



“We had nothing left to lose”

Mapping the Collaboration between Muonio Reindeer Herding Community and Greenpeace Sweden

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Abstract

As conflicts between reindeer herding communities and exploitative industries such as forestry continue in Sweden, new collaborations between these reindeer herding communities and the environmental movement arise. Such collaborations have the aim to provide their members with an advantage; a synergy that is achieved by working together. However, studies of such collaborations also show that they often are sources of frustrations instead, due to differences in e.g., purposes and resources.

Previous research on collaborations between Indigenous communities and environmental organisations in other parts of the world have shown that these collaborations often bridge the aim to achieve self-determination with the aim of nature protection. While these collaborations can be a source of strength, they also struggle with addressing e.g., power imbalances. Yet, research on these kind of collaborations in a Swedish context is limited.

This thesis addresses that knowledge gap by providing insight into the dynamics of such collaborations, using the example of the collaboration between Muonio reindeer herding community in northern Sweden and Greenpeace Sweden.

The analysis revealed three main themes how the collaboration is perceived: *The collaboration as a stepping stone*, *the collaboration as a place of empowerment* and *the collaboration as a place of asymmetry*. It is shown that agreed common aims on both the outcome and the process of the collaboration are essential to building trust and guiding the collaboration forward. Being two organisations with different purposes and fields of expertise makes collaborative advantage possible in the first place, as the partners complement each other. Paradoxically, these very differences also cause challenges that need to be overcome through continuous commitment and willingness to adapt.

This study then not only adds to understanding the dynamics of the collaboration at hand, but furthermore offers insights into how members can actively create conditions to make collaborations between Sámi actors and the environmental movement in Sweden successful.

Keywords: Collaboration, collaborative advantage, reindeer herding, Indigenous people, environmental movement, trust, common aims

Foreword

The idea of this theory is based on my personal engagement in the collaboration between Muonio reindeer herding community and Greenpeace Sweden. Being part of the campaign enabled me to see the benefits of working together, but also experience the difficulties at times. My question then was: How can we be good allies and make this collaboration successful for both members? This thesis allows me to lay the groundwork for reflecting with the participants and develop direct learnings together that can be applicable for future scenarios.

I want to thank my interview partners from both Muonio and Greenpeace for participating in this study and sharing their perceptions openly with me. I look forward to sharing and discussing the results with you!

I also want to thank my supervisor Annette Löf, who helped me find my topic and gave me advice throughout and beyond the process.

Special thanks to my friends, who supported me through sometimes difficult times with advice and distraction. We did it. We should be proud.

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Abbreviations

RHC	Reindeer Herding Community
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
GP	Greenpeace
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation

Introduction

1.1 Problem formulation

There are many reasons for organisations to enter collaborations with others: gaining access to more resources, sharing risks, being more efficient in reaching targets as well as learning. The goal is to gain a collaborative advantage through working together; however, collaborations are often a source of frustrations instead (Huxham and Vangen, 2005).

In a global context, there has been an increase of alliances between environmental actors and indigenous communities; often bridging environmental goals with the goal of self-determination (Sandler and Pezzullo, 2007). While these collaborations can be enriching, they also encompass challenges: Davis et al. (2007) explore in a study on an alliance between Indigenous and social activists in Ontario, Canada how the actors understand their relationships and the strengths and tensions it provides them with. They conclude that in the context of a colonial past in Canada and its still prevailing impact on today's society, an alliance on the one hand bears the risk of reproducing unequal power relations, while on the other hand also offers the potential to transform those very relations. Forming successful collaborations then requires the involved actors to address these challenges. This may happen through actively developing their relationship, aligning their aims and strategies and actively managing the collaboration throughout, e.g. by building trust between the partners (Murphy and Arenas, 2010). This is also exemplified in the mobilization concerning the Dakota Access Pipeline¹, where the issue offered different actors to align their diverse angles and strategies. Tight relationships and the awareness and active management of power dynamics furthermore contributed to a successful mobilization and collaboration (Steinman, 2019).

While such collaborations between indigenous communities and the environmental movement have appeared in other countries, they are a relatively new phenomenon in Sweden and therefore there is limited research available on

¹ The Dakota Access Pipeline is a pipeline built through the land of the Standing Rock Sioux in the US. Before construction it gathered widespread protests from indigenous people, environmental activists and other supporters (Worland, 2016).

their dynamics. This thesis explores the collaboration between Muonio reindeer herding community and Greenpeace Sweden as an example of such collaborations.

