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Indigenous agency in global systems

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ABSTRACT

The article addresses expanding of global economic systems by studying Sámi strategies addressing Norwegian High Northern Policies (NHNP) launched by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2005. NHNP attracted global economy, labour and knowledge to the Arctic region. The Sámi responding are analysed by using agency theories in economic geography, and contributes to expand the content of agencies e.g. by understanding its embedding in specific historical shaped structures as well as in debates on new opportunity spaces in the wake of globalism.

The study demonstrates three strategies debated and launched by the Sámi Parliament: (i) In grounding its resistance the Sámi Parliament argued that the entry of international industries into areas with Sámi population threaten the fundamental conditions for Sámi livelihood. (ii) By entering global governance the parliament emphasized the importance of Sámi negotiation with multinational companies in global governance frameworks. (iii) And by changing the historical understanding of Sámi territories in order to include research and higher education milieus outside remote rural districts.

1. Introduction

In 1973, a pioneer in political sociology and human geography the Norwegian Stein Rokkan, formulated his mission in this statement: ‘If political science is to become truly a world-wide discipline, it must not flinch from facing the great issues: the proliferation of multi-national economic networks, the stubbornness of local and national cultures’ (Rokkan 1973).

Several decades later the Sámi, mainly living in remote parts of Northern-Norway, responded to Norway’s new High North policy (NHNP). The state policy was launched in 2005 (Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2004–2005) and developed further in 2009, 2014 and 2017. The Norwegian state by launching NHNP attracted international networks of capital, labour and knowledge to northern areas.

Rokkan (Stubhaug 2019) aimed building political science by developing understanding of global systems covering continually integration of new participants, subsystems and territories. By using ‘stubbornness’ he indicated one specific type of entering or integrating of new participants into global systems. The article will investigate the Sámi in Norway’s responding a ‘proliferation’ of global economic system by analyzing actual policies strategies conducted by the Norwegian Sámi Parliament the previous 10–20 years.

One background for the study is if including indigenous newcomers into global systems could be characterized by just stubbornness, as

Rokkan (Stubhaug 2019) accentuated. From this point of view ‘stubbornness’ is a (pre)understanding of characteristics of agent attitudes in entering global systems. However, rather than describing Sámi reluctant entering global systems, I will take a more open starting point, benefitting from agency perspectives in theories in economic geography and by analysing data about actual Sámi strategies.

Two theories traditions dominate economic geography. Where evolutionary theories concern with structures and explain lack of structural changes by their developing through strong paths, institutional theories explaining structural changes by differences in institutions ability to encourage radical changes. Stability and reforms of structures as well as in institutions can be linked to agency, where e.g. Coe and Jordhus-Lier (2011) distinguish between transformative agencies that succeed in changes and reproductive agencies maintaining existing structures.

According to e.g. Giddens (1984) the explaining of agents forming of structures are about micro based analyses as e.g. hermeneutics. He views structure and agency as being brought into actions simultaneously, and he explains social life as being continually produced and reproduced through a process of structuration. From this perspective, both structure and agency are implicated in every moment of social interaction. In turn rules and resources (eg, authority and property) are connecting structure and action (Coe and Jordhus-Lier, 2011:5). Jessop (2001) proposed a closer integration between structures and agents by including scope for

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reflexive reorganization of structural configurations and recursive selection of strategies in investigating agencies.

Analyses of agency in economic geography have mainly connected structures and subjects by addressing path developing of structures and how actors influencing on such paths (Grillitsch and Sotarauta, 2020:706). Where the agencies in this dualism are mainly Schumpeterian innovative leadership, institutional entrepreneurship and place-based leadership (Grillitsch and Sotarauta, 2020: 707).

By analysing developing of agencies conducted by the Norwegian Sámi Parliament confronted by rapid global driven economic changes launched by the Norwegian state, I aim to extend the understanding of agency linking specific historical developed structures with actual strategies. Thereby the article also aims to contribute to developing of ‘agencies’ as the concept is used and discussed in evolutionary and institutional theories in actual geography and sociology (Grillitsch and Sotarauta 2020; Jolly et al., 2020). One dimension of the analysis is completing the types of agencies analysed in economic geography with analysing of maintaining or renewing paths. By analysing strategies formed by debates in a Sámi public space decided by the Norwegian Sámi Parliament, aspects of reflexivity and recursivity in agencies could be included.

This aim of the study demand an openness in access and using of data where I search for Sámi strategies by using qualitative analyses as evolved by Glaser and Strauss (1967). By adopting a grounded theory approach, the aim was without specific hypothesis to search for actual Sámi answers to multinational economic networks entering Sámi-populated territories. Grounded theory analyses start by asking one question (here: *how the Sámi Parliament responded to the NHNP*), which also is the major research question addressed in the article.

By addressing the Norwegian Sámi Parliament and Sámi policies the article aims to extending types, or the selection of types, of agents and the agencies developed in debating and implementation of economic developing models. As Sámi mainly are gathered in Sámi territories, the analysis concerns regional developing strategies. And as in many other studies on agent and agencies, the article follows the Dictionary of Human Geography wide understanding of human agency as “the ability of people to act, usually regarded as emerging from consciously held intentions, and as resulting in observable effects in the human world” (Gregory et al., 2009 pp. 347).

Against these backgrounds the article investigates Sámi strategies addressing NHNP, where the major research question is how Northern globalization during a specific national policy (NHNP) is met by Sámi strategies and how actions by the Sámi Parliament develops with an indigenous context in this meeting.

Forming a Sámi agency after 2000 is related, or interplay, with a structure formed historically by establishing and developing a Norwegian Sámi agency where the balance between transformation of industrial structures and reproduction of them has changed among periods. In the historic periods before 1980’ies these issues were part of state policies proliferations (conf. Rokkans formulation) addressing state defined Sámi territories. The article presents major phases in state policies and Sámi position in these strategies. Moreover the analysis goes in more detail when answering the responses to NHNP from a Sámi public space with its core in the Sámi Parliament established in 1986.

