wider legal setting that produces illegitimacy, it is more fruitful to use the concept of legitimacy in trying to understand the different contested dimensions of the Sokli mine, Yara company and the mining industry in general. Moreover, there is no reason to assume that locals and citizens in general are not the legitimacy audience of legal issues, as Jartti et al. present it.

### **3. Legitimacy – concept for understanding the relation between corporations and the society**

A fruitful and interesting conceptual tool to understand the relation and dynamics between organizations, such as corporations, and society is the concept of legitimacy. The concept was born in the wake of social science and is used in the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Max Weber, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. For Rousseau, the concept of legitimacy refers to the idea of social contract. Social contract, moreover, is a prerequisite and the foundation of a society (Rousseau, 1998). Social contract for Rousseau is a silent contract between the governed and the ones that govern where social and political power originally possessed by people is transferred to a governing entity, the state. Here legitimacy is a foundational property and capacity that the state possesses and with which the state is able to operate. As Simo Kyllönen argues (Kyllönen, 2009, 23), the origin of the concept of legitimacy refers to the rightful power of the heir of the monarch born in wedlock to legitimately inherit his position as the next monarch. This aspect and conception of legitimacy is not entirely lost in the course of time as we will see later in this thesis. It shows, for example, in procedural legitimacy meaning an organization or a certain kind of practice of power is legitimate as long as it is produced legitimately, by the rules. An example par excellence would be a newly elected parliament, which is legitimate to operate as long as the election process has been lawful and there has been no suspicious activities around the counting of the votes etc. Later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as Kyllönen argues, Thomas Hobbes (2001) and John Locke (2001) questioned the divine right of the monarch to rule. Both Hobbes and Locke insisted that there is no reason to divide people into rulers and humbles and that everybody are equal before god. This is why no one should automatically have the power to rule for others and legitimate use of power should come from other sources than divine succession. Eventually equal and free people will end up in a situation where the fulfilment of their equal rights is impossible without co-operation. Then, the only choice is to deliberately decide on the rules, principles and institutions that limit personal freedom but guarantee the fulfilment of

everyone's liberties. Kyllönen later argues (*ibid.*, 24) that the central interest of political philosophy since Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau has been to study and discuss the normative principles that legitimize the use of power over people. Hence, what are conditions that legitimize the restriction of the inherent liberty of the individual?

Another founding father of the concept of legitimacy is Max Weber (Weber, 1968). Weber's understanding of legitimacy was primarily empirical and it did not include the philosophical pondering of what legitimacy might or might not be. Weber connected legitimacy to the experientiality of legitimacy: he insisted that social science ought to focus on the acceptance of ongoing and realized use of power on people by regimes, corporations and police etc. (Rannikko & Määttä, 2010, 24.)

Kyllönen argues (Kyllönen, 2010, 24) that studies concerning legitimacy often fall into either of these two historical traditions of understanding legitimacy: the empirical and the normative. Kyllönen goes on arguing that the dichotomy setting is certainly not a fruitful way of researching legitimacy and the setting should be overcome by understanding that legitimacy has both the empirical and normative dimensions. In the instance of governance of nature, the concept allows social processes and social settings in different localities to be pursued not only from the organization's standpoint but also from the larger social system's standpoint, which makes legitimacy an appealing starting point for making sense of the techniques of governing the nature. Yet in research around legitimacy, the challenge has been that legitimacy as a concept is more often described than defined and fairly loosely used in the academic literature (Suchman, 1995, 572). Therefore, as mentioned earlier, I consider it necessary to begin with discussing the most important conceptions of what legitimacy is. I will also create a synthetic framework from the different elements attached to the concept and the framework will be presented in Picture 3.

### **3.1. Why does legitimacy matter?**

First of all, why does legitimacy matter? In other words, why is legitimacy societally significant? There are at least five distinct but overlapping reasons arising from academic literature concerned with legitimacy. The first reason has to do with Mark C. Suchman's article 'Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches', which is one of the theoretically most comprehensive presentations of the concept of legitimacy. According to Suchman (1995) legitimacy matters simply because the existence of legitimacy or the lack of it guides and shapes the way organizations act, communicate and organize the work and functions they are meant to execute. Legitimacy, therefore, is a key for understanding both organizational behaviour and agency in the wider social setting – communication practices, CSR, stakeholder participation and also business functions, operations and product development etc.– and formation meaning the way organization is arranged in terms of work, power, responsibilities etc. In other words, legitimacy could be regarded as the bond that ties the organization to the larger social system surrounding the organization, to its beliefs, attitudes, expectations and values. In the most abstract level, since institutions and the society is going through a larger transformation in Finland legitimacy becomes interesting and thus it matters, in the context of a broader paradigmatic shift from the classic Nordic welfare state to the competitive workforce state (Kantola & Kananen, 2013). Moreover, policy shifts in mining legislation have had strong consequences in the landscapes and the overall social sphere in Lapland. These consequences will be analyzed later on in their respective section.

Secondly, besides the structural transformation, the concept of legitimacy matters for the understanding of the opposition against mining as a field of industry and also towards specific projects. Attitudes towards mining in Finland have traditionally been mostly positive (Suopajarvi, 2015). Mining in Finland today takes place in largely or even entirely different institutional setting and the agents taking part in the extractive activities are typically multinational mining

and exploration companies (Koivurova & Stepien, 2008, 187–193). Therefore it becomes of great importance to research and analyze what this opposition of citizens as well as informal & formal civil society groups is all about and what local people, indigenous groups, different traders and civil society organizations are actually opposing when they oppose mining or a particular project.

Third aspect to the question of why legitimacy matters is that in particular legitimacy of natural resource management and governance of nature, usage and governance is a pressing issue in Finland today. This is partly due to the rise of ecological values (e.g. Konttinen et al., 1999) and the green paradigm shift in the governance globally reflected in the SDG's. The paradigm shift is visible in personal attitudes, consumer choices, vocabularies (e.g. the concepts of green growth, resilience, sustainability etc.) and also in public sector strategies<sup>8 9</sup> as well as generally conceptual frameworks that guide and effect decisions. The rising global awareness of climate change and related issues possesses a legitimacy challenge to the governance of natural resources. Where the global perspective in natural resource related discussion is prominent, the local side remains at least equally important. In Finland the forever ongoing debate of berry picking rights of foreigners, big mining projects, the prospects of eco travelling and, moreover, the hierarchical valuing of some natural resources over others are just few examples of legitimacy challenges in the context of natural resource governance. (Rannikko & Määttä, 2010, 7–19) Here interesting aspects in this way of seeing legitimacy are the legitimacy of mining per se with the given attitude towards the nature as something that must be exploited and commercialized in the most efficient fashion and also power relations that produce these kind of outcomes.

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<sup>8</sup> “Through our expertise in the minerals sector, we can also actively promote a global minerals economy that is both efficient and socially and environmentally responsible, as well as generate new international business opportunities.” (TEM 1/2010)

<sup>9</sup> Finnish insitute TEKES 100€ million funding for Green Mining is another good example of this general trend as Kröger (2015) also notes. The aim of the programme is to make Finland “...the global leader of sustainable mineral industry by 2020” <http://www.tekes.fi/en/programmes-and-services/tekes-programmes/green-mining/>, accessed April 3rd 2016.



A fourth type of understanding of legitimacy is related to development and conceptions of what is desirable. Abstractly speaking, since there is no universally accepted definition for ‘development’, one could say that studying development is studying what is desirable. And the study of legitimacy on one hand is studying what people desire and what they do not. More concretely, the mining industry and intensive exploitation of extractives has shown to be something that the Finnish people desire in terms of attitudes towards the industry, although the question remains controversial and contested. The Finnish ministry for work and employment has taken a rather explicit pro mining stance (Koivurova & Stepien, 2008, 197-203) with the attempt to make Finland a very attractive place for foreign investments. This agenda of the ministry has yielded the Fraser Institute<sup>10</sup> to list Finland as the most attractive jurisdiction for mining investment in the whole world in 2014. Finland has ranked among the top countries in the same category for a number of years already. The significant increase in mining related activities especially between 2007–2010 (Kröger, 2015, 5–6) has not yet received substantial attention in academic literature possibly due to it being rather recent in the past. The legitimacy of the development of extractive industries in Finland therefore deserves analysis and explaining. Do people living in the areas where mining and exploration takes place consider the activities desirable, necessary or as development for the area they inhabit? I attempt to address this question among other related issues in this thesis.

Finally the fifth way in which legitimacy matters comes from economic studies and social accounting (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014). Legitimacy in this view matters because when a chosen organization is in possession of legitimacy, its continuum and conformity to local social rules is ensured. Legitimacy in this context is a resource that organization have to acquire in order to secure their

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<sup>10</sup> Fraser Institute is a research and education institute based in Canada. The institute publishes peer reviewed research articles on issues such as investment, taxation and other public policy issues. Since 1997 Fraser Institute has published an annual mining survey which assesses how much mining endowments and public policies affect exploration investment. The results represent the views of mining operators, exploration companies, mining consultants. The most recent mining survey is from 2013 (Fraser Institute, 2013)

existence. In this view legitimacy is something that managers and teams inside an organization actively seek and maintain. This framing of legitimacy comes close to the concept of SLO. Therefore legitimacy is of vital importance to organizations which makes it worthy of understanding. From the organization's perspective, a lost legitimacy is a bad scenario and makes the addressing of social concerns inevitable. Legitimacy management strategies and execution of those strategies are certainly interesting but slightly out of this thesis' scope of interest.

### **3.2. Theoretical considerations of legitimacy**

One of the most essential readings concerning legitimacy is 'Luonnonvarojen hallinnan legitimizeetti' edited by Pertti Rannikko and Tapio Määttä (2010). The book is divided into four different sections that present some theoretical traditions and concepts concerning governance and power exercised upon natural resources and legitimacy. Rannikko and Määttä also present some new features of natural resource policy and legitimacy related to these policies. The writers also discuss some international and national legal issues relating to natural resource policies and governance.

As Suchman (1995) argues, scholars interested in legitimacy should nonetheless explicitly define what they mean theoretically with legitimacy rather than just describing it or portraying a certain process or situation with legitimacy involved. Also noteworthy here is that, as Rannikko and Määttä (2010, 11) point out, the concept of legitimacy is constantly evolving and the concept is nothing but unambiguous. Simo Kyllönen (2010, 32) argues along with this line of thought that contextuality has long been stressed in environmental and natural resource governance research. Kyllönen further argues that questions of legitimacy in natural resource governance are always tied to certain space and time. Governance and changes in governance remain in a dynamic relation with the legitimacy audiences since changes in governance status quo might and often do lead to new legitimacy claims by the legitimacy audience. I will come back to

these concepts later. Nonetheless, Kyllönen makes a convincing point about the inherent nature of the (normative) concept of legitimacy.

These are fine reasons why the concept of legitimacy deserves to be carefully analyzed. Suchman's demand or challenge is a natural starting point for me. Legitimacy is defined and outlined in different ways although some elements are shared when others are more context bound.

The definition of legitimacy by Suchman (1995) is the following

*“Legitimacy is a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions” (Suchman, 1995, 574).*

Suchman explains that legitimacy is generalized because legitimacy is resilient to some particular events. According to Suchman this means that an entity may act against a social belief system and values without losing legitimacy. Suchman also points out that an entity or an organization is strongly dependent on the history of events which, as I see it, means that breaking the social belief system constantly will eventually lead to the loss of legitimacy. In Suchman's definition legitimacy is a perception or an assumption because it depends on the reaction that invoked in the observers of an organization. Hence legitimacy is “possessed objectively, yet created subjectively” (Suchman, 1995, 574). Furthermore, legitimacy is socially constructed “in that it reflects a congruence between the behaviours of the legitimated entity and shared (or assumedly shared) with some social group; thus, legitimacy is dependent on a collective audience, yet independent of particular observers.”. (ibid.)

Moreover, as Kostova and Zaheer (1999) point out, especially in the context of multinational enterprises, legitimacy is to be separated from issues related to overcoming (market) entry barriers and cultural adaptation (Kostova & Zaheer,

1999, 65). Although enterprises may be faced with legitimacy issues in the process of entering a new market or a new locality, and cultural adaptation of the enterprise are surely both legitimacy related issues. They are not according to Kostova and Zaheer constitutive elements of legitimacy since, for example, the nature of products and production and also regulatory issues are involved and market entry refers largely to the economic challenges and conditions of the receiving market. (ibid.) The separation of legitimacy from the aforementioned processes is especially relevant in the context of this thesis since I am not focusing in the market entry of a new MNE (multinational enterprise) as such and neither the cultural adaptation but, rather, my focus will be on the legitimacy of techniques to govern nature – especially on the legitimacy of a certain kind of use of nature. Market entry and cultural adaptation are rather important aspects of legitimacy but do not equal to the diversity of the concept of legitimacy. In other words, legitimacy is much more than market entry and cultural adaptation. In this master's thesis Suchman's definition of legitimacy is adopted.

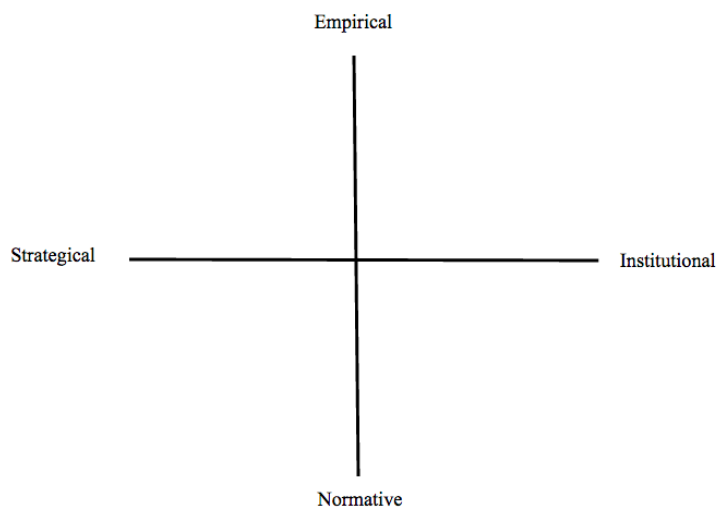
Rytteri (2012) has also applied Suchman's definition of legitimacy to his study on CSR strategies of mining operators and social expectations concerning CSR practices. Suchman argues that at the time his article was written in the mid 1990's, studies concerning legitimacy could have been divided to two distinct approaches: the institutional and the strategic (Suchman, 1995, 572). This particular notion has great value when considered in more detail and in relation to other theorization of legitimacy.

As presented earlier, Simo Kyllönen (2010, 23-24) argues that traditionally theoretical approaches to legitimacy have either been normative or empirical. The division by Suchman also implicitly reveals how have researchers of legitimacy understood the central source of legitimacy: the institutional tradition emphasizes the legitimacy sources provided by the institutions and larger social setting whereas the strategic tradition focuses on the techniques used by the management to achieve legitimacy. The separation is not clear cut and

assumably neither tradition considers the source of legitimacy exclusive, so that sources of legitimacy are multiple and occur simultaneously.

The two axis discussed here, one being Kyllönen's axis (normative-empirical) and the other Suchman's axis (strategical-institutional), are not excluding one another but rather complementary. Put together, the axes form a simple yet telling setting (foursquare) for understanding how theorization of legitimacy is related. (Picture 1)

Picture 1



### 3.2.1 Strategic approach

As Suchman goes on to argue, the strategic approach is mostly concerned with managerial activities that aim at knowingly and thoughtfully manipulating, creating and sustaining the legitimacy of an organization. Suchman argues that the core interest of the strategic approach or strategic tradition is “[...] the ways in which organization instrumentally manipulate and deploy evocative symbols in order to garner societal support [...]”. Thus, legitimacy becomes an instrument for the management of an organization to ensure and strengthen the possibilities of an organization's success, pave the way for economical

operational smoothness and garner societal support for whatever the organization's activities and cause(s) are about. In other words, legitimacy becomes the telescope that the organization uses to navigate the society – to find an operational sweet spot where stakeholders perceive the organization ideally desirable, proper and appropriate. Legitimacy in the strategic approach is also a tool, arena and connection between the organization and society, which is used for sense making, credibility and ensuring continuity for the organization. In the strategic approach, the most important issue is to focus on the instrumental usage of legitimacy.

The strategic tradition overlaps clearly with the earlier mentioned fifth point of why legitimacy matters. The strategic tradition has been popular especially in economic studies and management studies. Hence the strategic approach to legitimacy aims at creating strategies, symbols and tools for organizations that increase legitimacy. Combined with Kyllönen's division, the empirical-strategic approach would be interested in how a chosen strategy or symbol system has worked in relation to increasing or at least maintaining a sufficient level of legitimacy (I will come back to this thought with Antonio Gramsci later on in this thesis). A practical example would a company's CSR strategy and its effectiveness to address social concerns regarding the operation of the company. Given that the perspective would be the organization's perspective, a managerial one. Another example of the empirical-strategic approach would be to study what social and legitimacy related assumptions in certain strategies and concepts to garner legitimacy based on. The normative-strategic approach would concern wider and general defining principles that constitute the legitimacy of an organization and hence could be incorporated to managerial planning and design. Of course "organizations" are a far too wide concept so the writer would have to categorize organizations according to their mission, model of ownership, operational field or economical field, for example. Rather interestingly Suchman makes no such categorization nor discusses the empirical-normative dimension of legitimacy in his article. Yet, incorporating the empirical-normative axis to

the division presented in Suchman's article brings considerably new depth into his otherwise insightful writing.

Other core ideas in the strategic tradition, in which Jeffrey Pfeffer<sup>11</sup> and his associates are perhaps the central readings (See Pfeffer 1981; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978 and Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975), are the assumptions that firstly, in order to be legitimate, the organization needs to establish congruence between the values associated with their activities and the norms of acceptable behaviour in the larger social setting (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975, 122). Secondly, that this kind establishing is possible and it is a managerial challenge (Suchman, 1995, 576). Thirdly, that the obtained legitimacy is an operational resource (ibid.) and fourthly that the management of an organization in possession of power in the legitimation process and that the process is purposive.

### **3.2.2. Institutional approach**

The other tradition Suchman brings up is the institutional approach. Suchman (1995) defines the institutional tradition emphasizing “[...] the ways in which sector-wide structuration dynamics generate cultural pressures that transcend any single organization's purposive control.” Suchman refers to the cultural and political social settings that shape sectors where organizations operate. Concretely, this means that different institutional sectors in the society have different cultures and legitimacies and these cultures and legitimacies are of importance when trying to understand that how and why organizations operate in the way they do.

In the context of the foursquare presented in Picture 1, empirical-institutional approach would focus on cultural and political belief systems connected with the legitimacy garnering attempts of a given organization. Concretely, this again

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<sup>11</sup> Jeffrey Pfeffer is the Thomas D. Dee II Professor of Organizational Behavior at the Graduate School of Business, Stanford University where he has taught since 1979.

could be a study about the social justification of a certain kind of exercising of power vested in a particular organization. On the other hand, the normative-institutional approach would be asking questions about the legitimacy of a chosen field of industry, for example. In practice this could be the possibilities and social conditions of mining industry to operate in particular locality or economy as a whole. It is worthwhile to note that the normative-institutional approach could generate understanding of a paradigmatic shift in social setting concerning a field of industry.

In contrast with the strategic tradition, institutionalist approach (e.g. DiMaggio & Powell, 1991 and Meyer & Rowan, 1991) sees legitimacy as a set of social and cultural beliefs rather than as an operational resource as the strategic school does. Legitimacy in the institutionalist approach is not something that can be obtained but, instead, the whole larger set of beliefs and values shapes how the organization is built as well as how it operates and sets the principles against which its operations are evaluated (Suchman, 1995, 576). In the institutionalist approach, the agency and lebensraum of the organization is considered less important than the social setting it attempts to embed itself into.

The weakness of the traditional institutional theory approach that Suchman refers to is the inability to incorporate the changes in the setting of institutions historically, namely the increase of complexity. Kostova & Zaheer (1999, 65) observe that the institutional environments are not static, although obviously there are different institutional environments varying along with time and space, but dynamic and *complex* since the environments consist of multiple task environments, multiple institutional “pillars”<sup>12</sup>, multiple resource providers and multiple stakeholders<sup>13</sup>. Kostova & Zaheer’s article is strongly connected to the

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<sup>12</sup> Suchman divides the core pillars, stemming from the tradition and history of the institutional theory (Kostova & Zaheer, 1999, 67) to the cognitive, pragmatic and normative (Suchman, 1995, 577-578)

<sup>13</sup> See Susith & Lawrence (2014, 157-158) for a broad introduction of the diversity of categories of stakeholders the stakeholder theory provides.



globalization of markets and takes into account the complexity in social settings and inside organizations further boosted by globalization.

These two approaches that Suchman presents are a matter of perspective. Nonetheless, they are of great importance for researchers and making research since the orientation or perspective determines what dynamics researchers see and what they overlook (Suchman, 1995, 576). Suchman notes that in practice and in real life organizations face both managerial and institutional challenges.