Greenpeace International itself recognizes the importance of “collaborative alliances between environmentalists and Indigenous Peoples” as part of the fight for environmental and social justice (Greenpeace International, 2017). Such collaborations regarding forestry conflicts have taken place e.g., in Finland and Canada. Raitio (2016) explores these collaborations with a focus on the interaction between the indigenous communities and the government. The study concludes that the outcome of a conflict is not only determined by the intentions of the involved actors, but rather by the response of those in power and in how far they are willing to address underlying and often institutional issues that precede the conflict.

In Sweden Greenpeace has had contact with Sámi communities in different campaigns, e.g. regarding nuclear waste in Malå, but not in the same intensity and to the same extent as the collaboration with Muonio Reindeer Herding Community, that will be further described in 3.1.3 (Nationell Samordnaren på kärnavfallsområdet, 1998).

Other collaborations between environmental and indigenous actors have formed regarding the Gállok mining conflict in northern Sweden. Persson et al. (2017) explore the forms of power of different stakeholders such as the Sámi population, the business sector, the state and environmental activists in the conflict. They conclude that NGOs and the activists mobilized by them contributed by generating attention, mainly “to make the issue visible both nationally and internationally” (Persson, Harnesk and Islar, 2017). Before the engagement of external activists, the Sámi resistance failed to attract national media attention. With the establishment of a resistance camp this changed.

What can be seen from the literature review is that while there is an understanding of the different roles that Sámi resistance and environmental NGOs may play in a conflict, there is little work on understanding the collaborations themselves and their risks and potentials in a Swedish context.

A list of previous studies reviewed for this thesis can be found in Appendix 3 – Previous studies.

1.2 Research Aim and Questions

This research project addresses the above explained research gap by mapping the collaboration between Muonio reindeer herding community and Greenpeace Sweden. The aim of this thesis is to provide insight into the dynamics of collaborations between the environmental movement and Sámi actors in Sweden work and what can be learned from the actors’ experience in this relatively new phenomenon.

Using the lens of collaborative advantage, I explore the shared space between Greenpeace and Muonio RHC and how the collaboration has provided the two actors with a shared advantage. By highlighting the benefits as well as potential tensions within the collaboration I raise awareness of hidden dynamics in the relationship between the actors and thereby contribute to the understanding of the benefits and risks of such collaborations in a Swedish context. It thereby contributes to societal change as it enables these actors to learn how to collaborate effectively and achieve collaborative advantage together.

In order to achieve this aim, my thesis will be guided by the following research questions:

- 1) How do the participants reason about entering the collaboration?
- 2) What kind of collaborative advantage has the collaboration provided Muonio RHC and Greenpeace with?
- 3) How have differences regarding resources and preconditions impacted the collaboration?
- 4) How have common aims and trust enabled the partners to navigate the tension between collaborative inertia and collaborative advantage?

1.3 Background – Reindeer herding, conflicts and collaborations

Reindeer herding is an important part of the livelihoods and culture of the indigenous Sámi people in Sweden. The right to use land and water to keep reindeer is exclusive to Sámi people, however, one must be a member of a reindeer herding community (RHC) in order to be allowed to pursue reindeer herding. (Näringsdepartementet RSL, 1971). Today there are 51 RHCs (“Samebyar”) in Sweden. There are 3 categories of RHC in Sweden: mountain RHC (“Fjällsamebyar”), forest RHC (“Skogssamebyar”) and concession RHC (“Koncessionsamebyar”). The most common form is the mountain RHC (33 in total), followed by forest RHC (10) and concession RHC (8) (Sametinget, 2021). Unlike mountain and forest RHC, members of a concession RHC require permission (“concession”) from the County Administrative Board to practice reindeer herding (Näringsdepartementet RSL, 1971). The categorisation into different RHC has been criticised as the majority of Sámi people in Sweden is not a member in a RHC. The categorisation then causes an unequal treatment of reindeer herding and non-reindeer herding Sámi (Sametinget, 2018). Furthermore, the different categories of RHC have implications regarding the right to consultation, as will be further explained in section 0.

As reindeer herding is carried out on both private as well as state-owned land, competing land use is very common. Important competing land uses include forestry (Sandström et al., 2016), mining (Sehlin MacNeil, 2018), wind power development (Skarin et al., 2015) as well as recreational activities and tourism (Axelsson-Linkowski *et al.*, 2020; Sametinget, 2020b). Furthermore, reindeer herding is affected by climate change, as it impacts e.g. weather patterns, which again influence for example pasture availability (Furberg, Evengård and Nilsson, 2011). As the prevalence of the above-mentioned stressors varies between RHC I will describe the specific situation of Muonio RHC in chapter 3.1.

Conflicts between RHC and competing land uses are common and have mobilised support from environmental organisations and other groups (see: Jarl *et al.*, 2021; Niia, 2022). The collaboration between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace Sweden is part of this development.

Theory

In this section I will outline the theory of collaborative advantage. This practice-oriented theory is structured as a set of overlapping themes in collaborative practice. I will only present the parts essential to this thesis.

