

Shafted

A Case of Cultural and Structural Violence in the Power Relations between a Sami Community and a Mining Company in Northern Sweden By Kristina Sehlin MacNeil

This article is based on a single case study exploring the various expressions of structural and cultural violence in the power relations between a *sameby*¹ and a mining company in Sweden. It is an ethnological study, focusing on the voices of and experiences held by the research participants, and should be read as a thorough analysis of these experiences. Because of space limitations this particular study does not include further analysis or explanations of the political and historical contexts or discourses in which this case can be located. However, this paper is one part of a research project where these contexts and discourses will be explored more thoroughly. Using Johan Galtung's theories of structural and cultural violence and focusing on the narratives given by two members of Laevas sameby board, I will explore their experiences of the events, in relation to the creation and publishing of the opinion piece. The main research question for this study is thus: How is cultural and structural violence manifested in the power relations between Laevas sameby and LKAB, as experienced by two members of Laevas sameby board?

On August 27, 2013, the Sami Parliament² in Sweden agreed on a joint, very powerful statement. The statement declared that the ongoing mining exploitations in Swedish Sápmi³ were obvious human rights offences and that the Sami Parliament could accept no more exploitation of Sápmi (*Sametinget* 2014). The statement was read to a public gathering in Gállok (Kallak), near Jokkmokk, on August 28, 2013. Gállok had been and continued to be the site for a major confrontation between the mining company Jokkmokk Iron Mines AB and mining protes-

tors, some of whom were Sami people. Three days later, on August 31, an opinion piece was published in the Swedish national tabloid, *Aftonbladet*. The headline read: *We have different interests but we can cooperate*. The subheading stated: *Mines can grow without threatening reindeer herding or tourism* (*Aftonbladet debatt*, August 31, 2013. Author's own translation). There were five signatories to the article, the first two were the chairs of two samebys, Gabna sameby and Laevas sameby, both of which are heavily affected by mining on their lands. Laevas sameby has the world's largest underground iron ore mine on their land. The mine, which is owned and operated by LKAB, a Swedish state-owned mining company, has been in existence for over a hundred years. The town of Kiruna, where many of the members of Laevas sameby live during parts of the year, was more or less built around and on top of the mine. LKAB employs more than 4 000 people directly but also creates jobs for over 54 000 people in the Arctic Circle, and accounts for ten per cent of Sweden's industrial investments (LKAB 2014).

The power relations between a sameby and a state-owned mining company, the size of LKAB, seem obvious. In an era of a fast growing mining boom and increasing exploration and exploitation in Swedish Sápmi, a sameby like Laevas will need to fight for its survival. It can oppose new mines opening, but it does not have the right to decide whether a mine will go ahead or not (Lawrence 2009; Össbo 2014). The sameby members will also still need to deal with the mines already operating on their country. Reindeer have a particular diet and migratory patterns.

Mines, and the infrastructure supporting them, commonly cut off these migratory routes as well as affecting the grazing areas that the reindeer need to forage on (Horstkotte 2013; Brännlund & Axelsson 2011). A constant struggle for the survival of their culture also brings stress to the members of the sameby. A deep understanding of the mining industry, the legal processes around mining, as well as the power relations involved, are necessary in order to challenge the mining companies (Marsh 2013:178; O’Faircheallaigh 1999: 64). According to the research participants of this study, gaining this information and staying informed is time consuming and further impacts on members of the sameby, as their time is needed for reindeer herding. Thus it is not unusual for samebys to enter into agreements with mining companies operating on their lands. This ensures that the sameby will receive some compensation for time lost due to the numerous consultations and meetings they must attend and participate in, in addition to compensation for loss of land in some cases.

In 2012 and 2013 Laevas sameby worked on creating an agreement with LKAB. The agreement was finalised in June, 2013. There had never been any previous agreements and the sameby had never received any such compensation from the state-owned mining company before. In August the parties held a planning meeting and at the end of this meeting the sameby members were handed a draft opinion piece by the LKAB staff. They were told that this was part of communicating to the public about the collaboration, something that they should do according to the agreement. The sameby

members saw quite a few problems with the opinion piece and made some changes to it. The draft then went back to LKAB and underwent more editing. In late August the board member of Laevas sameby, responsible for the communication about the opinion piece, left for work in remote Norway. The only way that he could be contacted was via satellite telephone after work hours. During this time the sameby members, through their consultant, were contacted by LKAB and were told that the opinion piece had to be published straight away. In order to undertake a final edit, the sameby member working in Norway had the article read to him over the phone. He then had to give his approval over the phone.