NHNP was an open state invitation addressing global enterprises and organizations to contribute to include northern areas into global economic systems, but thereby NHNP encouraged extensive socio-economic transformation in the Arctic region.

In general the global transformations of Arctic aimed to strengthen the link between processes in Arctic communities on the one hand, and national and international economic processes on the other. The actual transformations are demonstrated in growth of mining, oil and gas extraction, aquaculture and tourism over the past two decades and have contributed to new dynamics and growth in national economies, as well as to building and developing relations between international companies, markets and local populations (Bowles and Wilson 2016). The

transformations are often experienced on local level as dramatic in terms of scale, scope, actors involved and specialization of economic and institutional drivers.

Nevertheless, the NHNP anticipated that globalization could encourage improvement in socio-economic development in northern areas, most often due to the need to develop local suppliers to an expanding global industry extracting natural resources found across huge land and sea areas. In these processes, the NHNP should attract local firms to develop their competence and knowledge so they could benefit from the growing interests from oil and gas, mineral exploration, wind turbines, fish-farming, water-based power construction and tourism, all of which were articulated in many northern communities. From this point of view actual Sámi agencies could have followed the state’s attempt to attract international enterprises, often on a large scale, and capital to northern areas rather than e.g. developing stubbornness strategies resisting the state globalization invitation.

The article analyses current Sámi debates and policies in the context of these extensive socio-economic transformations ongoing in communities in Arctic. From this perspective the debate on economic development in Sámi communities in the wake of NHNP includes responding to an increasing and manifold interaction of actors and interests entering Arctic. Moreover, it involves specific Sámi interests and legal rights interacting with trade and investment flows, and where their ability to influence on operations is embedded in specific local, national and international institutional backgrounds.

2. Historical forming of a structure for Sámi agencies after 2000

The analyses of Sámi agencies in responding the NHNP starts by presenting the historical background for the actual Sámi positioning. Without anticipating the description, the historical review demonstrates however an increasing strength of reproductive types of agencies that more and more were agnostic, resisting and opposing external driven changes and aiming to institutional maintenance in ways described by Jolly et al. (2020 pp. 179). Thereby a review of Norwegian historical agency targeting Sámi can be understood on background on classical theories on developing institutional protection of structures as those of Polanyi (2001) de facto addressing agencies preventing traditional, often kinship based, relations in preindustrial communities in meeting, viewed from the locals, an autonomous market economy. Polanyi concerned about preventing systems for redistribution, whereby benefit from trade and production were redistributed among positions in the communities by local historical developed systems. Moreover on preventing systems of reciprocity, whereby exchanges of goods and gifts were based on broad reciprocal not only economic and legal based exchanges between social entities. And on protecting household production systems, whereby production was primarily limited to food, textile goods, and tools for own use and consumption, and in which the available labour (i.e. members of households) rather than product markets determined the level of production. Systems of distribution of capacities and benefits were important characteristics of traditional Sámi communities, and the structures developed during more than 200 years can be seen from a perspective where the Norwegian state implemented policies and measures. Where the balance between aiming to changing and preventing of traditional way of life has varied.

2.1. A first stage: including Sámi territories in the Norwegian state

Sörlin (2019:46) argues that there is no “High north” with common characteristics much due to differences between the arctic countries Iceland, Greenland, Sweden, Finland, Russia and Norway. Northern Norway, and policies addressing this region, has been concerning with the maritime and fisheries, while Sweden and Finland have experienced land colonization based in forestry, mining and resource based industries. From this perspective state policies addressing high north as well as local communities in the north would vary between Nordic arctic

countries. Norwegian policies in northern areas has concerned with oceans and marine issues, but Norwegian Sámi policies has concerned more with land colonialization issues than with major Norwegian policies areas addressing marine and coast areas in Norway.

Thereby Norway has a historical background in developing policies addressing Sámi and Sámi populated territories. This started in 1775, when a Royal Decree opened up for lay outs of plots for private agriculture farming in order to encourage permanent settlements in Sámi populated areas in the northern part of Norway. Neither reindeer husbandry nor nomads as the Sámi achieved property rights during the decree, thereby the Norwegian state de facto introduced rules excluding Sámi opportunities for owning plots. The Sámi could own farms, but in 1902 the state decided a decree demanding farmers to use Norwegian language if ownership should be achieved. These demands removed the opportunity for Sámi landownership.

Discrimination of the Sámi was a background for the organization of a political movement among Sámi after 1900. The first Sámi national assembly held in the third biggest Norwegian city of Trondheim in 1917 addressed rights for reindeer herding legalities. These demands were also promoted in several occasions in the Norwegian Parliament 1900–1940.

Based on the nomadic characteristics of Sámi communities it was not straightforward for the Norwegian state to identify a Sámi territory or area, because strong kinship and nomadism did not encourage an understanding of territory in the sense used in e.g. national economic planning. That the Sámi people lived in Russia, Finland, Sweden and Norway and operated nomadism by crossing borderlines made the situation more complex. Even more challenging for state policies was that there were no exact estimates on the number of Sámi. First in 1970 a systematic census was available concluded that ‘probably at least 40,000 people living in Norway have living conditions influenced by their Sámi background. However, how many Sámi living in Norway cannot be estimated by any census.’ (Aubert 1978: 113). The 1970 census asked the population living in Northern Norway about the respondents and their parents’ skills in Sámi language. These questions have not been asked in Norwegian national censuses or surveys after 1970.

