

1 Introduction

This paper employs a literature review to address the Sámi peoples' conceptualizations of sustainability in the context of land governance and the extraction of natural resources. The Sámi are the indigenous people that have inhabited the Fenno-Scandinavia and Kola peninsulas. Today, these ancestral lands are located in the Northern parts of Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia. Approximately one-third of the Sámi living in the Finnish Sámi homeland are reindeer herders and reindeer herding continues to be considered one of the foundations of the Sámi ways of life and one of the key characteristics of the Sápmi as their territory [1]. International law and institutions addressing indigenous peoples' rights increasingly recognize indigenous communities' special status by reason of their connection to lands, nature, and natural resources. The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) recognizes indigenous peoples' particular role in maintaining and achieving sustainable development [2*]. Self-determined development, a concept especially consolidated since the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), recognizes indigenous peoples' own visions of sustainable and locally-based processes of development [3*]. However, the meaning of the right to self-determination has not been defined and one of the problems that remains is that states separate cultural and language rights from land rights [4].

The contradictions between self-determined development of indigenous peoples and land use for the extraction of natural resources often materialize in contestations of what is sustainable, how sustainability is assessed and valued, by whom and with what impacts. Impact assessments of natural resource extraction thereby operate as sites of ontological and epistemological contestations with asymmetrical power positions, often resulting in decisions that prioritize dominant perceptions on sustainable development. As there is growing pressure to intensify land use in Sápmi and the Sámi concerns about the sustainability of the ongoing intensification of land use continue to be discounted, I review recent case study literature (see reviewed cases in table 1) and explore the contradictions between Sámi articulations of sustainability and the sustainability criteria used in permitting mining activities. I illuminate these contradictions with a case on contestations of the sustainability of artisanal and mechanical gold mining activities in the Finnish Sámi homeland.

[HERE table 1]

Table 1. The mining projects reviewed.

2 Sámi conceptualizations of sustainability and land use governance

Sámi scholar Rauna Kuokkanen/Jovvna Jon Ánne Kirstte Rávdná reminds us that the health of the people cannot be separated from the health of the land and environment. Relations with the land involve reciprocity and responsibility to care for the land and its gifts and maintaining relations with the land is considered central to the survival and well-being of indigenous peoples. Current indigenous mobilization towards sustainability is motivated by responsibility for the land and for continuing the work of ancestors who fought for the integrity of the land [5]. Tiina Sanila-Aikio/Paavvâl Taannâl Tiina, the current President of the Sámi Parliament states: “Dominant ways to use land and dominant understandings about development, such as forestry, mining, fossil fuels and tourism, lay their foundation in unsustainable ways to live” [6]. According to the Sámi worldview, the human should not manipulate or exploit nature. Rather, the relation to land entails a deeper awareness of a particular place and belonging and obligations to it [7, 8, 9]. A central concept related to the use of resources is *birgejupmi*, which refers to ‘livelihood, survival capacity, and the way people (individuals and communities) maintain themselves in a certain area with its respective resources’ [10]. Traditional knowledge, *árbediehtu* (Northern Sámi), is important in order to know how to use the land sustainably [10, also ref. at 7, 11, 12, 16].

Land and the continuity of land-based livelihoods is emphasized across studies on the extraction of natural resources in Sápmi as a precondition for the survival of the Sámi way of life. In reindeer-herding communities, the practice of pasture rotation, detailed knowledge of the environment, the relation to land as an inherited right and principles related to avoiding burdening the land without purpose ensure the continuity of the Sámi way of life and their livelihood [11]. In organizing against a proposed mineral exploration in Ohcejohka, Finland, the Sámi articulated the meaning of land as generational and seasonal continuity, an inheritance to children and possible grandchildren, the same land being passed down by ancestors, replete with reciprocal, spiritual and identity-making meaning. If part of the ancestral land is used for mining, it affects the whole community, because their way of life relies on movement and the use of land in a wide space [13].