2.1 Theory of collaborative advantage

The theory of collaborative advantage is based on research involving practitioners with the aim to “inform the practice of collaboration” (Huxham and Vangen, 2005). It argues that collaborations strive to achieve collaborative advantage, meaning a productive collaboration that achieves “synergies that can be created through joint working” (Vangen and Huxham, 2014). However, often practitioners in collaborations instead experience collaborative inertia, “the tendency for collaborative activities to be frustratingly slow to produce output or uncomfortably conflict ridden.” (Vangen and Huxham, 2014). The key question the theory thus aims to answer is, why collaborative inertia occurs so often, even if the achievement of collaborative advantage is the goal of the partners entering a collaboration (Huxham and Vangen, 2005).

The theory is structured around overlapping themes causing pain and reward in collaborative situations, such as culture, identity and resources, and how to manage them. I focus in my thesis on the following two central themes:

2.1.1 Common aims

Huxham and Vangen (2014) argue that having common aims is essential in a collaboration as common aims facilitate the way forward. Furthermore, it is also essential in order to achieve collaborative advantage, that organisations entering a collaboration have different resources and different expertise, from which synergies can be drawn. Paradoxically, this diversity also means that there may be a diversity in the partners’ goals and purposes to enter the collaboration. The entanglement of

collaborative aims with other aims can then hinder the achievement of collaborative advantage (Huxham and Vangen, 2005).

There are three main forms of aims identified: *collaboration aims*, meaning the aims the collaborating organisations aspire to achieve together. These aims are often presented e.g., in public statements. *Organisational aims* are the aims each organisation seeks to achieve for itself. Furthermore, there can be *individual aims* of the individuals engaged in the collaboration, e.g., career progression or other personal causes. The aims can have their *origin* from the members of the collaboration or from external stakeholders, e.g. customers (Huxham and Vangen, 2005).

In most cases aims are *genuine*, however there can be instances in which aims are categorised as *pseudo-aims*, e.g. in connection to external stakeholders such as funding providers that impose criteria on a collaboration in terms of aims (Huxham and Vangen, 2005).

Additionally, these aims may differ in their *routes to achievement*: Some aims are to be achieved via the collaboration, others can be achieved through an individual, an organisation or another collaboration (Huxham and Vangen, 2005).

Furthermore, these aims can differ in their *focus*: Many focus on substantive outcomes or what the collaboration is about; e.g., gaining access to expertise or resources. However, there can also be aims regarding the collaborative process, meaning how the collaboration will work; e.g. how partners communicate with each other (Vangen and Huxham, 2010).

Aims can be *explicit aims* if they have been stated openly. However, there are often also *unstated aims*, even if there is no intend to hide them; e.g., when a partner takes for granted that the other organisation understands their aim. In contrast, *hidden aims* are aims that are deliberately concealed from the partners. The different dimensions of aims in collaborations are summarised in table 1 below.

Table 1: Different types of aims in collaborations (Huxham and Vangen, 2005)

Types of aims	
Level	Collaboration, organisation, individual
Origin	External stakeholders, members
Genuineness	Genuine aims, pseudo-aims
Routes to achievement	Achieved through collaboration, achieved through an individual, organisation, or another collaboration
Focus	Process or substance
Explicitness	Explicit aims, unstated aims, hidden aims

The interplay of different aims can produce obstacles in achieving agreement of collaboration goals as they might not be in harmony. As collaborations are dynamic,

aims might also change over time and thus the understanding of each other's goals may decrease simultaneously (Vangen and Huxham, 2014).

2.1.2 Trust

Vangen and Huxham (2005) see trust as central to achieving collaborative advantage as a collaboration in itself is risky and engaging in one therefore requires the partners to have trust. The central question for the theory of collaborative advantage thus becomes: How can trust be built and how can it be sustained?

Trust building is then described as a loop, in which partners act together. By doing so they take a risk and form expectations about the outcome of the action and how each partner contributes to it. Trust is built when the expectations are met. However, trust can also be lost, as there are pragmatic difficulties such as unequal power dynamics and differing aims (Huxham and Vangen, 2005).

The trust building loop is thus initiated by *forming expectations* and *managing risks*. Huxham and Vangen (2003) argue that this includes clearly identifying who is part of the collaboration and agreeing on collaboration aims. Having clearly defined and agreed upon aims provides partners in a collaboration with clarity of the purpose in the first place as well as the roles and thereby what members can expect from each other. However, often partners enter collaborations with different (and often complementary) resources, which are a result of different organisational purposes. Different organisations therefore may have very different reasons to enter collaborations, that can differ widely from the collaboration aims and cause problems (Vangen and Huxham, 2003).

