



Justification in the Arctic Contestation over the Arctic Railway during the 2017-2019 planning process

University of Helsinki
Master's programme in
Environmental Change and
Global Sustainability
Master's thesis
March/2021
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Tiedekunta - Fakultet - Faculty Bio- ja ympäristötieteellinen tiedekunta		
Tekijä - Författare – Author Arttu Kaivosoja		
Työn nimi - Arbetets titel –Title Julkinen oikeuttaminen Arktisella – Kamppailu Jäämeren radan suunnittelusta vuosina 2017-2019		
Oppiaine - Läroämne - Subject Ympäristönmuutoksen ja globaalien kestävyyden maisteriohjelma		
Työn laji/ Ohjaaja - Arbetets art/Handledare - Level/Instructor Pro gradu/ Daria Gritsenko, Janne Hukkinen	Aika - Datum - Month and year Maaliskuu 2021	Sivumäärä - Sidoantal - Number of pages 40 s + 7 s liitteet
Tiivistelmä - Referat - Abstract <p>Liikenne ja viestintäministeriö avasi Jäämeren radan suunnittelun vuonna 2017. Tämä suunnitteluprosessi jatkui alkuvuoteen 2019 asti. Ehdotettu ratalinja olisi halkonut alkuperäiskansa saamelaisen kotiseutualueen, mikä kirvoitti rajua kritiikkiä Saamelaiskäräjiltä haittavaikutuksista perinteiselle saamelaiskulttuurille sekä -elinkeinoille, joita molempia suojaa Suomen perustuslaki.</p> <p>Tässä tutkielmassa analysoidaan näiden kahden toimijan väitteet, julkisen oikeuttamisen teoriaa sekä julkisen oikeuttamisen analyysiä hyödyntäen, jotta voisimme paremmin ymmärtää millaisilla arvoilla Jäämeren rataa kannatettiin tai vastustettiin. Analyysin tulokset valottavat myös sitä, miten ministeriön käyttämät oikeutukset mahdollistivat alkuperäiskansa saamelaisen perustuslaillisten oikeuksien sivuuttamisen suunnitteluprosessin aikana.</p> <p>Tutkielman lopussa lukijalla on parempi ymmärrys Jäämeren radan suunnitteluprosessista, kiistan osapuolten pääargumenteista ja niiden taustalla olevista oikeutuksista, sekä miten niitä käytettiin joko ratalinjan kannattamiseen tai vastustamiseen.</p>		
Avainsanat - Nyckelord		
Keywords Jäämeren rata, Julkisen oikeuttamisen teoria, Julkisen oikeuttamisen analyysi, Arktinen, Alkuperäiskansa saamelaiset, Kvalitatiivinen tekstin analyysi,		
Säilytyspaikka - Förvaringsställe - Where deposited Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto, Viikki		
Muita tietoja - Övriga uppgifter - Additional information		

Tiedekunta - Fakultet - Faculty Faculty of Biological and Environmental Sciences		
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Tiivistelmä - Referat - Abstract <p>Planning process for the Arctic Railway was initiated by the Ministry of Transport and Communications in 2017 and lasted until early 2019. The proposed railway line would cut through the homeland of the indigenous Sámi, which received harsh criticism from the Sámi Parliament for its adverse effects on the traditional Sámi culture and livelihood, both protected by the Constitution of Finland.</p> <p>In this thesis the claims of these two actors are analysed using the Justification theory and Justification analysis to gain insight into the underlying justifications that were used to either oppose or support the Arctic Railway. The results will also illuminate how the MTC's use of justifications resulted in the constitutional rights of the indigenous Sámi being disregarded during the planning process.</p> <p>At the end of this thesis the reader should have a greater understanding of the Arctic Railway's planning process, the main arguments and justifications of the two key actors, and how they were used to either resist or support the railway's construction.</p>		
Avainsanat - Nyckelord		
Keywords Justification theory, Justification analysis, Arctic Railway, Arctic, Qualitative text analysis, Indigenous Sámi		
Säilytyspaikka - Förvaringsställe - Where deposited Viikki Campus Library		
Muita tietoja - Övriga uppgifter - Additional information		

Abbreviations

MTC Ministry of Transport and Communications

FTA Finnish Transportation Agency

NLRLUP Northern Lapland's Regional Land Use Plan

SP Sámi Parliament

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1. Introduction

In this thesis I will be covering the ways in which the Arctic Railway was either opposed or supported, how these positions were justified, and how the use of these justifications ended up disregarding the rights of the indigenous Sámi. It is my intention to provide insight into the underlying mechanics of the contestation between Sámi and state actors during Arctic Railway's planning process.

The Arctic Railway was first proposed to the Finnish Parliament in 2013 and its purpose was to connect the existing railway network to the Arctic Ocean. For a few years the railway project lingered in oblivion and stayed out of the national media up until 2017 when the Ministry of Transport and Communications sent an assessment request to the Finnish Transportation Agency about the different route options for the Arctic Railway.

Thus began the two-year planning process that was heavily criticised for its harmful effects on the culture and livelihoods of the indigenous Sámi and its tight schedule. Eventually the project was deemed as socio-economically unviable and "put on ice" for the foreseeable future.

The foreseeable future turned out to be shorter than expected. Only a few months after the planning process had finished another one began, this time led by private interests. It seemed that the resistance and concerns of the indigenous Sámi had fallen on deaf ears.

The Arctic Railway's planning process was an example of a dispute over the way in which the railway should be assessed. Several actors claimed, with different justifications, whether the railway should be judged, for instance, on its economic benefits, its industrial efficiency, or its environmental effects. During this dispute the interests of the national actors and the interests and rights of the indigenous Sámi seemed to be in an irreconcilable opposition. The Sámi Parliament raised concerns throughout the planning process that the reasons for their opposition to the railway were brushed aside by the state actors leading the process.

While Sámi are the only official indigenous people in Europe, and their culture is protected by not only the Finnish constitution but several international agreements as

well, their rights regarding their homeland and culture have been systematically ignored in the Nordic countries thus far (Spangen et.al 2015).

Although a Truth and Reconciliation Committee has been established to redeem this state of affairs in Finland (Prime Minister's Office 2019), this work is only in its preliminary stages. The planning process of the Arctic Railway is a glaring example of why this kind of process is necessary. If we want to rectify the current situation, we first need to understand how the Sámi rights and concerns are being disregarded, for instance during national infrastructure projects.

To understand the underlying causes for the opposition of national actors and the indigenous Sámi I will examine and present the different justifications provided by the Ministry of Transport and Communications and the Sámi Parliament, the two main claim-makers in the public debate for and against the Arctic Railway. To achieve this goal, I will be employing the Justification theory, developed to understand disputes and contestations over the value of things, and the Justification analysis methodology based on it.

By comparing the claims made by these actors I aim to present:

1. What justifications were used by the two sides of the dispute to either oppose or support the construction of the Arctic Railway.
2. How the use of justifications based on different common worlds led to the constitutional rights of the indigenous Sámi being disregarded during the Arctic Railway's planning process.
3. Whether the concerns of the indigenous Sámi affected the ministry's claim and whether these concerns were addressed in public statements.

It is important to note that even though the indigenous Sámi's rights ended up being disregarded during the process that doesn't mean that it was the intention of the other actors. The aim is to present the ways in which different justifications were used to promote different values and common goods and how that might not leave much space for other values and common goods, which in turn leads to those justifications being discarded when evaluating, in this case, the Arctic Railway.

At the end of this thesis the reader should have a better understanding of how the concerns of the indigenous Sámi were disregarded during the Arctic Railway

planning process and how different justifications were used to either support or resist the railway. This understanding, I hope, could help us better facilitate cooperation between ministries and the indigenous Sámi.

2. Case: Arctic Railway

In this chapter I will present the case of this thesis: The government-initiated planning process of the Arctic Railway.

The planning process began in 2017 with the Finnish Transportation Agency's assessment report, followed by working group assessments led by the Ministry of Transport and Communications. The railway was supposed to connect the existing transportation network of Finland to the Arctic Ocean, making it possible, for instance, to transport goods and people from the Arctic Ocean to continental Europe through Finland.

I will also be covering the legal position of the Sámi in Finland as it pertains to the case of Arctic Railway.

2.1. Government-initiated planning process 2017-2019

Finnish Transportation Agency's assessment (2017-2018)