Moreover, Suchman adds that both of the traditions presented by him are further subdivided into three categories along with the researchers focus. This comes close to Kyllönen's axis. The three categories are:

- a) Legitimacy grounded in pragmatic assessments of stakeholder relations (empirical-strategic)
- b) Legitimacy grounded in normative evaluations of moral propriety (normative-institutional)
- c) Legitimacy grounded in cognitive definitions of appropriateness and interpretability (empirical-institutional)

The limitation of the foursquare model is that it has explanatory power only in the given two dimensions. What the foursquare does not show is the internal legitimation of an organization. It describes the dynamics between an organization and society or social environment, called external legitimation by Kostova & Zaheer. Therefore the foursquare does not reach and is not able to incorporate research concerning the legitimation process inside the organization. As Kostova & Zaheer (1999, 67) demonstrate in the case of MNEs, every subunit of the MNE forms its own external and internal (Rosenzweig & Singh, 1991) legitimacy accordingly to the host environment<sup>14</sup>. The external and internal legitimations are not separate processes but rather closely tied. Put

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<sup>14</sup> In this thesis I use the concepts of social setting synonymously

simply, what takes place inside is displayed in the techniques an organization uses in the external legitimation process, although a part of internal legitimation process is clearly solely an internal process without having external consequences. I imagine that part includes elements such as the personal legitimation of the employees (“how do I justify to myself that I am working here?”) and also some managerial practices, such as the division of work burden and leadership issues etc. These are just wild guesses and not in the scope of this thesis.

### **3.3.3. Types of legitimacy and legitimation process**

#### **3.3.3.1. Relational legitimacy**

These categories of institutions in the institutional environment represent different types of legitimacy. This classification stems from the categorization of different institutions in the tradition of institutional theory. In other words, the three types of legitimacy presented by Suchman are pragmatic, normative and cognitive. Kostova & Zaheer (1991, 67) refer to the same tradition similarly, except naming the normative socio-political, although later they refer to Richard Scott (1995) and his categorization of institutions including regulatory, cognitive and normative. The legitimacy of each and the related legitimation process will be discussed shortly.

Kyllönen presents legitimacy as a relational concept that consists of a legitimacy audience, a legitimacy target/object and what connects these two are legitimacy claims by the organization seeking legitimacy (Kyllönen, 2010, 27). Legitimacy as a social relation between an organization and its audience is similar to the understanding of legitimacy in the institutional approach demonstrated by Suchman. Kostova & Zaheer also refer to the institutional school, which they argue is in general built upon three pillars: characteristics of institutional environment, organization’s characteristics and action and also the legitimation

process, in which the environment builds its perception of the organization (Kostova & Zaheer, 1991, 64).

The relational model of legitimacy by Kyllönen (2010, 27) is based on the notion that legitimacy could be connected to a variety of organizations, process and policies and it is always a relational setting where different agents have a stake. As Kyllönen argues, in line with the demand of theorization by Suchman, one could always describe legitimacy as an attribute or as a property of, for example, a particular law or an operating model of a chosen political party or movement. The describing legitimacy does not show the reasoning behind the achieved legitimacy: why is the process or the entity legitimate or not legitimate? To address the question, Kyllönen calls for the analysis of the legitimacy relation.

Legitimacy criteria, according to Kyllönen (2010, 26), are the properties and features that are used by the legitimacy audience in assessing an entity's legitimacy. The legitimacy of new legislation, to give an example, is assessed by the law and justice audience consisting of lawyers, judges, government officials and public servants. In this example legitimacy comes close the concept of legality. Legitimacy audience of legislation could and should include other audiences in the society, of course. The point Kyllönen makes is that each audience assesses legitimacy from its own perspective: legislation could be assessed also by environmental, political and economical perspectives and accordingly the audience varies. The legitimacy criteria of the legitimacy object or target hence are connected to the legitimacy audience. When the criteria settled by the audience or multiple audiences are fulfilled the legitimacy relation functions and therefore legitimacy is achieved by the legitimacy object.

The governance of nature is an illustrating example of the relational legitimacy. An enterprise demands legitimacy for its plans to extract minerals from a certain area. It must fulfil the legal requirements of the legislation in power, meet the bureaucratic demands that starting an extraction projects needs to meet such as

environmental accounting etc., and also legitimate that particular use of nature to the locals, the stakeholders. In the case of a MNE, the enterprise must legitimate the whole chain of production in different localities (externally and internally as Rosenzweig & Singh (1991) point out). Kyllönen also notes that the audiences of legitimacy demanding objects in some instances are difficult to define and complex (Kyllönen, 2010, 37). It is not clear that on what conventions should the (constant) process of legitimation between the audience and the object be based on: should there be an official and publicly regulated code of conduct for accountability or should it be based on free will? Furthermore, in the case of governing of nature, who are the legitimacy audiences and in case these audiences need to be prioritized, how should that happen? In other words, who is the most important? And how much should the audiences have power in the shaping and regulating of an organization or its outputs?

The Arctic shift, the natural resource boom, could make an illustrating example of how the legitimacy audiences of intensified extractive industries are at the same time decreasingly local, although operation takes place in very concrete localities and have also local consequences, and increasingly global. The process of unsuccessful definition of legitimacy audiences or the unsuccessful prioritization of the audience might be an important factor in the lack of legitimacy. This is illustrated later in the case of international mining operators in Finland that have been accused of taking the legitimacy of mining in Finland for granted. Besides audiences, the Arctic shift might illustrate the emergence of new legitimacy objects. This is hardly limited to Arctic shift and, as Kyllönen argues (2010, 37), is typical in the governance of new globally occurring environmental challenges such as the climate change and biodiversity loss. I will discuss this process of shifting audiences and emerging legitimacy objects in more detail later.

The legitimation process is then influenced by the local institutional pillars (I'll come back to the pillars in more detail later) and the properties of the operating enterprise. Also, as Kostova & Zaheer point out, the legitimation process

includes the socially and locally constructed expectation and beliefs about the legitimacy object. This process of constructing expectations and beliefs is a “boundedly rational process” (Kostova & Zaheer, 1999, 67). The notion of bounded rationality challenges the perception of local people and other agents acting purely rationally. In other words, it means that legitimacy or the lack of legitimacy could be build on false perceptions, beliefs and rumours.

In social sciences, Kyllönen argues, the research of the legitimacy relation is essentially the study of power vested in that relation. This thesis as well is about the study of power in a particular legitimacy relation. The central question concerning the legitimacy relation is what is legitimate in a particular use of power. He offers three principles. Legitimate use of power is:

- a) achieved and utilized via justifiable principles and rules (input)
- b) justifiable in relation to the objectives set for the use of power (output)
- c) justifiable by the people on whom the power is exercised (input)

Legitimate use of power hence consists of justified sources of power and justified objectives that drive the use of power. In other words, there is input legitimacy and output legitimacy in the legitimate use of power. In most cases, the legitimate use of power requires both input and output legitimacy. Inputs, for Kyllönen, are, for instance, the justification given to the entity by the people on whom the power is exercised and justified procedures such as respecting the legal framework where operated. Outputs could, for example, be solving a particular problem, increase of well being or societal stability.

To give an example, the legitimacy of a mining operator could be lost if it produces a vast amount of waste as by-product in it’s production process, although it has proceeded by the law and met satisfactorily all the environmental and labour standards. In this case the lack output legitimacy leads to illegitimate

use of power. As Kyllönen notes, corporations are more often assessed by their outputs rather than inputs. A new environmental law could be laid down legitimately by well-established procedure, but it does not succeed in enhancing the state of environment so the expected output legitimacy is insufficient (Kyllönen, 2010, 26-31). Finally, Kyllönen lays down a challenge for future research. The challenge in the future would be to investigate – empirically, I assume – what is the relation between input legitimacy and output legitimacy. Does the one weigh more than the other and do inputs contradict with outputs? or vice versa?

### **3.3.3.2. Consent, acceptance and other types of organizational legitimacy**

As I mentioned earlier, Kostova & Zaheer distinguish legitimacy from market entry and cultural adaptation. Acceptance and consent are also concepts that are sometimes used synonymously and are certainly close to what is meant by legitimacy. This is why they deserve to be presented and discussed separately in order to better understand the types of legitimacy.

#### **Consent and acceptance**

Consent theory is based on the assumption that individuals acting as free and rational agents form consensual relationships with other free agents and forming larger societal consent for use of power on the individuals. As a result of this process the political governance of individuals becomes possible. John Locke (2001) is the father of the consent theory. The consent theory received criticism already in its wake, as Kyllönen argues, (2010, 28) for the reason that at the most radical level the theory would assume every individual to actively express their consent to all the different forms that power is used on them. Moreover, Locke began to talk about tacit consent, which does not assume the active expression of consent. Critics, according to Kyllönen, have nevertheless questioned how conscious could individuals be about their consent towards use of power, no matter how tacit or active it is assumed to be (e.g. Simmons, 1979

and Buchanan, 2002). This criticism comes close to the notion by Kostova and Zaheer (1999) about the bounded rationality of individuals in legitimation processes. Furthermore, Kyllönen argues that the consent theory is not able to sufficiently grasp the acceptance and legitimacy of power and how it is used (Kyllönen, 2010, 39).

The concept of consent has proved useful in the context of international law and its actualization in national legislations via ratification. In the case of applying new legislation and updating existing legislation according to the ratified international law, the party states actively and consciously give express their consent to the process. Consent is also linked to action or the lack of it: passive consent or active contention. Kyllönen nevertheless points out that this approach is problematic and limited (2010, 39)<sup>15</sup>. The international actions and policy behaviour of states might hide the lack of legitimacy of the governance of nature in local, subnational and national levels. Hence states as agents in the international legislation might take stands that are highly controversial in localities.

Also, as Kyllönen demonstrates (2010, 40), the fact that citizens have expressed their will through legitimate and legally conducted elections does not automatically make the power the elected exercise, the decision they make, legitimate. According to the consent theory of Locke etc. the core requirement of consent and perhaps legitimacy as well is the legitimacy of the procedure where the ones in power are elected. This, as for instance Suchman's typology displays, is merely enough to grasp the complexity of legitimacy hence limited in scope to address the question of legitimate use of power. Although the power vested in democratic decision makers and the policies they implement are often justified and attempted to be legitimized by the legitimacy of the process in which

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<sup>15</sup> It is also worth noticing that the consent and acceptance related to intragovernmental issues and generally international sphere consisting of agents of international law is not in the scope of interest of this thesis.

decision makers come to power. The use of power in the context of democratic policy design and implementation makes an interesting case. How is it possible to implement policies, for example in environmental legislation, that contradict with the interests of people? Kyllönen points out that there is not active political mobilization every time policies contradict with interests and benefits. First of all the contradiction with somebody's or some groups' interests is not necessarily enough to lose the legitimacy of the use of power as we will soon see. Secondly, people are, according to Kyllönen, ready to accept use of power which might not even be legitimate, because a variety of reasons such as the procedural legitimacy or the larger benefits or societal influence the use of power might have (Kyllönen, 2010, 42).

### **Gramscian perspectives**

The concept of consent cannot be bypassed without discussing Antonio Gramsci's work. Apart from consent theory and its descendants, the concept of consent is worth of introducing. The gramscian and the more recently neo-gramscian (see Ekers et al. 2013) conceptual framework has been used for instance in studies concerning social movements, power and the relation between state power and civil society (e.g. Abruzazack, 2008; Souza Ramos, 2006 and Vanden, 2007). According to Abdurazack (2008, 317), the strength of neo-gramscian analysis (of political economy) is its ability to demonstrate the capability of elites to hold and sustain their socially predominant position and show how grass root movements are born. The sustaining techniques and capabilities are outside of the scope of this thesis, but there certainly conceptual notions to be drawn from.

Perhaps the most central concept of the gramscian and neo-gramscian tradition is the concept of hegemony. Hegemony consists of three core elements: consent, making of meaning and coercion. These three elements are reflected in the acceptance of prevailing ideas in the society and about the society, which are maintained in and by social institutions and material resources and relations. The



way in which material relations – such as relations in work and production – are organized, how institutions that shape the society are formed and what are the prevailing ideas which stem from the ruling historical bloc. The historical bloc is an axis of social groups that in the time being have merged to rule the society. The historical bloc does not presuppose a certain ruling social class but, rather, a combination of different social groups, social movements, that come together to achieve and sustain a hegemonic position in the society. (Abdurazack, 2008, 317; Morton & Bieler, 2004, 87.)

By consent Gramsci referred to the acceptance of different techniques and ways in which power was used on people. Gramsci further expanded that historical change comes about when consent is lost and people rise up against the ones in power. This is why consent sets the limits for the use power. For Gramsci, the central element for consent was the governance of hegemonic ideas, whereas coercion was core to legislation. Ideas, a broad concept as such, for Gramsci meant the prevailing accepted and unaccepted thoughts, taboos, moralities and ethics in the society. Ideas, therefore, are embedded in what Gramsci calls common sense. (Abdurazack, 2008, 317.)

The concept of common sense is almost synonymical to the taken-for-granted legitimacy by Suchman. I will discuss taken-for-granted legitimacy later in this thesis. Nonetheless, common sense for Gramsci was the unconscious and uncritical way of thinking and making sense of world. (Abdurazack, 2008, 317.) It is adapting to prevailing ideas as such, as they are. For this sake, according to Gramsci, the political struggles take place in the level of ideas and thoughts and also in the level of concrete politics.

Gramsci's concepts of consent and common sense are useful for understanding how power is sustained, but unfortunately rather simple and straightforward compared to the multifaceted and complex concept of legitimacy. Similar limitations occur as in the case of consent theory: the Gramscian idea of consent assumes active participation and active expression of dissent as well. Although

Gramsci's concepts prove useful when analyzing processes of political mobilization, it is not able to grasp and explain the maintenance of status quo: why do people not mobilize although they feel dissent and do not agree with the prevailing ideas? Gramsci would probably answer that because hegemony is too strong and there might not be an anti-hegemonic social movement to challenge the prevailing conditions of power.

### **3.3.3.3. Pragmatic legitimacy**

Suchman defines three types of legitimacy in the society: cognitive, moral and pragmatic. In each of these types, legitimacy rests in a rather different behavioural dynamic. The following sections introduce all three legitimacies and the respective sub-types of legitimacies.

The first type Suchman presents is the pragmatic legitimacy. This type rests on the self interest (Vanden 2007) of the most immediate audiences (also legitimacy audience for Kyllönen). The proximity of the audience to the organization can often be seen in that the organization and the audiences are involved in direct exchanges with the organization. In the most simple form pragmatic legitimacy becomes *exchange legitimacy* where the audience supports the organization's policy based on the expected value for the constituents (audience) (Suchman, 1995, 578). This is very close to the idea of relational legitimacy by Kyllönen. Another subtype of pragmatic legitimacy is *influence legitimacy*. In this case the audience supports the organization or considers it legitimate because it responds to the audiences' larger interests than immediate self interest. Practically influence legitimacy would rise for instance when organizations use participatory policy making in involving stakeholders for shaping the way organization operates. This is an example of an entity aiming to understand the social setting it is operating and finding ways in which the entity might operate legitimately. A third and less researched type of pragmatic legitimacy would be *dispositional legitimacy*. This subtype refers to a personification process of an organization. As Suchman (1999, 578) elaborates, organizations are given

increasingly attributes that traditionally referred to persons. These attributes could be, for example, that the organization has our best interest in mind or that the organization shares our values. Banal personification of organization leads to justification of its operation and also legitimacy. Dispositional legitimacy is therefore achieved on the same basis that persons gain legitimacy.

#### **3.3.3.4. Moral legitimacy**

As Suchman puts it: “Moral legitimacy reflects a positive normative evaluation of the organization and its activities”(1995, 579). It is not that much about the benefit of the output of the organization but rather organizational activities are assessed against their goodness or badness and rightness and wrongness. The moral legitimacy judgements often reflect the audience’s social and cultural value systems (and the congruence between the organization and it’s audiences) and also the audience’s understanding of whether the organization’s activities improve societal well being. Suchman divides moral legitimacy into three sub-categories: *consequential legitimacy*, *procedural legitimacy*, *structural legitimacy and personal legitimacy*. Consequential refers to largely the same field of legitimacy Kyllönen presented as the output legitimacy, in short what the organization produces. A related important addition by Suchman is that technical outputs or products produced by an organization do not exist in some concrete sense but are socially constructed. Moreover the outputs are not, according to Suchman, out there to be empirically discovered. Nevertheless what is there to be discovered is the socially constructed idea of the output and that is in my very interest to discover.

Especially in the context of Yara in Sokli, which is a phosphate mine yet to be constructed, the expected (negative) outputs of the possible mine might form a strong basis for contesting the legitimacy of the whole mining project. This will be dealt with in more detail in the analysis section. Nonetheless, Suchman further expands that the outputs of some organizations might be very ambiguous and hard to measure. This is the case for instance in organizations yet to be

realized or in the operation of nuclear aircraft carriers that work mainly on the assumption of error free operation. Therefore the speculative consequences of risks of operation are to be taken into account in understanding legitimacy. By procedural legitimacy Suchman refers to largely the similar notion of Kyllönen's input legitimacy. Some organizations garner legitimacy by following sound practices and engaging socially and morally accepted procedures and techniques. Procedural legitimacy comes especially in question when the organization's output is difficult to measure. The third subtype of moral legitimacy is structural legitimacy. In this type the organization becomes worthy of support when it possesses structural characteristics and capacity to act for collective good. It is also a question of internal code of conduct. In the case of mining this would mean that the organization has the capacity to monitor its emissions and be aware of and ensure that labour regulations are met in all of its value chain. The last sub-type of moral legitimacy is personal legitimacy. This type refers to the personal charisma of, for example, organization leaders or CEOs. Single persons can garner support and value by being influential in a way or another. (Suchman, 1995, 581-582.)

#### **3.3.3.5. Cognitive legitimacy**

Cognitive legitimacy is a type of legitimacy that refers to the comprehensibility and taken-for-grantedness. In the latter, Suchman makes a notion that both moral and pragmatic legitimacies are based on either individual or collective evaluation of certain sphere or property of an organization or to interest – although often people tend to base their attitudes in particular assumptions that are taken for granted. These can be positive, negative or either conscious or unconscious decisions to make no evaluation. Furthermore, the argument includes the idea that a corporation and its policy must be understandable to the audience. The notion of taken for grantedness is closely linked to the bounded rationality of consent.

Legitimacy achieved by comprehensibility, on the other hand, is based on an assumption of the social world as inherently chaotic. The participants of the world, as the people, struggle to find tools to make sense of the chaos. In this view legitimacy stems from the availability of cultural and social models that make sense of an organization and its operations. When these models that make sense of the organization are available, the organizational presence and activity will prove predictable and meaningful. Comprehensibility links clearly to the Kostova & Zaheer's account on the sense making and comprehensibility being a process of bounded rationality. When bounded rationality is combined with comprehensibility, it seems possible for an organization to gain legitimacy on false and fictive assumptions and beliefs that just happen to match and make sense with the cultural and social explanatory models related to the organizational activities. Concretely people might think an organization is doing something that it's actually not or just partly, because this makes sense for the legitimacy audience the object gains legitimacy.

Suchman points out that studies on legitimacy and comprehensibility (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991) according to which to gain legitimacy the organizational activities have to both match with larger belief systems and experienced reality of the audience's daily life. This claim comes close to the example I provided earlier, but does not address the possibility of actually false beliefs. Although undeniably false beliefs are in a sense incorporated to Suchman's idea of taken-for-granted legitimacy, they are in the most radical form of false beliefs since taken-for-granted legitimacy is based on the logic of being unable to imagine that particular part of the reality being otherwise.

Finally, Suchman adds two cross-cutting dimensions to the the trichotomy: focus and temporal texture. Focus entails both essence and actions. Essence for Suchman means the desirability and acceptability of the organization itself, whereas actions refer to the desirability of outputs of the organization and the operating of the organization. Temporal texture then again is subdivided to

continual and episodic temporality. In total, Suchman's framework of legitimacy is concretized in Picture 2.

Picture 2 (Suchman, 1995, 584)

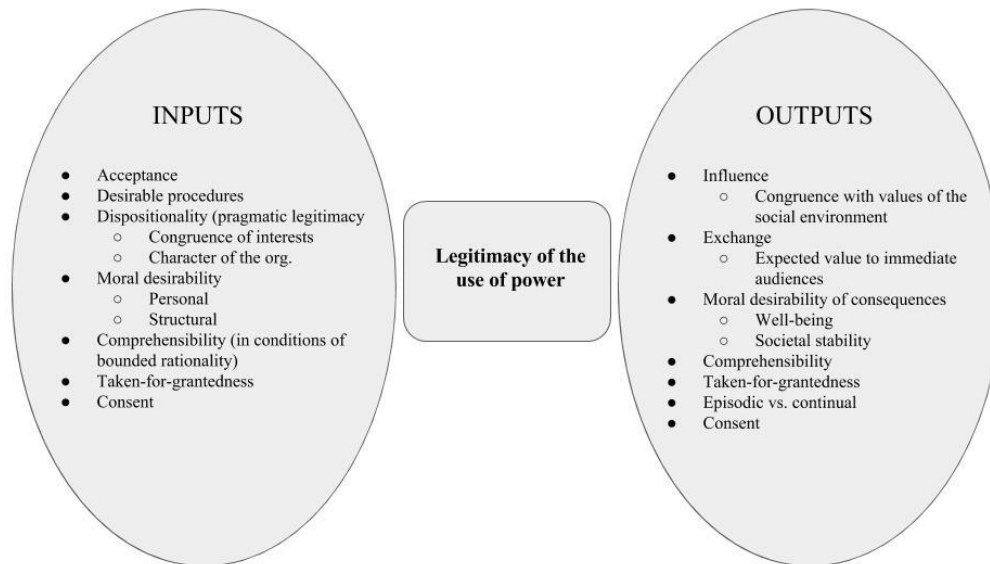
**A Typology of Legitimacy**

	<b>Actions</b>	<b>Essences</b>	
<b>Episodic</b>	Exchange	Disposition Interest	Pragmatic Legitimacy
<b>Continual</b>	Influence	Character	
<b>Episodic</b>	Consequential	Personal	Moral Legitimacy
<b>Continual</b>	Procedural	Structural	
<b>Episodic</b>	Predictability	Plausibility	Cognitive Legitimacy
<b>Continual</b>	Inevitability	Permanence	

Combined with other theorizations on legitimacy, the framework for legitimacy created for this thesis is seen in Picture 3.