2.2. A second stage: Sámi entering state territorial planning

Based on nomadism, particularly in nomadism crossing borderlines, and huge and complex challenges in estimating the amount of the Sámi population it was difficult to develop and implement state planning and policies addressing Sámi. Therefor it was not until developing Norwegian state planning from the 1960s when state policies explicit addressed the issue of Sámi territories. These first state attempts were mainly concerned with identifying and accepting the use of Sámi language, but also with identifying characteristics of Sámi industries and livelihoods. The 1960 discussions followed up a state committee in 1959 considering Sámi issues suggested defining six Norwegian municipalities as ‘Sámi core territories’.¹

Ten years later, an official Norwegian Report (NOU, 1972:33) launched a territorial plan for Northern Norway and introduced the concept of ‘Sámi districts’ including two municipalities.² The state plan had its reference to a public committee on Sámi issues presented to the Norwegian Parliament in 1962–63 (Ministry of Education, 1962–63). According to the report, there were Sámi-populated areas in Norway other than in these communities. However, information and knowledge about the Sámi in those areas were not available to the state at that time. In 1974–75, in a White Paper on ‘central Sámi population areas’ (Ministry of Agriculture, 1974–75), the state argued that the communes in

¹ These communes were Karasjok, Kautokeino, Nesseby, Tana, Polmak (part of Tana commune today) and Kistrand (part of Porsanger commune today).

² Karasjoga gielda (Karasjok Municipality) and Guovdageainnu suohkan (Kautokeino Municipality).

which people used the Sámi language had common socio-economic characteristics, such as strong and uncontrolled demographic growth, a low level of education among the inhabitants and few branches of industry in operation. The state included five communes.³

Moreover, the predominant state understanding in the 1970s was that territories included in Sámi districts could be characterized as ‘less economic developed’ when it came to industrial structures, occupational traditions and level of education and working life training’ (Ministry of Agriculture, 1974–75:10) and needed support from the state in order to progress. The state considered that Sámi-populated areas had raw materials and available labour, but lacked capital and technology based production and processing. In addition, the areas lacked integration in Norwegian industrial production due to the long distances to markets and poorly developed logistics. The state grounded its understanding in actual economic geography, as expressed by for example, Christaller (1966), who argued that industrial development should be based on integrating territories by means of transport and logistic systems, thereby ensuring accessibility between markets and production in all regions in a nation. Moreover focusing on local impacts and spill over opportunities from huge industrial plants to local enterprises and to employees in industrial agglomerations and growth poles outside the large national cities (Parr 1999 a and b, Perroux, 1950). Local enterprises in northern Scandinavia (Skiöld and Keskitalo 2013) and in Sámi districts however did not succeed in becoming industry suppliers, and this was an important reason why the state concluded that its assimilation policies addressing the Sámi had failed and should be revised.

2.3. A third stage: from state planning to local growth processes

Based on the experiences from industry planning addressing Sámi territories, state policies changed from focusing on building national logistics and growth poles to admit a need to understand and develop territorial conditions for new growth and not only on frameworks in state allocation policies. The Norwegian state changed its developing policies addressing Sámi policies from including Sámi in allocation processes in state planning, to seek for local or internal conditions in Sámi communities in order to stimulate growth processes. Now concepts such as industrial districts, learning regions, clusters, and regional innovation systems were incorporated in the thinking and perspectives on state level. According to these theories, various forms of collaboration and competition among enterprises localized in same territory should force both short-term and long-term upgrading of the enterprises (Asheim and Gertler 2005).

In Sámi areas, the Norwegian state followed the changes in state policies by emphasizing the need to encourage traditional industrial organizations as the siida in Sámi communities rather than strengthening pressures from labour markets and income opportunities in new industry plants (Ministry of Municipalities and Labour, 1996–97). The state meant that if industry instead were developed based on historical frameworks in the local communities, stable social systems as those exemplified by Polanyi (2001) in Sámi areas would be encouraged and maintained. The focus in industrial development shifted therefore from focusing on opportunities in state allocation on national level to identifying unique opportunities in local small-scale business. Typical were types of production giving incomes based on readily available resources that were consumed by the households involved in the production and local markets.

In spite, or because, of focusing on intern characteristics in Sámi communities the state increased the extent of the Sámi territory in Norway during the 1990’ies, now mainly based on the distribution of Sámi language. In 1990, when the Sámi Language Act was approved by

³ Guovdageainnu suohkan, Karasjoga gielda, Porsángu gielda (Porsanger), Deanu gielda (Tana), and Unjárga gielda (Nesseby).

⁴ The new commune included was Gáivuona suohkan (Kåfjord).