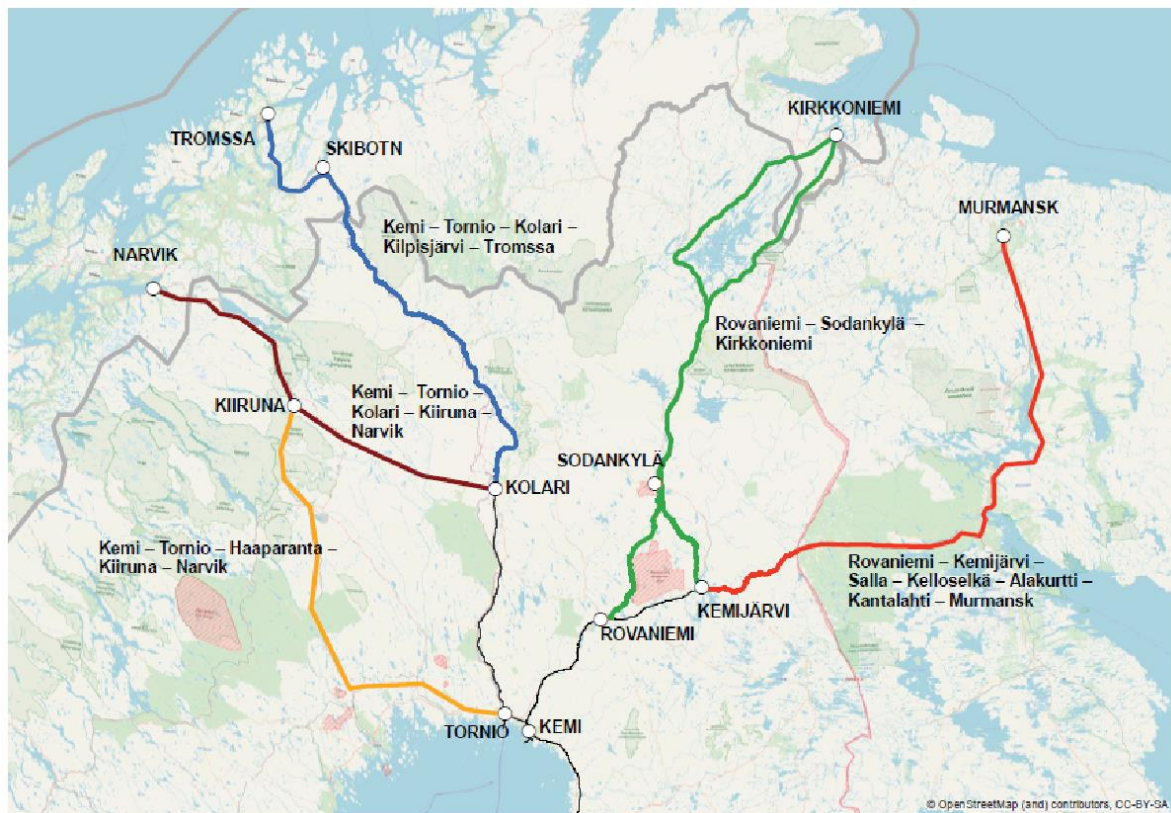
Arctic Railway is a major infrastructure project that aims at connecting the existing Finnish railway network to the Arctic Ocean. In June 2017, the Finnish Ministry of Transport and Communications (MTC after this) addressed an assessment request to the Finnish Transportation Agency (FTA after this) in which they would assess different route options for the Arctic Railway in cooperation with Norwegian officials. This assessment would include such themes as the socioeconomical viability, needs of the railway's potential users, and business model. One of the options, the Rovaniemi – Kirkenäs line, was already mentioned in the assessment request as well as the Northern Lapland's Regional Land Use Plan 2040 (NLRLUP 2040 after this), which was meant to aid the Finnish – Norwegian cooperative assessment. The aim of the request was to have a finished assessment by the 28th of February 2018.

The Sámi perspective was notably absent from the assessment request.

The negotiations with the Sámi Parliament (SP after this) representatives, required by the section 9 of the Act on the Sami Parliament, were held on the 18th of January 2018. According to the minutes the SP was for the first time officially informed of the

assessment process when they received the materials for the negotiations on the 11th of January 2018, a week before the negotiations.

The FTA's assessment report was published in March 2018. Two consulting agencies, Sitowise Oy and Ramboll Finland Oy, were involved in assessing, for instance, the transportation potential and effects of the different route options. Five different options were considered for the railway line: Rovaniemi – Kirkenäs, Kolari – Narvik, Tornio – Narvik, Kolari – Skibotn – Tromssa, and Kemijärvi – Murmansk. In the conclusions of the assessment the NLRLUP 2040 was mentioned as a good basis for future assessment and that, for instance, the Akwé: Kon – method should be implemented to the processes of NLRLUP 2040.



Picture 1. The five route-options for the Arctic Railway as assessed by the FTA.
(Finnish Transportation Agency 2018)

Ministry of Transport and Communications working groups' assessment (2018-2019)

In May of 2018 a working group was established by the MTC to further assess the Rovaniemi – Kirkenäs route for the Arctic Railway based on the previous assessment of the FTA. The NLRLUP 2040 was again brought up as a basis for the assessment. Special attention was to be given to the effects of the railway on the environment, economy, and the Sámi. The assessment was meant to be finished by the 14th of December 2018 but was delayed and published on the 11th of February 2019.

The reason for this delay was the negotiations demanded by the SP, based on the section 9 of the Act on the Sami Parliament, about the working groups, their end results, and the assessment report itself.

After the assessment report the Arctic Railway was “put on ice” because it was deemed socioeconomically unviable. The working group did not recommend any further actions.

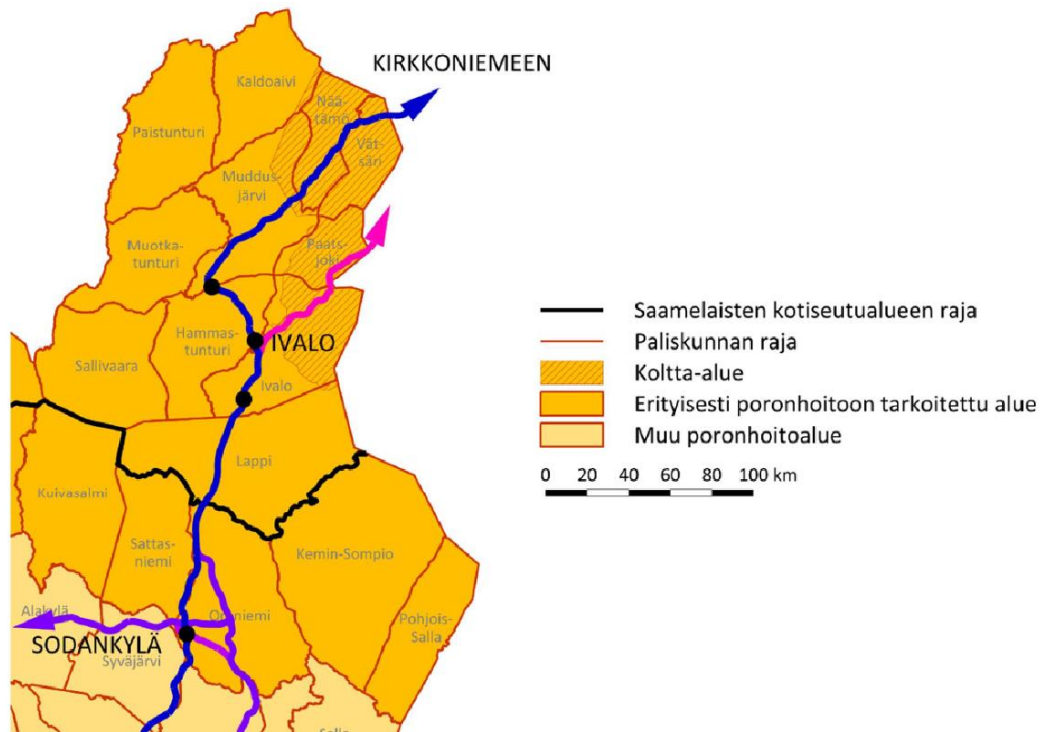
Northern Lapland’s Regional Land Use Plan 2040 (2017 –)

The planning of the NLRLUP 2040 began in 2017. Such land use plans are important for infrastructure projects, such as the Arctic Railway, because they guide the land use in the region and designate which areas are developed in which way and what matters should especially be taken into consideration when planning, for instance, infrastructure projects.

When it comes to projects such as the Arctic Railway there needs to be a reservation in the regional land use plan for the project to ever be realized – without a reservation the construction cannot begin.

The NLRLUP 2040 is important for this thesis because of the numerous instances it was mentioned in the assessment and argumentation materials. As presented before, the FTA and MTC assessments mentioned the NLRLUP 2040 as a basis for assessments but also that the more extensive assessments of the Arctic Railway’s effects on the environment and the Sámi culture should be conducted as part of the NLRLUP 2040 process.

It should be noted that the route option on the eastern side of the lake Inari was dismissed in the MTC assessment because of its adverse effects on the Skolt Sámi culture but despite this it still persists as an alternative route in the NLRLUP 2040.

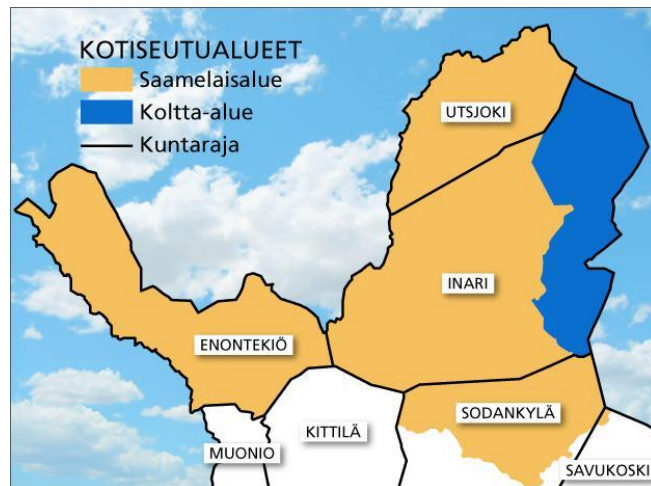


Kuva x. Saamelaisalue, koltta-alue ja paliskunnat ratayhteysvaihtoehtojen varrella

Picture 2. Railway assessment for the Northern Lapland’s Regional Land Use Plan 2040. (Sitowise 2018)

2.2. Indigenous Sámi in Finland

Indigenous Sámi are the only official indigenous people in Europe. There are approximately 10 000 Sámi in Finland, 3 400 of which live in the Sámi homeland (Sámi Parliament 2020a). The Sámi homeland consist an area of around 35 500 km² in the regions of Utsjoki, Inari, Enontekiö, and northern parts of Sodankylä (Sámi Parliament 2020b).



Picture 3. The Sámi homeland (yellow) and the Skolt-area (blue).
(Sámi Parliament 2020b)

The Rovaniemi – Kirkenäs route, chosen by the MTC, would make its way through both the Inari Sámi and the Skolt Sámi cultural areas.