The presented web of legitimacies and subtypes of legitimacies have all something in common. They all require a varying period of time to realize. This process could be named legitimation process. I see it as the contextually bounded combination of the before presented legitimacies. What remains to be done is to compare empirical data in the created synthesis of legitimacy theories.

Picture 3



In fact, mines are opposed and the concept of legitimacy allows the understanding what actually is being contested or illegitimate: is it the certain governance of nature, current legislation, the company per se, mines in principle or what? When compared to the concept of SLO, this framing of legitimacy in fact grasps a wider and more complex picture of the legitimacy setting. By examining how legitimacy or the lack of legitimacy is built, what constitutes legitimacy or which factors have led to decreasing legitimacy of a certain field of industry, I hope to better understand the dynamics of the developments in the governance of the Arctic natural resources. Legitimacy is a concept that provides the possibility of accessing the acceptability of development. Legitimacy addresses the question of why does certain development come about?

## **4. Research question**

The aforementioned challenges posed by Kyllönen (to further investigate inputs since output legitimacy is often highlighted in research) and by Suchman (the theoretical considerations and demand for empirical research on legitimacy) combined with the notion by Kröger (2015) about the absence of anglophone literature on the expansion of extractive industries in the North led me to become interested about legitimacy. Another important factor is the strong dominance of the concept of ‘Social license to operate’ and ‘acceptance’ especially in the tradition of Finnish mining research in the field of social studies. Therefore there is a clear need to apply and further develop the concept of legitimacy in the context of mining mining as well. The research question driving this thesis therefore is *‘why is the legitimacy of the Sokli mine contested by locals in Savukoski?’*

## **5. Methodology**

### **5.1. Case study approach**

This master’s thesis focuses on the contestation of legitimacy of the planned mine in Sokli, Savukoski municipality. Yara, the fertilizer company who has applied mining license to start a mine in Sokli, is at the moment when this thesis is written undergoing the environmental permit process. Inherent to the permit process is the possibility of locals and practically any organization to file complaints, appeals and statements to Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment in Lapland (ELY). ELY is the responsible for granting or denying the permit. This phase in the process opens up the possibility to research official and deliberate statements concerning the mine. It is also the time when locals have the opportunity to have impact in the decisions concerning the mine.

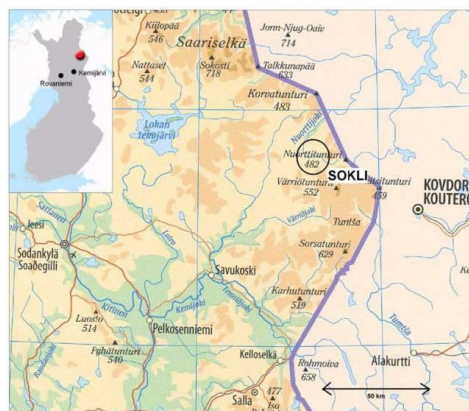


As Laine et al (2008, 9) note, case study is a detailed and *thick description* of the researched phenomenon. Furthermore, they argue, case studies are interested about phenomenons, process, communities or chain of events. It is critical, according to Laine et al., to be able to separate between the case and the research object. The research object in this master's thesis is the body of the legitimating and legitimacy contesting arguments against the mining project of Sokli. I approached the research object through the local people in Savukoski region and through four official entities, who claim to represent the locals and have a clear stake to the mining project. The entities chosen are the Municipality of Savukoski, Finnish Association for Nature Conservation, Reindeer herder's Association and a Finnish Fisheries Association. By researching both individual talk and deliberate statements one is able to draw a more holistic understanding of the legitimacy and its contestation in Savukoski. Furthermore, the case study approach allows to compare the results of this thesis to intraregional, international and global process related to mining, governance of nature and society-web of life relations.

## **5.2. Data collection**

The primary research data, that is, personal interviews, was gathered in September 2015 when I travelled to Savukoski for a two week field research period. During my stay in Savukoski I resided in Värriö research station of the University of Helsinki. The research station is just some kilometres away from Sokli, the uninhabited village in North-Eastern Savukoski. The interviews were conducted during those two weeks. In addition, I visited Sokli village a few times during my field trip and had insightful unofficial discussions with a large number of locals related to the mine. These unofficial discussions are not documented or recorded, but they nevertheless play an important role in the development of my understanding of the research area and local attitudes.

Picture 4<sup>16</sup>



During the stay in Värriö, I conducted five semi-structured thematic interviews, each of them in private with the interviewee<sup>17</sup>. My primary research data consists of these interviews and the statements filed by the official entities. I had also arranged a group interview with three informants, which got cancelled due to a very unfortunate scheduling misunderstanding. The locals were fairly unwilling to participate in the research, which made the acquirement of informants challenging. The interviewed informants were chosen according to the livelihoods practiced in the area in order to represent the people as diversely as possible.

There are different kinds of research interviews and what makes them different are their structure: some are very strongly structured and follow an order planned before the interview, whereas others flow freely. (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2008, 43) I chose to conduct semi-structured thematic interviews, because I was not sure if my questions would generate enough relevant discussion among my interviewees. I also wanted to see where the discussion flows and let the interviewees lead the way. It is ultimately their reality and views I am interested in so I did not want to make too many assumptions. Nonetheless, I decided the day before the first interview that I would be interviewing my informants about

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<sup>16</sup> [http://www.sokli.fi/images/stories/sokli\\_sijainti.jpg](http://www.sokli.fi/images/stories/sokli_sijainti.jpg)

<sup>17</sup> The interview questions are found in Appendice 1

four overlapping yet different themes. These themes came from theoretical framework concerning legitimacy presented earlier in section 2. I recorded each interview and the interviews were transcribed later on. All the interviewees were presented the subject I was writing my thesis on, some basic facts about me and the purpose of the interview was discussed. All interviewees were guaranteed anonymity, which might be challenging because there are so little inhabitants (slightly over 1100) in the area so the community is small and the interviewees easily recognizable. This is why special effort was given for ensuring their anonymity.

Besides the data I collected by interviews, I also use official documents as complementary research data in this master's thesis. The documents are complaints, opinions and statements by stakeholders that are official organizations. These statements were filed to the Regional State Administrative Agency in Lapland (AVI from here onwards)<sup>18</sup>, which is the administrative body responsible for granting a mining operator an environmental and water management permit. The documents are open for public access<sup>19</sup>. When environmental permit for a mine is applied, AVI requests statements from relevant stakeholder organizations and official entities. All organizations such as NGOs are able to place their complaint or note on the matter in a given timeframe. In regards to my thesis these documents represent deliberate and well articulated views, legitimacy claims, of the stakeholders represented by official entities, NGOs and administrative bodies, in which legitimacy is contested and constructed. Therefore the official statements complement the primary data I have collected myself through interviews.

The statements I chose are the statement by the Municipality of Savukoski, an opinion by the Finnish Association for Nature Conservation, a statement by

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<sup>18</sup> AVI Lapland is one of the six Regional State Administrative Agencies in Finland. One of it's administrative responsibilities are environmental permits for example mining. Moreover "The agencies' mission is to promote regional equality by carrying out executive, steering and supervisory tasks laid down in the law.

<sup>19</sup> [https://tietopalvelu.ahp.fi/Lupa/Lisatiedot.aspx?Asia\\_ID=891627](https://tietopalvelu.ahp.fi/Lupa/Lisatiedot.aspx?Asia_ID=891627) Accessed March 25th 2016

Reindeer Herder's Association and a statement by Federation of Finnish Fisheries Association. How these organizations represent "locals" or local views is problematic. Nonetheless, it is important to note that statements requested and received by AVI offer a channel for formal entities to present their views about the mine and therefore offer a chance to contest its legitimacy. It is for this reason essential to take into consideration these voices too. Moreover, these organizations are key agents in the mining project placed in Lapland. The reindeer herders and fisheries are also competing industries with the mining industry when it comes to utilization of nature in the localities surrounding Sokli. As the contestation of legitimacy has not escalated into an open environmental conflict, the application for environmental and water management permit and the statements are where the contestation of legitimacy takes place publicly. Media, of course, is another arena for the contestation of legitimacy. Nevertheless, media sources are not used as research data in this thesis.

### **5.3. Ethical considerations and the researcher's position**

Perhaps the most pressing ethical issue related to my research is the anonymity of the interviewees. By the end of 2013, there were 1126 inhabitants in the municipality of Savukoski<sup>20</sup>. Families have lived in the area for decades, the community is small and people know each other rather well. This makes it challenging to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees. Also their occupational background might be of importance in the analysis, which makes it even more challenging to balance between the anonymity and the argument presented. The most important connecting factor between the interviewees is them living permanently in an area near the mine, which would be significantly effected by the mine. Their background, age, occupation, gender etc are not of as great significance as their anonymity. Hence, I will refer to my interviewees as A, B,

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<sup>20</sup> <http://www.stat.fi/tup/kunnat/kuntatiedot/742.html>

C, D and E & F. By revealing their background and other information, it would be impossible to ensure their anonymity.

It proved to be important for the interviewees to understand my stake and my interest towards the subject. It was rather devastating to read from the local newspaper only a few days before I arrived to Savukoski, that it had been difficult to get interviews from locals for journalistic purposes only. This, as far as I am concerned, is due to two things. First, the local people are frustrated with the mining project being on and off for over four decades. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, the community is very small, so people are afraid of showing affiliation to the pro mining or anti mining camps. The mining question is very controversial in Savukoski, since there are more or less as many proponents as there are opponents to the mine. Because of this pragmatic situation in the field and also general ethical principles, it was highly important for me to present myself and my interest to the interviewees. I have also made clear to all the interviewees that I have absolutely no linkages to Yara or any other entity besides University of Helsinki. I felt the local tensions when I approached potential interviewees. Many locals I talked to refused being interviewed. My understanding was that this happened due to the controversiality of the issue in Savukoski. Many of the ones who refused said they were too busy or something as generic. Of course, it is possible that they in fact were occupied at the time, but I doubt that was the case for everybody.

It is commonly said that In Lapland people do not always feel very warmly about people from the Southern, capital area, and Helsinki in particular. This might have led to multiple challenges for researchers: people might not want to talk to southern people, southerners are not taken seriously and the interaction is characterized by strong attitudes towards southerners such as belittling. My background from my father's side is in Lapland and I think this gave me some advantage, especially when trying to gain the confidence of the potential and actual interviewees. It might also be that my gender gave me advantage. I did not face any kind of difficulties related to my dialect and background. For the

sake of politeness, I tried to speak as universal and general Finnish as I could and lose the Helsinki slang words.

One ethical issue, which is also connected to my position as a researcher, is the question about my own opinion towards the mining project. I have been moderately against the project, but I also understand the possible benefits of the mine. Nevertheless, I remain sceptical about some of the benefits: for instance, it has been estimated that up to 2000 permanent jobs will be created if the mine is to be built. Keeping this in mind, it is important for the reader to acknowledge my attitudes towards the mine, since they might influence my analysis and shape the way interviews and discussions were carried.

It is also worth noticing that a great deal of the time I have spent in the North has had to do with nature. I visit my grandmother in Rovaniemi several times a year and we share a summer house in Kemijärvi together. I have always loved to go to our summer house where you can hear nothing but silence of the Arctic wilderness. These experiences have raised a concern in me related to the future of our largely wild and deserted Lapland. The cruelty of the North has always intrigued me. Surely, the expansion of extractive industries does not so to say fit into the imagery of clean and wild North. Furthermore, my grandmother has been a member of the municipal council representing the Communist Party of Finland and later Left Alliance for all together 32 years. She is an eager debater of local politics and has surely had an influence on the way I think. Although I am not capable of conceptualizing that influence, it is worth saying out loud. I also expected that some people in Savukoski might recognize me by my last name because of my grandmother. This did not happen as far as I am concerned.

In this light of this background it is only fair to say that my interest towards my subject is partly feelings based. My intention is not to underestimate my background but rather clarify it so that the reader might find different depth in my writing and better understand my point of departure.

## 6. The case of Sokli

The use of natural resources have been the foundation of social and economic development of Lapland. Historically among the most important have been the forest industry, logging, hydropower, reindeer herding, berry picking, fishing and hunting. The mining industry is a newcomer in the game since it has boomed from 1994 onwards. That year, Finland joined the European Economic Area and the treaty allowed international mining operators were allowed access to the Finnish subsoil. Since then mineral deposits have been found in Finland. Today more than half of all mining operations in Finland are located in Lapland. (Suopajarvi, 2015, 1-5) This is also indicative of the expansion of extractive industries being strongly linked to a global change in the Arctic related to land use change, intensifying natural resource extraction, infrastructural reforms and shift in global cargo routes. Historically Finland has been relying on resource nationalism until the year 1994. From the 1910's onwards the Finnish mining industry was largely dominated by the state owned company Outokumpu Oy. The company has been praised to be a milestone in the Finnish industrial history and foundational for the Finnish well being (Jartti et al., 2014, 12-13).

These days Finland has moved forward from resource nationalism and has probably the most liberal mining legislation in the world. The Fraser Institute has concluded that Finland has the most attractive jurisdiction for investments (Fraser Institute, 2014, 2). The annual report by Fraser institute rates 122 jurisdictions. The report is based on a survey for mining operators and it covers issues such as government policies regarding exploration and investment, attractiveness for investments, corruption and environmental regulations. Finland was said to have "an abundance of of mineral potential...clear regulatory guidelines, an effective tax regime and a robust labour market" (Marketwired, 2014). Among the other top jurisdictions were only the North American and Australian jurisdictions. It is noteworthy that 2014 was the fifth consecutive year Finland ranked in top ten. At the same time the Finnish mining legislation has been reformed in 2011 (Koivurova & Stepien, 2008).

Furthermore, it is interesting that the attractiveness of the Finnish legislation has increased year after year since 2010/2011 according to Fraser Institute. The policy climate in Finland is also perceived to be better than ever in 2013. The Finnish legislation according to the survey needs no improvement (Fraser Institute, 2013, 7-10 & 24). In sum, the Finnish policy and economic framework is highly encouraging for mining operations.

### **6.1. Brief history of mining in Finland**

There has been organized ore exploration in Finland from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Kuisma, 1985, 5). The discovery of an ore body in Outokumpu in eastern Finland in the 1910's gave spark to a larger scale exploration and mining. The 20<sup>th</sup> century in Finland was marked by strong resource nationalism and the discovered ore bodies in 1920's and 1930's were largely considered national heritage. The state took an active role in the Finnish industrial policy. In practice the active role of the state was that it owned companies in strategically important sectors, provided capital investments instead of the weak Finnish private sector, guaranteed protection against international competition and laid out societal functions to the companies it owned. Despite the fact that mining and iron industry were operated mainly by private companies the state had a prominent role in the development of the industries which is illustrated by the example of Outokumpu (Kuisma, 1985). Outokumpu's role in the Finnish history is diverse: as mentioned before, Outokumpu has been central in both industrial development in Finland and regional politics. The company has been a practical tool of early independence regimes to strengthen nationalism and social cohesion in Finland. Outokumpu has also been responsible for a plethora of regional growth programmes in different parts of Finland.

As Rytteri (2012) argues, the social responsibility and the societal role of Outokumpu in the Finnish society has been twofold: on other hand social responsibility has included the successful running of mining operations and on



the other hand promoting and fostering regional and national development and moreover national interests (Rytteri, 2012, 58). Outokumpu was the harbinger of the resource nationalism in which the central idea was to extract sub soil resources by Finnish for the national project called Finland. In the 1930's Outokumpu was already one the most significant producer of copper in Europe. At peak exports made up to 90% of the company's turnover in the late 1930's (Jartti et al., 2014, 14). Later in the 1970's the production of mining sector started to decrease. New reserves were not found through exploration. At the same time the focus in mining operations was shifting from traditional industrial countries towards the South. In the wake of 1980's the exploration projects had diminished significantly in Finland. The new decade would bring about a new paradigm to the principles in which state owned companies, such as Outokumpu, would be managed. Namely, it was the beginning of the free market paradigm (Jartti et al., 2014, 13). In the new paradigm the societal functions carried by Outokumpu were reduced and efficiency of production was the primary objective. Also during the time, environmentalism and green thinking was introduced to Finland, which increased the critical voices towards the mining industry in the media. In the 1990's this development had led to the state ownership being reduced to merely have an investment interest in the companies it had significant ownership in.

Nonetheless, the idea of the Finnish state being involved in exploration and mining persisted to this day. According to Rytteri (2012, 59) this is due to the century long tradition of resource nationalism. In 1994, the exploration activities that had been minimal for years, started to increase due to the EEA treaty and the following inflow of international operators ready to explore the subsoil especially in Lapland. In the beginning of 2000's the future of the Finnish mining operators did not seem bright: Outokumpu, for example, was running down mines during the time. Moreover, exploration was increasing in Finland. New reserves were discovered, old mines were reopened and extraction was started at reserves found earlier. The increasing global prices of minerals gave incentives to the mining operators. A prominent feature of public discussion

regarding mining was that it could bring economic stimulus and jobs to net emigration areas.

In the turn 2010's the idea of renewing the Finnish mining legislation got increasing support. The central problem was that the old law was outdated since mining was increasingly operated by multinationals rather than national and state owned companies for which the old law was designed. The old law also lacked environmental regulations and was unclear in land ownership and management issues. The new mining law introduced in the winter 2010 aimed at encouraging foreign mining operators to invest in Finland. The state would cooperate with mining operators by investing in infrastructure needed for successful mining projects and also investing directly to the projects. The idea of this kind of public participation had already come up in 2008 in Matti Vanhanen's regime. Specific funding for the needs of mining industry was also directed to Geological Survey of Finland (Geologian tutkimuskeskus). Diverse and accurate geological research was mentioned later in 2014 as the most important factor increasing the attractiveness of investment to the Finnish mining sector (Lapin ELY-keskus, 2014).

At the time the new legislation was introduced, Finland was in the middle of mining boom because of rising global prices and the new encouraging legislation. Picture 4 demonstrates the boom by showing the almost 200% increase of turnover from iron ore quarry between 2000-2014. The boom actually had started already in 2003-2004 (Jartti et al., 2014, 16) when world market prices of metal ores were climbing. In 2014 the Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment in Lapland concluded in its report (Lapin ELY-keskus, 2014) that during the past years mining industry has been one of the only branches experiencing inflow of investments. Interestingly the same report said that one of the biggest threats to the industry was resource nationalism, which illustrates how the paradigm of resource governance and the overall understanding of how and by whom natural resources ought to be managed has changed in few decades. In general, the boom was considered to be

a positive thing in Finland. Partly due to the long history of mining in Finland, the international mining operators took it for granted that mining would be legitimate and accepted in the society although criticism towards the industry was increasing due to environmental problems.

Today mining in Finland is seen as a great opportunity. Finland aims to be the global leader in sustainable/green mining. What this really means remains ambiguous. The current mining legislation reflects how the governance from early 2000's to the turn of the decade has pursued a more intensified exploitation of extractives in Finland. I will discuss the question in detail in the coming section. At the same time in the beginning of 2010's government officials and legislators took notice of the increasing possibilities brought by the resource boom. In a short period of time some of the most important documents related to the future of exploitation of resources were produced. These are a report by the Council of the State (Valtioneuvosto) named *Älykäs ja vastuullinen luonnonvaratalous* (TEM, 2/2010)<sup>21</sup> in 2010. Also, the strategic guidelines of the mineral cluster were presented in *Finland's Mineral Strategy* (TEM, 1/2010)<sup>22</sup>. According Jartti et al (2014, 16-18) these documents share the idea of Finland having great potential of being a leader in sustainable and smart use of natural resources. Finland is seen as having exceptional know-how in the use of natural resources and Finland's experience and know-how ought to be aimed at the export markets. Jartti et al (2012, 49) note that the mining industry is highly concentrated since the share of production of 10 biggest companies in the industry is 35%. "Finland's know how and expertise" means also the expertise these global giants operating in Finland have.