Methodological Approach

Throughout my work in this field I am constantly conscious of the power structures that exist within the researcher/research participant relationship. As so succinctly put by Linda Tuhiwai Smith: “The word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary” (Smith 1999:1). This is true also of a Sami context, where memories of race biology and skull measuring live on. In my case there is the added dimension of being a non-Indigenous researcher doing research on issues that relate to Indigenous peoples. Can these seemingly great obstacles be overcome in order to conduct a successful research project for both research participants and researcher? This research project’s main methodological framework is founded on Indigenous methodologies as described by theorists such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 2012), Margaret Kovach (2010),

Jelena Porsanger (2004), Bagele Chilisa (2011) and Renee Pualani Louis (2007). These methodologies share some fundamental qualities as they work to ensure that Indigenous peoples are active participants in and have control over Indigenous related research processes. In this study I have worked closely together with the research participants who have been involved throughout, knowing that nothing would be made public or published without their consent. We have discussed hopes and fears, both from research participant and researcher perspectives. Through our discussions we have come to know each other, not as researcher and research participants but as individuals and we have built respect for, as well as understandings of, each other's situations and positions.

Using someone else's words to describe a situation is a delicate matter. In an effort to stay as true as possible to the meaning of the research participants' words, this study makes use of direct quotes. The narratives were given in Swedish and the Swedish quotes have also been included as requested by the research participants, who stressed the importance of their own words being present in the article. This is in accordance with the ethical and Indigenous methodology framework that underpins this research, as well as the yarning (narrative) method (Bessarab and Ng'andu 2010) and Galtung's models (Galtung 1990b) used to conduct the analysis. Narrative inquiry enables a focus on power relations and positions of privilege as it centres the research participants' experiences, thus it is often referred to as an emancipatory or empowering form of inquiry and can be used to bring out voices

otherwise silenced or ignored (Kohler Riessman 2008; Lemley & Mitchell 2012). Lemley & Mitchell suggest that the narrative researcher analyses and presents findings by "restorying" narratives through frameworks that communicate the research participants' meaning as accurately as possible and assert that "using direct quotes is one way that we complete this act" (2012:219). In combination with the narrative approach, the Indigenous methodological framework used for this research rests on four corner stones, "relational accountability; respectful (re)presentation; reciprocal appropriation; and rights and regulation" (Louis 2007:133) and engages the three R's of Respect, Reciprocity and Relationships (Reid and Taylor 2011). Through the use of an Indigenous methodology framework I remain methodologically as well as ethically committed to honouring Indigenous voices⁴ (Denzin 2014; Smith 1999; Ivanitz 1998).

This study is based on a set of semi-structured interviews conducted with two members of Laevas sameby between June, 2013 and March, 2014. The research participants have chosen to be referred to as "sameby member" throughout the article, rather than using their names or any other form of identification, this too is in line with the study's ethical and Indigenous methodology framework. The interview method can best be described as yarning (Bessarab and Ng'andu 2010), an emerging Indigenous form of data collection. Bessarab and Ng'andu describe yarning in semi-structured interviews as "an informal and relaxed discussion through which both the researcher and participant journey together visiting places and topics of

interest relevant to the research study” (Bessarab and Ng’andu 2010:38). Yarning is thus more of a conversation where both researcher and participant actively participate in the process, as opposed to other interview methods where the participant is the main speaker and the researcher the main listener. Using yarning in research means that the researcher does not just take from the participants but gives something in return by means of building a relationship. Bessarab and Ng’andu emphasise this by stating that “yarning is a process that requires the researcher to develop and build a relationship that is accountable to Indigenous people participating in the research” (ibid.). Yarning can be described as a form of narrative method, particularly conducive to Indigenous related research (Lemley & Mitchell 2012). Originally the project aimed to have a focus group of six participants, both male and female and of various ages. However, as the study concerns a specific case, the two members were asked to be research participants because of their involvement in the process around the opinion piece. I travelled to the town of Kiruna to meet with the research participants a total of five times during the period and the narratives used in this article were recorded during group interviews at four of these sessions. The interviews took place at *Samegården*, a guest house and Sami museum in Kiruna and resulted in many hours of recordings that make up the focus of the analysis, which was conducted by applying peace researcher Johan Galtung’s theories on structural and cultural violence.