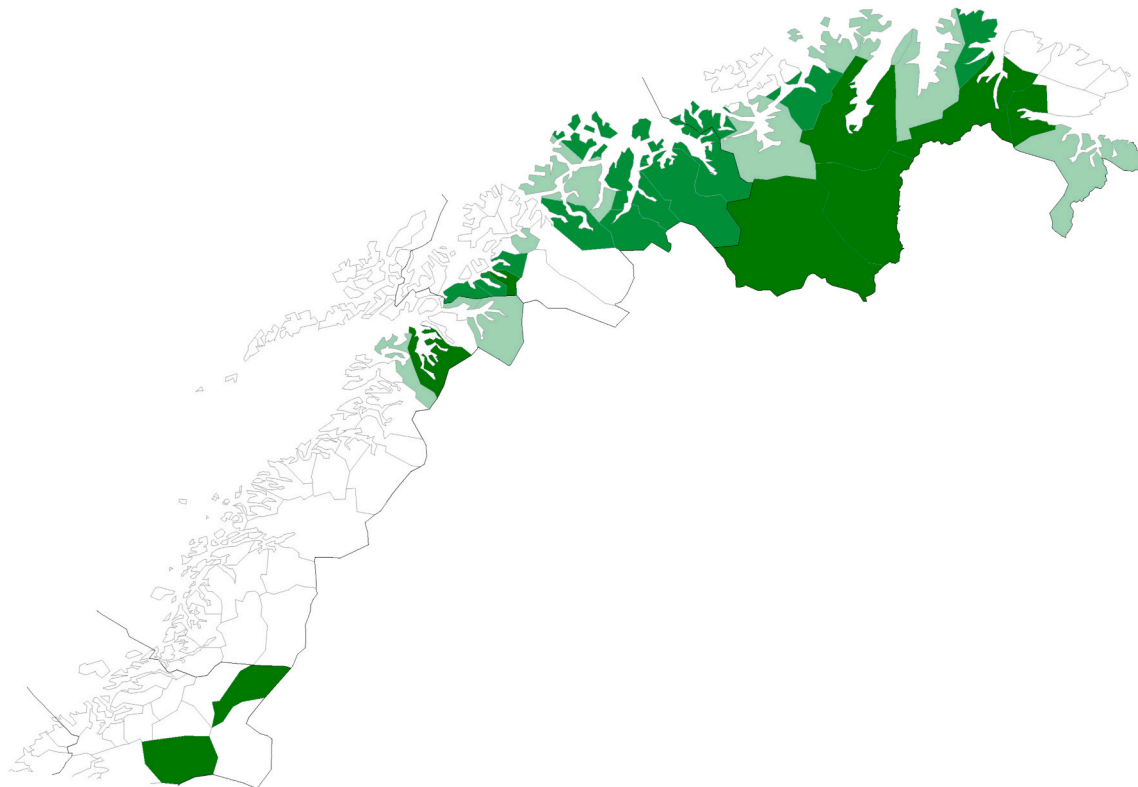


Fig. 1. Northern Norway: Sámi territories defined in Norway today. Dark green: Sámi languages in daily use and frequent traditional industries; Light green: Frequent traditional industries often in outlying parts of the communes. (For interpretation of the references to colour in this figure legend, the reader is referred to the Web version of this article.)

the Norwegian Parliament, six municipalities were included.⁴ In 2005–2013, a further five municipalities were included. In order to implement the language act, where the state guaranteed Sámi and Norwegian as equal languages in daily use, the state needed to identify exact Sámi territories.

In 1989 the Sámi Parliament was opened and continued the state attempt to define Sámi territories into its policy for developing Sámi industry by addressing specific areas (STN territories) where it decided to implement its industrial measures.⁵ The measures addressed peripheries or outlying districts, and all were in Northern Norway north of Saltfjellet (Sámi: 'saltoduottar'), the mountain area that divides north and south Norway. The parliament's understanding of Sámi territory was based on that the majority of Sámi live in some of the most remote areas in Northern Norway. The total population of what are often called core Sámi areas in Norway (conf. Fig. 1), which also include Sámi, Norwegian, Finnish and immigrant populations, decreased from 45,600 in 1990 to 37,900 in 2012 (Statistics Norway, 2012). Thereby, while the majority of Norwegians live in growing often small urban settlements, also in Northern Norway, the majority of Sámi are settled in the most sparsely populated areas. Of them, about 3000 Sámi are involved in nomadic reindeer herding, where the animals graze pastures covering inland and coastal areas.⁶

Due to demographic and economic characteristics, the STN territories constituted peripheries and thus linked Sámi communities to peripheral districts. However, not all parts of the areas are connected to each other geographically, but they are connected by common understandings of what being Sámi means, where one enduring thread is

the idea of Sámi culture based on practising in specific industries.

Based on these backgrounds the actual areas defined as Sámi territories in Norway today are demonstrated in Fig. 1. The coloured areas are covering communities where Sámi languages are in daily use as well as communities mostly characterised by traditional Sámi industries.

2.4. A fourth stage: strengthening impacts of global legal rights in local growth processes

Of different reasons, debates on the state's legal rights for practising land ownership in Sámi communities took place from 1980'ies (Tønnesen 1972, Pedersen, 2016). These perspectives heavily strengthened during the Sámi resisting of the Alta hydropower project where production of hydroelectric power was planned to be based on dammed up water from lakes on the Finnmark plateau. The construction planned to displace Sámi residents and disrupt reindeer migration routes.

These perspectives were later manifested in reports clarifying the rights of Sámi in Norway in the period 1980–2007 (Norwegian committees considering Sámi rights appointed 1980 and 2001), by including a section on Sámi rights in the Norwegian Constitution in 1988 and during the state signing of International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169 in 1990. And state duties for securing Sámi culture, language and way of life were included in the Norwegian Constitution in 1988.

Debates on development issues entered as well during the establishment of the Sámi Parliament in 1986 and after its opening in 1989.⁷

⁵ These so-called STN areas, comprise 31 areas or districts, where some areas are complete municipalities and some are parts of municipalities.

⁶ In 2015, this included a capacity of 950 man-years, Store Norske leksikon, <https://snl.no/reindrif>.

⁷ The election to Norwegian Sámi Parliament is based on a register including people more than 18 years old perceiving as Sámi and where the member or its family has or had used Sámi language at home. Today about 17,000 are include in the register.

One result was that in 2005 the Sámi Parliament achieved the right to meet the Norwegian state in consultations on issues of importance to the Sámi as part of a policy developing process resulted in the Finnmark Act. In 2009⁸ the Sámi Parliament position was strengthened by achieving objection rights as part of the state rules for local development plans. And in 2017 the government proposed to include the consultation right into the Norwegian Sámi Act.

Based on strengthened individual legal rights for indigenous people decided organizations as UN, a long term debate in Sámi public spaces resulted in a White Paper on industry policies from the Sámi Parliament. It suggested to withdraw the STN areas and rather supporting industry and projects according to their contribution to the development and protection of Sámi culture and traditions, independent of localization (Sámi Parliament 2018). Thus, the Sámi Parliament suggested to place its future focus on individual opportunities of Sámi to achieve public economic support to business initiatives, independent of their embedding in specific territories.

This chapter drew the forming of an actual structure for developing agencies by the Sámi Parliament after 2000. The first historical stages, or paths, aimed to include, or assimilate, Sámi into Norwegian state institutions. These paths by a transition more and more addressed protecting traditional systems in accordance with e.g. Polanyi's preventing concepts. The issue then is how agency conducted by the Sámi parliament anchored in this context is responding to NHNP by debating and implementation of revised or new paths.