Legal perspective

The Sámi peoples' right to preserve their culture is secured in the *Constitution of Finland* (1999). Specifically, the 3rd clause of section 17 gives them the right to uphold their language and culture, which is considered to extend to traditional practices, such as reindeer herding and fishing. The 4th clause of section 121 secures the indigenous Sámi autonomy in their homeland regarding their language and culture the specifics of which is decreed in the *Act on the Sami Parliament* (1995). In addition, the Skolt Sámi have a separate autonomy in their own region, which is marked in blue on the previous map. The specifics of this autonomy are decreed in the *Act on the Skolt Sami* (1995). As mentioned previously, the Rovaniemi – Kirkenäs route would go through areas that fall under both partial autonomies.

In addition to the national legislation, several international agreements aim to secure the position of the indigenous Sámi. Most notable of these is the International Labour Organization's Convention No. 169 (1989) on indigenous people's rights, which was signed by Finland but has yet to be ratified in national legislation.

Another important international agreement would be the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples (Assembly 2007), which emphasizes the rights to maintain and strengthen institutions, cultures, and traditions. This declaration was signed by Finland but has since received a notification from the UN Special Rapporteur in December 2015. The notification dealt with a draft on the management of state-owned land which, according to the Special Rapporteur, had cut the safeguards for indigenous Sámi rights to traditional livelihoods, lands, territories, and resources that were present in the previous drafts. (United Nations Human Rights 2015.)

Traditional livelihoods

As mentioned previously, the traditional livelihoods of the Sámi include such activities as reindeer herding, fishing, hunting, gathering, and handicrafts, all of which fall under the protection of Sámi culture under the Finnish constitution. Some of these activities have adopted a more market economy approach, such as reindeer herding, while others are subsistence activities (Vammen Larsen et.al. 2019).

For the sake of this thesis, it is imperative to understand that whether a traditional livelihood has shifted towards market economy or mechanisation or not, it is still considered a traditional activity under the Finnish law. Based on the statement by the Constitutional Law Committee (2004) the modern implementations of traditional livelihoods are considered traditional. Therefore, it matters not whether, for instance, reindeer herding is conducted with snowmobiles or skis.

Further on in this thesis when going through the arguments of both the MTC and the SP, it is important to keep this distinction, or lack thereof, between modern and traditional implementations of traditional livelihoods when it comes to the Sámi culture.

3. Theoretical background

The aim of this thesis is to examine the claims for and against the Arctic Railway by the MTC and the SP to investigate the differences in justification during the dispute of 2017-2019. This is done to gain insight into the justifications used during disputes between Finnish state actors and the indigenous Sámi, using the Arctic Railway as a case example. This should also illuminate how the use of these justifications ends up disregarding both the concerns and the constitutional rights of the indigenous Sámi during large scale infrastructure projects in the Sámi homeland region.

In this chapter I will present the theoretical background of the thesis: Justification theory. After that I will present the hypotheses of the thesis.

3.1. Justification Theory

Economies of Worth – framework, first presented by Boltanski & Thevenot (2006), seeks to understand the different forms of justification present in a dispute. In the dispute over the Arctic Railway, this framework can be applied to gain insight into the different common worlds from which value is assigned to the Arctic Railway by the MTC and the SP.

The Economies of Worth – framework is useful and has been used for comparative analyses on how positions are justified, for instance, in disputes over infrastructure projects in environmentally vulnerable areas (Linko 2020; Luhtakallio 2012; Ylä-Anttila & Kukkonen 2014). This framework can also be used to examine differences in political cultures between and within nations (Lamont & Thévenot 2000). The framework provides a basis that allows us to analyse the ways in which the justifications of the MTC and SP are similar and in which ways they differ from one another.

Since the framework was produced in a western frame of thinking, we cannot say that the result will be a comprehensive guide to the worlds from which the indigenous Sámi assign worth to beings. What we can do is provide an analysis of how the assigned values and their arguments fit into the different common worlds examined by, for instance, Boltanski & Thevenot (2006). That is to say, we can analyse how

the arguments for and against the Arctic Railway appear and represent different western common worlds.

It is of course possible that not all different common worlds have been discovered and there are signs that common worlds can have sub-categories within them (Ylä-Anttila & Luhtakallio 2016). This poses an interesting question for this analysis: Is there evidence of a new common world in the justifications of the indigenous Sámi?

An analysis based on the Justification theory is useful in the case of the Arctic Railway for two reasons. First, it allows us to identify how the use of different Worlds of Worth ends up disregarding the concerns and the constitutional rights of indigenous Sámi during the planning process. This can provide better understanding into the underlying reasons why the Sámi voice has so often been disregarded. Second, we can observe whether the cooperation of these actors during the planning process led to any adjustments in either party's justifications. If there are no adjustments, then it might be a sign that the efforts to understand the opposing views have not been genuine or effective.

Different Worlds of Worth

In their work "On justification: economies of worth" Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot (2006) presented six different Worlds of Worth which contain different principles for assigning worth to beings. These Common Worlds were perceived by examining canonical texts of political theory, such as St. Augustine's *The City of God* and Rousseau's *The Social Contract*, all of which presented different universal principles that should govern polity. They called these six worlds:

1. Inspired World
2. Domestic World
3. World of Fame
4. Civic World
5. Market World
6. Industrial World

This analysis of the classics was then expanded upon by looking at action-oriented examples from manuals for businesses. These manuals were meant for daily use

and dealt with such subjects as: how to encourage creative behaviour, how to make a good impression on one's boss and colleagues, and so forth.

In a later analysis of the Somport road and tunnel case by Thévenot et.al (2000) another Common World was perceived: The Green World.

All these Common Worlds follow a certain formula presented by Boltanski and Thévenot. Each of them is made up of subjects, objects, states of worthiness, and relations among beings. When combined, these can be used to separate circumstantial actions from coherent actions, which are based on a higher common principle of a Common World. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

The Common Worlds also include an investment formula based on which a being can make sacrifices to increase their worth. Taking on the burdens stated by the investment formula allows a being to increase their state of worthiness and, therefore, its standing in the natural relation among beings in that particular Common World. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

To figure out these relations and states of worthiness, each Common World has its own method of testing and judging beings and their worthiness. Also, the evidence used in these tests differs from a Common World to another. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

Tests of Worth

Tests are situations where beings are assigned worth in a common world or another. A test is based on objects and evidence, both depending on the common world where the test is conducted at. For instance, relying on the competence of an expert makes sense in the Industrial world but not in the Inspired world. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

Since tests are conducted within a single world their purity can be questioned to re-assess the worth of a being. This could mean, for instance, unveiling that an object from another world is being used in the test or that the circumstances of the test have changed. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

In a way, the assessment report of the Arctic Railway by the FTA is a collection of tests aiming to place worth on the Arctic Railway from the perspectives of different common worlds. Although the scope of the assessment is limited and focuses mainly on monetary benefits and the effects on the logistical efficiency of the Arctic Railway, it does also assess the effects on, for instance, Sámi homeland and the environmental effects of the railway.

Clash of Worlds

It is possible to not only question the purity of the test where worth is assigned to beings but also the reality where the test is performed. In such disputes the disagreement can be over, for instance, the objects that matter in the test or the common good that is aspired to. The goal is no longer to reproduce the test but to constitute a whole other test that stems from a different Common World. This means that the parties involved disagree over the Common World in which the test should be carried out. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

This is the case with Arctic Railway, since the MTC and SP, as shown by the analysis later on, attempt to shift the test assessing the railways' worth into Common World's that would strengthen their arguments.

Refraining from critique

When applying the Economies of Worth framework, it is imperative not to practice critical distance to the material being analysed. Any suspicion towards the material and its justifications would mean introducing a different Common World than is present in the material. Should this happen, the whole exercise of analysing justifications would be at risk (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

For this reason, I will not be critiquing the different positions taken by different actors in their arguments during my analysis. The goal of this thesis is to understand the presented justifications, not to denounce them.

3.2. Hypotheses

Justifications for and against infrastructure projects have been studied frequently with comparative analyses aiming at unveiling differences in political cultures between two countries in the past decades (Lamont & Thévenot 2000; Linko 2020; Luhtakallio 2012; Thévenot, Moody & Lafaye 2000; Ylä-Anttila & Kukkonen 2014). Even though this thesis focuses on the similarities and differences in justifications of two different actors in the same country, these previous studies provide ample material to reflect upon when analysing the Arctic Railway case. Even though the focus of these previous studies is on the national scale, it is possible to examine intra-national variations in political cultures within the same framework (Lamont & Thévenot 2000).

Reading through several of the cases involving France, Finland, and/or USA (Linko 2020; Luhtakallio 2012; Thévenot, Moody & Lafaye 2000; Ylä-Anttila & Kukkonen 2014), it is clear that there are studied cases with similarities to the Arctic Railway case. For instance, the French case of Somport road and tunnel (Thévenot, Moody & Lafaye 2000), meant to connect France and Spain through the Pyrenees, was another large scale transportation infrastructure project pitting local populace against the French government, at time backed by the European Council's E07 truck road priority. Based on the study's analysis on the justifications used by the French government, I hypothesize that:

H1: Civic- and Industrial worlds are the main justifications used by the MTC.

The same study also presents justifications against the road and tunnel construction based on, for instance, local tradition and cultural heritage while also relying on arguments of preserving the nature of the valley for future generations and an indigenous understanding and harmony with the land. Therefore, I hypothesize that:

H2: Domestic- and Green world are the main justification used by the SP.