It should be mentioned that even though this article’s purpose is to explore the

manifestation of structural and cultural violence through the research participants’ experiences, I did seek the mining company’s comments on how they perceived the process around the creation and publishing of the opinion piece. After making a number of unsuccessful phone calls to LKAB’s communications department, I finally made contact by email and posed seven questions including: Who wrote the article?; Who came up with the idea?; Who decided on the headlines and the order of signatories?; and Others have said that LKAB were in a rush to get the article published at that particular time, is this true according to your experience of what happened and if so why was it so important to publish this article at that particular time? I did not receive answers to any of the questions. However, I did receive a one-sentence answer stating that the article came into existence through discussions between all the parties who signed it.

This article is part of a research project, an international comparison of power structures in the relations between Indigenous groups and mining companies through single case studies in Sweden and Australia. The project is co-owned and mentored by the National Association of the Swedish Sami People (SSR). Initially I came in contact with Laevas sameby through a land protection project. The number of mines and exploration permits that Laevas sameby are facing on their land, made their experiences relevant for this study. One research participant was invited to participate in the project through discussions with SSR and a referral or snowball sampling technique was used where that participant recruited other

members of the sameby (Morgan 2008: 815).

Different Forms of Violence

Peace researcher Johan Galtung introduced the concept of *structural violence* in the late 1960s (Galtung 1969). He then introduced the concept of *cultural violence* in the late 1980s (Galtung 1990a). In his discussion about structural or indirect violence, Galtung was attempting to broaden both the meaning of the word *peace* and what peace should reject, *violence*. Thus, structural violence does not necessarily involve a person or group intentionally causing physical harm to another person or group but the "...violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances" (Galtung 1969:171).

In the case of Laevas sameby and the LKAB mining company, the structural violence can be seen as the power inequalities caused by uneven resources. LKAB has a communications department with several employees, Laevas sameby does not. LKAB is a state-owned company with political and financial support at the highest level, Laevas sameby is a Sami community in Swedish Sápmi, an area that is colonised by the Swedish state and they exist under laws created by the Swedish state. In terms of cultural violence, Galtung intends this to mean the attitudes and ideas commonly held in a society that can be used to justify structural or even direct violence (Galtung 1990a:291). In this study the cultural violence involves racism and discrimination against Sami in Sweden as well as common stereotypes and prejudice against Sami in general and reindeer herding Sami in particular (Pik-

karainen and Brodin 2008). Also, Sami issues are often thrown in with general issues concerning Norrland (the north of Sweden) and therefore treated as non-issues. Eriksson (2010) points out that there is a colonial discourse present in Sweden where Norrland is commonly viewed as backwards and unimportant, as opposed to the capital, Stockholm, in the south, which is modern and important. This further contributes to Sami people and their history, culture and society being made invisible, which can also be evidenced by the lack of national interest that the Gállok conflict generated during the summer of 2013. The conflict received more attention from international media outlets than national ones. According to journalist Po Tidholm, the fact that mines are opening in Sápmi is a piece of "...non-news. Like that the apples will soon be ripe" (*Dagens Nyheter*, September 23, 2013. Author's own translation).

Johan Galtung is far from the only scholar who has explored power relations and structures of power. One of the more famous scholars who has dealt with the concept of power is Michel Foucault, whose analysis of power relations and discourses (see for example *The order of discourse*, 1984) can be used as a base for understanding this study's context, in which structural and cultural violence exists. For instance, in this study the experiences of the members of Laevas sameby are embedded in many different discourses and many different relations of power affect their interactions with LKAB. Foucault theorised that there is a relation between knowledge and power and that discourse itself is a form of power struggle (Fairclough 1992). Galtung critiques Fou-

cault's concept of power because of what he sees as a "reification of zero-sum, either or relations" (Kuur-Sørensen and Galtung 2007) where, in Foucault's view, some conflicts are unsolvable. According to Kuur-Sørensen and Galtung, Foucault's notion of power makes conflict transformation impossible. This study deals specifically with the structural and cultural violence experienced by the research participants and does not further investigate the various discourses in which these experiences sit. However, further research into these discourses could certainly shed even more new light on this particular situation.