3. Methods

In investigating the Sámi responding I analyse what can be characterized as the Sámi Parliament assessing of its "subjective" experiences of opportunities spaces in actual structures when forming answers to new questions. From this point of view, the analysis enters a hermeneutic perspective and includes reflexive issues. Data is collected from debates in a Sámi public sphere, where the emergence of this sphere can be dated to the phasing out of the Norwegian Sámi policies that aimed to assimilate the Sámi into 'normal' life in Norway by processes in state allocation. In studying indigenous people response to globalisation by collecting data from public spheres can be of specific relevance since, according to Habermas (1979), such spheres emerging due to a need to address to protect ways of living in specific territories against actors and organizations that want to enter and to change central social systems. Public policies thereby answering by debating and elucidating addressing of 'protection' when modern, specialized labour markets and capitalist enterprises entering.

The actual data sources for the questions challenging the Sámi Parliament are the NHNP (Ministry of Foreign affairs 2004-2005, 2009, 2014, 2017). The analysis of the responses of the Sámi Parliament to the NHNP is mainly based on the parliament's considerations regarding the NHNP from 2012 onwards. I found most of these in documents and read them in Norwegian, and I listened to speeches by Sámi leaders with the aid of translation into Norwegian. The documents analysed were White Papers and Working Papers (Sámi Parliament 2012a, b) that were prepared by the Sámi Parliament administration when it debated industry issues, regional policies and knowledge strategies as responses to the NHNP. Information about the Sámi Parliament's use of international guidelines in policy development, such as those on indigenous people's rights published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was collected by e-mail communication with the Sámi Parliament.

Some of the analyses are based on data from the Sámi Parliament that considered concrete plans for industrial projects, which included Statoil's (now Equinor) plans for developing the Snoehvit gas field in the

Barents Sea in 2002 (Sámi Parliament, 2002), Eni Norway's plans for developing the Goliat oil field in the Barents Sea in 2009 (Sámi Parliament 2009) and plans dating from 2010 onwards for mining (Sámi Parliament 2011a, b).

The method of analysis, grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss (1967), is part of inductive science given that the starting point is very open. By adopting a grounded theory approach, the aim was without specific hypothesis to search for actual Sámi answers to multinational economic networks entering Sámi-populated territories after 2000 in actual documents. I manually categorized concepts and strategies based on how often and with how much weight and intensity concepts are represented in data extracted from the actual sources. I, manually based on my reading of the categories, divided the concepts and strategies found in the sources into three categories and these constitute the following three analytical chapters that elaborate the Sámi Parliament's grounding and context for generating these strategies.

The article has its origin in studies and interests over long time for developing processes and policies addressing Sámi communities in northern area of Norway. My personal background in conducting the analyses stems from my interest and experience in research on regional policies and related Sámi issues since early 1990ies. I am not a Sámi and I am not trained in using and understanding Sámi language; nor have I been a member of the Sámi Parliament or of any of the negotiations referred to in the article.

4. A law agency – Sámi resisting the entry of international companies

The first category of Sámi NHNP agencies concerns conflicts relating to Sámi ownership and their specific rights to use areas and resources on land territories, particularly in Finnmark the northernmost Norwegian region. Against this background, along with other issues, in 2014 the Sámi Parliament was asked directly about the Sámi position with respect to the NHNP. The question was posed in a conference programme at an annual conference in Norway ("Kirkenes konferansen") attended by industry and political leaders from northern communities. The Sámi parliamentary speaker addressed the issue of multinational companies (MNCs) and the Sámi Parliament's ability to restrict MNC strategies and operations in the north, especially in Sámi-populated territories. Two 'resistance agencies' were emphasized (Muotka, 2014): (1) strengthening the legal protection and rights of the Sámi, particularly concerning land and territorial resources; and (2) demanding that MNCs should develop corporate social responsibility programmes when operating in regions where indigenous rights exist. Interestingly, the Sámi Parliament did not mention strengthening agencies that address the Norwegian state directly when the Sámi Parliament demands responses and actions from the state.

The first of the two resistance agencies emphasized the need for legal protection for Sámi enterprises against MNCs entering territories used by Sámi to exploit raw materials. According to the Sámi Parliament, its industrial strategies responding NHNP were less about developing new labour markets and income opportunities by adapting to global economic changes than about demanding to include institutions that would protect Sámi communities against international markets and entering industrial networks. The Sámi Parliament concretized these needs to protect the basis for the maintenance, growth and welfare of Sámi culture, wherein welfare was linked to the value of living a traditional Sámi way of life. Although the Sámi Parliament admitted that the industry entering northern areas could bring benefits in terms of employment, incomes, settlements and new welfare services, it was concerned about the negative impacts on long existing traditional Sámi enterprises.

The second resistance agency had its background in international conventions and policies. I asked the Sámi parliamentary speaker about

⁸ https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/2008-06-27-71/KAPITTEL_2-1-3.

the OECD guidelines and UN principles that she had alluded to in the Kirkenes conference and received an e-mail written by the administration explaining these issues.⁹ The e-mail pointed to the OECD guidelines for MNCs (OECD 2011, 2012), which stated that international companies should respect human rights, contribute to sustainability and establish national contact points. Moreover, it was emphasized that the revised OECD guidelines were decided on by 42 national governments at the 50th Anniversary Meeting of the OECD Ministerial Council on 25 May 2011. Furthermore, the UN's principles for industry and human rights related to the UN's "protect, respect and remedy" framework (UN 2011 a, b), which was developed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises. In addition, the Human Rights Council endorsed the Guiding Principles in its resolution 17/4 on 16 June 2011.