Ylä-Anttila & Luhtakallio (2016) raise a critical question of what happens in an empirical situation where the two parties are not equal in their resources nor power potential. They provide an example where a citizen group is forced to use industrial- and market world justifications because of the power disparity between them and the city officials. I expect there to exist differences in the resources and the power of MTC and SP, and therefore hypothesize that:

H3: Being the smaller institution, SP is forced to use justifications from common worlds employed by the MTC to make up for the power and resource disparity between the two.

4. Materials and Methodology

In this chapter I will present how the materials were gathered and what methods were used in the analysis. Most of the materials were in Finnish because the Arctic Railway was mainly dealt with in Finnish media and because the focus of this thesis is on the arguments presented and aimed towards the Finnish society. Some of the materials, mostly official reports, had translations in English, but most of the quotes had to be translated by the author. In later chapters a note has been added whenever translations have been made by the author.

4.1. Materials

Familiarization with the case

Familiarization with the case was done by searching through YLE, the Finnish national broadcasting network, archives with the key word “Jäämeren rata”, the Finnish translation for the Arctic Railway. The materials gathered here served as a beginning point for all the materials gathered for the analysis. The materials from the YLE archives provided me with both a list of actors that had gained space in the national media, and a timeline for the events that I would end up analysing. Based on this preliminary understanding of the case I decided to confine my analysis to the MTC led planning process from 2017 to 2019.

Identification of main actors

In the MTC led planning process the two main actors in the case of Arctic Railway were the MTC and the SP. MTC was chosen, because they began the whole planning process of the Arctic Railway by addressing an assessment request to FTA. SP was chosen, because the main arguments against the Arctic Railway in the materials so far were made by the SP. Also, the claims made by the SP were interesting in the Justification theory – framework, because they opened up analysis paths on whether there were signs of a new common world used in justifications by the representatives of indigenous Sámi in Finland.

First expansion of materials

The materials were then expanded with searches from the MTC and SP website archives with the previously used keyword. These materials were able to provide an even clearer picture of the timeline of the 2017 – 2019 planning process.

Selection of materials

All the materials were then evaluated based on the examination of the expanded materials. If an article didn't include statements by the main actors, MTC and SP, it was discarded from the materials. This confined the materials to only include claims from the two main claim-makers and allowed for a methodological analysis of the materials.

Second expansion and saturation of materials

During the analysis of the materials, it became clear that two actors, up to this point ignored, were connected to the claims made for and against the Arctic Railway: the FTA assessment report and the North Lapland Regional Land-use Plan 2040. The materials were then expanded for a second time to include materials from these two processes. Analysis of these materials revealed no new claims or justifications for or against the railway and thus a saturation point had been reached. The gathering of materials was concluded, and attention directed towards finishing the analysis.

YLE news articles	33
MTC & FTA Statements & Reports	13
SP Statements & Reports	27

Table 1. Amount of materials by sources used in the analysis (Appendix 1)

4.2. Methodology

4.2.1 Justification analysis

Justification analysis is a methodological approach for studying moral evaluations made in public debates that draws on the Justification theory of Boltanski & Thévenot (Ylä-Anttila & Luhtakallio 2016).

The Justification analysis, like the Justification theory it draws from, argues that participants of different disputes use a relatively limited set of moral principles that are widely shared by societies. These shared common worlds make it possible to not only link arguments from several case studies together to gain insight into political landscapes but also to a long history of political thought, since the common worlds were derived from classics of political theory. (Ylä-Anttila & Luhtakallio 2016).

This methodology is particularly useful in evaluating justification within and across cultural contexts (Ylä-Anttila & Luhtakallio 2016), which makes Justification analysis a fitting choice in the context of Arctic Railway.

Since it is possible to divide the common worlds into subcategories it also means that there can be cultural variations in the use of these worlds. The ability of Justification analysis to notice these differences and compare them to other cases through the use of the common worlds allows it to examine cultural differences in justification on multiple levels, such as the frequency of use and the tones of different common worlds (Ylä-Anttila & Luhtakallio 2016). This thesis is less an examination of the frequencies of the use of different worlds in the case of Arctic Railway and more an examination of the nuances in the way those worlds are used.

Another thing that the Justification analysis allows us to do is to identify if the claims made by different actors affect each other's justifications. These kinds of adjustments have been observed in situations where a power disparity exists between the different actors (Ylä-Anttila & Luhtakallio 2016). In the case of the Arctic Railway there is a clear disparity between the power potential and resources available to the two main actors, so whether adjustments can be observed is an interesting question for this thesis.

As we have noted previously, there is a possibility that not all common worlds or their sub-categories have yet been observed. Justification analysis also allows us to seek

evidence of these new common worlds and sub-categories from the case of the Arctic Railway.

4.2.2 Qualitative text analysis

Justification analysis is commonly performed by relying on qualitative text analysis. In this thesis, the gathered materials were analysed using qualitative text analysis based on the expanded sourcebook of Miles & Huberman (1994). The focus of this analysis was on how the Arctic Railway was either opposed or justified. There were several steps to the analysis, which I will cover next.

Open coding

In the first step of the coding the gathered material were combed for instances where one or several of the following questions was answered:

Why is, or isn't, the Arctic Railway necessary?

What is the purpose of the Arctic Railway?

What benefits does the Arctic Railway have?

Who benefits from the Arctic Railway?

Who is hurt by the Arctic Railway and how?

These questions were chosen because their answers should provide insight into what kinds of values are used to assess the Arctic Railway with. The answers to these questions were claims either for or against the railway which included statements of, for instance, benefits to Finland's security of supply and the adverse consequences for traditional Sámi livelihoods.

These claims were then coded with the exact words used in the material and combined with a tag of the claim-maker. At this point the material was left unaltered to gain clearer insight into the different justifications used by the actors (Miles & Huberman 1994). As mentioned before, the point of this thesis is not to judge the justifications present in the materials and using unaltered coding helps to keep one's mind open to justifications that in everyday life would not convince the researcher.

Common world coding

The coded claims were then analysed within the Justification theory – framework using the Justification analysis methodology (Luhtakallio 2012; Ylä-Anttila & Luhtakallio 2016). The claims for the Arctic Railway by the MTC and the claims against it by the SP were all coded based on which common worlds were used in justifying a particular claim (Appendix 2).

Co-occurrence

These claim-makers and justifications were then inserted into a co-occurrence table to see how many times each justification was used in claims during the MTC led planning of the Arctic Railway. This was done to gain insight on which common worlds were used by each claim-maker to justify their claims, and whether there was any common ground in the worlds used.

	MTC	SP
Inspired	0	0
Domestic	1	11
Fame	0	0
Civic	1	29
Industrial	29	0
Market	14	1
Green	5	6
Total	42	47

Table 2. Justifications based on Common worlds and their frequencies in the claims of the MTC and the SP.

Qualitative grouping and claim analysis

Claims using the same common world were then grouped into collections of similar arguments, based on the previous coding and the justifications used. This was done to understand the different main arguments, how they were justified, and what common worlds were used in these justifications. This had also the added benefit of revealing the different ways in which a common world was used by a claim-maker.

Limitations of the analysis

The greatest limitation of the analysis is of course the lack of triangulation in the analysis. Since there was only one person doing all of the analysis, there is a clear possibility of personal bias affecting the results of said analysis.

To counter this possibility of personal bias seeping into the analysis the claims where it was unclear whether the justification was based on a common world or another were subjected to another round of analysis.

Before the second round of analysis literature on both justification theory and justification analysis, studying similar infrastructure projects, was read to gain insight into how other studies had interpreted similar claims. This was done so that my interpretations on claims and their justifications would be more in line with previous studies.

An example of this was the MTC's claim of increased tourism, which I initially thought might use justifications from the World of fame, which after a more thorough reading of the theoretical literature was clearly based on a Market world justification.

Another limitation in the analysis can be seen in the way the material was gathered. One could argue that leaving most of the claim-makers outside of the analysis leads to a severely limited view of the overall public discussion. This in turn would lead into different kinds of claims and justifications unanalysed and unheard. For instance, only focusing on the statements of the SP, does not provide a thorough picture of the justifications used by the indigenous Sámi.

While it is true that a lot of claim-makers were left outside of the analysis, one must also remember the scope of this thesis. This thesis aims to understand the differences in justification between the two main opponents in the Arctic Railway dispute. That does not mean that a more thorough analysis of the case isn't necessary or possible, quite the contrary.

For instance, an analysis in the same spirit as that on the Guggenheim process in Helsinki (Linko 2020) could illuminate the ways in which the claims of the MTC and the SP affected the other claim makers, whose claims weren't analysed here, in the public debate on the Arctic Railway during the 2017-2019 planning process. This thesis could be used as a starting point for such an extensive analysis.

5. Results

In this chapter I will present the main arguments and claims for and against the Arctic Railway by both the MTC and the SP. I will also cover the ways in which different Common Worlds were used to justify these claims. I will start by presenting the basics of each common world and how they applied to different claims concerning the Arctic Railway and then move on to present the claims of the MTC and the SP. I will not be covering the claims that were the only example of their common worlds to better focus on the main arguments of both sides of the dispute.

5.1. Common Worlds and the Arctic Railway

In this subchapter I will present the different Common Worlds and how they apply to the dispute over Arctic Railway.

Inspired World

The Inspired World assigns worth based on a being's ability to experience the outpouring of inspiration. The Inspired World is therefore difficult to test, since these experiences are personal and innate, therefore measuring and comparing being's in this world is made almost impossible. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

In the context of the Arctic Railway, arguments from the Inspired World would deal with the railway's ability to, for instance, inspire artists or with the adverse effects of the railway to the ability of others to be inspired by the affected regions' natural beauty. Arguments like these were presented, but not by the MTC or the SP.