Public Relations and Power Relations

On June 3, 2013, the agreement between Laevas sameby and LKAB was signed. On August 23, the first planning meeting on how to go forward with the actual work, stated in the agreement, took place. After the meeting was finished the sameby members were presented with a draft opinion piece and asked to put their names to the article. The events that followed, in the lead up to the opinion piece being published in *Aftonbladet*, on August 31, and afterwards, when the sameby members had to face the consequences, are described in the following text, using direct quotes from two of the Laevas sameby members involved.

Next to the World's Largest Mine

The Swedish state-owned mining company LKAB is both an old and very large company. The question is whether there can be room for both a sameby and a mining company in and around the town of Kiruna, where the main LKAB mine is lo-

cated. It is not only a matter of reindeer grazing lands quickly declining but also a matter of power relations, stereotypes and discrimination that affect the daily lives of the sameby members. The research participants both agree that the situation is better than it once was and that racism and discrimination is less overt these days, yet they still exist in the shadow of the world's largest underground iron ore mine.

We can't compete and bring out unemployment numbers and financial examples, we don't stand a chance.⁵

The sameby members also discussed how LKAB has an enormous influence on the town of Kiruna and the region. LKAB provides jobs for many of the people that they share their town with. One of the sameby members also emphasised how uncomfortable it can be to be an LKAB critic in his town.

It's just to choose in what kind of climate you want to live.⁶

The last quote points to an aspect that stands out throughout the narratives given by the research participants. Their daily lives involve a strategic struggle to protect their lands and save their livelihood. They need to carefully calculate how their decisions and actions might affect not only their futures but also the futures of other reindeer herding communities in Sápmi. There is a reality where one small strategic miscalculation can lead to big consequences.

The Timing was Crucial

The sameby members both described how LKAB seemed to be in a rush to get the opinion piece published within a particu-

lar timeframe. On Friday, August 23, the sameby members were handed the first draft of the opinion piece. On Sunday, August 25, the sameby member responsible for communicating with LKAB about the opinion piece, left for reindeer slaughter in remote Norway, a place where he could only be contacted via satellite phone. The reindeer slaughter lasted until the following Thursday. During this time the sameby member had to make crucial decisions about his role in regards to the opinion piece.

We found out about the opinion piece on the 23 of August, it was a Friday. We had a first meeting in August about how to shape the work. And when we finished up that meeting we got this script. It was not like this, it was even worse.⁷

The same sameby member questioned why he had not been given the appropriate time to edit the article.

We sort of ended up in a bit of conflict regarding this article with LKAB, how it was used. We had reindeer slaughter in Norway that week, it was one of those unfortunate timings. And there was a real hurry to get it out right then. And there's something in that, why did they want to get it out at that exact time?⁸

He also described how the circumstances had been inadequate to undertake the editing necessary to ensure that the article could not be misinterpreted.

I did not see this article at all, I just had it read to me over the phone and you know how that is, you lose words. I was on reindeer husbandry duty in Norway at the time.⁹

During the first days of the reindeer slaughter in Norway, the sameby members involved in the agreement project with LKAB discussed whether they could put their names to the opinion piece. They decided not to out of apprehension for

what the consequences could be. However, after further discussion with the mining company, they went along with the article.

On the Tuesday, I called [another sameby member] and said no, we can't let this article out like this, we can't go along with it. Because I was afraid already then about what kind of message it would end up with. Particularly when there was fighting in Kallak too. And so we decided. But then there was a slight change (to the article) between Wednesday and Thursday and then we went along with it.¹⁰

The sameby member described how he was concerned about the way that the opinion piece was formulated and how it seemed to indicate that mines did not have a big impact on reindeer husbandry as long as the mining industry and samebys cooperated.

I remember I even said to [our consultant] that this article can't carry a message that it is possible to build mines everywhere, that it is possible to cooperate. But that is how it ended up, that a mine doesn't matter, you can cooperate. [Our consultant] was aware that we couldn't have such a wording.¹¹

The same sameby member explained how his community had not been given the opportunity to fully participate in the process of creating the opinion piece, on the same terms as the mining company. They were never given the final version of the article before it was printed.