Risk in the context of collaborations is described as being associated with opportunistic behaviour and vulnerability. This is related to the fear that the partner may take advantage of the collaboration and e.g., unfairly takes credit for the efforts and successes of the collaboration. Managing these risks then includes clarifying expectations and the willingness to follow the collaborative agenda (Vangen and Huxham, 2003).

Sustaining trust then includes *managing dynamics*, *managing power dynamics* and *nurturing the collaborative relationships*. As the relationship grows, dynamics may change due to new partners joining or others leaving or partners becoming more ambitious. Power dynamics in collaborations are very case-dependent; however, any member usually has the power "to exit" the collaboration. Power dynamics might also change as collaborations progress. Ultimately in order to sustain trust the partners need to find ways to ensure that "shared power is maximised" (Vangen and Huxham, 2003). All of the above-described issues need to be continuously managed as part of nurturing the collaborative relationships (Vangen and Huxham, 2014).

Research Design

In this chapter I will describe the research design of this thesis. Firstly, I will present the case description, then discuss the selected research approach, followed by the data collection and generation. I will furthermore describe the chosen analytical approach, the operationalisation of key concepts and conclude with a reflection on the methodological choices as well as research ethics in regard to action research, my role as a researcher as well as research with Indigenous communities.

3.1 Case description

3.1.1 The People & the Place

Muonio RHC is located in Norrbotten county (see Figure 1). The RHC has 69 members, of which 9 are active as reindeer herders, which makes it a small RHC compared to others. Stressors for reindeer herding include forestry, mining, snow scooter driving, hunting with dogs, upcoming wind power projects and change in ice and snow conditions during winter due to climate change (Larsen, Boström and Muonio sameby, 2021), (Spiik, 2022).

Muonio RHC is today a concession RHC which has implications for its rights to consultations. However, Muonio used to be a forest RHC and only lost that status in 1933 (Marklund, 2021). They have applied to regain their status as forest RHC and are supported in their claim by Sametinget (Heikki, 2021). Even Gränsdragningskommissionen² (2006) came in an investigation to the conclusion that there is reason to consider a reclassification of Muonio to a forest RHC. However, up until the time this study was conducted, Muonio was not considered a forest RHC by neither the state nor the state-owned forestry company Sveaskog (Sveaskog, 2021a). In the following I will explain how this shapes the underlying conflict.

² Gränsdragningskommissionen ("*Boundary Commission*") is a commission that was tasked with defining the borders for reindeer herding, resulting in the report "Samernas sedvanemarker" (Gränsdragningskommissionen, 2006)



*Figure 1: Map showing the location and extent of Muonio RHC. Source: Annalena Lohaus, 2022
Map based on map data copyrighted OpenStreetMap contributors and available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org> (OpenStreetMap, 2022)*

3.1.2 Sveaskog & FSC (OpenStreetMap, no date)

Sveaskog is a state-owned forestry company and Sweden's biggest single forest owner (Sveaskog, 2021b). The company owns about 35 % of the area of Muonio RHC and is FSC-certified, which has implications for its work with Sámi communities (Sveaskog 2021). The Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) issues certifications for "environmentally appropriate, socially beneficial, and economically viable management of the world's forests" (Forest Stewardship Council, 2020), following a market-based approach (Forest Stewardship Council, no date). In regards to RHC and reindeer herding FSC-certification means that large forest owners are obliged to offer a participatory planning process to RHC affected by forest management practices. However, concession RHC are only regarded as affected stakeholders, such as other local businesses. This means that they may be engaged or consulted for areas of special interest; however they are not entitled to participatory planning process like mountain and forest RHC, impacting their ability to negotiate and engage in dialogue with forestry actors (Forest Stewardship Council, 2020). These different treatments of different categories of RHC showcase

a common criticism of FSC: FSC's global principles may consider indigenous rights; however, in local contexts power asymmetries and regulatory frameworks such as the different classification of RHC in Sweden restrict rights of reindeer herders, which the certification standard fails to alleviate (Johansson, 2014).

According to representatives from Muonio RHC they used to have consultation with Sveaskog in the past. However, these were terminated in 2019, as Sveaskog was not legally required to have formal consultation with Muonio RHC due to their status as concession RHC (Niia and Lundmark, 2019).

3.1.3 The Collaboration between Muonio RHC & Greenpeace Sweden

In November 2020 Muonio RHC published together with 28 other RHC an article in Aftonbladet, criticising Sveaskog for their forestry practices and the negative impacts on reindeer herding (Lundgren *et al.*, 2020). The first public support from Greenpeace took place in April 2021, when Muonio RHC and Greenpeace sent a joint letter to the CEO of Sveaskog, calling for a stop of all logging within the RHC until formal consultations had been re-established (Holma and Wronski, 2021).