Through its institutions and organizations, the Sámi Parliament aimed to face the entry of MNCs with a situation in which Sámi interests were protected by international law, principles and guidelines, and with the competence and knowledge that made it possible for the parliament to argue for Sámi interests and demands (Dalheim and Eriksen 2016). From the Parliament's position, the aims of these processes demanded MNCs to reformulate their programmes to contribute to societal changes and for MNCs to adapt their programmes to the situations in the Sámi communities.

There is however a long way before reaching these aims. This was demonstrated in 2016, when the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) together with the Lule Sámi Centre (established for a minority group of Sámi in Norway) asked 100 global enterprises operating in the Arctic whether they were prepared and trained to handle indigenous rights and interests in the north. The results showed that 60 per cent of the MNCs were not prepared and trained (Överland 2016). Moreover, there were strong differences between enterprises and branches, with the situation in the mining industry being the worst, while in the oil and gas industry it was relatively better. The results of the survey were used to debate how to involve the Sámi in important processes in the Arctic.

5. Developing a Sámi negotiation agency in global governance

The Sámi Parliament argued that to promote Sámi interests, it was important for the Sámi to gain influence in global economic networks, particularly regarding the industrial interests entering northern areas. Viewed from the Sámi Parliament, it was not a future alternative to resist decisions from a position outside global networks (Muotka, 2014). The challenges of breaking in to these networks were however demonstrated at the international conference Arctic Frontiers held in Tromsø in 2016. Aili Keskitalo, President of the Sámi Parliament, expressed disappointment at the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change, because it did not include statements about indigenous people's rights. She argued that it was not justifiable that Sámi areas could be occupied by wind turbines producing energy when the Sámi had not contributed to the climate problems. Moreover, politicians had expressed no interest in listening to Sámi knowledge about climate change and Sámi public sphere had provided many examples of how Sámi positions were overlooked in processes as those conducted by NHNP (Keskitalo, 2016). Despite strong resistance and critical strategies, and partly due to them, the Sámi Parliament demanded to be included in forming actual industrial strategies and policies, also those implemented by MNCs. In some cases, the Sámi Parliament and the MNCs were inspired by the rules governing the relations between the Norwegian state and the Sámi, namely that it was the duty of the state to include consultation with the Sámi Parliament before any decisions concerning the Sámi were made. In 2009, the Sámi

Parliament directed the Italian oil company Eni, with its Norwegian daughter company Eni Norge, to include ILO Convention 169 (on indigenous people's rights) in its ethical guidelines. The Sámi Parliament was satisfied when Eni stated in its guidelines that Eni Norge respected the rights of the Sámi people, and that Eni and the Sámi should reach agreement through consultation in cases of plans and decisions taken by the oil company that could have an impact on Sámi communities. Further, the agreement included provisions for encouraging the Sámi to benefit from Eni Norge's activities in the Sámi territories (Sámi Parliament 2009). The guidelines indicated that both Eni and the Sámi Parliament used 'consultation', as included in the Royal Decree regulating the relations between the state and the Sámi Parliament.

Another form of governance change was adopted in 2014, when the Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernization accepted the plans of the mining company NUSSIR for the exploitation of copper resources in the coastal Sámi community of Fálesnuori gielda (Kvalsund). However, acceptance was conditional upon prior agreement between NUSSIR and reindeer herders operating in the field regarding the conditions for the planned mining operations (Ministry of Local government and modernization 2014). The state stipulated that the mining company had to obtain acceptance from the Sámi whose rights to access reindeer pasture in the mining area would be affected. Thereby, the state transferred its responsibility for decisions on expansion of industrial operations to the parties involved. One impact was to transfer the pressure for solutions to the Sámi communities, which encouraged the Sámi Parliament to increase contacts and relations with MNCs and private actors (Dalheim Eriksen and Falch, 2016).

Therefore, on several occasions, the Sámi Parliament has discussed how to facilitate the Sámi's position to negotiate directly and in an equal manner with MNCs. Specific emphasis has been placed on its knowledge capacity in such negotiations. The Sámi Parliament has grounded its demands for state support for capacity building in the UN's 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, in which Article 3 states that 'indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development' (United Nations 2007). Based on Article 3, the Sámi Parliament assumed that indigenous people as subjects with separate rights and positions had to have competence and capacity to enable them to have direct dialogue and negotiations with MNCs about their plans in Sámi regions (Muotka, 2014 op. cit.). The Sámi Parliament promoted this position in 2011 in its annual report to the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development. It argued that the state had to allocate resources that would enable the Parliament to act as a 'free and autonomous actor in international decision processes and in cooperation with organizations in the north' (Sámi Parliament 2011a, b). Thereby, the Parliament shifted its attention from negotiations with the national state on allocation issues to negotiation with MNCs, but demanded that the state should facilitate the Sámi Parliament's capacities for handling the entry of international companies. From this point of view, the state still maintained a position in the Sámi public space, but in roles other than being the only counterpart in negotiations.

The Sámi Parliament assumed that encouraging the inclusion of Sámi knowledge capacity in new partnerships entering the northern area should be a central part of the NHNP. The Parliament considered this issue in 2012, when the members discussed the 'knowledge dimension of the NHNP' (Sámi Parliament 2012 a), for which the starting point was ILO Convention 169, Article 27, which assumes that indigenous people shall govern educational institutions operating in Sámi communities and influence on education programmes that are launched in the communities. With this point of departure (Article 27, Point 3), the Sámi Parliament argued that 'the Sámi rights to autonomy mean the right to themselves define their need for knowledge, their strategies for knowledge development, and that the Sámi are at liberty to build and maintain their needs for knowledge' (Sámi Parliament 2012 a). With this position, the Sámi Parliament asked whether the types of knowledge building

⁹ E-mail from the Sámi Parliament of 12 May 2014; available from the author.

included in the NHNP could be independent of economic interests in northern areas. Further, it was discussed who should define knowledge needs in Arctic governance, and whether the Sámi could influence these processes to contribute to building knowledge of relevance for Sámi communities. From the Sámi position, the problem was that knowledge built in the wake of the NHNP would not be independent of NHNP interests, and since aims of the NHNP knowledge strategy were to increase applied research funded by MNCs (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009). The Sámi Parliament debated what strategies for knowledge building the Sámi should demand to ground the building of sustainable ‘homelands’ for the Sámi, and questioned ‘how indigenous people’s participation in and contributions to governing northern areas should be secured’ (Sámi Parliament 2012 a, 2009).