LKAB chose the final content. There we have the aspect of time entering the picture. We were not allowed to be involved in the details of the content in a dignified way as it was pushed out so quickly.¹²

Both sameby members stressed how they believed that the situation could have been different, had they been given the chance to participate on equal terms.

We worked on it under such different, how should I say, conditions. Had we been sitting down with this and developed it around a table I don't think it would have looked like this.¹³

One of the sameby members concluded his experiences of the process surrounding the making of the opinion piece with the following reflection:

And how it was handled, one could say that we got steamrolled. When it comes to the timing for this kind of article.¹⁴

Divide and Rule

The opinion piece states that mining companies and samebys can cooperate despite having different interests and that mines can grow without threatening reindeer husbandry. Both sameby members agreed that they did not oppose being involved in producing an opinion piece, but one that carried their message. In the opinion piece that was published, the LKAB mines in question are described as “new” mines. In reality the mines mentioned in the article are old mines that LKAB will reopen, so mines on land that has once been mined and is thus already broken. One of the sameby members explained:

Because the opinion piece, for us it was quite clear. But then there was the use of some obscure words in it and those words they muddled everything. Just like if LKAB is opening three new mines.¹⁵

The same sameby member stressed how important it is to differentiate between old and new mines in this case and how the message brought forth in the opinion piece could be a potential threat for other samebys.

I have made that clear, here we have to distinguish between new and old mines. They are completely different things. You can't just open a mine in

some other sameby and say that it's possible to co-exist.¹⁶

The sameby members further discussed the different situations experienced by different samebys. There are 51 samebys in Sweden and not all of them have mines operating on their lands. According to the sameby members, the traditional Sami livelihood of reindeer husbandry will struggle to continue under the conditions suggested in the opinion piece, where mines and reindeer husbandry would be expected to coexist simply by cooperating. Their sameby has had no choice but to exist next to one of the world's largest mines for over a hundred years as stated by one sameby member:

You need to be aware that this is the world's largest mine that we are dealing with.¹⁷

The sameby members spoke of their experiences of unequal power relations between their community and LKAB, as well as other authorities in the region.

If we are to coexist, if we are to live together here, you know if we go against this, then we'll get the entire region, the whole municipality against us. What will the consequences for reindeer husbandry be then?¹⁸

One of the sameby members also emphasised his concern for other samebys in the current mining boom.

We know what happens to a reindeer husbandry area when a mine comes in. And I don't wish that upon other samebys, that the same would happen to them as has happened to us.¹⁹

Finally, the sameby members questioned why the timing was so crucial, why the opinion piece had to be published at that exact time and whether the timing had something to do with the Gállok (Kallak) conflict and the Sami Parliament's state-

ment, which was published only days before, as well as whether the opinion piece was designed to create an internal conflict among Sami people in Sweden.

I think that it was to calm down the Gallók fight, they wanted to kill off the debate a little and put a wedge between us.²⁰

And

I don't think that LKAB's local management are interested in such things. It would have to come from LKAB's Group Management or even higher up, so the government.²¹

Both sameby members said that the opinion piece led to some severe consequences for them. After it was published they were inundated with phone calls and incredulous messages from various samebys who could not understand how they could have supported the views expressed in the article. One of the research participants felt a need to approach local media outlets in order to attempt public explanations of the situation. The ordeal was both stressful and time consuming as well as damaging for relationships.

We've taken a beating for this, it did cost us, we've had to pay for it.²²

Violence Present in the System

Peace researcher Johan Galtung coined the concepts of structural and cultural violence in order to expand not only the concepts of violence and conflict, but also the concept of peace. By using his theories we can view and name the many layers that interplay and make up situations of conflict. Galtung also believes that the conflicting parties' different cultures and worldviews must be taken into consideration when analysing conflicts and he criticises those who believe that one (most of-

ten Western) solution fits all (Galtung 1990b; Walker 2004:527).