The Finnish economy is also strongly based on added value from natural resources. Moreover, natural resources are seen predominantly economically rather than socially and ecologically in these documents although the latter two dimensions are brought up in *Älykäs ja vastuullinen luonnonvaratalous*. It is

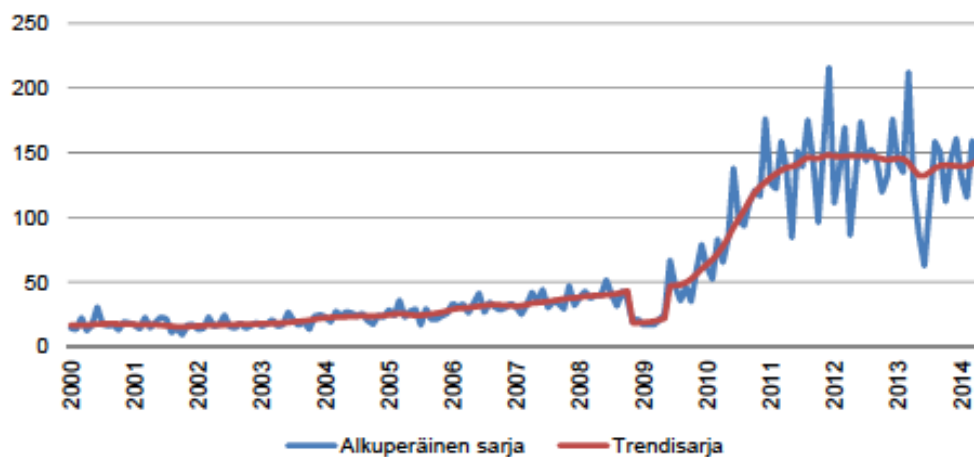
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<sup>21</sup> [http://www.tem.fi/files/28516/TEM\\_69\\_2010\\_netti.pdf](http://www.tem.fi/files/28516/TEM_69_2010_netti.pdf)

<sup>22</sup> [http://projects.gtk.fi/export/sites/projects/mineraalistrategia/documents/FinlandsMineralsStrategy\\_2.pdf](http://projects.gtk.fi/export/sites/projects/mineraalistrategia/documents/FinlandsMineralsStrategy_2.pdf)

extremely important to understand how natural resources are seen now and the in the future in the level of policy. Understanding long run strategies and visions on which current policies are partly based on makes it far more easier to understand why is there or at least has been a resource boom Finland. As Kröger (2015, 3) puts it, the state has taken an midwifery role to support the expansion of extractive industries. Kröger also links the paradigmatic change presented here to a larger political paradigm change marked by replacing the Nordic welfare state with a ‘competitive workforce state’ (Kantola & Kananen, 2013). Besides strategies and vision that guide policy making the other structural factors ought to be taken into account, namely the mining legislation.

**Kuva 2. Metallimalmien louhinta. (TOL 07) liikevaihdon kehitys 2000-04/2014 (Indeksi 2010=100). Lähde: Toimiala Online / Tilastokeskus, asiakaskohtainen suhdannepalvelu.**



Picture 4. The development of turnover from quarry of metal ores between 2000-2014

## 6.2. Mining legislation today in Finland

Koivurova and Stepien (2008) offer a great introduction to the Finnish mining law and the law reform process which resulted in a new mining law in 2011. According to James M. Otto (in Koivurova & Stepien, 2008, 26-38), there are three principal legal systems that regulate mining, extraction and exploration.

First there is the land ownership system in which the explored deposit belong to the owner of the land. Secondly, there is the concessionary system where the permission for exploring and later processing of mineral deposits should be applied by the searcher from a national authority. All mines should therefore be at the disposal of the nation. This is also the most common legal system globally. The third system is the claims system, where the discoverer acquires the right to the mine. The claims system is far less common. The claims system is the basis of the mining law in Finland. The basic question in jurisdictions is whether a deposit should be mined and if so, what special protection ought to be provided to the location's environment and people. Finland has chosen a globally exceptional and liberal direction in mining legislation. How did this legislation come about?

The first Finnish mining act was put in operation in 1965. Since then the act was amended several times before the new law was put in operation in 2011. The most significant amendments have been the opening of mining to all natural and legal persons in the EEA in 1994 and adding references about nature and environmental protection (Koivurova & Stepien, 2008, 189). The old mining act was criticised for being outdated since by the time it was put in operation, mining in Finland was operated generally by state owned companies as discussed earlier in this thesis. In 1999 the work for a new mining act began.

According to Koivurova (2008, 194-204), some of the most critical issues the committee had to deal with were the globalization of markets for minerals, the lack of societal discussion and public participation during the reform process, the multiple attitudes towards mining in the committee (The Ministry of Employment and Economy took an explicitly pro-mining stance in the process) and the rights and security of the landowners. The result was, as discussed before, a very pro-mining oriented legislation, which was warmly welcomed by the mining operators (Fraser Institute, 2014). The new law did not include any mining royalties or mining tax. The landowners get some tens of euros per

hectare plus 0.15% of the worth of yearly excavated metals (Kröger, 2015, 6). This is 10-20 times less than the level in most other countries. (ibid.)

### **6.3. Acceptance of mining in Finland**

Mining has had a fairly strong support among the Finnish people throughout history. Perhaps due to the expansion of the industry, increasing environmental problems, the rise of environmental values and the failure of Talvivaara the industry might be facing decreasing legitimacy and acceptance. Although in general, mining enjoys widespread acceptance, there are important regional exceptions and local tensions in Sokli and Utsjoki (YLE, 1/2015) for example.

Jartti et al (2012, 50) define the acceptance of mining as a complex issue including general appreciations and values (moral desirability here), the factual proceeding and events concerning the mines (moral desirability of consequences, influence and exchange legitimacy here), how informed people are about the issue. Also important is the agency of the mining operator, dialogue, CSR strategy (procedural legitimacy here). Jartti et al. importantly note that acceptance (applies also to legitimacy) is not an either-or-question, since it is quite possible to be, for example, at the same time critical about the environmental auditing of mining operators and demand strict environmental stewardship and support the industry for its regional economic benefits. This very notion is one of the main drivers of this thesis: what is illegitimate about mining industry and Sokli?

As noted by e.g. Suopajarvi (2015) and Jartti et al (2012), Finland's Minerals Strategy (TEM 1/2010) the main reason for the support of mining industry is that it creates jobs. From the wake of 2000's onwards, mining industry in Finland has been prominently in Eastern and Northern Finland. Mining has been seen as an antidote to the extensive emigration and the economic challenges in the provinces. Yet Lapland, for example, has had also decreasing unemployment rates partly due to the mining boom. In national comparison unemployment

persists and Lapland has had the third highest unemployment rate (13% in 2011)<sup>23</sup>. Other provinces with higher unemployment numbers than Lapland are Kainuu (14%) and North-Carelia (15%), indeed hotspots of mining in Finland. In general unemployment in Finland and in these areas has reached the highest peak since 1987<sup>24</sup>. In this light the support for mining becomes reasonable.

Jartti et al (2012) note that Finland has been framed as a forerunner of sustainable and green mining in the most important mining related strategy papers. This framing according to Jartti et al is done partly for seeking legitimacy and acceptance for mining in Finland. Jartti et al. question the industry's ability to de facto make mining green. There is a lot of technological know how but it does not automatically transfer into greener or green mining.

In a survey carried out by Jartti et al (2012) in the provinces of Lappi, Kainuu, North-Karelia and Uusimaa, 73-87% of the respondents said they agreed partly or agreed totally with the claim that mining industry is needed for maintaining the vitality of the region. Respondents from Lapland were the strongest supporters of the claim (87%). 55-75% of the respondents disagreed partly or totally with the claim that mining industry is hindering the development in the region. The same survey showed that environmental challenges related to mining were one of the biggest reasons for non acceptance of mining. It also showed that the respondents had limited information about the environmental challenges. Furthermore, the support to a state owned mining company and other local operators was strong. This surely is partly due to the long history of public ownership of Outokumpu and resource nationalism in general. The acceptance of foreign operators was vastly smaller than local operators. Jartti et al conclude that the most pro mining province in Finland is Lapland, where the support for a state owned mining company is the strongest too. According to Jartti et al., it seems that the locals and localities where mining takes place demand for distribution of the gains and benefits of mining.

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<sup>23</sup> <http://tietotrendit.stat.fi/mag/article/25/>

<sup>24</sup> [http://www.stat.fi/til/tyokay/2014/03/tyokay\\_2014\\_03\\_2016-02-19\\_tie\\_001\\_fi.html](http://www.stat.fi/til/tyokay/2014/03/tyokay_2014_03_2016-02-19_tie_001_fi.html)

Lapin Kansa conducted a survey and one of the questions was about the Sokli mine and whether it should be built or not<sup>25</sup>. From a total 1003 answers 15% opposed the mine, 53% were in favor of the mine if the extracted minerals were transferred via railroad and 25% were in favor of the mine if the minerals were trucked. The survey was conducted in the whole province of Lapland, and the majority (433) of respondents reported living in other municipalities than Rovaniemi, Kemi and Tornio. Two interesting notions rise from this survey. First, it supports the survey conducted by Jartti et al. (2012) in the argument that Lapland is pro mining. In the Sokli question, 78% of the respondents were in favor of the mine and 22% opposed the mine or did not have an opinion. It is very clear that in the provincial scale the mine is accepted and legitimate. Another interesting notion was that 40% of the voters of the green party in Lapland were in favor of the mine and equally 40% opposed the mine. Speculating reasons for this result is not in the scope of this thesis, but in a detail level it is quite surprising.

Why do people in Lapland support mining? Leena Suopajärvi's (2015) storyline analysis provides insights to the question. According to Suopajärvi's storyline analysis, the local understanding and support for mining is divided in three distinct logics: the first storyline sees mining industry as the only way to develop Lapland as a response to emigration, economic challenges and unemployment. The second story line highlights the importance of mining to the "general interest" of the region. The third line denies nature's intrinsic value and sees natural resources as an asset to be exploited efficiently and the exploitation of resources being in the interest of the region.

Whereas 78% of the people in Lapland support the mine, it was presented as common knowledge by the locals in Savukoski that about 50% of Savukoski people oppose the mine whereas the other half are in favor. The opposition in

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<sup>25</sup> The survey is referenced simply as LK-gallup 3/2015. I later got all the answers from the editor in chief of Lapin Kansa (Lapin Kansa, 2015)



Savukoski is a significant exception in the general landscape of attitudes towards mining and it is also what makes the case of Sokli interesting. Another interesting example is the case of Karelian Diamond Resources in Utsjoki. KDR is an Irish company, which was exploring diamonds in 2015 in Utsjoki, northernmost Finland. In a rather short period of time the company announced its withdrawal from the area due to the strong opposition by the locals (YLE, 2/2015).

#### **6.4. Sokli and Savukoski municipality**

Savukoski is located in Eastern Lapland (See picture 12). By the end of 2013, there were 1126 inhabitants officially living in the municipality.<sup>26</sup> 37% are working in primary production, 58% in services and 4% in processing. The main fields of industry are the forest industry, reindeer herding, processing of natural products and tourism. Among the most pressing issues in the municipality are the diversification of livelihoods, decrease in the number of jobs, ageing population and the resulting increase in dependency ratio<sup>27</sup>.

Sokli is an uninhabited village in the northeastern part of the municipality, just some kilometres from the border with Russia. Although the history of the Sokli mining project dates back to 1967, there is little academic research conducted about Sokli with the exception of geological studies (except, for example, Vartiainen, 2012). It is now one of the geologically most researched carbonate complex<sup>28</sup>. The ore body was discovered in 1967 by Rautaruukki oy. The exploration of the found carbonate deposit was active from 1967 until 1980. As a result an over 100 million ton of high quality phosphorus ore was invented. When Kemira company bought the mining rights of Sokli in 1986, the actual planning of opening a mine was started. Kemira company decided not to open

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<sup>26</sup> <http://www.stat.fi/tup/kunnat/kuntatiedot/742.html>

<sup>27</sup> [http://www.savukoski.fi/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=9&Itemid=20](http://www.savukoski.fi/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9&Itemid=20)

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.geologinenseura.fi/suomenkalliopera/CH10.pdf>

the mine due to dire global economic circumstances in the 1980's. During the 1980's political pressure from especially the communist and social democrat parties increased (see pictures 7-11). The main argument in the political debate was the positive employment impact the mine would have. MP Esko-Juhani Tennilä made a parliament initiative about including money for opening the mine in the national budget in 1981 (Picture 9) and people from Lapland went to Helsinki to rally for the mine. The prominent idea among the left was to open the mine in cooperation with Soviet Union. The political left in Lapland framed the question of Sokli and not opening a mine as oppression towards the North in the context of high employment in Lapland at the time (Picture 10). According to the Lapin Kansa survey in 2015, 64% of the voters of the Left Coalition and 53% of the Social Democratic party in Finland were in favor of opening the mine. The support for the mine was highest among the voters of the Left Coalition, which shows how the support for the mine is and has been especially strong among the left in Lapland.

In the 1990's further investigation of the geological qualities of the ore body continued.<sup>29</sup> As mentioned in the brief history of mining in Finland section, the period of time between 1980's until mid 1990's was marked by little mining and exploration activities in Finland. In 2007 Sokli came into the spotlight in the context of the controversial purchase of the state owned Kemira GrowHow by Norwegian Yara, world's biggest nitrate fertilizer maker. The purchase was 207€ million and mining rights to Sokli were included in the purchase. Another phosphate mine in Siilinjärvi was also included. The CEO of Kemira GrowHow estimated the value of phosphorus in Sokli was around 13-14€ billion. This was due to the exceptionally high quality of phosphorus of the Sokli ore body.<sup>30</sup> The purchase has been criticized in the media mainly for a questionably low purchase price (Maailmankuva, 2007). Jyri Häkämies, Minister of Employment and the Economy at the time of the purchase, has not admitted that the selling of Kemira GrowHow was a mistake of any kind. What comes to Sokli, the Minister

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<sup>29</sup> [http://www.sokli.fi/index.php?view=article&id=13%3Asokli-1967-2005&tmpl=component&print=1&layout=default&page=&option=com\\_content&Itemid=24](http://www.sokli.fi/index.php?view=article&id=13%3Asokli-1967-2005&tmpl=component&print=1&layout=default&page=&option=com_content&Itemid=24)

<sup>30</sup> <http://mita-olisi-tutkittava.blogspot.fi/2008/09/growthow-liian-suuri-erehdys.html>

answered to the criticism by saying that the mining project had been stuck for 40 years and the mine would have not been built if it had remained state owned (YLE, 2012).

From 2007 onwards Yara has been further investigating the profitability of different options for opening the mine. One of the most pressing questions has been the transportation model for transporting phosphorus away from Sokli. Eventually, the government agreed to pay half of the planned train railway from Sokli to Kemijärvi (HS, 3/2014. The allocated budget was 200€ million, 7€ million less than the purchase price of Kemira GrowHow company. The purchase also marked a new phase in corporate legitimacy since it seems that not before 2007 has the legitimacy of Sokli mine been as contested in the local level as it is today. Eventually in late 2015 Yara decided to halt the project (HS, 2015) due to viability issues. Yara had explored another prospective phosphorus deposit in Canada at the same time (Tekniikka ja Talous, 2012).

## **7. Yara's contested legitimacy**

In this section I will present the analysis of my research data. As for the analysis I will utilize the framework of legitimacy presented earlier in Picture 3.

### **7.1. Desirability of procedures**

This issue is related to the desirability of procedures that make the mining industry possible and shape the way mining is operated. Furthermore, it is all about the procedural principles stressed to the mining industry. As in the context of legitimacy, procedural desirability is an input for the mining operators.

In general my interviewees felt the authorities and representatives responsible for licenses, permits and the decision making regarding the mining project have

been biased and mostly pro-mining. This can be seen, for example in, the way interviewee A put it:

*”Kyllä se ihmetyttää, että millä tiedoilla ne alustavat päätökset on tehty. Aika lailla ehkä sillä arvovalinnalla, että halutaan vaan se kaivos hinnalla millä hyvänsä.” Interviewee A*

*”Sitä aina ihmettelee, että millä perusteella ne on tehnyt ne päätökset siellä kunnanhallituksessa. ne on tehty kuitenkin jo ennen kuin asukkaat on kauheesti ehtinyt koko asiaa kuulla ja perehtyä, ne on tehty jo niin aikaisessa vaiheessa.” Interviewee A*

Moreover the matter of procedural legitimacy was contested in a variety of ways. The whole permit process was full of peculiarities, which made the locals question the project. Also the shift in power relations of nature was one crucial factor in the lack of legitimacy. The Finnish mining legislation was brought up by many of my interviewees and it was seen as undesirable and unjustified.

### **7.1.1. Shift in power relations**

*“...suurin osa ihmisistä on tosi kriittisiä tälle kaivosboomille ja tietää sen, että ne kaivosten rahat valuu muualle” Interviewee A*

The majority of my interviewees were talking critically about the shifting power relations of the use of nature in Savukoski. A good example was given by interviewee A who is quoted in the headline. Interviewee A says the majority of local people remain very critical to this mining boom and they know a great deal of the money drains outside of Finland. Other interviewees brought up the same argument. This is a clear indication of a systemic failure of the Finnish mining legislation, which is the most important single enabling conditions for the reckless exploitation of the Finnish soil and subsoil.

One of my interview questions was about the local capabilities to influence the way nature is exploited and valued. In the case of Sokli, the question of some natural resources having been valued over others and the resulting landscape

change in local spatialities is in fact not very clear cut. Surely Kröger's (2015) idea of a spatial change caused by the resource boom in the North is true in Sokli. Moreover, locals feel that in Sokli a rather emergent idea of the nature and natural resources are at stake. It is namely "wilderness" and "naturalness" of nature, which locals felt is the most important "single" resource in the area. Now the power to define which natural resources or combination of resources are more valuable and hence to be prioritized over the others is shifting. The Sokli project is felt to be a part of this change in power relations.

*"Se valitettavasti näyttää nyt siltä, että se on ulkopuolelta Savukoskelta. Se ei ole alueellinen päätös tämä Sokli, niinku sanoit tuosta kaivoslaista, niin se on aika väljä. Tänne vain voi tulla. eikä sillä lailla Savukosken kunnalla tai savukoskella ole sanomista siihen että tuleeko vai eikö. Tietenkin sillä on vaikutusta mitä Savukosken ihmiset sanoo, mutta ei me pystytä kaatamaan mitään Sokli-hanketta. koska ei mulla ole mitään työkaluja siihen. päätöksenteko Savukosken tulevaisuudesta on ulkopuolella."*  
*Interviewee C*

According to interviewee C, the power to decide upon the future of the area is somewhere outside of the municipality and the people of Savukoski. The same interviewee further elaborates the idea of how the power has been taken further and further for centuries now.

*"Ei se hyvältä tunnu. Tässä voidaan mennä historiassa taaksepäin satoja vuosia siitä, että miten alkuperäiskansat, eli met, olemme hallinneet maata aina. Ja täys nautintaoikeus ollu maahan. Sitten tämä järjestelmä on kehittynyt silleen, että valtio omistaa maat ja metsähallitus hallinnoi niitä metsiä. Ja sitten se syrjäyttää sitä alkuperästä maahallintaa ja nautintaoikeutta. Ja nyt sitten sen saman metsän ja saman alueen kannalta ollaan menossa*

*jo kolmannelle asteelle. Eli se kolmas taso on tulossa siihen ja syrjäyttämässä sitä...” Interviewee C*

The interviewee refers to a third step of the appropriation of the right to use land being taken now. The first step of appropriation was when the native people were in full power of land use. Later, he says, came the state and took that land from them by force. In the current phase there is a third step taken to further increase the alienation of people from the land.

*”Kun meitä on vähän... Mutta se on just siellä meidän alueella nämä asiat tapahtuu. Eihän niissä pysty, sillä lailla noissa prosesseissa saamaan sitä ääntä kuuluviin. Kyllä se ehkä on tietyllä lailla sitä [valtaa] muuttanu, että nämä on isoja asioita nämä ILOt (ILO 169) sun muut tietenki maa- ja metsäasiat koskee näitäkin asioita. Ne on semmosia. tuo on vähän valitettavaa Lapin Liiton osalta, se on niin voimakasta se kaivostoiminnan tukeminen ja sen maankäytön tukeminen, siinä ei sitten nämä vähäväkiset alueet saa ääntänsä kuuluviin.” Interviewee B*

Interviewee B refers to the Regional Council of Lapland (LL from here onwards) and their openly pro-mining attitude. For small places such as Savukoski it is very hard, according to interviewee B, to get their voice heard in land use planning issues, for example.

The LL was seen as one of the most powerful agents in the natural resource scramble. LL is responsible for the regional development of Lapland and land use planning. It is therefore of critical importance as a development agent in the area. Interviewee A further elaborates the cruciality:

*”No toistaiseks se valta on niinku mun mielestä Lapin Liitolla.... Ja niillä äijillä. No ne päättää tai ne voi sallia sellaista rajumpaa maan käyttöä. Haluaa, että rahoja kohdennetaan esimerkiksi semmisiin*

*suurhankkeisiin. Ei ehkä nähdä sitä arvoa, mikä on näillä kaikilla  
pienyrittäjillä” Interviewee A*

Interviewee A makes an interesting remark about the land use change.

Interviewee A argues that there is a lot of power vested in LL in the question of land use and in LL there is a strong preference of large scale projects rather than seeing the value of small business ventures.

The power relations in the area were a topic the interviewees gladly discussed ~~about~~. The core challenges in power relations were the deficiencies of representation in the area. On the other hand, as interviewee A argues, the power is in the hand of old men (äijät). The perspective to development is therefore biased and represents the masculine, middle aged, white man’s perspectives and attitudes. This is a very complex development problem found in various places in the world and it deserves elaboration, which I shall do in the discussion section.

The second deficiency is related to the lack of representation of the reindeer herders, hunters and fishermen, who all benefit economically from functioning ecosystem services, in regional politics. According to interviewee B reindeer herders are not the ones to put on a neck tie and go to a meeting to talk politics. Therefore their views are not sufficiently represented in the municipal decision making and other governmental bodies. This can also be seen in the openly positive stance of the municipality towards the mining projects.