The key concern of the Laver Sámi community in Sweden during a proposal for an open-pit copper mine on reindeer winter pasture was that a mine would permanently change reindeer herding from a way of life and livelihood based on free grazing into a ‘reindeer-herding industry’ dependent on corporate-sponsored pellet feeding on fragmented pastureland. This change would heighten the risk that an increasing number of herders would give up herding, preventing the way of life and livelihood being transferred to new generations [14, 15]. The Laver community considered that the proposed mine posed a threat to the connections that herders maintain with the reindeer and land. A mine would impact the well-being of the reindeer and the capacity of the land to sustain the reindeer herds [16*]. The Sámi community in Semisjaur Njarg also considered that pasture fragmentation resulting from competing forms of land use (tourism, wind farms, deforestation, mines) together with increase in the number of predators and accelerated climate change have negatively influenced the sustainability of reindeer herding. These changes have raised concerns about a ‘collapse’ in the Sámi community [15]. A study on the effectiveness of the state duty to consult indigenous communities makes an important note related to self-determined development: that reindeer herding should be able to develop and flourish instead of merely to survive and adapt to the increase in competing land use forms [17: p. 15].

In Norway, the municipality of Guovdageaidnu, where the majority of the population is Sámi, rejected a mine planned by the company Arctic Gold on the basis that reindeer-herding land in the surroundings of Guovdageaidnu could not carry more disruptions [18]. The availability of pasture for reindeer herding was considered as a matter of survival for future Sámi communities and more important than benefits from mining. ‘Sustainability’ was considered to refer to the ontological security that herding provides for the Sámi as people and rejection was also an identity issue at a time when the Sámi are reconstructing what it means to be Sámi [19].

3 Challenges related to current sustainability criteria in the permitting of mineral extraction

3.1. Sustainability criteria in the management of mineral resources and general problems addressed in Sápmi

In the Finnish Sámi homeland, Sámi reindeer-herding communities address that public authorities in charge of governing land lack of holistic understanding of the Sámi way of life and that there remains lack of legal clarity on Sámi land use rights [7]. Studies on recognition of Sámi traditional knowledge in environmental decision-making in Käsivarsi/Giehtaruohtas suggest that among the authorities, understanding is lacking particularly on how different land use forms disrupt Sámi livelihood practices. The threshold criteria on the prohibition of weakening the Sámi culture, as featured in the Finnish Constitution, are loosely interpreted. The Sámi communities addressed that issues raised by them are often left out of the actual decision-making. The Sámi are often in the position of being a minority and power asymmetries make it particularly difficult for them to influence decisions on land use. As regards permitting of mineral exploration, the communities did not consider dialogue during the permitting process as genuine. In addition, public attitudes towards reindeer herding remain discriminatory [11; 20].

In Sápmi as a whole, the gradually increasing boom in mining poses one of the major threats to reindeer herding [21]. The Finnish Sámi Parliament has implemented an official 'No mining' policy and mechanical gold mining remains the only industrial scale activity in the Finnish part of the Sámi homeland. Nevertheless, mineral exploration has increased in past years. During a conflict on mineral exploration in Ohcejohka, Finnish Sápmi, modern mapping in mineral exploration is addressed as a knowledge practice based on ontology that separates nature and resources from humans and a tool for pro-mining organizations to transform the local land-based ontology into one that considers land as resource [13].

In Sweden, around 98.5% of the value of mineral extraction is situated in Sámi traditional territories and the number of mining projects and conflicts is increasing [14]. Studies on relations between mining industry and Sámi communities raise a number of problems related to permitting processes. During a conflict regarding a proposed mining project in Gállok by Beowulf Mining plc, most of the Sámi and civil society interviewees expressed the feeling of being continuously rendered invisible (22: p. 24-25). Visions based on existing Sámi cultural values and livelihood expressed by the Sámi were unrecognized by the mining industry and authorities in charge of the permitting process who valued economic growth and the exchange value of minerals higher [22]. The Sámi community in Laevas, Sweden, felt that state officials and other industrial proponents involved in extraction from the land tended not to understand the relationships the Sámi share with the land. This study on a mining conflict between Laevas Sámi community and the Swedish mining industry conceptualizes the acts that render indigenous peoples' perspectives invisible as 'extractive violence', which is a form of direct violence caused by extractivism against people and/or animals and nature. The threat of extractive violence is a form of violence in itself, resulting from the communities' constant struggle to live through defending their lands, having negative psychological consequences of distress and fatigue [16].