According to Galtung (1969), structural, or indirect violence, as opposed to direct violence, is the type of violence inflicted on living things through discriminatory systems or structures. One way of describing the different forms of violence can be "the distinction between direct violence (children are murdered), structural violence (children die through poverty) and cultural violence (whatever blinds us to this or seeks to justify it)" (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall 2005:10). For this study the concepts of structural violence, the discriminatory structures that inflict harm on people, and cultural violence, the common attitudes and behaviours in a society that serve to justify the structural discrimination, are particularly useful. Galtung's model is a triangle, where direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence are all present and always at interplay with each other. However, this triangle can be positioned in all possible ways creating all possible expressions of conflicts (Galtung 1990a:294).

In this particular case we might imagine the triangle placed on its direct violence tip, so that the structural and cultural violence tips are positioned on top (see Figure 1.). For, in this case, there is structural and cultural violence at play with a possible outcome of direct violence. An example close at hand can be found in the anti-mining protests in Gállok (Kallak) during the Nordic summer of 2013, where force was used to remove protestors from a proposed mining site. The proposed mine would be situated on the reindeer grazing lands of two samebys, Sirges and Jåhkågasska, and would have severe con-

sequences for their livelihoods. Both Sami and non-Sami protestors barricaded the road leading to the site where test drilling was to be conducted and clashed with police when the latter cleared the way for the mining company's vehicles. Media reports showed how the clashes grew more and more violent and although the protestors used non-violent methods, police were filmed using force, including the use of dogs to intimidate protestors and tearing down towers with protestors still inside.



Figure 1. A Version of Galtung's Triangle.

In the sameby members' narratives there is a strong focus on the aspect of time and the lack of time given to edit and think through the opinion piece. One of the members stated that they were not allowed to participate "on equal terms" due to this. They both say that if they would have had sufficient time and an opportunity to sit down together and work through the article, the outcome would have been different. They also talk about not being involved in decision-making about the final content and how the headlines and order of signatories were not communicated. Galtung talks about violence as being the difference between the actual and the potential: "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations" (Galtung 1969:168). In this case the same-

by members were not given sufficient time or opportunities for participation in editing and decision-making around the published article and thus the outcome was not what they wanted. Structural and cultural violence can be evidenced by the lack of time and insight into the process given to the sameby members by the mining company. In addition, the article carried a message that the sameby members do not agree with, even though one of them found his name amongst the first on the list of signatures on the published article, making it seem like he was one of the primary authors. Furthermore the sameby members talk about how one cannot criticise LKAB without consequences and how, if they do not cooperate to some extent, they fear that the conditions for reindeer husbandry will become even worse. All of the above mentioned aspects can be seen as structural violence according to Galtung, who states that "If insight and/or resources are *monopolized* by a group or class or are *used for other purposes*, then the actual level falls below the potential level, and violence is present in the system" (Galtung 1969:169). He goes on to make the distinction between "violence that works on the body, and violence that works on the soul; where the latter would include lies, brainwashing, indoctrination of various kinds, threats, etc..." (ibid.). I argue that there are inbuilt threats in the power relations between Laevas sameby and LKAB, evidenced by narratives taken from the two sameby members. When there is a concern that if one does not cooperate it will harm one's entire culture including all members, not only of one's own community, but possibly also other samebys, there is, as

Galtung puts it, violence present in the system.

Galtung defines cultural violence as being that which justifies structural and direct violence. “The study of cultural violence highlights the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimized and thus rendered acceptable in society” (Galtung 1990a: 292). In this study cultural violence can be seen as the aspects of Swedish majority or dominant society or culture that serve to make Sami culture invisible or to shape Sami culture in a way that fits with the majority society. Examples of this are the lack of information about Sami history, culture and society taught in Swedish schools (Omma 2013:35; Ledman 2012: 157), Swedish laws such as the Mineral Act that enable mining companies to break ground on reindeer grazing lands (Liliequist and Cocq 2014, 2), as well as racist and discriminating attitudes towards Sami people in Swedish majority society (Pikkarainen and Brodin 2008).