*”Kyllä se minusta ei ole ollu semmonen onnistunut läpileikkaus tämä politiikkapuoli sitä kertomaan, että mitä täällä todelliset tunnelmat on täällä kentällä. Ei se väki joka tuolla poronhoiosta ellää, mettästä ja kalastaa niin ei se oli sitä joka vetää kravatin kaulaan ja lähtee kokoukseen istumaan ja politiikkaa puhumaan.” Interviewee B*

### 7.1.2. Peculiarities in the license process

*“No itsestään selvää on se, että koko projekti on alun alkaen vaikia. Se ei ole helppo mitenkään päin.” Interviewee C*

The permit process as a part of the procedural legitimacy of the Sokli project was one of the biggest issues brought up by all the interviewees. The top feeling was that the process has been indeed a very peculiar one. As quoted in the headline, interviewee C concludes that this whole project has been very complicated from the beginning. According to the interviewees, the project during the last year has taken some mystical turns, which has decreased their trust towards the related authorities and Yara as an legitimacy object. In the center of the changes are the environmental impact assessment and deficiencies in it. Also Radiation and Nuclear Safety Authority (STUK) and the plan for treatment of radioactive substances have also been questioned.

*”Koska STUK:lle on kaikki aina OK, vaikka mitä vaan tapahtuu jossain niin ei koskaan tarvitse olla huolissaan. Silti STUK ei ota sellasta reipasta roolia siinä, että pitäis selvittää tarkemmin ja kemiallinen myrkyllisyys myös ja siis se, että mihin se päätyy: onko työntekijöille haittaa? Onko se lannoitteeseen? Lähteekö se vesiin? ne radioaktiiviset aineet. Se niinku ei tuu sellanen luottavainen olo siihen STUK:n, ne ei silleen vastaa kunnolla niihin kysymyksiin.” Interviewee A*

The interviewee quoted here argues that STUK has been unwilling to tackle some uncertainties raised by the locals. The main problem is that STUK is not taking responsibility for investigating and assessing chemical toxicity of radioactive substances. In fact, there is not one authority in Finland which is responsible of researching the chemical toxicity which is very disturbing. The radioactive substances and their treatment in YVA by Yara were questioned by FANC as well. According to the YVA, Yara is not interested in utilizing the radioactive substances. Although, as many of the interviewees pointed out, the radioactive parts of the iron body are still included in the mining area and therefore open for utilization. The interviewees remained highly sceptical about Yara not extracting uranium in the future. FANC, in their statement, asked



whether Yara is going to leave the separated thorium and uranium in the mineral waste piles and is not going to utilize these substances and also that if it is in fact possible to not extract the radioactive substances while extracting the mineral. STUK also share this concern with FANC as they as well demand Yara to make a clarification of how will thorium and uranium be treated and what impact the substances are estimated to have in the local environment<sup>31</sup>.

*”Jättääkö kaivosyhtiö siis kaivettavasta malmista erotellun uraanin ja toriumin jätekasoihin eikä hyödynnä sitä ja onko em. säteilevät malmit ongelm rikastusprosessissa? Voidaanko niobimalmiesiintymä rajata selkeästi ja jättää käyttämättä niin, ettei se varmasti vesi- ja ilmaeroosion vaikutuksesta sekoitu kaivettavaan malmiin?” FANC*

The question of uranium and thorium is especially interesting since according to the nuclear energy law in Finland<sup>32</sup> the municipality has to approve of the an uranium mine in the license and permit process. Practically this means the municipality has a veto right. The locals and associations remain highly sceptical of Yara’s plan *not* to use uranium and thorium.

Another peculiarity mentioned by all the interviewees was Yara’s decision to freeze the mining project in Sokli. Indeed Yara announced to freeze the project for the time being on September 14th 2015 (Lapin Kansa 1, 2015). At the same time Yara declared they had explored a new promising mining site in Canada This was largely understood as a hoax or even blackmailing by the locals.

*”...jotenkin siinä on semmonen kiristämisen maku koko aika: lähdetäänkö kanadaan vai avataanko Soklis kaivos?” Interviewee D*

*”Nyt sitten Yara tekee päätöksen, että ei ryhdy investoimaan ja rakentamaan mitään, mutta jatkaa lupaprosessia. Elikkä käytännössä mikään ei muutu.*

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<sup>31</sup> All appeals and statements used in the this thesis are accessible from here: [https://tietopalvelu.ahtp.fi/Lupa/Lisatiedot.aspx?Asia\\_ID=891627](https://tietopalvelu.ahtp.fi/Lupa/Lisatiedot.aspx?Asia_ID=891627) (March 25<sup>th</sup> 2016)

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1987/19870990#L5P21>

*Mutta teki niinko tämmösen päätöksen, koska Suomen valtio vaati päätöksen, mutta käytännössä homma jatkuu entisellään. Ja tuota... en minä tässä näe ku kaksi asiaa, ku se tuolla lailla peliä pelaa. No se tietenkin ratkasee, että mitä se sen Kanadan kanssa tekkepi, että lähteekö Kanadaan. Se on jonkulainen taisteluvoitto, jos se Kanadaan lähtee, niinku meidän näkökulmasta. Kyllä tuo oli minusta huono asia jos lupaprosessin annetaan jatkua vaikka yhtiö ilmoittaa, että hanke ei ole kannattava eikä het rupia investoimaan. Niin sitten kuitenkin annetaan vielä tämmönen takaovi auki, että homma jatkuu kuitenkin vielä. Edelleen samalla lailla. Kaks asiaa mikkä minä siinä näen: yara haluaa vain pitää kaivosoikeudet itellä, pitää tietyllä tavalla monopolin lannotehommissa tällä niinku ennenki. Toinen asia on se, että se meinaa tehdä lupaprosessit valmiiksi, hoitaa jos saapi ja sen jälkeenhän se on satojen miljoonien arvonen paketti myyä. Ku aattelee että käytännössä Yara on saanu ilmaseksi koko homman. Eihän se maksanu ku Kemira Gowhowsta ja Sokli tuli kyljessä. Siinä olis kyllä jo vaikka minkälaisen tutkimuksen paikka, että miten annettiin tämmösen asian tapahtua.” Interviewee B*

Interviewee B explains here that Yara has made a decision not to continue the license process, although this decision has de facto no influence on anything since the already filed application will be anyways dealt by the authorities.

Interviewee B suspects that the decision did not come by accident at the given time since the state of Finland required Yara to make a decision of whether starting the project or not. Interviewee B thinks it is a victory if Yara really gives up the project. In interviewee B's opinion, the whole license process ought to be stopped. Interviewee B gives possible explanations for Yara's decision: Yara tries to stick to its fertilizer monopoly in Finland<sup>33</sup> or alternatively Yara will carry on with the license until everything is ready for the project to start and then sells a ready package to another operator. Interviewee B then makes a reference to the Kemira GrowHow deal where Yara got the mining rights to Sokli for a mere 200€ million.

Furthermore, obscurities related to Yara acquisition of Kemira GrowHow in 2007<sup>34</sup> were voiced by other interviewees as well. The acquisition seemed to be

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<sup>33</sup> In 2008 according to the Finnish Talouselämä newspaper Yara had assessed to have a 95% market share in the fertilizer market in Finland.

<http://www.talouselama.fi/uutiset/lannoiteboikotti-nostaa-yaran-kilpailijoita-3388601>

<sup>34</sup> Yara announced the acquisition as a “perfect match” in 2007

[http://yara.com/about/history/2006-2007/kemira\\_growhow\\_takeover.aspx](http://yara.com/about/history/2006-2007/kemira_growhow_takeover.aspx). In the announcement the corporation stated that it had interest in exploring the commercial

very questionable since the purchase price was a pitiful 207€ million. The current CEO of Kemira GrowHow assessed the potential value of Sokli's phosphate to be 13-14 € billion <sup>35</sup>. Interviewee A also mentioned the corruption scandal of Yara executives at the time of the Kemira GrowHow purchase.

*" Siitähän ei ole mitään näyttöä, että mitään lahjontaa ei olisi ollut. Eihän siitä ole kukaan mitään keneltäkään kysynyt. Kyllä se tietysti mielessä käy. Jos Yaran johtajia on tuomittu lahjonnasta niin kyllähän se käy mielessä. " Interviewee A*

Interviewee A brings up the possibility of bribery in the case of the acquisition. Interviewee A elaborates that the Finnish media did not voice the corruption scandal and that it had crossed the interviewees mind that could the acquisition and the corruption scandal be somehow connected. In essence, the legitimacy of Yara was strongly influenced by an unjustified selling of Finnish nature.

### **7.1.3. Environmental impact assessment**

Another set of issues in procedural legitimacy in the license process are the inadequacies in the environmental impact assessment (YVA). YVA related obscurities were one of the main legitimizing elements in the context of procedural legitimacy. According to the locals, Reindeer Herders' Association and FANC the YVA was carried out insufficiently and also YVA as a system is incapable of capturing the environmental concerns of the locals (the third quote from FANC states the messy YVA process has diminished the lawful right to participate and impact for the locals). Central to the issue was Yara's decision to proceed with the lorry cargo scheme instead of building a train track dedicated to transferring the extracted phosphate from Sokli to Kemijärvi (the former quote from FANC statement says the Sokli project has been very confusing since the project plan has changed multiple times. YVA and additional clarifications have been carried out after the YVA statement in 2009). In 2009 when YVA was done Yara planned to carry on with the train cargo scheme and YVA was done

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utilization of Sokli "if a commercially sustainable means of implementation could be found". It is noteworthy that the question of opening the mine or not was from the very beginning subject to solely commercial exploration, environmental and social matters were not mentioned.

<sup>35</sup> <http://mita-olisi-tutkittava.blogspot.fi/2008/09/growhow-liian-suuri-erehdys.html>

accordingly. Later Yara announced the phosphate would be carried by trucks and Yara has not to this date re-assessed the environmental impact of the truck cargo option. Interviewee B voices this exact peculiarity:

*“Soklin hanke on ollut erittäin sekava, koska hankesuunnitelma on muuttunut useaan otteeseen (mm. Venäjä-vaihtoehto hylätty ja junakuljetuksista siirrytty malmin rekkakuljetuksiin) ja ympäristövaikutusten arviointia ja lisäselvityksiä on tehty vuonna 2009 valmistuneen ympäristövaikutusten arviointiselostuksen (YVA-selostus) jälkeen ilmeisesti useampia” FANC*

*”Yvat on käytännössä tehty 2009, siellä ei ole missään vaiheessa puhuttu maantiekuljetuksista. Ja nyt on hypätty maantiekuljetukseen ja meinataan mennä siitä mistä rima on matalin, eli että sitä ei tarttis yvata (arvioida ympäristövaikutuksia) koko hommaa, vaikka siirrythään noin olennaisesti eri asiaan. Sehän on nyt sillä lailla menossa, että siinä on yvan tarveharkinta menossa siinä hommassa käytännössä. ELY-keskus päättää, että onko tarvetta YVA:lle vai ei.” Interviewee B*

*“Näin ollen YVA-menettelyn turvaama osallisuus ja vaikuttaminen on ollut heikkoa sen jälkeen kun varsinainen YVA-selostus on valmistunut” FANC*

Again the central role of ELY is brought up since it is ELY authorities who decide if a new YVA is needed.

Another issue is the aforementioned question of chemical radiation of the uranium and thorium, which are still included in the mining area. Peculiar tensions have risen in the context of radioactive substances. One, already dealt with before, is that there is no authority responsible for the assessment of the chemical toxicity of radioactive substances. Another, stemming from the lack of authoritative control, is that the chemical toxicity is required to be dealt in YVA although the chemical toxicity is an issue of environmental impact par excellence. Thirdly, estimations and research on the impact of chemical toxicity are dealt in a very vague level and only average radiation levels and approximations are reported.

*”Että kyllähän siellä tietysti monia tutkimuksia on, että ei olisi niin hätää. Mutta ei ne ole riittäviä, ei ne oikein vakuuta., Ne on niin suppeita. Niissä ilmoitetaan vaan joku keskiarvo, mutta ei niinku niitä piikkejä, mitä sieltä tulee ulos ja mitä siellä alueella myös on. Se on suuri puute siinä, että ne sisällyttää sinne*

*kaivospiirit edelleenkin ne radioaktiivisimmat alueet, vaikka ne sanoo että ne ei käytä niitä niin ne on edelleenkin siellä kaivospiirissä.” Interviewee A*

Lastly, there seems to be little or no planning for the aftercare of the mining site. Yara informed the locals that after the project the mining area will be landscaped again, although it seems that vast pools full of unknown waste liquids from the mine are going to be left in the area. The plan according to the interviewees is not plausible since there is no concrete plan in YVA for the aftercare. Nonetheless, landscaping seems to be a sufficient aftercare plan generally in YVA.

*”Jos sinne tehdään sellaisia isoja altaita, josta meille ei kerrota mitä niis liejuissa on. Ja ajatus on että ne vaan jää sinne... Eikä sitä jälkihoitoa... Se on myös se viimeinen, jota ei ole riittävästi kuvattu. Siinä vaan on, että siellä vaan sitten maisemoidaan” Interviewee A*

## **7.2. Is mining industry morally desirable?**

The moral desirability of a corporation and the industrial activities the corporation is planning to execute are inputs for corporation’s legitimacy. Therefore, the question of moral desirability is two fold: is Yara a morally desirable agent and, secondly, is mining industry considered morally desirable per se? The moral desirability of the potential consequences caused by the corporation are dealt with later in the output section, but surely the outcomes are connected to the a priori moral considerations. Although in the case of Sokli all legitimacy is indeed a priori since there is no experience from a mine by Yara, yet there is to be a separation between the moral desirability of the agent and the industry per se and also the desirability of the the consequences the mine would have if it is to be started.

According to my research data, the mining is not considered as desirable development for Savukoski and Yara as an agent is morally suspicious. The municipality’s official statement makes a prominent exception since it does not take a negative stance towards the mine. The municipality in it’s official

statement *suggests* some incremental alterations to the environmental permit application and the mining project itself. These alterations focus on the minimization of negative consequences to the reindeers and reindeer herders, dust and noise, the negative environmental consequences to the rivers and the environment more generally. It is clear that as an institution the municipality has a welcoming take to the mine. The question then is that if around 50% of locals oppose the mine, why does it not show in the official statements of the municipality? If the positive impact is as meager as the locals argue, why does the municipality take such a positive attitude? It would be obvious that both morally, practically and politically the current municipal council would not be making a legitimate decision if it had sufficient power to decide on a mining project. In all fairness, neither decision would morally legitimate. I am unfortunately unable to address these questions in this research although they make an interesting starting point for future research.

Central in the undesirability of mining industry are the total failure and the environmental and political crisis caused by Talvivaara mine which was often referenced by the interviewees FANC and Fisheries Association. Fisheries Association was mainly concerned about the risks of uranium in the ore body and the Association called for sufficient and active auditing to prevent potential threats.

*”Suunnitellun kaivoksen alue on Talvivaaran tapainen uraanirikas alue. Vaikka uraania ei ole tarkoitus hyödyntää on lupamääräyksen varmistettava riittävä seuranta vakavien ympäristöhaittojen ehkäisemiseksi.” Fisheries Association*

The temporality of the mine, which is estimated to be approximately 20 years, also raised moral considerations of the desirability of the project. Often the point of departure in moral considerations was rather surprisingly the future generations and the entitlement of the people making such influential decisions was questioned. Another important factor in the dilution of Yara’s legitimacy

was that it is a foreign company and, therefore, the principal gains of the project drain outside of Finland and outside of Savukoski municipality.

*”Kyllä se on minusta väärin. Ja kyllä se on sitten verrattavissa tähän metsätalouteen. Savukoskeltahan on melko paljon lähteny puuta. mutta paljonko niistä on tullut euroja savukoskelle? Se on aika minimaalinen määrä. että kyllä se kaiken luonnonvaratalouden pitäisi olla sillä lailla, että ne missä ne luonnonvarat sijaitsee niin sen alueen pitäisi jotakin siitä saaha siitä itse pääomasta.”*  
Interviewee C

Interviewee C demonstrates the last point by saying that extractive industries are on a par with the forest industry in Finland: a lot of trees have been felled in Savukoski but not many Euros were left to Savukoski. Furthermore, the interviewee argues that all natural resource based commercial activities ought to bring gains and development to the area where the resource is located.

### **7.2.1. Yara as a legitimacy object**

*“...ei ne oo sitä sosiaalista toimilupaa yrittänykkään saada, et kyl ne on aika suljettujen ovien takana toiminu”* Interviewee A

Yara was analyzed in moral terms by almost all of my interviewees. The general strain of thought among the interviewees was that Yara has been an exclusive and mysterious agent and according to Interviewee A, Yara has not even attempted to gain social license to operate. Moreover, as in the case of the license process, Yara is also thought of as an peculiar agent who is not worth of trusting.

*”...ylleensäottaen semmosia ihmeellisyyksiä, mitä tässä koko projektissa on. Yks asia on se, että puhuthan fosforikaivoksesta. Ja siellähän on erittäin arvokas niobimalmio tässä alueella. Ja Yara on puhunu, että heilä ei se kiinnostas. No varmaan osin siksi, että se on erittäin uraanipitoinen ja toriumpitoinen säteilevä malmio. Eihän sitä kestä sanoa, että se kiinnostas.”* Interviewee B

Interviewee B demonstrates the difficulties of trust. Interviewee B says there have been peculiarities throughout the process as, for example, the fact that we are still talking about a phosphorus mine. Nevertheless, there is a highly

valuable niobium ore body and also another ore body including uranium and thorium. According to interviewee B one simply does not say out loud that they would be interested in exploiting other substances besides the obvious phosphorus.

Connected to the procedural legitimacy is also the question of possible bribery by Yara in the context of the corruption scandal. Interviewee B reflects on the issue.

*”En tiää, vähän ihmeellinen kuva jäi ku tässä oli lahjusskandaaleja oli uutisoinnissa. Jotka ajottuu sillon ku Soklin myynti Yaralle, 2008-2009 se on ollu nämä lahjusskandaalit. Ne pisti vähän miettimään, että ei tämä nyt niinku ihan puhtailla jauholla ole yhtiöllä.” Interviewee B*

The interviewee argues that the bribery scandal had left the interviewee wondering if the corporation is being honest and playing a fair game. The whole question of the bribery scandal is at the same time an issue of procedural legitimacy and also moral legitimacy.

In essence, Yara per se is not a desirable corporation in the moral sense: neither it has actively sought social license to operate for example by having sufficiently negotiated with its stakeholders, and the corruption scandal it was connected to did only decrease its legitimacy. From the local perspective Yara is seen as operating from a large distance. All these factors considered, Yara seems to be thought of as a mysterious corporation. For unknown reasons to me and my interviewees, the scandal has not been present in the Finnish media. By making a Google search ”yara lahjus skandaali” one finds only one (YLE, 2014) rather brief news story about it. Interviewee A demonstrates the point by saying that nobody has dugged into the subject and there has been a total media silence about the scandal. Furthermore, there is no reason to speculate with the issue in the context of this thesis – suffice to say that Savukoski people are very informed about the scandal and in spite of the possibility of bribery in Sokli, that alone substantially decreases the moral desirability of Yara.



*”Se just, että kukaan ei ole selvittänyt mitenkään. Suomessa ollaan oltu tosi hiljaa siitä, media ei ole kirjoittanut siitä mitään.” Interviewee A*

### **7.2.2. Talvivaara mine as a reference point**

*”Suomeen ei oo Talvivaaran jälkeen tehty yhtään kaivosta ja Talvivaara näytti sen, miten järjettömiä asioita voi päästä läpi...” Interviewee A*

The infamous Talvivaara nickel mine was brought up by all the interviewees. Interviewee A argues that Talvivaara is the latest mine built in Finland and the case demonstrated how insane things get approved by the Finnish licensing and auditing authorities. In essence, the mine in Sotkamo operated by Talvivaara went bankrupt in 2014 after having leaked serious toxic chemicals to the environment. The management is currently charged with environmental criminal offences. According to the newest sector report of mining industry, the failure of the Talvivaara mine casts a shadow over the whole mining industry. Interestingly in the same report one of the biggest threats for the industry in the future is the increasing resource nationalism both in Finland and internationally. (Kokko, 2014) My research data supports the notion that the sad failure of Talvivaara has casted a shadow over the industry. Generally Talvivaara was a reference point for my interviewees and was mentioned only in a negative tone. Talvivaara also brought up interesting dimension of the moral legitimacy: on one hand, there seemed to be a strain of thought in which Talvivaara showed Finland and the world that mining contains big environmental risks and therefore the desirability of mining as an industry should be reconsidered.

*”nii-i... mitenkä toi talvivaara on hoidettu? Et kaippa se on semmonen et mitä kovempi kokemus on vastuullisest kaivostoiminnast niin sen parempi”. Interviewee D*

Interviewee D argues that Talvivaara was a harsh example of responsible mining. The interviewee also implicitly states that it was good that Talvivaara failed so the public realised what mining really is. Then, on the other hand, Talvivaara related discussion showed another strain of thought where Talvivaara

demonstrates the failure of a mining operator and therefore is an example of bad management. In this strain of thought, mining industry is implicitly morally desirable or at least neutral and the main concern is that the mine ought to be managed well enough to prevent environmental disasters etc.

”Surullinen esimerkkihän on nyt tämä talvivaara. Jos talvivaara ois hoiettu kunnolla sillee että siellä ei olis tällasia ympäristöongelmia ku mitä siellä tällä hetkellä on, sehän ois hyvä asia. Sehän ois tosi hyvä asia Suomelle, koska se on suomalainen yhtiö, semmosessa paikassa, jossa ei puhuta tämmösten asioitten kun niinku toisen talouden syrjäyttämisestä” Interviewee C

Interviewee C frames Talvivaara mine as a positive development to the area of Sotkamo in principle, since it is not displacing other livelihoods by its existence (as would be in Sokli). According to the interviewee Talvivaara would have been a very good thing for Finland and Sotkamo if it would have been managed well.