Thus, the Sámi Parliament developed an agency that aimed for Sámi communities to break into international industry networks. Sámi policy described a transition from sole state strategies handling complex decisions frameworks including a manifold of private as well as public actors. However, the main aim was not to link up local industry to the networks entering Sámi regions to gain economic benefits, but rather to increase the capacity of Sámi institutions to be able to negotiate Sámi positions in these networks without using the Norwegian state as a mediator.

6. A territorial extending agency – revising understanding of Sámi territories

By linking research-based knowledge and insights to daily use and exploit nature, the NHNP implied a challenge to and even a transition of the Sámi Parliament policies concerning territories. But NHNP addressed highly educated people and researchers seeking lives outside remote rural areas, and thereby the state policies impacted on where new enterprises should be established, including new enterprises in nature-based industries. From this perspective, the NHNP prompted a dramatic transition by representing a 180° turn in the relations between nature and the Sámi settlements compared with the grazing and harvesting economies in which employment reflected the availability of, for example, pastures and fish species. As a consequence, the NHNP addressed a future population patterns based on natural resources but more and more localized where highly educated people want to live, and not by where raw materials are located. The position could be caused by industrial plants outside cities in the north had regularly reported that their labour needs have to be solved by different types of commuting from south to north. However, and in a challenge to the Sámi position, commuting by non-Sámi people to Sámi areas to work would not contribute to the building of Sámi culture. Moreover, Sámi communities scored poorly in national surveys when comparing the attractiveness of settlements based on immigration (Vareide and Nyborg-Storm, 2011; Vareide and Nyborg-Storm, 2010). It was therefore likely for the Sámi that the granting of access to resources that historically were used by the Sámi will fail to maintain the population figures in Sámi-dominated outlying districts in the future. And in 2012, the Sámi Parliament (2012a, 2012b) claimed that it would be in the cities where future Sámi policies would address many Sámi, and cited as examples the cultural initiatives that would be addressed in “urban” Sámi policies; for example, the establishment of Sámi cultural centres, support for entrepreneurship in art and culture, and Sámi kindergartens and schools. Thus, Norwegian cities – some towns such as Tromsø, Bodø and Alta in Northern Norway and some larger Norwegian cities such as the capital Oslo – were areas where the Sámi Parliament implemented measures that could contribute to the development of communities that were de facto addressed in the NHNP knowledge strategies.

Part of the discussion in the Sámi Parliament on actual Sámi knowledge strategies in the wake of the NHNP therefore concerned how knowledge and territorial policies addressed different geographies. While policies addressing higher education and research have often had an urbanity orientation, resource policies have had a rurality or remote

orientation. The Sámi Parliament debated this dichotomy by referring to what it called ‘real development processes’ in northern areas (Sámi Parliament 2012 b). Moreover, it assumed that Sámi communities had changed due to an increasing number of Sámi living in Norwegian cities, and that this pattern included changes caused by strong demographic selection processes: the elderly and men still live in remote communities, while younger people and women settle in the cities. New demographic centre of Sámi therefore mainly included women, young people and people with a high level of education (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2011).

In addition to migration processes, in 2012, the Sámi Parliament debated the development of Sámi industries, which included small-scale fisheries, agricultural farming, reindeer husbandry, Sámi handicrafts (duodji) and harvesting wilderness resources, or economic combinations of these various activities. The Sámi Parliament strategy for industry aimed to upgrade these industries by increasing the educational level of the practitioners and by encouraging the enterprises to, for example, use research results in innovation processes. This strategy could be seen as a part of the development of research and higher education activities organized in a way that would provide industries with close contact and interaction with these professionals. However, the agency crossed the territorial limits of the established regional division in public administrative organizations by including universities and research institutes located outside formal Sámi territories.

7. Sámi entering Norwegian globalization

The Sámi responding NHNP was embedded in a structure developed from 1775. The structure forming period lasted more than 200 years, and in a first and long term period a state policy in Norway attempted to include the Sámi into the state building, and was challenged by lack of permanence in settling and difficulties in limiting the areas where the Sámi lived. Where nomadic Sámi crossing borderlines and accomplishing censuses made implementations of state measures addressing Sámi very complex. From about the 1960’ies the state succeeded in a systematic identifying of Sámi by being able to addressing of Sámi territories identified by the using of Sámi language among the inhabitants and by identifying specific socioeconomic characteristics in communities populated by Sámi. State policies could aim to compensate for marginalisation processes in Sámi territories by state encouraging of industrialisation in northern areas. The state policies however did not succeeded according to encourage socioeconomic impacts in Sámi territories in spite of building on well developed, prestige, models emphasizing the importance of logistics and industry poles. The marginalisation of the Sámi continued in spite of including in Norwegian state allocations.

From 1980’ies the state deliberated the Sámi policies to institutions where Sámi got strong positions as the Sámi Parliament and the Finnmark estate (FeFo) were established. Part of the deliberation was concerned with continuing governing and administration of the state’s responsibility for securing the industrial basis to preserve Sámi culture emerged in the 1980’ies. Thereby Sámi policies addressed local communities, and traditional Sámi institutions localized in specific territories were developed and expended. And the definition of Sámi territories as Northern Norwegian remote peripheries was strengthened. The developing of a Sámi agency from 1990’ies more and more included the implementation of specific legal rights for indigenous people, many of them decided by international organizations.