In Sweden Sami people are often consulted at the last possible moment when it comes to matters that concern them. This could be anything from research projects to cultural or political events. Being invited to participate at a late stage in a process gives the semblance of consultation and collaboration but in reality means Sami people have less power to determine the course or outcome of the process, as well as being completely excluded from the planning stage. I argue that cultural violence can be evidenced through this unreasonably late engagement with Sami people, as described by the research participants. It reflects a broader discriminatory attitude towards Sami people in Swe-

den that shows up in various ways, including a general lack of knowledge about Sami society, history and culture (Omma 2013:35; Sköld 2005:15), the lack of specific research ethics protocol for Sami-related research (Ledman 2007:55; Lawrence 2009:66) and Sami people and issues often being ignored or ridiculed in various forms of media (J:son Lönn 2014; Pikkarainen and Brodin 2008). This attitude seems to convey that Sami people do not necessarily have to be asked, consulted or invited to participate when dealing with issues that affect them. It treats consultation as a privilege and not a right of the Sami people. Several scholars, among them Lantto (2012), Mörkenstam (1999), Nordin (2002) and Åhrén (2008) have pointed to this attitude being linked to the colonisation of Swedish Sápmi and how these discriminatory positions were constructed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when the colonisers believed Sami people not fit to take care of their own matters. The discriminatory attitudes live on in modern Swedish society and can then be seen as cultural violence toward Sami people, which serves to legitimize the structural violence experienced by the two sameby members in the events around the creation and publishing of the opinion piece.

Conclusions

This paper centres the voices of two members of Laevas sameby in order to analyse the manifestation of cultural and structural violence in their interactions with the Swedish state-owned mining company, LKAB. It is a single case study, focusing on the sameby members’ experiences of the creation and publishing of an opinion

piece that appeared in the Swedish tabloid *Aftonbladet* on August 31, 2013. To be able to convey the research participants' voices as accurately as possible a number of direct quotes have been used, outlining the series of events. Their experiences are analysed through Johan Galtung's conflict triangle and the concepts of structural and cultural violence are applied in order to view the situation from a new vantage point. The narratives given by the research participants clearly show that they were not given the power of insight or the opportunity to participate in the process in a way that would have enabled them to have any real power over the outcome. The result was a published article with a message they do not agree with but with one of them displayed as a primary author. I argue that there is both cultural and structural violence present in this situation and that these expressions of violence are manifested in particular ways. Cultural _violence can be evidenced through the general lack of knowledge about Sami matters in Swedish society, as well as the attitude that the sameby members did not really need to be involved on equal terms. Structural violence can be demonstrated through the lack of influence over the content of the opinion piece. The concepts of cultural, structural and direct violence are valuable for a deeper understanding of the sameby members' experiences, which in turn can lead to more successful conflict management between mining companies and Sami communities. In Swedish Sápmi many samebys are facing similar situations due to the expanding mining boom. There is an obvious increased stress for reindeer herders as well as a risk of cultural and structural violence turning into di-

rect violence. This study demonstrates a need for further research into the power relations between Sami communities and mining companies in order to create stronger foundations for conflict transformation.

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Notes

- 1 *Sameby* means Sami village in Swedish, however it is not a village as it is much more complex. Similar to ethnologist Hugh Beach, who has produced numerous works about Swedish Sápmi, I have chosen to use the word *sameby* (*samebys* in plural) rather than an English translation (Beach 1981). A *sameby* is both an economic association and a specific geographical area. Members of a *sameby* can engage in reindeer husbandry within the specific area. A board that is elected at an annual meeting runs the *sameby* and each *sameby* consists of several different reindeer herding companies with one or more owners. You must be Sami to exercise reindeer husbandry in Sweden. The *samebys* and reindeer husbandry is regulated by the Reindeer Herding Act 1971:437 (Löf 2014:45; Sápmi 2014).
- 2 The Sami Parliament is regulated by the Sami Parliament Act 1992:1433. The Sami Parliament's primary task is to oversee and promote Sami culture in Sweden. The Sami Parliament is a popularly elected parliament as well as a state administrative agency and its tasks are thus legally regulated by the Swedish government (Lundmark 1998:130).
- 3 Sápmi is the Sami homeland and spans over four countries, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Sami people are the Indigenous peoples in these countries (Lundmark 1998:11; Sápmi 2014).
- 4 As my PhD project investigates power relations between Indigenous groups and mining

companies in Sweden and Australia I am, during 2014–2015, a Visiting Scholar in the David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education and Research at University of South Australia in Adelaide. It is interesting to note the stark difference between the Swedish and Australian academe in the field of Indigenous related research and should be emphasised that within the Unaipon College I would not have passed the ethics reviews had I not been ethically and methodologically committed to honouring my research participants in terms of respect, reciprocity and relationships.