### **7.2.3. The future generation as a standpoint for moral assessment**

*“Kuka antaa meille oikeuden miettiä jonkun vuoden juttuja?” Interviewee E*

Instead of making a moral estimation from self interested point of view, the plethora of interviewees and organizations took the perspective of the “future generation”. No specific definition for the future generation was given, though. In the core of this notion is that the whole mining project and its moral dimensions are to be assessed primarily from future generations’ perspective. As quoted above, interviewee E posed a relevant question of who gives us the right to make decisions with a short perspective (a year). There was a strong consensus between interviewees and organizations about sustainability being the most important frame from which this mining project ought to be assessed from.

*”Mutta on tietenkä siinä sekä, että pitääkö yhden sukupolven tuhota kaikki? Eikä voitais ajatella, että meidän jälkeenkin tulee jotainkin? Ja ei näitä paikkoja liikaa oo missä ihminen saa olla täydes hiljasuudes.” Interviewee D*

*"No on sillä sillä tavalla merkitystä että ihmiset täällä sen asian kanssa joutuu sen kanssa elämään ja paikallisten ihmisten jälkeläiset sen asian kanssa joutuu elämään että mitä täällä nyt tapahtuu." Interviewee C*

*"Hanke on eettisesti täysin kestämaton. Hanke vaarantaisi tulevien sukupolvien mahdollisuuksia ja arvokkaampia vesivarantojamme" FANC*

In the first quote, interviewee E argues that people should consider our descendants when making decisions that have long lasting effects. According to interviewee D there are no longer many such places as Savukoski where one finds total silence in the wilderness. In the second quote, interviewee C makes a point about the consequences of the project to the descendants of the current people: they will have to live with whatever is decided in Savukoski during these years. In the latter quote, the Finnish Association for Nature Conservation argue that the whole project is ethically unsustainable because it threatens the possibilities of the future generations and our most prestigious water supplies. It is of course true that the project would have consequences to the future generations, or as the interviewees put it, their 'descendants'.

There seems to be an implicit assumption that the future generations will appreciate nature similarly and that they will be eager to continue with their parents livelihoods such as tourism, forest industry and reindeer herding. Come the project, these livelihoods and in general the conditions of life in the area are threatened. We can not of course predict the future so we can not know how the descendants would feel about whatever the decision on the mine will be. It is anyways interesting that many of my interviewees went on to argue the moral desirability primarily from the future generations' perspective. Since we do not have the possibility of knowing the future generations' moral thinking, this perspective remains rather ambiguous. The same argument would go the other way around as well: the future generations' need work in order to be able to remain in Savukoski.

In the big projects development agenda one of the core problems seems to be the issue of path dependencies caused by the decision regarding the mine. The mine

would create a constraining social and economic setting where other livelihoods would not have the chance to flourish and reach high potentials. At the same time there seems to be a concern that this constraining setting, according to the interviewees, will not necessarily change in favor of the so called old livelihoods any time soon after the shutdown of the mine. As far as I am concerned, this is what the locals mean when they talk about (the lack of) sustainability of the mine. Interviewees A and C crystallize this thought in the below quotes.

Interviewee A says that nature is the basis for everything: one can not destroy nature, it is not sustainable. Interviewee C refers to the short lifespan of the mine which is estimated to be around 18-20 years. Interviewee C then goes on to argue that it is wrong to think that Sokli mine would be a panacea for the whole system (meaning the system of livelihoods in Savukoski). Interviewee C then asks that what is it exactly that this project will cure and save for 18 years and, also, how would things be after the mine.. The answer to the question given by the interviewee is that the situation would be worse than now.

*”Mutta se luonto on se kaiken perusta, että ei sitä voi tuhota. Se ei oo kestävä.”*  
Interviewee A

*”Minusta on väärin ajatella sitä, että Sokli olis joku semmonen pelastaja, yks ainoa pelastaja joka pelastaa koko systeemin, mitä se on sitten minkä se pelastaa 18 vuodeksi? Mitä se on sen jälkeen? Entistä huonompi.”* Interviewee C

#### **7.2.4. Pure nature as the top value**

*”En tietenkään toivo sitä [kaivosta]. Jos asuu erämaassa niin ei kukaan varmaan halua kaivosta.”* Interviewee D

The “purity” and “naturalness” of nature were clearly the greatest moral value for all the locals and FANC. Both Fisheries Association and Reindeer Herders’ Association favor and respect full functioning ecosystems and ecosystem services. Nevertheless in their statements both associations pose a self interested rather than nature centered argumentation, which of course suits the purpose of the associations.

*“Hankkeeseen liittyvät vakavat ympäristöriskit muodostavat laajalle ulottuvan ja pitkäkestoisen uhan koko Suomen porotalouden tulevaisuudelle” Reindeer Herders’ Associaton*

For Reindeer Herders’s Association the environmental threats and potential consequences of the mine threaten the whole reindeer herding in Finland. This is probably due to the radioactive substances in the ore body, which is feared to spread from the mine to the nearby areas and from there to reindeer meat. This imago risk, which was mentioned by some of the interviewees as well, was the single biggest environmentally related risk regarding reindeer herding according to my research data.

Whereas the interviewees and FANC refrained from defining primary stakeholders for different natural resources or natures, the Fisheries and Reindeer Herders’ Associations both claimed nature. Fisheries Association propose the permit of Yara to be denied, and if not, the association demands 80 000€ of yearly compensation to the fisheries and owners of the waters. The association also demands that after the mine has been shut down the affected areas are to be reconstructed. These three demands are demonstrated in the below quote. This is particularly interesting since nobody else or and no other organization has so far consented to the compensation narrative. As a reindeer herder once told me, the herders oppose the mine so much that they are not willing to discuss compensation because, according to the herder, there is no sufficient sum of money to compensate the losses.

“

- I. Vesialueiden omistajien vahingot tulee korvata täysimääräisesti*
- II. Hakija on määrättävä maksamaan vuotuisena kalatalousmaksuna 80000euroa/vuosi*
- III. Lupamääräyksiin tulee varmistaa ettei toiminnasta aiheudu odottamattomia ympäristövaikutuksia. Lupaehdoissa on määrättävä*

*myös siitä, miten kaivosalue ja vesistöt ennallistetaan toiminnan loppuessa” (Fisheries Association)*

Moreover, the interviewees have very strong and deep appreciation for nature. An open pit mine does definitely not fit to the image. Interviewee D sharply states above that if one lives in the wilderness (meaning Savukoski and similar regions), one surely does not want a mine nearby. This is because of how the mine would disrupt the idea of wilderness. It would not be “pure” and “natural” anymore. The fact that there are still some rivers in the area where the water is drinkable and extremely clean is an example of the “naturalness” given by interviewee A. Come the mine, this purity will be destroyed.

*”Soklin kaivokseen? No sillä tavalla, että se tarkoittaa, että ne erämaa-alueet, missä on juomakelpoisenkirikkaat puhtaat vedet, ne tuhoutuu, ne tuhoetaan siinä.” Interviewee A*

The resulting decrease of “naturalness” has consequences to the locals’ livelihoods, which I will go deeper in later. At the same time the loss of “naturalness” is a moral issue for the locals since they have a strong understanding of how life ought to be harmonious and sustainable with nature. Interviewee C, for example, argues that the forest industry, reindeer herding and tourism all utilize the nature but what matters is how the nature is utilized. According to C, for locals nature has intrinsic value and also utilitarian value and when combined the result is sustainable development of nature, C argues.

*”Jos nämä itseisarvo ja hyödyntäminen yhdistetään niin sittenhän se on kestävä kehitys eli luonnon kestävä kehitys. ...kyllähän porotalous hyödyntää luontoa. tai matkailu, tai metsätalous. Mutta millä lailla?” Interviewee C*

One dimension of the issue is the speciality of Savukoski region. Interviewee B explains in the quote below how there might not be areas in Lapland where people live as tightly with nature than in Savukoski. The relation of the locals with the environment, B elaborates, is what ties people to the area. That is why

the environment ought to be clean and there should be silence in the wilderness. In the latter quote B explains how nature is the king in every respect and how nature sets the limits and rules for human action. People, according to B, are strongly rooted to the area and are not willing to leave although there are both good and bad times.

*”Kyllä mä epäilen, että eihän monessakhaan lappilaisessa kunnassa, ei siellä eletä niin kiinteästi luonnosta ku täällä.... Se on semmonen kiinne tähän, että miksi ympäristön pittää olla puhas. Ja pittää olla erämaassa rauha.”*

*Interviewee B*

*”Kyllä minä näen poromiehet sellasena, että ne on täällä oppineet elämhän ja oppineet sen luonnonlain, se on luonto herra kuitenkin joka asiassa ja sen mukhan eletään. Välissä mennee paremmin ja välissä huonommin, mutta se ei kuitenkaan... juuret on kuitenkin niin lujassa täällä, että täältä ei hevillä pois lähetä.”* Interviewee B

Of course as, for example, Arturo Escobar (1999) argues, there is no objective nature. Our perceptions of nature are unavoidably socially constructed. This is why quotation marks are used in the case of “naturalness” of nature. Interviewee A explained that local people are used to the idea that people ought to use nature for their own purposes. This way of seeing nature according to interviewee A is not usual in the world and the real value of “natural” nature is not understood anymore.

*”Täällä on totuttu myös siihen, että sitä luontoa saa ja voi hyödyntää, eikä sitä oikein mun mielestä siinä isossa näkökulmassa, että kuinka arvokasta se alkaa olla. Maailman mittakaavassa.”* Interviewee A

### **7.3. Does the potential influence of mining fit the larger interest of the area and the values of locals?**

Let us now move from the inputs for legitimacy to the outputs. In essence, the output legitimacy includes legitimacy of the outcomes and results of the mining project. As Kyllönen argued, often in research literature the outputs are highlighted rather than inputs. In the output context, the interviewees were most eager to talk about the influence of the mine to the area. The influence legitimacy is based on the congruence or the lack of congruence with the individual's vision of the area and the individual's values. The three single most important dimensions here are the question of employment, the influence on other livelihoods in the area and also the vision of the municipality's future. I will present these three dimensions in the following chapters.

#### **7.3.1. Employment**

*“Tietenkihän se on tosiasia, että joku saapi töitä.” Interviewee B*

Of course someone will get a job, says interviewee B in the above quote. The potential increase in employment was a theme brought up by nearly all the interviewees. It is also the main argument in the pro mine faction. There is a municipality wide understanding that the mine would surely bring new jobs. The volume is what is debated. Moreover, B argues, the overall influence to the employment in the area will anyhow be negative since there will be losses in other sectors.

*”Joku rakennusvirma siinä rakennusvaiheessa saa töitä. Nehän ne tulee. Mutta kun lähetään laskemaan, että kuinka paljon menetetään muista elinkeinoista, poronhoidosta, matkailusta ja näistä. Minä olen aika varma, että se menetettävä paketti on isompi ku se mitä tänne tulee.” Interviewee B*

It seems that the influence to employment has been one of the central messages from Yara. At least many of the locals were critical about the amount of new jobs the project would create. The possible positive influence to the local unemployment was also questioned by the locals but promoted by Yara. The



arguments concerning unemployment have been used in other places in Lapland as well<sup>36</sup>. Interviewee B demonstrates this point in the quote below by saying that the Kevitsa mine in Sodankylä did not fulfil the promises about new jobs and tax revenue. B then argues that these are the exact arguments by *which they are trying to sell this to us*. Another interesting point made by C was that it might not be the Savukoski people who get employed if the mine would be constructed. According to C's estimation, 95% of the jobs would drain to people living nearby Savukoski.

*“95% suorista työpaikoista ei ole savukoskelaisia. ne on just tämmösiä nykymallin mukaan kaivosyhtiössä olevia. Käyään kaks viikkoa töissä ja ollaan kaks viikkoa lomalla.” Interviewee C*

Moreover, professor Asko Suikkanen from the University of Lapland has been critical of the estimations regarding employment, the local economy and tax revenue in the case of Talvivaara mine (YLE, 2/2009). It is also worth noticing here that it is not only the company or the operator that makes estimations: Ruralia Institute in the University of Helsinki also carries out estimations. The reliability of Ruralia was also questioned in some of my discussions with the locals. Nevertheless there seems to be a conception among a plethora of different people, ~~also~~ the locals in Savukoski as well, that the employment estimation are often optimistic and sometimes overly optimistic. Suikkanen and the mayor of Sodankylä municipality in an interview in 2012 admit the optimism (YLE, 2/2012)

*”Muutenkin on kertoimet aika hurjia, nehän on käytännössä neljää kertaa se mitä ruralia-instituuttiki niitä laskelmia tekee, se käytännössä kertoo neljällä ne kaivoksen työpaikat. ... Yks Kevitsan osaltakaan, ei siellä ole semmoset toteutuneetkaan mitä sinne on luvattu. Vähän katteettomia lupauksia, verotuloja ja työpaikkoja, sillähän sitä myyään tätä hommaa.” Interviewee B*

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<sup>36</sup> Local politician Anni Ahlakorpi in Utsjoki noted that there are not many unemployed miners in Utsjoki. The Irish Karelian Diamonds Resources company was eager in opening a diamond mine in Utsjoki but eventually backed out from the project. Dhttp://www.liberolehti.fi/utsjoen-timantit/

It seems not to be by accident that the employment estimates are exaggerated – it is a political strategy. As interviewee A points out, the figures and estimations regarding employment are used by policy-makers in assessing the viability of mining projects and they also affect the future decisions. Interviewee A refers to a seminar where professor Suikkanen and Leena Suopajarvi presented their studies of the realized employment benefits that were very different than estimated to the area. There have been such arguments in the media as well (YLE, 3/2009). A good example of the effect that estimations have on decision making is when the Treasury minister Antti Rinne estimated in 2014 that Sokli would create 1500 permanent new jobs (HS, 4/2014)

*”Eikä se työllisyysvaikutus vakuuta yhtään. Siellä seminaarissa, mikä oli syksyllä, niin siellähän oli Suikkanen Asko ja Suopajarven Leena, jotka kerto niistä tutkimuksistaan. Niinku päättäjien yhtenä lähteenä on työllisyysvaikutukset, niin ehkä ne ei sitten ole niin suuria kun on lupailtu.”*  
Interviewee A

### **7.3.2. Municipality and the future**

*“Ja savukosken kunta on ihan konkurssikypsä kunta eli kyllä se rahaa tarvii”*  
Interviewee D

The current state of the municipality and the future of it were brought up by the interviewees. The municipality of Savukoski has been struggling with emigration of the youth, loss of jobs, ageing population and the resulting financing of the welfare services. The possible positive influence to the municipality's economy was a standpoint almost all the interviewees took. As interviewee D points out in the quote above, the municipality is almost bankrupt and needs revenue. In the context of legitimacy it is also important to compare the Sokli mine with the locals' larger vision of the future of the municipality and the way in which the mine fits into the vision.

The main concern is systemic: the current mining system in Finland is not bringing enough gains to Finland and to the area where the resource is extracted. There is just minimal tax revenue from property taxes [and energy taxes], and all the potential disadvantages are also directed to Savukoski. Interviewee B below demonstrates this. According to interviewee B, in Savukoski, the disadvantages are greater than advantages.

*”Jos miettii, että jos sen ulkomainen kaivosyhtiö hyödyntää ja noilla tiedoilla, mitä siitä nykytilanteessa on tämän nykyisen hakijan osalta on, niin ei Suomi paljoa saa. Eikä varsinkaan tämä alue, johon kaikki ne haitat kohdistuu. Tämä luultavasti menee pakkaselle. Täällä on haitat isommat ku hyödyt.” Interviewee B*

The future vision of the municipality is based in the sustainable use of local natural resources. The mine threatens this vision in two different ways: the mine would make the development of other industries less probable and the image of Savukoski would suffer. I will go into the question of other industries in the next chapter.

The image of Savukoski<sup>37</sup> as a pure and wild place where there is absolutely no disturbances is crucial to especially reindeer herders and tourism. According to D, Savukoski should invest in the development of nature and fishing tourism and reindeer herding. Other interviewees argued in line with D’s vision. E, for example, argues below that there is still a lot to learn about running tourism successfully in Savukoski, although slowly the municipality and its people are realizing the potential. C then again emphasizes that the future is in especially sustainable use of natural resources in the reindeer herding, tourism and the forest industry.

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<sup>37</sup> This image comes vivid in the municipality’s website’s travel section where the description of Savukoski is this: “How would you fancy spending your holiday far from the hustle and bustle, pampered but high quality and individual services? In the wilderness countryside of Savukoski in Eastern Lapland, you can truly feel you are on holiday. There’s plenty to see and do throughout the year, despite the laid-back rhythm of Koilliskaira also offering you the chance to relax in the heart of the Lappish countryside” [travel.savukoski.fi](http://travel.savukoski.fi)

*”Savukosken kunnan pitäis panostaa ehdottomasti luontomatkailuun, kalastusturismiin ja porotalouteen. semmosta mikä ois kestävä. toi kaivoshan on kuitenkin vaan muutama kymmen vuos.” Interviewee D*

*”Mä nään että edelleen pitäis kehittää luontomatkailua, osataan jo pikkuhiljaa hyödyntää tätä, vetää tänne enemmän japanilaisia ja keskieruooppalaisia ja muita tänne, tulijoita tuntus olevan.” Interviewee E*

*”No kyllä savukosken tulevaisuus on luonnonvarojen hyödyntämisessä. Sillä lailla että kuitenkin kestävä kehityksen kannalta. Eli matkailu ja porotalous ja metsätalous niinku tähänki asti on ollu. Näitten varaan sen pitää tuketua.” Interviewee C*

### **7.3.3. Influence on other livelihoods**

*”Ja ehkä sellanen negatiivinen ilmapiiri, muut toimialat ei pysty sitten kehittymään niin hyvin. Ne, jotka liittyy siihen luonnontuotteisiin tai matkailuun.” Interviewee A*

One of the core concerns and illegitimizing potential consequence of the mine would be the negative impact on the traditional livelihoods and industries in the area. Interviewee A argues it feels sad that other industries will not have the chance to reach their full potentials, and these are namely the industries related to tourism and natural products (such as wilderness, berry picking, fishing, hunting etc.). It was widely recognized that this is another main reason (alongside with the short timespan of the mine) why the mine is framed unsustainable. In essence, it is not a sustainable solution to the challenges related to employment and the development of other industries. Interviewee C sees that the mine would change everything about the lives of the locals, households and entrepreneurs would need to radically shift their strategies. Everybody's lives would focus on the change that the mine would bring about according to C.

*”no kyllä ihmisten elämä tulis keskittymään aika vahvasti siihen kaivoksen tuomaan muutokseen. elikkä kyllä tuota ihmiset joutus alkamaan ajattelemaan että... aika erillä lailla sitä omaa elämäänsä. Että mihin keskittyä. Ja yritykset joutuu muuttamaan kyllä sitten aika radikaalisti omia toimintaperiaatteistaan ja varautumaan siihen mitä tulee tapahtumaan.” Interviewee C*

The influence on livelihoods comes to a more personal level too. The question of influence does not fit the vision of the future and also it would bring personal disadvantages to people. It is important to separate the influence legitimacy from exchange legitimacy: the latter about the personal advantages and disadvantages, which affect the legitimation of the mine. In this case the exchange legitimacy is connected to the livelihoods: the majority of interviewees would have personal disadvantage from the mine too. For those involved in tourism the image shift was crucial. Among the most important issues mentioned by the interviewees were that there would not be at least as many tourists as before if the mine would be constructed. The losses to reindeer herders are obvious since the mining area is situated on natural pasture land of the reindeers. The possibility of the mine also detains the local entrepreneurs of making new investments since nobody knows what will eventually happen.

#### **7.4. Moral assessments of the desirability of potential consequences**

Moral assessments of the consequences of the mining project are, as mentioned earlier, overlapping with the moral desirability of the project and Yara per se. It could be possible that a mine or the operating company would not have legitimacy among the locals but that for a reason or another the outcomes of the mine would be desirable. Therefore it is crucial to distinguish between the moral desirability of consequences and the project per se.

The moral assessments focused on two different aspects: what is the balance of advantages and disadvantages, a rather utilitarian perspective, and the how much degradation would the environment suffer?

It seems that the disadvantages of the mine would exceed the advantages. The advantages of the project would include the rise of employment, new jobs and the increase of economic activity in the area which would also lead to increased tax revenue. Also due to the mine there could be some migration to Savukoski.

Clearly the disadvantages weigh more than the potential advantages of the mine. Although the mine would also have positive impact, the locals feel they are not to be pursued mainly because the “price” is too high, as demonstrated before.

As presented before, disadvantages include the negative impact on other livelihoods, environmental issues and risks including radioactive issues and the negative impact on the image of Savukoski. Among the most pressing environmental issues is the waste pipe for the waste waters from the mine. Interviewee B demonstrates the situation in a quote below. B says there is a plan to place the waste pipe in the Kemijoki river and, according to the plan, there is not going to be “significant” impact on the river. B then argues that it is a matter of common sense to understand that if you discharge a million litres of water to a river, there are going to be changes. And changes to what? The “naturalness” of the river, which again is the top value against which moral assessment are made. In their answer<sup>38</sup> to the official statements given to AVI, Yara argues that although there have been concerns about the negative consequences to Kemijoki and other waters in the area, their estimates of the wastewaters discharged to Kemijoki have only mild impact.