Figure 2: Greenpeace demarcates a forest threatened by logging in Muonio RHC. Source: © Jason White / Greenpeace, 2021

The collaboration then developed further as Greenpeace established a permanent presence in Muonio, patrolling and demarcating the forests threatened by logging for over six months (see Figure 2). The signs used for the demarcation repeated the above-mentioned demand and simultaneously publicly stated aim of the collaboration: To stop all logging in the territory of Muonio RHC until formal consultations had been re-established. This demand was eventually enforced when Greenpeace stopped a logging from taking place (Greenpeace Sverige, 2021), (Palomäki, 2021). This was followed by a complaint issued against Sveaskog and the lack of consultations to FSC (Stenberg Partapuoli, 2021). Over time Muonio RHC could also gather support from other organisations such as Amnesty Sápmi, who spoke out on their behalf (Amnesty Sápmi, 2022). After another confrontation, Sveaskog made a public statement to media that they intended to meet with representatives from Muonio RHC and would refrain from any logging until dialogues had been established (Engström Andersson, 2022).

The timeline of the collaboration is depicted in Figure 3 below.

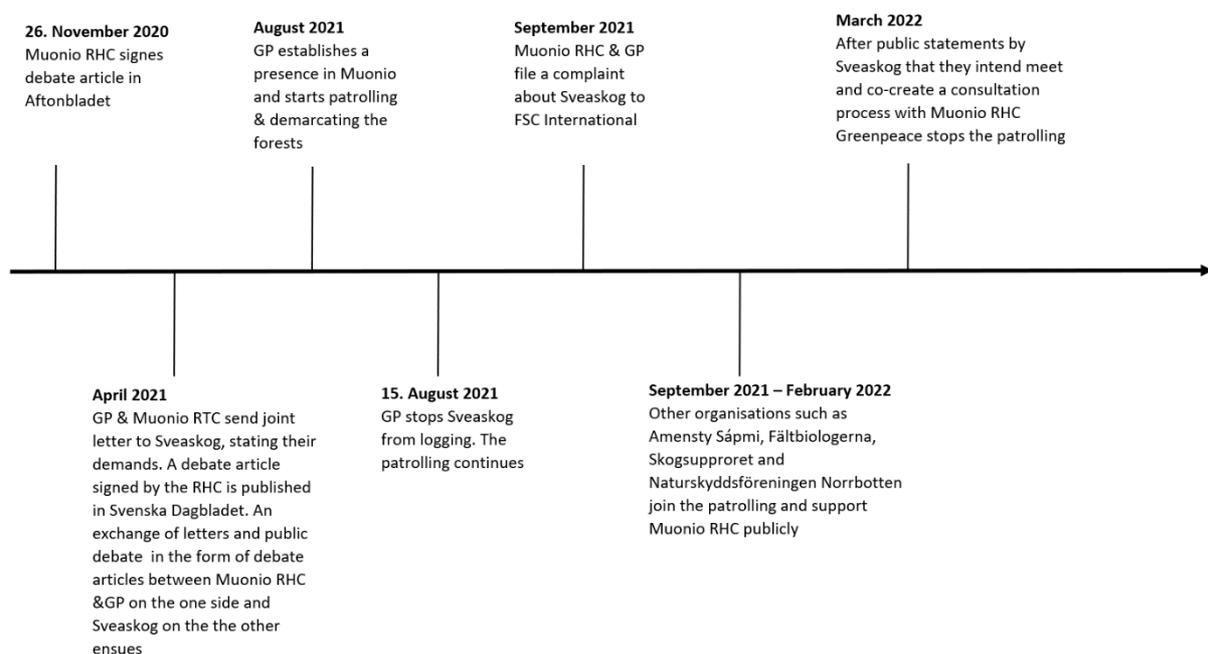


Figure 3: Timeline of the development and activities of the collaboration between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace (Effective May 2022)

3.1.4 My own positioning in the Collaboration

I took an active part in the collaboration through my work with Greenpeace, which started as an internship in the forest team in the end of May 2021 as part of my master studies. I then started a paid position at Greenpeace Sweden. My main tasks were mapping of the forests threatened by logging from Sveaskog in Muonio RHC, coordination biological inventories of those forests and coordinator for the forest patrol in the field (done in rotation with 2 -3 weeks long placements for the staff members) of the course of 6 months. This forest patrol team consisted of minimum one staff at all time as well as volunteers from both Greenpeace and other organisation. As in-the-field-coordinator I was furthermore contact person for people of Muonio RHC as well as media.