A central problem related to the permitting of mining projects is that they are implemented according to the worldviews of the developer or governmental administration and rely on an expectation that the Sami communities will adapt to industrialization. Permitting processes thus ontologically privilege non-indigenous ways of defining what constitutes relevant impacts. Impact assessments also lack the requirements to assess the project as a whole and its cumulative impacts [23]. Outsider experts are expected to be able to understand the impacts and assessments are conducted with the objective of giving a license, excluding 'No' to a project as a realistic possibility [24]. Mining representatives framed technical mitigation measures, such as the feeding of reindeer, as reasonable, and the practice of reindeer herding as in need of modernization [25]. Socio-economic benefits in the form of jobs and tax revenues were emphasized at the expense of Sámi priorities [23]. The

companies steered impact assessment processes based on their interests and denied the existence of conflicts. Sustainability assessments conducted in the permitting process also ignored indigenous science, indigenous knowledge and indigenous rights [14]. To illustrate, methods employed by Boliden in a corporate-led impact assessment of a proposed mine in Laver were not inclusive to community members' experiences. Meanwhile, Boliden rejected the validity of information produced in community-based impact assessments [15]. The mining industry also misused the names of community leaders in order to market to the general public a view in a newspaper that the mining project enjoyed the support of the Sámi community. Misusing participatory processes to paint a false picture of community support was deemed abusive by Laevas Sámi community [16*].

The concept of Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) has emerged as an important tool to realize recognition for self-determination, the right to be consulted and the application of indigenous land rights [2]. However, in Sweden, corporates frame participatory processes as a volunteer stakeholder practice, something the Sámi should understand as a 'privilege' rather than a right as indigenous people [14; 17]. There is little awareness of the content of the FPIC and the mining companies also deny the history of colonialism in Sweden [15]. Other problems include the reindeer-herding communities being invited to participate at too late a stage of mine planning and often only symbolically with no possibility to influence the outcomes [14; 15; 16*]. The authorities and industries involved lacked knowledge of Sámi matters and adopted the attitude that the Sámi should not be involved or that the issues they raised need not be taken into account [16*]. Authorities in charge of land use planning often recognize the need to have more knowledge about Sámi culture, but lack the resources to do their job properly [17].

Studies on governing land in Finnmark address shortfalls related to whether the Finnmark Act provides enough protection for the Sámi way of life [26**; 18; 19]. The critique addresses the establishment of local and indigenous land rights in Finnmark, Norway, that they were negotiated as a top-down procedure, with little discussion on whether the method engaged allowed ontological multiplicity in the form of the co-existence of multiple landscape practices and landscape users [26**]. In the ongoing conflict on the reopening of an old copper deposit by the Norwegian company Nussir in the Kvalsund municipality of Finnmark, the Sámi fishers, reindeer herders, a number of NGOs, and the Sámi Parliament in Norway resisted the mining project due to the loss of pasture and impacts on water and fishing [18]. Based on a comparative study, the Sami people can make a determination on a mining project in Finnmark only if in the majority in the local community where the mine is planned. The Ministry of Business and Trade decided that the positive effects of the mineral industry exceeded the possible negative effects on reindeer herding. The Sámi considered that social sustainability was not adequately weighed. The potential for the Sámi to influence mining outside Finnmark is even poorer [19]. Nussir received its mining permits in 2019 and the conflict is likely to continue.

Studies inclusive of the voices of the Sámi related to land use in the Kola Peninsula, in Russia, remain few and deliver contradictory insights. The Center of Indigenous Peoples of the Murmansk Region had stated that the activities of the mining company Kovdorskiy GOK had not been registered as causing direct harm to Sámi reindeer herders, largely because the mining areas do not overlap the reindeer-herding areas. However, new deposits would not necessarily be of benefit nor supported by Sámi people [27]. A later study addresses the perceptions of sustainable development in the industrial towns of Kirovsk and Apatity, related to the mining companies JSC "Apatit" and JSC "North-Western Phosphorous Company", as shaped by the dominant role the mining industry plays in the Kola Peninsula, and that the involvement of Sámi and local people in development-related decision-making is inadequate [28].

3.2. Sustainability criteria in the permitting of mineral extraction in the Arctic

Case studies on confrontation between indigenous people, the authorities and the large-scale fishing industry in Kamchatka; coexistence between reindeer herders, the authorities and the large-scale oil industry in the Nenets Autonomous Okrug; and, co-ignorance among reindeer herders, the mining industry and the authorities in Kamchatka, illustrate that indigenous peoples practice extraction of a resource through 'partnership logic'. It means that extraction is embedded in a relationship that is not only reciprocal, but also interdependent with the total social environment. In a world ever more affected by colonialism, capitalism and neoliberalism, resource extraction is dominated by utilitarian logic, which considers humans the owners and controllers of the land and natural resources. The study concludes that although 'partnership logic' has become more difficult to maintain, indigenous people can achieve a niche space for their ways of life, if they accept the utilitarian approach as dominant [29*].