World of Fame

In the World of Fame value is assigned to beings purely by the opinion of others. This Common World does not recognise tests in the past or in the future in any way: only the now matters. Therefore, worthy beings are famous, visible, and recognized. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

A World of Fame argument for the Arctic Railway would, for instance, argue that the construction of the railway would make Lapland more recognized and desirable as a tourist destination therefore increasing its fame globally. While there were claims of increased tourism, these claims focused more on the income produced by it and not

any increase in fame or desirability. Thus, these claims reside more in the Market World and not the World of Fame.

Domestic World

Despite its name, the Domestic World can be observed outside of families. The Domestic World stresses personal relations in a relational manner, when searching for justice. What this means is that beings are judged based on whether they are more or less worthy than other beings. This order among beings is established by referencing generations, traditions, and hierarchies. A worthy being is distinguished by, for example, the judgement of a superior or by being rooted in tradition, meaning that they possess qualities that manifest permanence. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

An example of a Domestic World argument in the case of Arctic Railway would then aim to unveil that a superior (MTC) is not acting in good faith with its inferior (SP) or that the traditions regarding, for instance, land use in the affected regions are not being respected. These kinds of claims were commonly used by those opposing the Arctic Railway, especially during the working group assessment.

Civic World

Belonging or representing the collective is used as a basis to assign worth to beings in the Civic World. Regulatory texts, official representatives, and delegates subordinated to a constitution are held in particularly high esteem (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

The worth of beings depends on whether they are in a particular or a collective state. A being is unworthy if driven by individual desires and aspirations as opposed to making themselves an expression of the collective will. Embodying this general interest is what makes a being worthy. To make sure that the collective doesn't deviate towards individual desires, the collective will is enforced through objects, such as legislation, that guide action. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

A Civic World argument would be based on, for instance, laws concerning the Sámi culture and its protection, such as the Finnish constitution. These kinds of justification formed the basis for the SP's opposition to the proposed railway.

Industrial World

The Industrial World assigns worth based on the being's efficiency, performance, and productivity. State of worthiness is then characterized by a being's efficiency and its ability to integrate into the machinery of the organization. Emphasis is also placed on the future in addition to the present. Situations, workers, machines, and organizations of the future are equivalent to those of the present. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

It needs to be noted that unlike the other worlds the test for the Arctic Railways worthiness could only be conducted after its construction, since there is no way to observe its efficiency before that (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006). This might make the use of Industrial World arguments enticing for the railway's proponents, since the railway would have to be constructed before it could be proved as unworthy in this world.

An argument from the Industrial World would focus on the railways ability to enhance the Finnish, or even the global, transportation network. Industrial world justifications formed the basis for the MTC's arguments for the Arctic Railway.

Market World

In the Market World the higher common principle is competition. Beings are placed in rivalries and compared to one another through their market worth: their price. Worthy objects have strong positions in the market and are sought after while worthy people are simply rich and able to own what others desire. In the Market World being desirable is the ultimate state of worthiness. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

Like the World of Fame, the Market World does not recognize time: there is only the present. Future should not be planned for and the past shouldn't be remembered when assigning worth. Proof of a being's worth is money: the profit, the benefit, and the payback from a transaction in the Market World test. (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006).

A Market World argument in the case of Arctic Railway would be based on, for instance, its socioeconomical viability and profitability. Justifications based on the increased income from tourism brought by the Arctic Railway were used in claims made by the MTC.

Green World

In the Green World the common good is advanced through “sensitivity to environmental issues and consequences, protection of wilderness, stewardship of environmental resources, and cultivation of various attachments to nature, the land, or the wild.” As in the Industrial World, the Green World places value on the future and future generations as well as those of today. (Thévenot, Moody & Lafaye 2000).

A Green World argument would reference, for instance, the effects of Arctic Railway would have for the surrounding nature and landscape or how it affects the efforts to combat climate change. Green world justifications were, surprisingly, used by both the MTC and the SP. While the SP’s claims focused on the adverse effects on the local nature and landscape, the MTC’s claims focused on how the railway would aid in combating climate change through reduced emissions.

5.2. Sámi Parliament claims against the Arctic Railway

The claims of the SP against the Arctic Railway used mainly three different Common Worlds to justify their opposition: Civic, Domestic, and Green. These worlds, though different, occasionally work together to form claims that use justifications from several Common Worlds. The claims could be categorized into three different arguments as shown in the table below. Next, I will present these Common Worlds and how they are used in justifying the different arguments.

Sámi Parliament		
Argument #1	Argument #2	Argument #3
Laws and legalities concerning Sámi regions and culture.	Harmful effects on traditional Sámi culture and livelihoods.	Severe and harmful environmental effects on Lapland's nature.
Civic world	Domestic world	Green world

Table 2. Sámi Parliament's main arguments and justifications against the Arctic Railway.

Civic World

The base of these arguments was in the legislation concerning the protection of Sámi culture and the right to uphold it. This can be seen in the arguments that the adverse effects of the railway are against the law prohibiting harm to the Sámi culture and in the argument that the negotiations and assessment processes were not in line with the Act on the Sami Parliament, which dictates how these kinds of negotiations should be held.

“From the Sámi Parliament’s point of view there are no grounds to further the Arctic Railway now or in the future because the edict against harming the Sámi culture in the Finnish constitution forbids its construction.” (Translated by the author)

“No official negotiations or hearings have been held with the Sámi Parliament. It is unacceptable that the Sami Parliament as representatives of the Sámi people have not been informed in advance...” (Translated by the author)

The argument that the processes were against the legal framework concerning infrastructure processes in the Sámi homeland was repeated throughout the material. A key aspect of this argument was that the Sámi were treated like any other interest group when considering the planning, hearings, and negotiations over the land use for the Arctic Railway. The SP argued that, based on the laws regarding their partial autonomy, they are rights holders in their homeland, not an interest group.

“The Sámi are not an interest group but rights holders and the only indigenous people in Europe whose rights to language and culture are guaranteed by both national and international legislation.” (Translated by the author)

“The Sámi are, from civil and collective law perspectives, rights holders instead of an interest group...” (Translated by the author)

Another important part of this argument was that the pathway for the Arctic Railway was chosen without consulting the SP and that the negotiations should have been held before choosing between the different railway options.

“In the negotiations based on section 9 of the Act on the Sami Parliament on January 18th 2018 did not concern the pathway of the railway nor the choosing of it...”

(Translated by the author)

“The pathway was chosen based on incomplete information and there should have been negotiations with the Sámi Parliament about the decision.” (Translated by the author)

There were also mentions of the sub-committees not facilitating the negotiations in an efficient manner, which was evident from lack of translators and the meeting note translations not being on time.

“... the sub-committee did not work as expected. The English-speaking sub-committee lacked translators in the beginning and the meeting note translations didn't arrive on time.” (Translated by the author)

These arguments of the SP assign value to the Arctic Railway based on the Civic World. As was presented earlier, the state of worthiness in the Civic World is based on a being embodying the general will, enforced by decrees and laws.

The argument against the railway is essentially against its unlawful processes. That is to say that the processes did not go through the procedures required by several different laws concerning policy- and decision making in the Sámi homeland. The railway is thus presented as unworthy since the motivations driving the process are not embodying the general will. What is left then is a motivation stemming from the particular which the Civic World sees as unworthy.

Domestic World

The second main argument was the adverse effects the Arctic Railway and its construction would have on the Sámi culture and traditional livelihoods. These arguments were often combined with the previously presented arguments of legality.

“... the adverse effects of the railway would not be contained only to the construction area but would affect the whole Sámi society.” (Translated by the author)

“Sámi reindeer herding is based on wide and connected grazing areas and therefore the railway would have especially consequences for reindeer herding. Adverse

effects would also affect... .. traditional fishing... .. hunting. It should also be assessed whether collection sites for traditional sustenance plants and handiwork materials would end up under the pathway.” (Translated by the author)

This secondary argument of the SP states that the railway would have adverse, if not destructive, effects on the Sámi traditional culture and livelihoods. This is highly condemning, since the Domestic World assigns value on things based on their interaction with tradition, locality, and ties to a place.

The Arctic Railway is thus judged as unworthy because it cuts through traditional lands and hinders the practice of traditional livelihoods in its surrounding regions. Thus the Arctic Railway does not embody permanence, quite the opposite in fact, since it would uproot the traditional hierarchies and structures of the Sámi in the region.

Another way the Domestic World is used to criticize the Arctic Railway is to critique those that drive the process: the MTC and the FTA. In the Domestic World superiors are expected to act in good faith towards their subordinates. The arguments that the SP was not informed on time several times during the process or that there were no translators during the sub-committee meeting can be seen as a way to unveil that in this case the superior is acting in bad faith. This would then mean that the superior is losing its worth by not acting according to its position. Showing that the Arctic Railway, itself an unworthy being, is being planned by unworthy beings questions the value of the whole process in the Domestic World

This argument is also an example of how different Common Worlds are used together within a claim. In this case the Domestic World is used in compromise with the Civic World to further denounce the Arctic Railway. The Domestic World is therefore used to support the mainly Civic World claim against the Arctic Railway.

Green World

A few arguments were based on nature and climate change, but these claims were mostly made with the aid of the previously presented justifications. The most prominent argument of this category was the railway's effect on climate change and the adverse effects that climate change imposes on the Sámi culture and livelihood.

This claim also uses the Domestic World by invoking the traditional Sámi culture and livelihoods.

“The Sámi Parliament’s position is that the railway and its climate change accelerating consequences would cause such disastrous harm to Sámi culture that possibilities for Sámi livelihoods, such as reindeer herding, in the railways vicinity would be destroyed.” (Translated by the author)

“Pristine nature with its waterways is the lifeblood of Sámi culture... .. there are globally significant ground- and surface waters in the Sámi homeland that would be endangered by the railways construction.” (Translated by the author)

“The Sámi Parliament has opposed the railway because it destroys the cultural landscape...” (Translated by the author)

These claims emerge firstly from the Green World and the value it places on attachments to nature. It justifies opposition to the railway by pointing out that its construction would endanger natural values, both culturally and intrinsically. For instance, the threat of waterway contamination would affect both humans and other animals.