3.2 Action Research Approach

The underlying worldview this thesis is based on is a transformative worldview. This worldview is characterised by its intertwinement with politics and an action agenda, that may change e.g., institutions or the lives of the participants as well as the researcher. Transformative research thus raises the voice of the research participants and integrates research for social transformation (Creswell, 2014; Mertens and Ginsberg, 2009). By being change-oriented, engaged and critical, research can foster understanding, critically analyse as well as help facilitate such social transformations (Joosse *et al.*, 2020).

Stemming from this worldview I follow an action research approach as it fits well with transformative research and its aim to be collaborative and induce or at least seed change (Mertens and Ginsberg, 2009).

Action research is an approach that aims to generate social change and incorporates three main elements: action, research and participation (Greenwood and Levin, 2007), (Burns, 2015). The knowledge created through action research is highly situational and particular and the researcher is deeply embedded in the research; e.g., by being part of the organisation or community the research addresses (Coghlan and Brannick, 2005; Greenwood and Levin, 2007). Action research thus enables the study of e.g. organisational issues in close collaboration with those who experience these issues (Coghlan and Brannick, 2005). As described in section 3.1.4, I am personally involved in the collaboration between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace Sweden, which is the focus of this study. Therefore, choosing an approach that not only tolerates but actively encourages a close relationship between the researcher and the participants is recommendable. While my personal involvement on the one hand demands some ethical considerations and

reflections, it is on the other hand a valuable asset as it has allowed me to already build trust with the participants of the study, which is according to Mertens and Ginsberg (2009) an important aspect for research under the transformative paradigm.

The change action research aims to generate encompasses three main aspects: The *practice* itself, the way the practice is *understood*, and finally the *conditions* in which the practice takes place (Kemmis, 2009; Robson and McCartan, 2016). Achieving this change requires a change in “the sayings, doings and relatings, that compose our practices” (Kemmis, 2009). In order to understand and thus identify challenges regarding these sayings, doings and relatings within the collaboration between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace Sweden I conducted a thematic coding analysis (see 3.4.1) and applied the theory of collaborative advantage (see 2.1).

Coghlan and Brannick (2005) describe action research as a “four-step process of consciously and deliberately: planning, taking action; evaluating the action; leading to further planning, and so on.” In contrast to traditional research the participants of the study are encouraged to participate actively in this process. As this thesis was conducted in a limited timeframe, I will reflect on these ambitions as well as the ethical implications regarding the chosen approach in general in section 3.6.

3.3 Data Collection and Generation

I conducted semi-structured interviews, as I was most interested in exploring how the participants of the collaboration *perceived* the collaboration and semi-structured interviews offered me the possibility to ask follow-up questions to explore topics that the participants brought up themselves.

Looking at topically similar studies such as Davis et al. (2007) I therefore developed an interview guide that served as “a checklist of topics to be covered” (Robson and McCartan, 2016) with open ended questions. The guide was written in both English and Swedish and can be found in Appendix 1 – Interview Guide English and Appendix 2 – Interview Guide Swedish.

I interviewed all the key actors actively involved in this collaboration of which 2 came from Muonio RHC and 3 came from Greenpeace Sweden. This presents a limitation, which I will further discuss in section 5.1. I personally knew all of my interview partners, which I will further reflect about in section 3.6. One interview was conducted online via Zoom and 3 face-to-face. Furthermore 1 interview was done in Swedish and 3 in English.

All interviewees received an information sheet about the research project (also in both English and Swedish) and consented to the interviews being recorded. I offered to be part of the transcription and analysis. One participant showed interest in hearing updates about my analysis during the process.

During the interviews I tried to keep the conversation open and give the participants space to speak. This led to new questions arising, that were partly added to the interview guides. During the interviews the order of questions and their wording also changed.

I transcribed the interviews with the support of the programmes otter.ai and sonix.ai. The transcription was done verbatim, however I left out filler words such as “um”. The transcripts formed the basis for my analysis.

3.4 Data Analysis

Thematic Coding Analysis is a very flexible approach for analysing qualitative data, that is not bound to a specific theoretical framework (Robson and McCartan, 2016). A central part of Thematic Coding Analysis is coding which is “how you define what the data you are analysing are about.” (Gibbs, 2018). After coding the data, the initial codes are grouped into themes. In the following I will describe how I conducted my analysis and why I chose this approach.

3.4.1 Conducting a Thematic Coding Analysis

I conducted a thematic coding analysis for several reasons: It is a flexible approach for analysing qualitative data and allowed me to follow an abductive approach to finding a suitable theoretical framework; going back and forth between my data and possible theories and highlighting the perceptions of the participants of the collaboration in relation to my research questions. Furthermore Robson and McCartan (2016) describe it as a very accessible approach, that can be applied by researchers with little experience of qualitative research, which applies to me as I have my background in natural sciences. Its accessibility expands beyond the researcher e.g., to participants in participatory research, which benefits me as I have one participant who is interested in the analysis and while not wanting to actively engage, appreciated hearing updates on the progress. Additionally, as I will be presenting the results of this study to the participants in order to develop learnings together.