A special issue on how extractive industries affect the everyday lives of indigenous communities in the Arctic notes that extractive modes of resource governance are associated with colonial and neo-colonial policies of appropriation [30]. An example from Greenland during the recent expansion of the extractives sector shows that a lack of trust persists due to negative experiences regarding the extractive industries during the time of forced relocation programs in the 1970s and 1980s [31]. In general, indigenous communities and institutions in the Arctic are today more skilled in negotiating with companies and companies are more motivated to engage with communities [32]. However, in many cases, the participatory mechanisms for local voices to be heard remain inadequate and local knowledge is still considered less valuable than scientific knowledge [29; 30; 33]. During the planning of the Athabasca Tar Sands project to produce bitumen in northern Alberta, Canada, for the affected communities the tar sands industry reflects conditions of ontological destruction that has been enabled by the incremental convergence of the state of Canada distributing more power to the industries in the ancestral lands [34]. A study on a proposed large open-pit metal mine and underground block caving with mega-infrastructure in the Bristol Bay Region of Southwest Alaska, by Northern Dynasty, shows that the planning processes policed knowledge production in a way that knowledge of the land was forced to fit the pre-determined assessment-driven categories and concepts used by outside experts. Those resisting the extractive use of land have no choice but to speak that language of scientific knowledge-making [35*].

A review on relations between indigenous governance institutions and the mining industry in Australia, Canada, Finland, Greenland, New Caledonia, Norway, and Sweden, suggests that indigenous communities affected by resource extraction often experience the environmental impacts of mining as a form of dispossession, environmental injustice and as a creation of "sacrifice zones". Extractive projects may permanently disrupt the cultural and spiritual relations that indigenous communities have with landscapes and have structural impacts on indigenous conceptualizations of health and responsibility for the land as inseparable [39]. In the Arctic in general, both state-led impact assessments and corporate-driven assessment procedures are criticized for a bias toward the proponents [14; 32; 36; 37; 38]. Impact and benefit agreements between indigenous peoples and companies on their behalf, agree on benefits to communities, but the confidentiality of these contracts imposes restrictions on open discussion of their content, thus preventing public discussion on the development of more holistic governance systems [39]. The general problem associated with a strong corporate presence in indigenous lands and governance is that it reproduces an 'extractivist logic', which limits alternative forms of development and other ways of imagining the future [29; 30; 36; 37; 40].

A study on three impact assessments, in Nunatsiavut, Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, shows that the colonial present informs the structure and process of impact assessments. The study states impact assessment processes of mines failed to understand the ontological and socio-economic importance and complexities of land-based and traditional economic activities to the survival and well-being of northern indigenous peoples. In addition, institutions and processes in charge of extractive development projects were gendered, excluding women and the issues that indigenous women were raising. The study also confirms earlier studies on how large-scale resource extraction projects increase violence against women and other social problems within Indigenous

communities [38**]. Kuokkanen [5**] studies relationships between indigenous peoples, the extraction of natural resources and gendered dimensions of resource extraction with the concept of integrity. She suggests that violence targeting indigenous women in the form of dispossession of land is part of a colonial strategy to prevent indigenous peoples gaining control of their lands, because it impedes indigenous women's ability to bear the next generation, who would exercise self-determination over their lands.