Suffice to say that no matter how real the local concerns are and on how “boundedly rational” grounds the concerns are, what matters is that if these issues are left undisclosed and not sufficiently tackled, the concerns are going to diminish the legitimacy of the project. As Kostova & Zaheer noted earlier, the whole legitimacy process takes place in the context of a bounded rationality (1999, 67). Interviewee A notes in the latter quote that surely there have been research and investigations and estimation, but everything is presented in averages when the dispersion of quantities of different substances remains unknown. This example shows that ultimately everything could be questioned. The issue remains that how are the attitudes towards new knowledge formed. Eventually the question of moral legitimacy is also the question of willingness to examine critically one’s own perceptions. In other words, do people just seek for

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<sup>38</sup> [https://tietopalvelu.ahtp.fi/Lupa/Lisatiedot.aspx?Asia\\_ID=891627](https://tietopalvelu.ahtp.fi/Lupa/Lisatiedot.aspx?Asia_ID=891627)

arguments, research and references that strengthen their own conceptions about reality?

*”Käytännössä Lapin halkasevan Kemijoen latvoille, sinne pukathan jäteputki, josta sitten miljoona litraa tavaraa Kemijokkeen. Ja sanothan sitte, että ei siellä mitään merkittävästi vaikuta, niinku yleensä kaikissa näissä arvioissa, se on se ”merkittävästi”- sana siellä, se ei aiheuta merkittävästi mitään. Kyllä sen nyt sannoo järkiki, että aiheuttaahan se varmasti isoja muutoksia tuommoseen luonnontilaseen jokkeen.” Interviewee B*

*”Että kyllähän siellä tietysti monia tutkimuksia on, että ei olisi niin hätää. Mutta ei ne ole riittäviä, ei ne oikein vakuuta., Ne on niin suppeita. Niissä ilmoitetaan vaan joku keskiarvo, mutta ei niinku niitä piikkejä, mitä sieltä tulee ulos ja mitä siellä alueella myös on.” Interviewee A*

## **8. Discussion**

The analysis of the legitimacy and the contestation of the legitimacy of Yara is tightly connected with the research literature around the topic. What comes to legitimacy, the contestation of the legitimacy of Yara makes an important exception. Kyllönen (Rannikko & Määttä, 2010, 26) argues output legitimacy is more often highlighted over input legitimacy. The analysis and data clearly indicates that in the case of Sokli, the input legitimacy has taken a prominent role rather than output legitimacy. This might be because the mine still remains unbuilt and therefore exists only in the level of discussions, ideas and planning. Nevertheless, the data and analysis suggest that legitimacy issues are founds primarily in the fields procedural legitimacy, moral legitimacy and influence legitimacy. The results are coherent with the notion of the environmentalization of the Finnish society, meaning the rise of environmentally friendly landscape of attitudes (Konttinen et al., 1999). The mainstream of different reports and media attention related to the mining project frames the opposition towards the mine through the negative impact it would have on the environment (and also the possible problems related to fishing and reindeer herding).

Another interesting finding in the light of previous research is the argumentation of employment. The analysis and research data unequivocally present the positive impact in employment as the core legitimizing aspect. Employment has been presented as the central and seemingly sole reason for the mine to be built. This seemed to have been true also in the beginning of the 1980's (Pictures 7-11). The emphasis on the employment is highly problematic. First of all, focusing solely on employment and positive employment figures means employment becomes the most important aim of development and the central indicator of it. This is when all other aspects of development are neglected and development is reduced to only employment. Development as *Buen Vivir* is in strong contrast with this reductionist view of development. The criticism of Gudynas (2011) towards development as modernity applies to the idea of development as employment quite well. Gudynas argues that the idea of *Buen Vivir* emerged as a response to the negative impacts and shortcomings of classic development projects in Latin America. The mine of Sokli and the criticism towards its possibly positive impacts share the dynamics of how *Buen Vivir* has emerged: the appreciation of traditional livelihoods in the area (reindeer herding and fishing), the idea of harmonious living (the strong appreciation towards the purity of nature and ecosystem services among the locals in Savukoski), the intrinsic value given to development by the locals and also the overall appreciation of nature and the idea that people ought to use nature in a way that does not inhibit others from using nature freely.

The notion of *Buen Vivir* in Sokli raises another socially profound question in the context of employment. If the project's only benefit is employment, and the numbers were questioned by some of the interviewees, what is the role of private companies in the overall development of Lapland and specifically Savukoski? As Veltmeyer and Petras argued, the ones who benefit of the legal settings found in Finland and overall attitudes towards resource extraction are the huge multinational companies (Veltmeyer & Petras, 2014, 33). It is surprising in many ways that the acceptance and legitimacy are as widespread as they are in Finland, although Lapland makes an important exceptions in the desire for a



public owned mining operator hence the decreased acceptance and legitimacy of foreign operators. Finland has, as praised by the Fraser Institute, the most attractive legal and institutional setting for the extractive industry to operate. Besides employment, the benefits of this legislation is that the operators pay energy taxes and property taxes of the physical mine. In Latin America, for example, these exactly same process provoke environmental conflicts (For Finland see Oksanen 2003) and social movements are created for channelling the protest towards appropriation of natural resources for example in Bolivia (McNeish 2013) and Brazil (Kröger, 2013, 58-87). Moreover the employment estimations and expected tax revenues are often presented overly optimistically by the Ministry of Employment and the Economy and by Ruralia institute in University of Helsinki (YLE, 3/2009). This is indicative of the aforementioned explicit pro mining attitude among the Finnish authorities.

The Finnish mining legislation permits the foreignization of land related to global land grabs (Zoomers 2011). Moreover, foreign investment in land, land acquisitions and land grabs highlight the global character of the capital movement. Further research is needed to understand especially the strong legitimacy of foreign mining operators in Finland. For my interviewees, the national background of the operator played no significant role. At the same time it must be noted that the case of Sokli and purchase of Kemira GrowHow by Yara could be interpreted as a land grab when taken into account the concerns about corruption and bribery that the Yara executives were keen on at the time of the purchase. The case of Sokli also demonstrates how the more even distribution of benefits of mining through, for example, stronger taxation was not of great importance as the Lapin Kansa (2015) survey suggested. The mine was simply morally and socially impossible in the area according to the contesters.

Nevertheless, to address the puzzling acceptance and legitimacy of mining in Finland, it seems so that a wider social and economic shift is displayed in Sokli as well. Namely, it is the general paradigmatic shift of the Finnish welfare state

towards Schumpeterian competitive workforce state form the 1990's onwards as argued by Kantola and Kananen (2013). The new paradigm views the state and the society in terms of market efficiency and competitiveness. This would mean that also nature would be seen primarily (and most probably solely) as a commodity: the challenge would then be how to utilize and monetize, in simple words sell, the nature most efficiently. Jartti et al. (2014,18) make a similar remark by noting that despite trying to incorporate social perspectives in the National strategy for Natural Resources, the prevailing view on natural resources is economical (TEM, 2010). Leena Suopajärvi's (2015) storyline analysis of the legitimizing narratives of mining also supports the notion of economization and colonization of nature as a part of the Schumpeterian shift. The three legitimizing narratives are that (1) mining industry is the only way to develop Lapland, (2) mining industry is in the "general interest" of Lapland and (3) nature has no intrinsic value but is rather to be seen as a commodity to be exploited. Especially the third narrative fits the analysis of Kantola and Kananen. Kantola and Kananen (2013, 812) argue that the dismantling of the Finnish welfare state began in the 1990's by the political elites in power at the time. The central idea adopted by the elites was the Schumpeterian claim that the national competitiveness works for the development of the whole nation and the economy. This claim is almost exactly the same logic found in Suopajärvi's storyline analysis' first two narratives. It is, therefore, not only the logics and argumentation by political elites, but rather the Schumpeterian talk has percolated to become a part of popular reasoning. Another supporting argument was the claim by Koivurova et al. (2008, 194-204) that when the Finnish mining law was in preparation, the Ministry of Employment and the Economy took an explicitly pro mining stance in the process. It seemed so that there was a strong will among the elites to make Finland a blooming hotspot for mining. The example demonstrates clearly how the Schumpeterian paradigm had penetrated and became more legitimate since it was also possible to actually create the most liberal and globally praised mining legislation in Finland. Kröger (2015, 3) ends up in the same conclusion as well and locates the mining boom within this paradigmatic shift. The case of Sokli supports this conclusion.

The most interesting overlap in the analysis with the Schumpeterian paradigm shift was when the interviewees were keen on talking about how the power to decide upon the future of Savukoski and about the use of natural resources in the area is slowly but constantly been taken further away from the localities. The question is also about the poor representativeness of the municipal council. The question of power taken away from people, or the alienation of people from power, is especially relevant at the moment in the context of the proposed renovation of the law concerning Metsähallitus. Metsähallitus is a state-run enterprise whose responsibilities are divided into business activities and primarily budget-funded public administration duties. Metsähallitus is responsible for administering almost one third of Finland's area including natural resources. The proposed legislation concerning Metsähallitus would in essence bring competitiveness demands and efficiency indicators to the enterprise, which is another indication of the expansion of neoliberal principles applied to natural resources.

Furthermore, the mistrust in Sokli towards the authorities in Finland and also the suspicious procedural practices of Yara are indicative of wider illegitimacy towards the whole industry in Finland. Jartti et al. (2012) end up with the same conclusion. According to Jartti et al., the bad administration of mining is one of the most critical issues brought up by a diversity of actors. It also seems that the authorities are seen as pro-mining and not having at least always the interest of people first in their mind. Surely the failure in Talvivaara has further exacerbated the trust towards authorities. In Talvivaara, for example, the locals have reported that authorities have been protective of the company and the environmental degradation it caused. Information about leaks were always up to the activeness of locals and activists. (Kauppinen & Oinaala, 2016, 89) Jartti et al (2012, 48) also note that the biggest future challenges of the Finnish mining industry are the preventions of environmental risks, local dialogue and how the gains of a mine could be distributed more widely. All these three challenges are evident in Sokli and it seems that locals and local associations do not believe the challenges will be overcome. According to Jartti et al. one of the central

challenges of the mining operators in the future is their ability to plausibly and explicitly take care and prevent environmental risks inherent to mining.

Central issue in the reliability of authorities is that authorities have often worked or will in the future work in mining industry (Jartti et al., 2012; Kauppinen & Oinaala, 2016). This is not considered as corruption in Finland. Jartti et al. (2012, 53) raise the question of competence of the authorities, the adequacy of permit conditions and the YVA system as a whole. At the core of all this is the yet ambiguous systemic capacity of the mining industry and the regulatory framework to address people's concerns and mistrust while staying truly sustainable and green (whatever that is). What might be at stake in the future is people's belief towards the whole system's ability to function as it was promised to. Jartti et al (ibid.) have made a similar notion. Indicative was the result from Jartti et al. survey that the majority of people in Eastern and Northern Finland wanted to have stricter permit conditions and impose more taxes for mining operators. This said, one of the results of the survey was also that a clear majority supported the claim to enhance the operating conditions of mining companies.

## 9. Conclusions

The legitimacy of Yara and the mining project Yara is planning to start can be seen as views, perspectives and arguments, which either legitimize the project or contest its legitimacy. The contesting or legitimizing arguments can also be seen as either inputs for the use of power towards nature or outputs resulting from that use of power. Yara, the company itself, has concluded in their environmental and water management permit<sup>39</sup> application that from the corporation's point of view the discussion of social impact of the mine is highly polarized. Moreover, Yara argues that the general vision of a desirable future

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<sup>39</sup> [https://tietopalvelu.ahp.fi/Lupa/Lisatiedot.aspx?Asia\\_ID=891627](https://tietopalvelu.ahp.fi/Lupa/Lisatiedot.aspx?Asia_ID=891627)

and the development of Lapland are also polarized. Employment and prosperity brought by large scale projects are put against traditional livelihoods, small scale entrepreneurship and a more *Buen Vivir* type of development views among the locals. The setting is also to be seen as a clash of different views on development: the classic western modernity as development against a less anthropocentric, life respecting, small scale oriented *Buen Vivir*. It is a conflict of how, by what principles and by whom the environment ought to be governed.

Moreover this case study demonstrated how the locals have slowly been alienated from power in Savukoski region. It is not only an issue in Savukoski but rather it needs to be seen as a global trend. The Finnish mining legislation was described as a principal mechanism in this process. Depriving the power from people to have an impact and influence in the principles and in the formulation of a larger vision of one's surroundings was one of the central reasons why the legitimacy of the mine in Sokli was contested. This might be indicating a legitimacy crisis for the whole legal framework, which now enables the extractive expansion in the Finnish sub-Arctic. Although my analysis does not support the possibility of a larger legitimacy crisis of mining or mining legislation, quite the contrary. The majority of interviewees and for example the municipality of Savukoski support mining per se. For the interviewees it was the Sokli project that was illegitimate. Moreover there were some indications of a wider illegitimacy concerning the whole industry. There is a big need for further research on the legitimacy of the Finnish mining legislation.

Leena Suopajarvi's (2015) storyline analysis on social impact assessments by mining operators supports Yara's view. My research data also supports the dichotomy presented by Yara. As my data is focused in the contestation of the legitimacy of Yara, it does not fit the story line analysis by Suopajarvi as such, although some logics are found in the contestation of the Sokli mine. Especially the interviewees and also the documents analyzed highlight the undesirable structural and processual setting that allows mining. In the core of the setting lies the Finnish mining legislation.

The procedures by which the Sokli project is carried are also not considered justified nor ethically sound. Many of my interviewees thought the environmental impact assessment (YVA) was carried out insufficiently and ~~the~~ in many statements, the contradictions with existing legislation was brought up. In sum, both legality and desirability of the legislation concerning mining was contested.

The contestation of legitimacy, according to my data, appears in two distinct temporal dimensions: the past and the “far” future. The past includes the mining legislation and how it is ethically unsustainable, traditional livelihoods and how it is intrinsically valuable to sustain those livelihoods, the selling of Kemira GrowHow to Yara and how the mining right in Sokli was given free to Yara in the deal and also the ways in which Yara has been preparing the project. The concerns for the far future include the undesirability of mining in Lapland – how mining diminishes the opportunities of other livelihoods from developing. The right of the future generations to live without the mine was a central viewpoint for contesting the legitimacy. Talvivaara was also mentioned in almost all interviews and documents as a warning example of the Finnish authorities’ inability to foresee and prevent environmental disasters. Moreover, there seemed to have been an implicit assumption of mining operators trying their best not to follow environmental regulation, which was highlighted by the example of Talvivaara. In sum, the legitimacy enhancing arguments were focused in the economic side of the matter whereas the legitimacy contesting arguments ranged in economic, ethical and moral dimensions.

One possible explanation for the wider support for mining in Finland could be located in a wider paradigmatic shift where the old Nordic welfare state is displaced by Schumpeterian competitive workforce paradigm. Along with the paradigm change comes the shift in what are mainstream narratives about nature. According to Leena Suopajarvi’s storyline analysis on the legitimizing arguments in favor of mining in Lapland and the case of Sokli, it seems that

nature is increasingly seen as commodity. Therefore, the primary concern related to nature in the Schumpeterian paradigm is how to utilize nature as a commodity in the the most efficient way.

Furthermore, it is surprising how strong support mining in Finland enjoys at the moment despite a legal setting that practically allows resource grabbing and the environmental concerns raised by Talvivaara. The case of Talvivaara is also an alarming example of irresponsible administering and auditing of the mining industry. Therefore more research is needed to understand the legitimacy of mining in Finland. In a wider perspective, the shift towards a commodity centered view of nature needs further research and public discussion. The Metsähallitus legislation related concerns display interesting contestation towards the neoliberal view of nature. Also in terms of legitimacy audiences, the question for the different mindsets, attitudes and values towards the use of nature become interesting. It is perfectly possible for the mining operators in Finland to receive considerable legitimacy contestation from groups of people the company (legitimacy object) did not define as their legitimacy audiences. Nevertheless legitimacy audiences and contestation of mining will probably become increasingly global, which may prove to be a challenge for mining industry globally. An illustrating example was the case of Ierissos in Northern Greece where an international camp of youth together with the workers of the mine blocked all the streets leading to the mine and the near by seaside tourist sites<sup>40</sup>.

Another interesting development process in the future will be the melting of the Arctic ice and the intensified use of the NSR. At the moment it seems the fast growth of the Asian economies have cooled down, for now. The increasing need for natural resources was one of the main drivers of the Finnish mining boom, which still continues. Since the distance from East-Asia will diminish along with the melting of the NSR it might lead to a stronger connection between the North, the North of Europe and Asia. The development and growth of the extractive

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<sup>40</sup> <http://greece.greekreporter.com/2015/08/24/anti-mining-protesters-clash-with-police-in-greece-miners-block-streets/>

industries in Finland will highly be effected by the possibly increasing need of the East-Asian countries for natural resources in future. Furthermore, Finland will continue to attract more extractive capital due to the liberal legislation.

It seems so that mineral intensive development, as a global trend, is felt in the Finnish Lapland as well. Finland as a part of a global Arctic development driven by the expansion of the extractive frontier will in the future as well be subject to the 'big development project' paradigm. The strong legitimacy of the industry allows the frontier to expand. It has been surprising how little Talvivaara mine and the delay of Olkiluoto 3 nuclear plant have had in the legitimacy of intensive utilization and commodification of nature. Unlike in Latin America, there has been rather modest political mobilization around this process., although Metsähallitus legislation in 2016 has been an interesting exception. The reasons for the lack of political mobilization will definitely attract more research in the future.

Extractivism, a strategy exposing the new coalition between the developmental state and private corporations, is not solely an issue for the Global South. The case of Sokli and moreover the current extractivist developments in the Arctic make an important exceptions from the (neo-) extractivist paradigm: the only benefits are the increased tax revenues and employment. Both of these so-called gains have been contested. The significant difference between Latin American extractivist development paradigm and the expansion of extractive industries in Finland is that there are very little revenues to be used in development. This issue brings up another essential question to be further researched in the future: who in fact benefits? Furthermore, why is it so that the improvement of employment is enough to legitimize a whole sector of industry? Do we not deserve more than just employment?