- 5 Original quote: "Vi kan ju inte hävda oss och ta fram arbetslöshetssiffror och ekonomiska räkneexempel, vi har ju inte en chans."
- 6 Original quote: "Alltså det är ju bara att välja i vilket klimat man vill leva."
- 7 Original quote: "När vi fick reda på om den här [debattartikeln], det var den 23 augusti, det var en fredag. Då hade vi i augusti ett sådant där första möte om hur vi ska lägga upp de här arbetslinjerna. Och när vi avslutade det mötet då fick vi den här skriften, den var inte så här, den var ännu värre."
- 8 Original quote: "Vi hamnar ju lite i konflikt gällande den här artikeln med LKAB, just hur den användes. Vi hade renslakt i Norge just den veckan, det var ju en sådan där olycklig tid. Och det var jättebråttom att få ut den just då. Och det är där det ligger någonting i, varför ville de få ut den just då?"
- 9 Original quote: "Alltså jag såg ju inte den här artikeln alls utan jag fick den ju bara uppläst över telefon och då vet du ju hur det blir, då tappar man ju ord. Då var jag i renskötsel-tjänst i Norge."
- 10 Original quote: "På tisdagen ringde jag till [en annan samebymedlem] och sa att nej, vi kan inte släppa ut den här artikeln så här, vi kan inte gå med på det. För jag var rädd redan då för vilket budskap den skulle komma att få. Just det här när det var strider i Kallak också. Och så blev det. Men så kom det en liten ändring där mellan onsdagen och torsdagen och då gick vi med på det."
- 11 Original quote: "Jag kommer ihåg att jag sa även till [vår konsult] att den här artikeln får inte få ett sådant budskap att det går att bygga gruvor överallt, att det går att samverka. Och det var det den fick sedan, att en gruva gör ingenting, man kan samverka. [Vår konsult]

var ju medveten om det att en sådan formulering får det inte vara."

- 12 Original quote: "LKAB valde det slutgiltiga innehållet. Där har vi också tidsaspekten som kommer in i bilden. Det detaljerade innehållet fick vi inte vara med på, på ett värdigt sätt i och med att den gick ut så snabbt."
- 13 Original quote: "Så vi jobbade ju fram den med så olika, hur ska jag säga, förutsättningar. Hade vi suttit med den här och tagit fram den runt ett bord så tror jag inte att den hade blivit så här."
- 14 Original quote: "Och hanteringen där, det kan man väl säga att där blev vi överkörda. Just tidsmässigt med en sådan här artikel."
- 15 Original quote: "För den här artikeln, för oss var den ju tydlig. Men sedan användes det väl lite otydliga ord i den och de där orden de vände ju på alltihop. Precis som att LKAB öppnar tre nya gruvor."
- 16 Original quote: "Och det har jag tydliggjort här, här måste man skilja mellan nyetableringar och gamla gruvor. Det är helt skilda saker. Det går inte att smälla upp en gruva i någon annan by och säga att det går att samexistera."
- 17 Original quote: "Man måste tänka att det här är världens största gruva som vi har att göra med."
- 18 Original quote: "Om vi ska samexistera, om vi ska leva tillsammans här, går vi emot det här vet du, då får vi hela regionen, hela kommunen emot oss. Vad blir det för konsekvenser för renskötseln sen?"
- 19 Original quote: "Vi har ju facit i hand vad det blir utav ett renskötselområde när det blir en gruva. För här vet vi. Och jag önskar inte det åt andra samebyar, att de ska råka ut för samma som vi har råkat ut för."
- 20 Original quote: "Jag tror att den här skulle gjuta olja på Gällökvågarna, man skulle döda debatten lite och slå en split mellan oss."
- 21 Original quote: "Jag tror inte att LKABs lokala ledning är intresserad av sånt inte. Utan då måste det komma från LKABs koncernledning eller ännu högre upp, så regeringen."
- 22 Original quote: "Det här har ju tagit stryk på oss, det kostade ju, det har vi fått betala för."

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Field notes 2013–2014.

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