4 Sámi articulations related to the sustainability of gold mining activities and shortfalls in the permitting process in the Finnish Sámi homeland

Artisanal and mechanical gold mining in the Avvil River basin and in the surroundings of the Vuohčču/Vuotso reindeer-herding communities in the Finnish part of Sápmi illustrate how Sámi considerations of the sustainability of gold mining activities become ignored in the permitting process. Ari Kustula, Harri Hirvasvuopio and Jarmo Haataja, the leaders of the Lappi, Ivalo, and Hammastunturi reindeer-herding cooperatives, show how gold mining fragments pastureland during visits to the gold mining sites. The pasture can no longer be used for free passage and the loss of pasture extends the actual mining area multiple times. For reindeer herders, in forest areas, mined land stands out from the surroundings due to logging, but landscape enjoys no protection in the permitting process. The board members of the Vuohčču Sámiid Searvi Association state that fragmentation of pasture is currently the greatest threat to reindeer herding, but *"nobody understands when we try to talk about the importance of pasture rotation"*. Hammastunturi and Southern part of Lappi reindeer herding communities continue *siida* as their own ways of organizing in family units, but the mining and environmental authorities refuse as yet to recognize this as a factor that should be taken into account in the permitting process. This has the consequence that in the area where traditional *siida* is practiced, the impacts of gold mining practiced concentrate on the pastureland of a few families.

Gold mining changes the ecosystem around dykes, and the shape of the dyke changes. As the miners then move on to the next dyke, one after another is deprived of its natural shape and flow. Ari Kustula, the leader of Ivalo reindeer herding cooperative, states: *"based on the experience of how gold mining has proceeded and over time alongside mining enthusiasm, I afraid that all dykes in the surroundings will change accordingly – For a reindeer herder, each gold mining site resembles a continuity of conquest"*. The reindeer herders show how waters in dykes, such as Palsinoja, change in color from clear to brown and particles destroy significant parts of fish spawn, diminishing fish populations. Leakages to rivers are frequent, but surveillance remains inadequate. The Sámi Parliament has requested more accurate research on the state of fish and waters in areas around gold mining sites, and receiving no response plans to have its own measuring stations and wider projects with research institutions.

The reindeer herders are prepared to accept gold mining that remains small in scale, is located in places where the disruption to pasture remains modest and land recovers from the activities, where activities are undertaken by miners who act responsibly and with respect, and when a gold miner is not allowed to have more than one site in operation at a time. The reindeer herders hope for a permitting process that has a more holistic understanding of herding practices, land, fish, and water, that recognizes the cumulative character of impacts on the sensitive landscape, and respects reindeer herding as the primary livelihood of the territory. The reindeer herders hope for reliable monitoring of impacts and systems of accountability, while disliking the fact that it is mainly outsiders who destroy the pastureland and relations embedded within, without care and respect. The reindeer herders disapprove of the endless amount of tricks involved in gold miners' behavior, which reduces trust-building between the actors involved.

The gold miners interviewed during this study describe gold mining as a sustainable practice. According to a logic of separation, the miners disclaim that: *"the reindeer herders' cooperative should not speak to environmental and cultural issues, because the cooperative should focus solely on economic dimensions"* and that *"the Sámi*

Parliament should not speak to environmental and livelihood issues, because the mandate of the Sámi Parliament does not extend beyond language and culture". Contrary to the logic of separation related to the Sámi ways of life, the association representing the gold miners considers itself representative in matters of both culture (gold history as part of national history) and livelihood (economic value of gold mining). The Finnish Forest and Park Service recognizes herders' concerns, but has no mandate to prevent permitting, unless it compromises an endangered species or habitats mapped according to the Finnish conservation system. Municipalities either perceive no shortfalls or have no mandate on the matter. The mining authority refuses to assess cumulative impacts over time and in relation to other activities, because *"the Administrative Court does not demand it"* and the environmental authority proposes that the Sámi claims are *"not concrete enough, we need something concrete"*.

5 Concluding remarks and future research

The review shows that the availability of pasture, pasture rotation, maintaining reindeer-herding conditions from one generation to another and the principle of not damaging land without purpose are central to Sámi reindeer herders' conceptualizations of sustainability. As the example of gold mining illustrates, the permitting process does not respond to the concerns the Sámi express and the governance of gold mining privileges ontologies that consider land as gold deposit. Ignoring Sámi concerns rests on the logics of separation, according to which the Sámi are not allowed to represent themselves on issues that deal with livelihood, environment and culture. The literature review showed similar problems: sustainability criteria used in the permitting of mining activities is introduced by the project developer and government administrators and tend to discount, mischaracterize or ignore indigenous ontologies, epistemologies and accounts of sustainability.