In conducting my analysis I followed the guidelines as presented by Robson and McCartan (2016): After transcribing my interviews I familiarised myself with the data by rereading the interviews several times. As I had to analyse a limited amount of data, I did the analysis manually on paper rather than using analysing software. I generated the initial codes by colour-coding my data, having the overarching topic of perceptions of the collaboration and its benefits and challenges in mind.

In total I conducted two rounds of coding and then listed the generated codes to count how often the different codes occurred. From this list of codes I identified

themes, looking especially for repetitions as well as similarities and differences between the interviewees from Greenpeace and Muonio RHC as suggested by Ryan and Bernard (2003).

Preliminary results of the process were shared with one participant who was interested in hearing about the analysis. This was followed by a presentation of the themes and how I arrived at them to fellow students to assess the plausibility of my results. The feedback was taken into account and the themes were finalised. Following a study on indigenous and extractive industry relations in Sweden and Canada by Sehlin MacNeil (2018) and to make the analysis more transparent I highlighted especially relevant quotes that showcased the themes, making sure to include quotes from both Greenpeace and Muonio RHC representatives, as this also adds space to indigenous voices to speak in their own words. The translation of these quotes from Swedish to English was done after the analysis.

The results of the analysis will be presented in chapter 4.

3.5 Operationalisation of Key Concepts

For the analysis of the themes that emerged through the thematic coding I paid special attention to the themes of common aims and trust as outlined in section 2.1, based on the conceptualisations by Huxham and Vangen (2005).

In order to effectively analyse the aims expressed by the participants I focussed on the aspects *level*, *routes to achievement*, *focus* and *explicitness*. This was done by creating two tables; one for Muonio RHC and one for Greenpeace, listing the expressed goals and then characterising them according to the above-mentioned aspects (see Table 1: Different types of aims in collaborations (Huxham and Vangen, 2005)).

An aim was characterised as a collaboration aim if it was acknowledged by participants from both organisations as an explicit aim of the collaboration. An aim was characterised as organisational if it was either only mentioned by participants from one organisation or acknowledged by several participants to be an aim of only one of the partners. An example of this is the aim of Muonio RHC to regain their status as a forest RHC, which is acknowledged by both partners, but is not an aim of the collaboration itself. Individual aims were not considered in the analysis as the interviews focussed on the participants as representatives of their respective organisation and not as individuals.

The route to achievement was characterised as through the collaboration if the aim was to be *directly* achieved through the collaboration. If participants mentioned alternative ways to achieve said aim (e.g., by engaging with another organisation) it was characterised as through other organisations/collaborations. This characterisation proved to be difficult as it was not always clearly stated how a partner planned to achieve certain aims.

The focus was characterised as substance when an aim related to an outcome; e.g., the re-establishment of consultations. An aim was characterised as process-focussed if it described the relationships of Muonio RHC and Greenpeace and their interactions within the collaboration.

Lastly aims were characterised as explicit if they were either stated somewhere publicly or were mentioned by participants from both organisations. The characterisation as unstated was done if aims were only expressed by participants from one organisation. I will discuss the difficulties with this classification in chapter Discussion and conclusions.

For the theme of trust, I focussed on the aspects of *building trust* and *sustaining trust*. As the themes of trust and common aims overlap, I used the aims characterised through my analysis and analysed them asking the following questions to establish how trust was built initially:

- *In how far does this aim contribute to forming expectation?*
- *In how far does this aim contribute to managing risks?*
- *Are there tensions between the aims that could impact the building of trust?*

In order to explore how trust was sustained within the collaboration I looked at how *dynamics* and *power differences* were managed and instances of *nurturing the relationship*. For this I looked at instances when participants spoke about how the collaboration changed, e.g., through a change in tactics or a change in who is involved. I approached this material with the following questions:

- *How were changes and power differences characterised and handled by the actors?*
- *Were there points of conflict and/or frustration? What were the strategies to handle such conflicts/frustrations? And what strategies were not employed?*
- *How do the participants characterise the relationship between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace in general?*

3.6 Methodological Reflections & Research Ethics

Through my current employment at Greenpeace and my personal involvement in the collaboration I have built relationships with all interviewees. While this gives me the opportunity to explore the collaboration in the first place it also means that it requires a higher degree of reflexivity as to where my role as an employee ends and my role as a researcher starts. As a researcher I carry responsibility for how this

research might affect the people participating in the project as well as my own actions and motifs concerning the research project (Olsen, 2016).