The historical background demonstrated a structuration process mainly including a state agency more and more being disturbed by Sámi claiming of discrimination, but where the processes ended by the state deliberated its agency. Thereby the state became the counterpart of the Sámi, which was underlined by launching the NHNP where the state conducted a policy that diverged from the paths of development shaped by the historical agencies of the Norwegian state. But also the answer from the Sámi parliament to the state and NHNP dimming its major

focus on the state position by addressing Sámi positions in global governance and debating state territorial addressing of Sámi policies.

The heritage from 1980'ies and ahead can be read in grounding its *resistance* where the Sámi Parliament argues that the entry of international industry in form of multinational companies (MNCs) into areas with Sámi populations threatens the material, institutional and cultural groundwork that has been fundamental for Sámi life, economy and culture, rather than encouraging the upgrading of competence and capacity in industries in these areas. Their interpretation of the NHNP is grounded in concrete Sámi experiences in which MNCs expressed the need for territories used by Sámi industries, such as reindeer herding, and by fearing new markets demanded other types of industrial supplies than Sámi industries could offer would withdraw traditional Sámi ways of working and living. The Sámi Parliament bases its resistance strategies on the development of international law and policies. Although global economic actors could threaten rather than improve Sámi working and living, the Sámi Parliament receives support from global institutions in protecting their way of working and living.

Revising and changing of agencies is in developing *negotiations* addressing international governance and is based on that the Sámi Parliament comprehends the importance of preparing for negotiations with multinational companies. Which, according to the parliament, has to be based on developing knowledge in order to contribute in meetings to be held between what the Sámi Parliament insists are equal parts. The agency is however grounded in, and inspired by, the consultation agreement that has been part of the formal relations between the Sámi and the state since 2005, although now other actors than the state are included in its governance. By the Sámi Parliaments addressing of governance it as well transferred its one-sided focus in state relations.

And changing of strategies are in extending *territorial* addressing and thereby rethinking of historical understanding of Sámi territories. By this revising of the understanding, the parliament de facto debated an adaptation to economic and knowledge demands of entering multinational economic networks. The Sámi strategy is addressing including North-Norwegian cities with growing research and higher education milieus in target areas for Sámi policies. This strategy will in turn lead to a substantial expansion of the Sámi public sphere's understanding of territories in including areas where Sámi language is not used of a majority and where traditional Sámi industries are not present. It is also possible to argue, as the parliament did in 2018, that the policies of the Sámi Parliament could change from developing communities in very restricted areas to securing the opportunities of Sámi, independent of residence.

8. Conclusions – indigenous agency resisting and renewing global systems building

The state initiative from 2005 in NHNP market the entering of modern globalization to northern areas, Arctic and to Sámi territories. The NHNP aimed to increase the number of actors involved in the Arctic region by inviting the entries of MNCs and of local industry to enter new markets in global enterprises. Thus, the NHNP also de facto asked if the established understanding that in the long term, the existence and the development of Sámi culture and traditions could be based on small-scale production in Sámi industries taking place in outlying Sámi communities.

The article started by asking for knowledge about meetings between globalization and local or Sámi communities. The question leaned on Rokkan (1973) asking for knowledge on such meetings and processes in order to build social science on global systems. He aimed to include the global entity in social science and to understand global processes of integration, but still he characterized the local position as stubbornness. By searching for variations in agency following developing of the concept in economic geography, I wanted to develop a more detailed understanding of variation in responding to globalization, linking up to variations in specific sociocultural contexts.

I have demonstrated stubbornness. Sámi resisting NHNP confirming the statement of stubbornness. The obstinacy was concretized by Sámi politicians not wanting to play mediator roles in linking local industries to international companies or global production systems, but rather demanded protection and banning on industry entering Sámi communities. However, the article does not demonstrate a one-sided stubbornness. The Sámi Parliament adapted to economic and knowledge drivers included in NHNP by debating and changing its positions in global governance as well as its constitution of Sámi territories. Where the Sámi Parliament asked for knowledge sources in order to mobilize into negotiations rather than into industrial development. And the Sámi Parliament has in the wake of NHNP searched e.g. for extended bases for Sámi culture, primarily in highly educated Sámi living outside traditional Sámi rural settlements in order to strengthening its position in northern globalization processes.

Locals in Rökkans perspective entering global systems is including stubbornness, but also reorientations that integrate locals into territorial systems breaking up local as well as nation borders. The Sámi Parliament has changed the state inheritance in Sámi policies by addressing others than the Norwegian state. And it has broken the understanding of Sámi livelihood as embedded only in the most remote and peripheral territories. This reorientation underlines that there are stubbornness in local responses of globalization, but there are also local strategies increasing global integration entering e.g. multi-scalar networks.

The article has identified agencies that preserve structures, but also institutional developing by challenging the understanding of structures that constitute frameworks for future Sámi life. I have demonstrated traditional sociocultural structures defended by global law constituting reproductive agency. But also transformation agency where negotiation in global governance expanding or sometimes replace the dominant Sámi-state relations. And where understanding among Sámi of new homeland territories expanding the traditional rural communities to bigger population settlements or sometimes settlements characterized by urban forms of life. These agencies can be read as turnings of the paths forming structures belonging to the need in traditional system for preventing as argued by e.g. Polanyi (2001).

From this point of view, Sámi saw NHNP giving opportunity space for entering paths diverging from traditional structures. These agencies changes thereby are characteristics of the actual entering of the Sámi in Norway into global economic systems. Thereby entering global systems is not only about to pull stubborn locals, but also about locals adapted with new opportunity spaces. And where exploiting opportunity spaces opened by new global systems are met by what Jessop (2001) called structurally oriented strategic calculations embedded in actor reflexivity and recursivity. This demonstrates also may be the major contribution from the article: Strong external economic impulses gives (also) opportunities benefitted by agents embedded in established structures to renew historical paths.

Author statement

The author has no personal interest in the issues analyzed and concerned in the article. I have not been a member of the Sámi Parliament or of any of the negotiations referred to in the article.

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