The development of community protocols, community-based assessments and more holistic landscape-based approaches to land governance was addressed as a vital catalyst for indigenous communities to propose their own locally relevant approaches to sustainable development and indicators on sustainability and well-being on indigenous lands in question [3; 14; 15; 24; 41]. As an illustration, the mapping practices of the Sámi-led resistance movement in Ohcejohka merged Sami ancestral knowledge of the land with biological knowledge, ultimately resulting in the withdrawal of the mining company [13*]. Researchers together with the Sámi community in Laver, Sweden, produced a community-based impact assessment of a proposed mining project as a way to support the ongoing process of 'ontological self-determination' [14**]. Pebble activists in the Kahiltna Terrane in Alaska challenged land-as-resource logic by producing a local, alternative land-planning document during a conflict on a proposed mine [35*]. Reid & Rout [42*] suggest that sustainability auditing needs to be indigenized reflexively, prioritizing sense awareness and the health and well-being of the relationships between entities. Whyte [43] addresses the founding of the Sustainable Development Institute (SDI) and indicators for sustainable forestry by Menominee people.

These studies emphasize the importance of indigenous-led development of frameworks and metrics on sustainable development that are better able to incorporate indigenous ontologies. Action research together with indigenous methodologies can contribute to the project of decolonizing sustainability criteria. More studies are required on how indigenous Peoples in the Arctic conceptualize sustainability and desire a sustainable way forward and how indigenous conceptualizations of sustainability have been included in governance. More studies are also needed about how land governance and the permitting of mineral extraction on ancestral lands of indigenous peoples is gendered.

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** of outstanding interest

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Chapter 5 reviewing the recent development of international law on Free, Prior and Informed Consent is of particular interest to those working on indigenous peoples and land rights.

* [3] Gilbert, J., & Lennox, C. (2019). Towards new development paradigms: the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a tool to support self-determined development. *International Journal of Human Rights*, 1–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2018.1562921>

This article discusses the concept of 'self-determined development' (SDD) and shows that UNDRIP has had a remarkable influence on case law in regional human rights courts related to development on indigenous peoples' land; on the advocacy of Indigenous Peoples around the indicators of the sustainable development goals; and, on the adoption of community bio-cultural protocols by indigenous peoples. Despite positive changes, the global sustainable development goals do not currently conform to indigenous peoples' understanding of SDD.

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This recent book develops a theory of Indigenous self-determination by combining a feminist approach with analysis on Indigenous self-governance institutions. It discussed Indigenous self-government structures in Canada, Greenland and Sápmi. The book touches upon relations between indigenous peoples and the extraction of natural resources with the concept of integrity of the land, showing a relation between the extraction of natural resources, dispossession of land and gender violence. It also discusses how to restructure relations of domination that maintain socially, ecologically and economically unsustainable structures.

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- The paper discusses mapping as a knowledge practice and reality-making practice that has an important role in ontological and environmental conflicts over land. On the one hand, mineral mapping is a scientific and authoritative world-making practice based on modern ontology that separates nature and resources from humans. On the other, the local Sámi community questions the ontology of land as a mineral resource by engaging in counter-mapping activities, which make the local knowledge and story about an alternative future without a mine more visible.
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- The study shows how the permitting process ontologically privileges non-indigenous ways of understanding what constitutes a relevant impact. It provides a pioneering example of the process of conducting a community-based impact assessment with the Sámi community, as a kind of shadow report that supports the process of ‘ontological self-determination’ during a contestation on a mining project. The article demonstrates how the impacts perceived by the community members become denied by the dominant actors.
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This article discusses the establishment of local and indigenous land rights in Finnmark, Norway. It suggests that despite the postcolonial potential of the Finnmark Act, the law provides little room for awareness of ontological multiplicity and complexity, thus remaining non-inclusive on the co-existence of multiple landscape practices and landscape users. The study continues the tradition of ontological multiplicity within Sámi studies, extending the question about the recognition of indigenous/non-indigenous user rights towards how the divergent relations between landscape and people are recognized in the legal processes and towards allowance for 'otherness within'.

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This article examines impact assessment procedures in Nunatsiavut (Labrador), Nunavut, and the Northwest Territories. The analysis shows that concerns raised by the women involved in the IA processes were encompassive, but the concerns were interpreted with narrow, Eurocentric, and patriarchal lenses, lacking a framework to engage with complexities related to indigenous communities. The analysis reveals that the examined EA processes privilege resource extraction and employment, failing to acknowledge the gendered nature of impacts. This study provides a new gendered approach to the recognition of indigenous mixed economies.

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