The Green World justifications against the Arctic Railway, as we see, lean heavily on the other justification from the Domestic World used by the SP. The adverse effects for nature also affect traditional culture and livelihoods. Even the ever-looming catastrophe of climate change is presented with the adverse effects to the Sámi culture in mind.

5.3. Ministry of Transport and Communications claims for the Arctic Railway

MTC’s justifications emerged mainly from three different Common Worlds: Industrial-, Market-, and Green World. The main arguments used Industrial World and Market World to justify the need for the Arctic Railway, arguing for more efficient transportation and benefits from increased tourism. There was also a minor argument emerging from the Green World stating that the railway would be an asset in combating climate change by providing a less emitting alternative for transporting goods.

Ministry of Transportation and Communication		
Argument #1	Argument #2	Argument #3
Improvement of Finland's logistical position in the global transportation network.	Increased potential for Lapland's industries & regional development.	Benefits for tourism from increased person transport.
Industrial World	Industrial World	Market World

Table 3. Ministry of Transport and Communications main arguments and justifications for the Arctic Railway.

Industrial World

The main argument was that the Arctic Railway would improve Finland's logistical position while also acting as a nexus for transportation between the continental Europe, the Arctic, and Asia. The combination of Arctic Railway, the Baltic tunnel, an underwater railway tunnel crossing the Bay of Finland, and the improvement of Kirkenäs harbour was argued as a reasonable way to transport goods through the Arctic and Northern Sea Route to Asia.

“The Arctic Railway would connect the Arctic and it’s considerable natural resources to the Finnish railway network and through the Baltic tunnel and Rail Baltica to Central-Europe and beyond.” (Translated by the author)

“Railway connection to the Arctic Ocean would improve Finland’s logistical position, security of supply, and the accessibility of Lapland. The Arctic Railway is the only notable cooperative project between Finland and Norway.” (Translated by the author)

The need for improving Finland's logistical position was reasoned with Finland being a relatively isolated country that relies on the Baltic Sea trade route for exports and imports. This position was emphasized with long distances within Finland itself and therefore the need for improved logistics.

“In a logistical sense Finland is an island and fully reliant on transportation on the Baltic Sea, therefore it is important for Finland to improve its logistical position and accessibility.” (Translated by the author)

The importance of logistical position, accessibility, and security of supply was especially evident in the arguments for choosing the Rovaniemi – Kirkenäs route as the preferred option for the Arctic Railway.

“The choice for the Kirkenäs route was decided on the improvement of logistical position, accessibility, and security of supply compared to the other options. Of the two lead candidates the Kirkenäs route was the cheaper one.” (Translated by the author)

A secondary argument was the railway’s importance for its surrounding regions and especially for Lapland’s industries. The Arctic is argued to have an increasing importance as a backbone for several industries though the industries mentioned are mainly extracting ones such as mining, forestry, and fishing.

“The importance of the Arctic increases from a Nordic and EU perspective and creates economic backbone and a northern business ecosystem for tourism, mining industry, use of Nordic Sea Route, oil and gas deliveries, fishing industry, and the forestry sector.” (Translation by the author)

Construction of the Arctic Railway was also seen as advancing the regional development strategy of Lapland and the increased transport capacity was said to produce more job opportunities all along the railway line. These positions were claimed to emerge in the future once the railway line starts to operate. This argument was linked to the main argument of logistical position as an alternative to the Baltic Sea as a transportation route. The alternative transport route would provide economic benefits through improving the functionality of the Finnish transportation network.

“The railway would support Lapland’s regional development because the construction of the railway would advance Lapland’s regional strategy and Lapland-agreement’s goals.” (Translated by the author)

“A connection to the Arctic Sea... .. which creates new economic activity on the long run in both Finland and Norway.” (Translated by the author)

“The railway connection would support the Arctic passage’s position as a pathway to the Arctic Sea, which in turn supports Finland’s national transportation network’s functionality and economicality by providing an alternative transportation route from Finland to Norway and onwards to the wider world.” (Translated by the author)

Since the Industrial World assigns value to beings based on, for instance, their efficiency and ability to fit into the machinery of an organisation.

The main argument states that the railway would improve Finland’s position in the global transportation network by providing a link from the Nordic Sea Route to the continental Europe. The Arctic Railway is thus presented as a cog in the machine that would improve the organisation of global trade routes to and from Europe and Finland. Since the Industrial World places as much worth to the organisations of the future as it does on those of today, the improvement of future transport networks is a worthy endeavour.

The second argument, also relying on the Industrial World, is that of the benefits the Arctic Railway would provide to Lapland’s industries through easier transportation of natural resources. There are two sides to this argument specifically important for the industrial World. Firstly, same as in the main argument, the railway is a cog that improves the machinery of Lapland’s industries, thus integrating into another organisation and improving its efficiency. Secondly, the railway promotes the base human dignity of the Industrial World, that of work, through increasing job opportunities in the region.

An underlying message in both main arguments is that the current network is inefficient and in need of improvement, provided of course by the Arctic Railway. This viewpoint provides a textbook example of states of unworthiness and worthiness in the Industrial World: the current network is unworthy because it is inefficient while the future network, enhanced by the Arctic Railway, is efficient and worthy.

Market World

A third, albeit minor, argument was the benefits from the Arctic Railway to Lapland’s tourism industry. The aforementioned arguments about accessibility of Lapland and

an alternative route for reaching the region were claimed to be beneficial to Lapland's tourism industry.

“From Lapland's tourism industry's point of view all actions that make it easier to travel to Lapland are desirable.” (Translated by the author)

It needs to be noted that no argument claimed the railway to be economically viable. Despite the arguments for increased job opportunities and positive impacts for different industries the assessment reports from consulting companies state that in no realistic future scenario will the profits from the Arctic Railway exceed the costs of construction and maintenance. Though there were a few mentions in the MTC reports that this could change, there were no mentions of what changes would make the railway socioeconomically viable. This could be seen in the few MTC claims that were against the Arctic Railway using the Market World as a justification.

Green World

Another minor argument by the MTC was that the railway would be beneficial in combating climate change. This argument is based on railway transportation having less emissions in the long run than other modes of transportation.

“On a global climate scale, the railway has positive long-term impacts... .. the railway cuts carbon-emissions from transportation... .. which helps in mitigating climate change.” (Translated by the author)

These few claims using the Green World as a justification lean on the climate change mitigation aspect. It needs to be noted that there were a pair of claims using the Green World against the railway by MTC stating that its construction would have adverse environmental effects on the local level.

6. Discussions

In this chapter I will reflect the results of the analysis on the theoretical framework of Justification theory and the hypotheses of this thesis.

The first hypothesis was concerned with the justifications of the MTC. While the MTC did use the Market world as one of their main justification, the Civic world was close to unused in the MTC's claims. Instead most of MTC's claims relied on the Industrial world for justification.

Industrial world justifications were used in two distinctively different types of arguments: one arguing that the logistical position of Finland in the global transportation network would be improved and the other arguing that the construction of the track will have a positive impact for Lapland's industries, increasing their efficiency through easier transportation of goods.

On the surface these two arguments seem quite different. For instance, they approach the Arctic Railway from two very different scales: one from global and the other from a regional point of view. But the underlying justification in both types of arguments is the same: Arctic Railway is a piece that inserted into the machine of transportation networks will make that machine more efficient. Whether one observes that machine from regional or global scale does not really change the justification. Furthermore, they both rely on a test that is to be conducted in the future, since the true change in efficiency can only be confirmed with a test after the railway is constructed.

The justifications of the SP were also quite different from the hypothesized. The Green world was nearly non-existent in their claims and the most used common world was in fact the Civic world. This came as a surprise as I imagined it would be much more used by the MTC, a public organisation that is deeply rooted in the Civic world by the nature of its existence.

The use of Civic World justifications focused on the aspects of democratically decreed laws, rights and agreements based on these laws, which is in line with the way Civic World was used to justify citizen claims in the Finnish political culture as observed by Ylä-Anttila and Luhtakallio (2016). It must be noted though, that the Industrial world that was the most used basis for justification in citizen claims was

absent from the claims of SP. It is possible that this absence is a sign of variation in the way that the indigenous Sámi engage in public debate with state actors compared to other Finnish citizens, but a more comprehensive examination of cases in the style of Lamont and Thévenot (2000) would be necessary to reach a credible conclusion on this matter.

In conclusion, the justifications used in SP's claims were very much in line with the examples presented in other studies (Linko 2020; Thévenot, Moody & Lafaye 2000) and show no great deviation from the theoretical framework of Justification theory. There seemed to be no evidence of a new common world emerging through their claims.

This of course does not mean that such a common world does not exist but that in the materials analysed there was no evidence of it. The fact that the materials were gathered from public statements and national media articles likely affected the chosen justifications against the Arctic Railway. I would not rule out the possibility that the public statements were designed to convince the common people of Finland, which would make the use of western common worlds a reasonable strategy.

The third hypothesis was proven wrong. During the two-year planning of the Arctic Railway there was no evidence of either claim-maker shifting from a common world to another in an attempt to justify their claims in a same common world as the other. The shifting in justification, observed by Luhtakallio (2012), by a claim-maker in a less powerful position, was not observed. This of course does not mean that there wasn't a difference in available resources or the power potential between these two actors, only that the SP did not feel forced to adjust to the MTC's claims.