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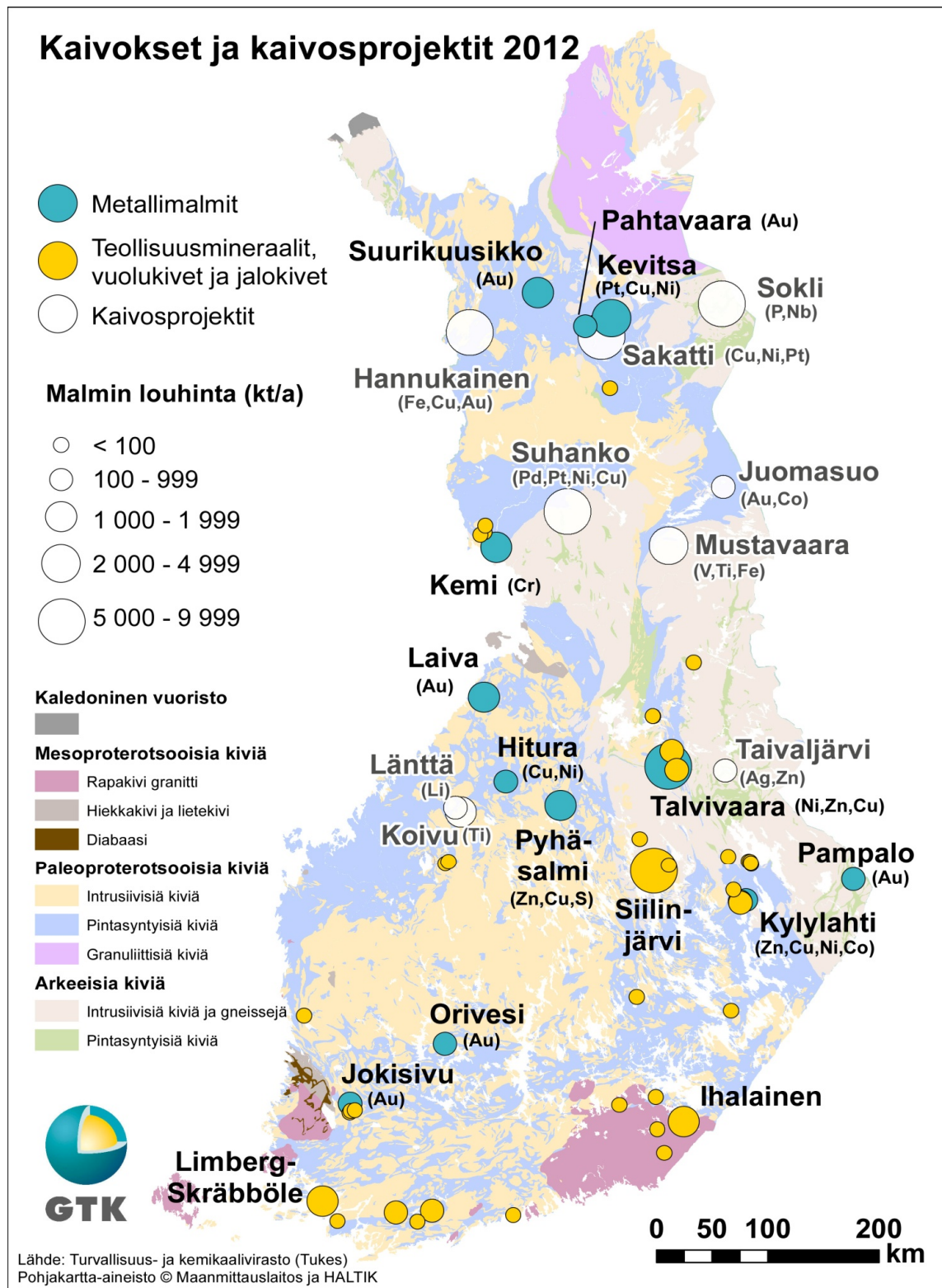
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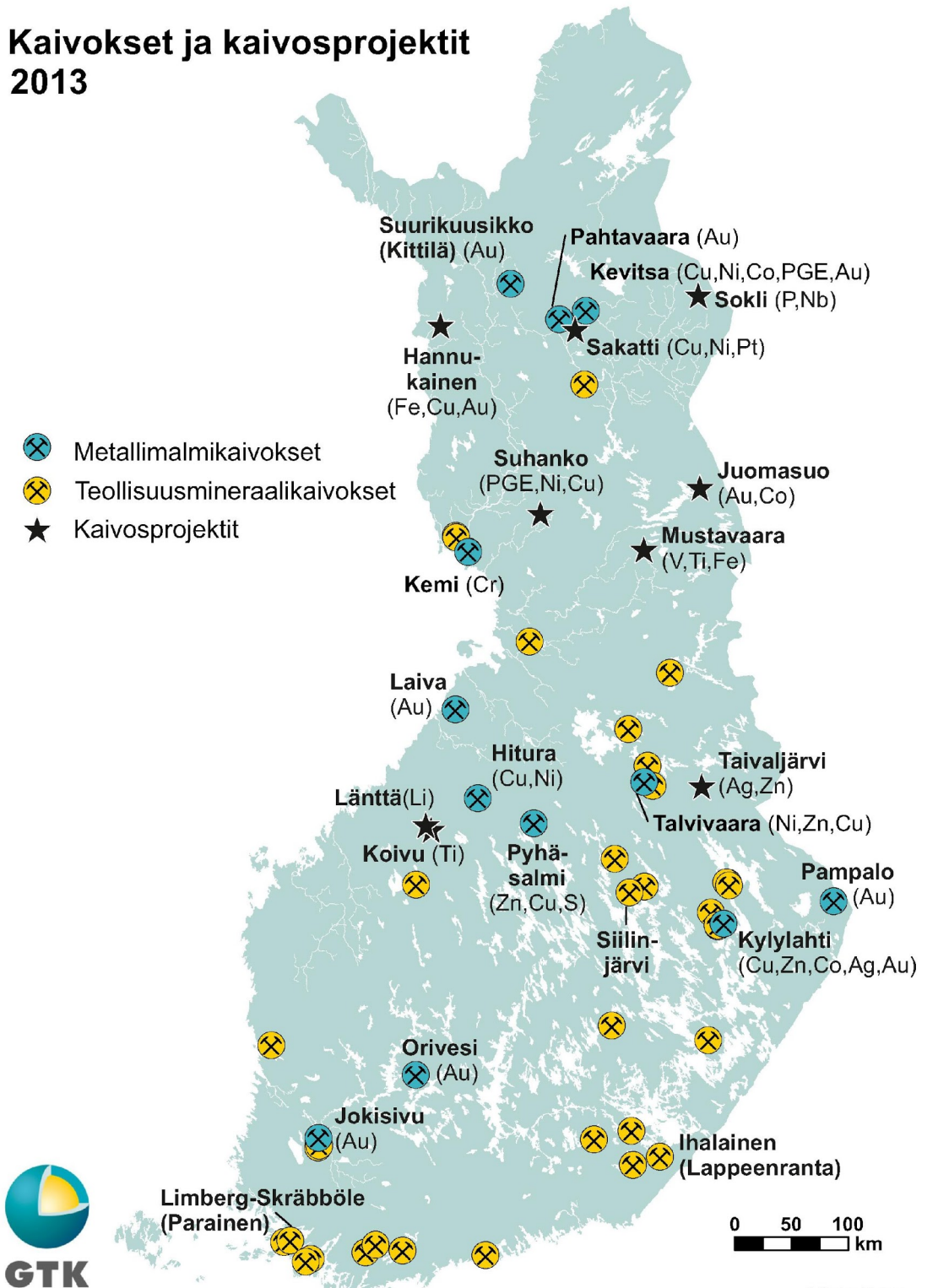
# Appendix

Picture 5 Mines and mining projects in 2012



Picture 6 Mines and mining projects in 2013

## Kaivokset ja kaivosprojektit 2013



Lähde: Tukes

Sisältää Maanmittauslaitoksen Maastotietokannan 3/2013 aineistoa © MML ja HALTIK

96300 RCI 30 /33 \$KERO LESH KANERVIKKOIE 13

# TIEDONANTAJA

## LAPISTA TULTIIN TAAS



Lapin karvalakkilähetystö säväytti aikoinaan koko maata ja sai aikaan sen, että Kemijoki-korvausten käsittely nopeutui. Tiistaina oli Helsingissä lätsäpäisiä Lapin ihmisiä vaatimassa Soklin kaivoksen avaamista ja työllisyystoimien tehostamista. Lähetystön käynnistä enemmän sisä-sivulla.

### Neuvostoliitto alensi öljyn hintaa

Neuvostoliittolainen öljyn vientijärjestö ja Neste Oy sopivat eilen raakaöljyn hinnan alennuksesta.

Nesteen mukaan dollarin kurssin noususta johtuen polttoainoiden korotus olisi todennäköisesti ollut edessä. Nyt sovitusta alennuksesta johtuen korotustarve poistui arveliaan Nesteestä.

Tänä vuonna Neuvostoliitosta arvioidaan tuotavan n. 7 miljoonaa tonnia raakaöljyä Suomeen.

TIEDONANTAJAA  
TUETAA

Picture 8

8. TIEDONANTAJA 94 Keskiuviikko 24.6.1981



Ministereiden ruivat ja pyöreät vastaukset Lapin lähetysölle johivat siihen, että lähetystö päätti kehottaa Lapin väkeä vielä paljon suuremmalla joukolla Helsinkiin Sokli-rahoja hakemaan.

# Lappi vaatii Sokli-rahast budjettiin





Picture 9 Niin toisenlaista Pohjolaa: Murmanskin alue, Kirjapaino Kursiivin julkaisusarja, Helsinki, 1981, Esko-Juhani Tennilä.

kaan ole edennyt, ja niin Neuvostoliiton kaupallinen edustaja M. V. G u b a n o v on joutunut julkisuudessa kiirehtimään suomalaista osapuolta.

Soklin tuottaman apatiitin markkinointi ei olisi ongelma, sillä ulkomaankauppaministeri Nikolai P a t o l i t s h e v on vahvistanut Neuvostoliiton olevan kiinnostunut laajasta lannoitekaupasta Suomen kanssa. Tällöin Suomen viennin pohjana olisivat Suomen omat raaka-ainelähteet.

Neuvostoliiton taholta on tehty esitys myös siitä, että Sokliin rakennettaisiin rikastamon lisäksi fosforihappotehdas. Rikastamon yhteydessä toimiva tehdas parantaisi hankkeen kannattavuutta.

#### Eduskunta-aloite

Soklin kaivoksen avaaminen yhteistyössä Neuvostoliiton kanssa on esillä myös eduskunnassa aloitteen muodossa. Helmikuussa 1981 jättämässani eduskunta-aloitteessa todetaan, että yksi mahdollisuus ratkaista Soklin tuotteiden kuljettaminen on rakentaa rautatie Neuvostoliittoon, jossa lähin rautatieasema on Kovdorissa vain 40 kilometrin päässä Soklistä. Aloitteen ovat allekirjoittaneet myös kansanedustajat Mikko E k o r r e, Niilo K o s k e n n i e m i, Pentti L i e d e s ja Juhani V ä h ä k a n g a s SKDL:sta, Aimo A j o SDP:sta ja Hannele P o k k a Keskustapuolueesta.



Lapin työkansa ja nuorisoväki vaatii Soklin kaivoksen välitöntä avaamista. Kaivoksen avaaminen on mahdollista yhteistyössä Neuvostoliiton kanssa.

Picture 10 Lapin Työkansa October 2014

**1918**  
**1918**

**Lokakuu 1984 Julk. SKP:n Viirinkankaan osasto**

## Kansanedustaja Esko-Juhani Tennilä: Lapin sortoa voimistetaan

### "Äänestän kommunistia"



— Kaikki puolueethan näin vaalien alla mielistelevät ja koskiskelevät äänestäjiä oikein käsi ojossa. Minä äänestän kommunistia siksi, että kommunistit toimivat myös valtuustossa, siten kuin ovat äänestäjille luovant. Orita ehdokkaani on tällä kertaa nainen, sanoo kirjaston muistikiosastolla työskentelevä Pirjo Tuomi.



Lapin sorto on voimistunut valtakunnallisessa päätöksenteossa. Tämä näkyy siitä syvästä välinpitämättömyydestä, jolla hallitus suhtautuu nousukaudesta huolimatta Lapissa erittäin pahana jatkuvaan suurtyöttömyyteen, sanoo SKDL:n kansanedustaja Esko-Juhani Tennilä.

Lapin sortoa voimistetaan supistamalla maakunnan osuutta valtion työmäärärahoista, asuntorahoista ja tierahoista.

— Myös kuntien valtionapujen leikkaukset koskevat kaikkein eniten Lapin köyhiä kuntia. Ne vaikeuttavat palvelujen kehittämistä ja johtavat kunnallisten maksujen korotuksiin, jopa kokonaan uusien maksujen keksimiseen, joista räikein ja väärämielisin on katumaksu.

— Valtionapujen leikkaukset johtavat myös paineeseen nostaa veroäyriä kunnallisvalien jälkeen, sanoo Tennilä ja muistuttaa siitä, että Sorsan hallitus sai viime syyskuun kokouksessa tuen leikkatessaan valtionapuja tältä vuodelta yhteensä 700 miljoonaa markkaa.

Lappiin tarvitaan pysyviä työpajkoja. Niitä saadaan kehittämällä palveluja. Myös valtion oman yritystoiminnan lisääminen Lapissa on aivan välttämätöntä.

— Pienirytyksiä tarvitaan, mutta tuotanto kokonaisuudessaan ei tule enää koskaan palautumaan pienituotannoksi, koska suurituotanto on edullisempaa. Tämän vuoksi suurrytykset ja pankit kaatavat sääliä pienempiä yrityksiä. Lapisakin menee pienirytyksiä jatkuvasti konkurssiin.

— Lapin elinkeinorakenteen kehittämiseksi maakunnassa tarvitaan lisää valtion rytyksiä. Erityisesti meidän on joukko-voimalla painettava päälle Soklin kaivoksen välittömän avaamisen ja Kemi-yhtiön paperikonnen puolesta. Tornion jaloterästehtaan yhteyteen on saatava jatkojalostusta.

— Luonnonvoimillaan Lappi on rikas maakunta, mutta Lapin asukkaiden hyvinvoinnin esteenä on haluttomuus kehittää tätä maakuntaa. Suurpiirama ei tänne sijoita, kokoomuksessa rehoittaa turismi, ja pääministeri Kalevi Sorsa julistele "etenkin kapiina" kehitysuhteista vastaan.

— Lapin tulevaisuuden turva on omassa täistieluissamme. Me tarvitsemme myös SKDL:n vahvistamista kuntien valtuustossa, sillä kommunistit ja kansandemokraattit ovat aina olleet ja ovat edelleen Lapin sortoa vastaan, Lappile oikeutta vaatimassa, muistuttaa Tennilä.



— Meidän on voimistettava kampaallua Lapin kehittämiseksi. Muun muassa Soklin rikkaat malmivarat olisi otettava käyttöön, sanoo Soklin valtuukseen syyskuussa osallistunut Tennilä.

Picture 11 Lapin Työkansa October 1984 (same as above)

### Kesästä huolimatta Lapisessa on yli 10,000 työtöntä, mikä merkitsee yli 10 prosentin työttömyysastetta. Siksi SKP:n Lapin piirikomitea pidikin viimeisimmässä kokouksessaan välttämättömänä työttömien ja työläisten lähetystön lähettämistä Helsingin kirkonkirkkoon Soklin kaivoksen avaamista ja työllisyystoimien tehostamista.

Maanantai-iltana 22.6. lähetystö kulkutehtäin sitten junassa tai paremminkin junissa kohti Helsinkiä. Sattui nimittäin pieni erehdys ja kaikki lähetystön jäsenet eivät osuneet samaan junaan. Mutta samalla oliin kaikki yhdessä Helsingin aseman kahvilassa päiväohjelmaa viiemistelemässä.

Rovaniemeltä lähdettyämme poristin Veikko Muukkonen kanssa. Veikko on ollut PLM:n rakennustöissä, mutta työt lopetettiin kesäksi ja niin hän on nyt työttömänä.

— Työttömänä olo ei paljon naurata, sillä työttömyyskorvaus on vain vähän yli tuhat markkaa kuukaudessa. Se ei riitä markkaa kuukaudessa. Minulle on huolettavana tyttö, mutta kun hän on yli koudenoista, en saa edes asumistukea, kertoi Veikko.

— Heinäkuun alussa työttömyyspäivärahaan tuleva 3 markan korotus on aivan yhtä tyhjän kanssa. Kymmenen kertaa suurempi korotus ei sekään olisi vielä riittävä, Veikko Muukkonen totei.

### SAK:ssa laimea vastaanotto

Asemakahvilasta 17-henkinen lähetystö suuntasi kulkunsa SAK:hon. Siellä vastaanotto oli ollut laimeahko, yksikään järjestön korkeammista johtajista ei ollut paikalle ehtinyt eikä paikalla olleilla vastustajilla ollut valtuuksia voimakkaan tuen lupaamiseen.

— Kyllä tuohon SAK:hon on uudenlaista terää saatava, sanoo rovaniemiläinen Pekka Nojonen SAK-käynnin jälkeen eduskunnassa, jossa juomme SKDL:n ryhmän tarjoamat kahvit. Samaa mieltä ovat muutkin; SAK:n saamattomuus tyyppisee.

### Ministerit kiertelevät

Puolta tuntia ennen eduskunnan istuntoa lähetystö tapaa kauppa- ja teollisuusministeri Ulf Sundqvistin (sd) ja valtiovarainministeri Ahti Pekkan (keek.). Lähetystön puolesta aloittaa lähetystö johtava Aaro Riikonen Kemistä.

— Ensi vuoden budjettiin on Soklilla varien varaitava 191 miljoonaa markkaa Työllisyysmäärärahoja tulee yleensäkin lisää ja asuntotuotantoa laajentaa. Työttömyysturvaa on parannettava. Sosiaalitoimen määrärahoja on supistettava ja teollisuuden sosiaaliturvamaksuja on korotettava, sanoo Riikonen.

— Sokli, niin, vastaa Sundqvist ja puhuu keite pyöredinlaista tekestä siitä, ettei kaivos ole liiketaloudellisesti kannattava, mutta ratkaisua kuitenkin etsitään. Ensi viikolla on kuulemma jälleen neuvottelu Rautaruukin ja Kemiran kanssa.

Vaiensalaisia vastauksia antaa myös Pekkala, vaikka on itsokin kehitysuhteista eduskuntaan valittu ja tietää hyvin pohjoisalueen katastrofaalisen työttömyys tilanteen.

— Katotaan ja koetetaan löytää myönteinen ratkaisu, tämä on Pekkanen kanta.

Ministereille vastaa työttömänä pitämään ollut Martti Fagerström hyvin terävästi, ettei tänne ole tultu pyytämään vaan vaatimaan kaivoksen avaamista, ja hän luovuttaa Sundqvistille lähes 5000 allekirjoitusta sisältävän adressin.

— Ellei täältä rupea myöntemään kulumaan, me tulemme syksyllä uudelleen ja silloin ototaankin käyttöön Lapin koko linja-autokaluho, ilmoittaa Fagerström huomattavasti hämmennyneinä vaikuttaville ministeriölle.

— Rahat Sokliin saatte kun viihennätte sotilaammejoja, paukuttaa Pekka Nojonen Lapin miesten suorasuokaiseen tapaan.

— Me olemme liikkeellä nyt näin aikaisin, ettei voida sanoa että budjetti on jo kiinni eikä sitä voida enää muuttaa, painottaa Lauri Pekola.

### TEKSTI ESKO-JUHANI TENNILÄ KUVAT ARJA TEIKOLA



□ Lapin lähetystö halusi kiinnittää tällä julisteellaan koko eduskunnan huomion Lapin vaikeaan työllisyys tilanteeseen ja Soklin avaamisen välttämättömyyteen. Koko eduskunta huomasi vaatimuksen, vaikka järjestysmiehet olivat nopeita.

### Tuki SKP:ita

Eduskunnan täysistunto alkoi ja lähetystö siirtyi parvekkeelle sitä seuraamaan. Lähetystö halusi viestittää koko eduskunnalle vakavan vetouksen Soklin puolesta ja nostaa näkyville ison punavalkoisen julisteen, jossa on teksti: "Rahat Sokliin." Järjestysmiehet ovat salamaa paikalla ja tempaisevat julisteen lähetystön käsistä. Perille viesti kuitenkin ehti mennä, salissa käy melkein kohina.

Kello 14 lähetystö tapaa SKP:n puheenjohtaja Aarne Saarinen. Saarinen ilmoittaa vastauspuheessaan SKP:n ja SKDL:n tukevan lähetystön vaatimuksia, niin Soklin osalta kuin muutoinkin.

— On erinomainen asia, että olette liikkeellä. Muiden puolueiden assentit ovat sellaisia, ettei ylitseollis kummossaa ikinä saada ellei kenttä paina, tähdentää Saarinen.

Kemijärveläinen Ahti Aho on sitä mieltä, että päättäjät puuttu halua Soklin avaamiseen.

— Tilanne Koillis-Lapissa on kestänyt, työpajkoja on saatava. SKP:n ja SKDL:n on vedettävä tässä työllisyysasiassa.

### Taistelua jatketaan

Sosialidemokraatteja ja keskustapuoluetta edustavien ministerien nuivat ja pyöret vastaukset eivät lupaa hyvää. Onneksi SKP:n ja SKDL:n tuki on Lapin väestön vaatimusten puolella.

— Emme me voi alistua jatkuvaan suurtyöttömyyteen. Siksi tappelu on jatkettava ja sitä jatketaan, sanoo sallalainen Pekka Kunnari, joka monien muiden lähetystöön osallistuneiden tavoin on itsekin parhailaan työttömänä.

Koko lähetystö on Kunnarin kanssa samaa mieltä ja arvata saattaa, että Helsingin herrat joutuvat Lapin ihmisten kanssa hullulle, ellei tahdi muuta ja työtömyyttä ruveta tosiniellä vähentämään. Lappi on nyt toisinaan.

Picture 12 Savukoski



## Appendice 1 – Interview questions

### Haastateltava

- Kuka olet ja mitä teet?
- Miten suhtaudut kaivokseen?
- Jos vastustaa kaivosta
  - miksi et hyväksy kaivosta?
  - mitä ongelmia siitä seuraa?
- Mitä hyvää kaivoksen myötä syntyisi?
- Mitä ajattelet Soklin kaivoksen noin 50 vuotta kestäneestä prosessista eli siitä miten kaivosta on suunniteltu ja lähdetty toteuttamaan?
- Miten koet mahdollisen kaivoksen vaikuttavan elämääsi ja työhösi?
- Miksi uskot, että kaivosprojekti on tällä hetkellä jäissä?
- Pidätkö jotain itsestään selvänä liittyen kaivokseen? Jos niin mitä?

## Savukosken kunta ja lähialueet

- Miten kaivos vaikuttaisi Savukoskelaisten elämään? Entäs koko kuntaan? Tai itälappilaisten?
- Mitä uskot, että muut paikalliset ajattelevat kaivoksesta? Hyväksyykö suurin osa vai vastustaako ja miksi?
- Mitä ajattelet Savukosken kunnan tulevaisuudesta?
- Kenellä on eniten valtaa vaikuttaa Savukosken tulevaisuuteen? Miksi?

## Yara

- Minkälainen toimija Yara on? Kuinka kuvailisit yritystä? Onko se yrityksenä hyväksyttävä?
- Mikäli kaivos päätettäisiin perustaa niin olisiko operoivalla yrityksellä väliä?
- Oliko mielestäsi kaivosoikeuksien myyminen Yaralle oikeudenmukaista ja reilua? Olisiko jotain voitu tehdä toisin?
- muuttaisiko tai onko hanke jo kenties heidän mielestään johtanut siihen että valta päättää siitä miten maata ja luontoa käytetään siirtynyt tai siirtyy oleellisesti muille tahoille?
  
- Miten yara on ottanut sinut tai perheesi huomioon kaivoksen suunnittelussa ja valmistelussa?

## Kaivosteollisuus

- Mitä ajattelet kaivosteollisuudesta teollisuuden alana?
- Kuuluvatko kaivokset Lappiin/Suomeen?
- Minkälaisia seurauksia kaivoksella on Lapissa tai Suomessa?
- Tuottavatko kaivokset hyvinvointia?
- Onko mielestäsi oikeudenmukaista, että Suomen on kaivosteollisuutta?