This does raise the question whether any genuine and effective dialogue was had between the two claim-makers. There were no signs of public statements that used the other claim-makers' justifications or that an attempt was made to engage in a common world with the other claim-maker. That is to say, the use of different common worlds did not seem to affect the other claim-maker's use of common worlds.

It is also notable that the two main claim-makers justified their claims from very different worlds. There was nearly no overlap in the common worlds used, the

exception being the Green world which was used in relatively few claims by either MTC or SP.

Neither Civic nor Domestic world claims made by the SP were addressed by the MTC which provides insight into how the MTC's use of Industrial- and Market World justifications ends up disregarding the SP's concerns for the constitutional rights of the indigenous Sámi. The contestation between these two actors paints a picture where the Civic world justifications of the SP were disregarded by focusing on justifications based on industrial efficiency and economic benefits. In essence, the takeaway from this is that MTC argued for the common good through industrial efficiency and monetary gain, instead of the legal frameworks of the nation which ended up disregarding arguments, made by the SP, that were based on that legal framework.

Green world divide

The use of Green world in the few claims by both the MTC and SP needs to be examined a bit further. This world was used to justify claims both for and against the railway and with two distinct dimensions: local environmental effects and global climate change.

By examining the Green world claims of the MTC we can see that these two arguments, the benefit for climate change mitigation and the adverse effects on the local environment, could be used by the same claim-maker separate from one another. This did allow for the MTC to focus on the benefits for climate change mitigation while also acknowledging the adverse environmental effects around the proposed railway path.

Another point that makes the use of Green world justifications interesting in the case of Arctic Railway is how these two different types of claims could be presented on opposing sides of the dispute. What I mean by this is that the justification for climate change mitigation and the justification for preserving the local environment are both valid arguments in the Green world, yet they seem to be thoroughly incompatible with one another. How can the Green world reconcile between these two positions?

What common good within the Green world can say which of these justifications is more worthy in a given situation?

This seems to be evidence of the Green world containing distinct sub-categories of justification: one of which focuses on the global level and another focusing more on the local level. One concerning itself with carbon emissions and the atmosphere and another concerning itself with local landscapes and their pristine condition.

7. Conclusions

In this thesis I have analysed the justifications for and against the Arctic Railway by MTC and SP, the two main opposing claim-makers, during the MTC led two-year planning process from 2017-2019. The obvious result of this justification analysis is that the MTC and SP relied on justifications from completely different Common Worlds, the exception being the Green World which was scantily used by either actor.

It is interesting though that the use of Green World made it possible to both justify for and against the railway's construction, the two types of justification being that the railway benefits efforts to combat climate change, and that the railway is harmful to the local environment. This poses the question, not foreseen prior to the analysis, whether the Green World consists of sub-categories that are able to assign worth in an opposing manner, one denouncing and one claiming a state of worthiness. Although this sub-categorisation of the Green World is beyond the scope of this thesis, the case of the Arctic Railway provides ample material for further studies on this issue.

Besides this observed divide in the Green world, no evidence of new Common worlds or subcategories were observed in the claims of the MTC or the SP.

In any case, the observed differences in justification served as a basis for contestation in the case of Arctic Railway. This contestation is, of course, a part of the historical context regarding the rights of the indigenous Sámi in their homeland region. A history that is sadly filled with cases where the voice of the Sámi was overruled by actors with greater resources and power in the regional and national decision making (Spangen et.al 2015).

The justifications of SP didn't find their way into the claims of MTC, and vice versa. This gave the impression that, at least publicly, the interaction between these claim-makers did not result in any sort of common ground being reached on the issue of Arctic Railway's construction. This seems to be the case despite the difference in resources and power potential between the two claim-makers. Adaptation to the agenda set by the more powerful claim-maker, as observed by Luhtakallio and Ylä-Anttila (2016), was not observed between the SP and MTC.

In the end the Arctic Railway was put on hold by the ministry which was justified with a Market World argument of socio-economic viability, an argument mostly absent from the claims of both MTC and SP though it was mentioned in the assessment report by FTA in early 2018. It needs to be mentioned that the Market World was mostly used by the MTC in claims promoting the Arctic Railway and the monetary benefits it would bring through increased tourism.

Whether the opposition by the SP affected the decision to put the planning of the railway on hold or not, the justifications of the MTC show no signs of taking the SP's position on the matter into consideration when deciding on the future of the project. No public acknowledgment of the SP's justifications is evident in the analysed materials, instead they chose to stick with the justifications and Common World they had employed thus far.

Based on the findings of this thesis it can be said that during the planning process of the Arctic Railway the MTC's reliance on justifications based on industrial efficiency and monetary gains ended up disregarding the constitutional rights of the indigenous Sámi. This was made possible by the MTC focusing on the Industrial- and the Market world justifications instead of the Civic world justifications, despite the best efforts of the SP.

In the grand scheme of things, it seems that nothing was learned from this two-year contestation for the Arctic Railway. In the summer of 2019, just a few months after the MTC led planning process was put on hold, the planning process for the Arctic Railway was re-animated, this time by private interests. The Sámi were once again informed of this process through the media, their two-year contestation seemingly amounting to no greater understanding of their position, claims nor justifications. No consultation, negotiation nor discussion was initiated before the process was brought to the public knowledge.

Though at the moment it is unclear what the future of the Arctic Railway will look like one thing is for sure: unless the claims and justifications of the Sámi actors are taken seriously we will continue to see contestations, such as the MTC led planning of Arctic Railway, far into the foreseeable future.

8. Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor Daria Gritsenko for guiding me through the thesis project. I always felt that I could ask and receive aid when I needed it and could trust that the advice I got was helpful. More than anything I want to thank Daria for helping me move on with the thesis whenever I felt overwhelmed or discouraged by the amount of work or my lack of understanding, whether of a method, theory, or the thesis in general. Though it took me a long time, your guidance made sure that this thesis was eventually completed.

I would also like to thank my second supervisor Janne Hukkinen for hosting a thesis seminar that gave me tons to think about and get excited to work on the thesis. I would also like to thank everyone who participated in the seminar sessions despite the Covid pandemic gripping a chokehold on the world. Our weekly sessions helped me cope with the increasing uncertainty during this pandemic.

Finally, I would like to thank Liina Laukkanen for the work we did to ensure that we both had a working environment at home where focus and flow could be harnessed into thesis work.

From the bottom of my heart,

Thank you!

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Appendixes

Appendix 1. Analysed materials

YLE news articles (33)

- 1) Perussuomalaiset esittävät Jäämeren rataa. 27.9.2013
- 2) Jäämeren rata kirvoitti kipakoita kommentteja Twitterissä. 9.3.2018
- 3) Mikä on Suomen kanta Jäämeren rataan? Berner kertoo selvityksestä – katso suorana klo 14. 9.3.2018
- 4) Ministeriö – Jäämeren radan selvittäminen jatkuu Kirkkoniemen reitillä – hinta-arvio lähes kolme miljardia euroa. 9.3.2018
- 5) Norjan liikenneministeri: Norja haluaa auttaa Jäämeren radan selvityksessä. 9.3.2018
- 6) Jäämeren rata ei kannata – Selvityksestä paljastuu täystyrmäys. 14.3.2018
- 7) "Miksi tavallisilta saamelaisilta ei kysytäkään?" Jäämeren rata koskettaa monen paikallisen elämää Inarissa. 16.3.2018
- 8) Saamelaiskäräjät: Jäämeren ratalinjaus valittiin kuulematta saamelaisia. 16.3.2018
- 9) Poronhoitajalle rautatie on kauhistus – "Se olisi iso siivu, mikä sinne junan alle paukkuu". 23.3.2018
- 10) Jäämeren ratalinjaus on huomioitava maakuntakaavassa – Poroisäntä: "Kaikki ratavaihtoehdot ovat huonoja". 30.5.2018
- 11) Punaisiin pukeutuneet ihmisjoukot vetävät Ylä-Lappiin rajoja estääkseen Jäämeren radan tulon. 8.9.2018
- 12) Työryhmällä kaksi kuukautta aikaa selvittää Jäämeren radan vaikutuksia saamelaisiin, luontoon ja poronhoitoon – "Ei onnistu". 12.10.2018
- 13) Tutkimus: Saamelaiset koko ajan alttiimpia ilmastonmuutoksen kielteisille vaikutuksille. 29.10.2018
- 14) Jäämeren radan jatkotoimia koskeva selvitys valmistumassa – Saamelaiskäräjät: "Saamelaisten näkemyksiä ei kirjattu raporttiin esittämällämme tavalla". 14.12.2018
- 15) Isommat puolueet näkevät taloudellisen hyödyn – pienemmät suhtautuvat kriittisesti Jäämeren rataan. 27.12.2018
- 16) Nuoret poliitikot vastustavat Jäämeren rataa emopuolueitansa jyrkemmin – "Rataa ei toteuta seuraavalla hallituskaudella". 11.1.2019

- 17) Kiistellyn Jäämeren radan kaava nähtäville – viiden kilon paperimöhkäleestä toivotaan kommentteja. 28.1.2019
- 18) Jäämeren radalle jäi ovi raolleen – Loppuraportti näyttää mitä pitää ottaa huomioon jatkosuunnittelussa, jos rataa edelleen edistetään. 11.2.2019
- 19) Jäämeren radan rakentaminen menossa jäihin – hanke ei kannata. 11.2.2019
- 20) Maakuntajohtaja Riipi: Jäämeren rataa arvioitaessa on katsottava kauemmas tulevaisuuteen. 11.2.2019
- 21) Pääministeri: "Jäämeren rataan tulee väistämättä aikalisä" – painopisteet pääradalle. 16.2.2019
- 22) Ylä-Lapin kaavaan ei haluta suurta voimalinjaa tai Jäämeren rataa – Isojen hankkeiden poistaminen vaatii pyyhekumin sijaan poliittisen päätöksen. 19.2.2019
- 23) Suomen saamelaisnuoret haluavat Jäämeren radan pois maakuntakaavasta. 28.2.2019
- 24) Lapin ehdokkailta kyllä kaivosverolle – erimielisyyttä Jäämeren radasta ja ILO-sopimuksesta. 14.3.2019
- 25) Lapin liitto listasi tavoitteensa tulevaan hallitusohjelmaan – henkiin herätelty toive Jäämeren radasta herättää kiistaa. 25.3.2019
- 26) Lapin kansanedustajat rakentaisivat Jäämeren radan – yhtä lukuunottamatta. 16.4.2019
- 27) Angry Birds -mies Vesterbacka lähtee vetämään kiisteltyä Jäämeren rataa – juna Kirkkoniemeen voisi kulkea jo viiden vuoden kuluttua. 9.5.2019
- 28) Jäämerenradan yllätysuutinen ilahduttaa ja ahdistaa Lapissa – "Viidessä vuodessa nähdään, mitä tästä tulee". 9.5.2019
- 29) Saamelaisilta täystyrmäys Vesterbackan Jäämeren rata -suunnitelmille – Saamelaiskäräjät yllätettiin jo toistamiseen. 9.5.2019
- 30) Kiisteltyä rautatietä vetävä Angry Birds -mies sai täyslaidallisen saamelaisilta – "Kasvot saamelaiskulttuurin tuholle". 10.5.2019
- 31) Saamelaiset nuoret osoittivat mieltä Helsingin Säätytalolla: "Me ansaitsemme parempaa". 22.5.2019
- 32) Kiinalaiset saattavat rakentaa Tallinnan tunnelin lisäksi Jäämeren radan – rahoitusta toivotaan etenkin Norjasta. 9.7.2019
- 33) Vain yksi saamelaiskäräjävaalien ehdokas toivottaisi sekä rautatien, tuulipuistot että uudet kaivokset tervetulleeksi pohjoiseen. 20.9.2019

MTC & FTA reports and statements (13)

- 1) Selvitys Jäämeren radan toteutuksesta yhteistyössä Norjan kanssa.
LVM/1347/0 29.6.2017
- 2) Jäämeren radan selvityspyyntö. 3.7.2017
- 3) Sidosryhmäkuuleminen perusväylänpidosta, korjausvelasta ja rahoitusmalleista. 11.10.2017
- 4) Saamelaiskäräjien ja liikenne- ja viestintäministeriön välinen, saamelaiskäräjälain (974/1995) 9 §:n mukainen neuvottelu. 18.1.2018
- 5) Selvitys Jäämeren rautatiestä valmistunut: Kirkkoniemen linjaus selvitetään. 9.3.2018
- 6) Suomen ja Norjan välisen työryhmän asettaminen Jäämeren radan Rovaniemi/Kemijärvi/Kirkkoniemi – ratalinjausvaihtoehdon jatkoselvitystä varten. 9.5.2018
- 7) Jäämeren ratalinjausta Kirkkoniemeen selvittävä työryhmä aloitti työnsä. 4.6.2018
- 8) Pyyntö jäsenen nimeämisestä Suomen ja Norjan väliseen työryhmään Jäämeren radan jatkoselvittämistä varten. 12.6.2018
- 9) Jäämeren ratalinjausta selvittänyt työryhmä julkaisee raporttinsa tammikuussa. 14.12.2018
- 10) LVM ja Saamelaiskäräjät neuvottelivat ratahankeselvityksestä. 21.12.2018
- 11) LVM ja Saamelaiskäräjät neuvottelivat jälleen Jäämeren rata -selvityksestä. 25.1.2019
- 12) Jäämeren radan selvitys on valmistunut. 11.2.2019
- 13) Suomen ja Norjan välisen Jäämeren radan selvitysryhmän loppuraportti. 2019

SP reports and statements (27)

- 1) Saamelaisen parlamentaarisen neuvoston huomautus Jäämeren rata - hankkeesta. 23.11.2017
- 2) Saamelaiskäräjien ja liikenne- ja viestintäministeriön välinen, saamelaiskäräjälain (974/1995) 9 §:n mukainen neuvottelu. 18.1.2018

- 3) Saamelaiskäräjien asiakirjapyyntö koskien Jäämeren ratahankkeen Rovaniemi-Kirkkonieni-linjauksen valinta- ja jatkoselvityspäätöstä. 13.3.2018
- 4) Jäämeren radan linjauksesta ei neuvoteltu Saamelaiskäräjien kanssa. 15.3.2018
- 5) Nuorisoneuvoston avoin kirje liikenne- ja viestintäministeriölle kaavaillusta Jäämeren radasta. 13.4.2018
- 6) Saamelaiskäräjien delegaatio YK:n alkuperäiskansojen pysyvässä foorumissa 16.-22.4.2018. 19.4.2018
- 7) Saamelaiskäräjien II varapuheenjohtajan puhe YK:n alkuperäiskansojen pysyvässä foorumissa. 20.4.2018
- 8) Saamelaiskäräjien keskustelutilaisuus keräsi Vuotson Mokta-tuvan täyteen väkeä. 24.4.2018
- 9) Saamelaisen parlamentaarisen neuvoston julkilausuma Jäämeren ratahankkeesta. 15.5.2018
- 10) Saamelaiskäräjien vastaus liikenne- ja viestintäministeriölle nimeämispyyntöön Suomen ja Norjan väliseen työryhmään Jäämeren radan jatkoselvittämistä varten. 28.5.2018
- 11) Paltto työryhmään Jäämeren radan jatkoselvittämistä varten ja Magga-Vars saamelaisten kansallisia tunnuksia hallinnoivaan lautakuntaan. 30.5.2018
- 12) Pohjois-Lapin maakuntakaavan 2040 tavoitteet. 11.6.2018
- 13) Vuonna 2017 ennätysmäärä saamelaiskäräjälain mukaisia neuvotteluita. 21.6.2018
- 14) Saamelaiskäräjälain 9 §:n mukainen neuvottelu Pohjois-Lapin maakuntakaavasta 2040. 16.10.2018
- 15) Jäämeren radan merkitsemiselle maakuntakaavaan ei oikeudellisia edellytyksiä. 18.10.2018
- 16) Pohjois-Lapin maakuntakaava 2040/saamelaiskulttuurityöryhmän kokous 30.10.2018 Pohjois-Lapin maakuntakaavan vaikutusten arvioinnista. 30.10.2018
- 17) Maarit K. Pieski jäseneksi ja Ulla Magga varajäseneksi rajaesteiden selvittämistyöryhmään. 7.12.2018
- 18) Pohjois-Lapin maakuntakaavan 2040 saamelaiskulttuurityöryhmä keskeyttää työnsä. 8.1.2019

- 19) Saamelaiskäräjien muistio Jäämeren ratahankkeen selvitystä laatineiden alatyöryhmien ja työryhmän loppuraporttien sisällöstä ja hankkeen jatkotoimenpiteistä. 25.1.2019
- 20) Jäämeren radan jatkoselvitysraportit julkaistu – hanke ei ole taloudellisesti kannattava. 11.2.2019
- 21) Saamelaiskäräjät esitti useita muutoksia Pohjois-Lapin maakuntakaavaan. 5.3.2019
- 22) Lapin liitto jatkaa Jäämeren radan suunnittelua laajasta vastustuksesta huolimatta. 30.4.2019
- 23) Saamelaiskäräjiltä täystyrmäys Jäämeren radan jatkosuunnitelmiin. 9.5.2019
- 24) Saamelaiskäräjien nuorisoneuvosto: Jäämeren rata uhkaa tulevaisuuttamme. 10.5.2019
- 25) Inarinsaamelaisasiain neuvottelukunnan puheenjohtajaksi Heikki Paltto. 11.6.2019
- 26) Saamelaiskäräjien puheenjohtajan katsaus vuoteen 2018. 19.6.2019
- 27) Saamelaiskulttuuriosio – Lapin maakuntaohjelmassa 2018-2021 (Lappi Sopimus)

Appendix 2. Examples of analysis

SP claims

“Sámi Parliament (Claim-maker) has opposed the railway because it, for instance, destroys cultural landscape (Green World) and hinders reindeer herding (Domestic World).” (Translated by the author)

-YLE article #19

“The railway would change the scenery and land-use of the Sámi homeland in a way that would affect, and already affects, the Sámi cultural heritage (Domestic World).” (Translated by the author)

-Sámi Parliament statement #19 (Claim-maker)

“The meeting materials weren’t delivered to the representatives in the agreed upon languages and the mission of the sub-committee wasn’t negotiated according to the section 9 of the Act on Sámi parliament (Civic World).” (Translated by the author)

-Sámi Parliament statement #19 (Claim-maker)

“The report states several times that the assessments have proven it to be socio-economically and from a funding viewpoint unviable. (Market World)” (Translated by the author)

-Sámi Parliament statement #19 (Claim-maker)

MTC claims

“According to the ministry’s statement (Claim-maker) the negotiations required by law were held with the Sámi Parliament last January in Inari. (Civic World)” (Translated by the author)

-YLE articles #8

“In addition, the mitigation of climate change requires changes in the way transportation is divided between transportation methods... (Green World)” (Translated by the Author)

-YLE articles #4

“Arctic Railway would connect the Arctic and its resources to the Finnish railway network and to the continental Europe and beyond through Tallinn tunnel and Rail Baltica. (Industrial World)”

-MTC report #13

“Because of this the effects of transportation costs on goods final prices is relatively sizeable. Therefore the transportation infrastructure and its functionality play a significant role in the competitiveness of businesses and other transportation. (Market World)” (Translated by the author)

-MTC report #13