As the Environmental Stewardship Unit of the Assembly of First Nations (2009) notes, doing research within Indigenous communities requires the establishment of personal relationships as well as the willingness to engage over a long period of time. Especially in the past but even today it has been common that researchers would enter a community, gather data and would then disappear without any further engagement with the community (Assembly of First Nations. Environmental Stewardship Unit, 2009; Jacobsson, 2016). This extractive way of doing research should thus be replaced by a more reflexive, participatory and collaborative approach, that aims to give back to the community and gives agency and the right to self-determination over knowledge to the participants (Cram, 2013; Lawrence and Raitio, 2016; Löf and Stinnerbom, 2016; Olsen, 2016).

I started my reflection by asking myself the following questions based on Olsen (2016): Who am I? And from where do I do my research? What is my relationship to the community I am studying?

As mentioned in 3.2 this research project is based on a transformative worldview. In this paradigm there is an emphasize on the need of trust between the researcher and the participants while at the same time reflecting about the objectivity of the research as building trust also means a deeper involvement of the research themselves (Mertens and Ginsberg, 2009). I acknowledge that while my active participation in the collaboration as part of Greenpeace means that I was able to build relationships and trust over the past year, the participants have not interacted much with me as a researcher. The main introduction to me in this role was done through a consent form that was handed to the participants before the interviews, which informed about the research project, its scope and aims and gave the opportunity to determine the wished level of participation in the research.

This informed consent to the research as well as offering the opportunity to participate deeper as well as opting out at any time (also regarding single questions if answering them felt problematic) is an important part of collaborative research approaches (Löf and Stinnerbom, 2016). It is also a way of avoiding extractive research practices as described above. Using an action research approach is a way of incorporating collaboration and may serve to connect different kinds of knowledge and using it to generate change collectively (Johnson *et al.*, 2016). Action research furthermore incorporates the above-mentioned requirement of giving back to the community. In the context of this thesis this means that I aim to share the results with the participants and discuss them in order to develop what learnings for future collaborations can be extracted for both Muonio RHC and Greenpeace Sweden, which I will discuss in section 5.2.

This brings me to a clear constraint that I see for this research project: Due to the academic system as it is and the timeframe it sets for the writing of this thesis

the collaboration as well as reciprocity are limited. As L f and Stinnerbom point out (2016) “most institutions and systems tend to be self-reinforcing – and the academy is no exception.”. A full action research would include cycles of action and reflection and a true collaboration from the start, which then would lead to the researcher giving more power over the research design, data collection etc. to the participants themselves (Robson and McCartan, 2016; Zanotti and Palomino-Schalscha, 2016). However, the institutional framework limits the possibilities of going through full cycles of reflection and action as well as collaboration. Grading criteria such as “[...] the student should be able to independently plan and perform a qualified scientific investigation.” (SLU, 2019) seem to conflict with collaborative approaches, especially with communities who may not follow the timeframes as demanded by a university. While my personal involvement in the collaboration between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace requires me to be especially reflective, it also enables this research in the first place as the relationship building necessary for research with indigenous communities could not be done in the normal timeframe of a Master’s thesis. A longer research period would have allowed to offer full participation to the participants as well as reflections and concrete actions during the research project that would have benefitted this research greatly and made it more relevant to the actors in the collaboration.

Results & Analysis

The thematic coding analysis showed three main themes on how the collaboration was perceived by the actors: *The collaboration as a stepping stone*, *the collaboration as a place of empowerment* and *the collaboration as a place of asymmetry*. In the following I will describe these data-derived themes and how the analysis led to them, answering research questions 1 - 3. The themes are then related to the theory-derived themes of common aims and trust, answering research question 4.

Additional themes that emerged focussed on the participants' perception of the conflict between Muonio RHC and Sveaskog as well as tactics and possible solutions of that conflict. However, since this thesis focusses on the collaboration between Greenpeace and Muonio RHC and not the underlying conflict; I excluded these themes.

4.1 The Collaboration as a Stepping Stone

The first themes that emerged from the data was the perception of the collaboration as a stepping stone, or a tool "to", meaning that the collaboration was seen as a way to achieve a goal or goals detached from the joint demands brought forward by the actors in the collaboration. The collaboration thereby becomes a catalyst to address problems that exceed the conflict with Sveaskog within Muonio RHC both spatially and temporally and reveals the reasons for the two organisations to enter the collaboration, answering research question 1.

The collaboration is perceived by the actors as a means *to reach new audiences*, that would otherwise not be reached, by including the human rights angle – and thereby an emotional aspect - to the problematisation of Swedish forestry:

“And in order to include as many perspectives as possible, and also thinking about what a national and international audience, like – what is going to touch them? Or what is going to get their attention? Then there was a choice made that it's good that we can really lift all of these perspectives: indigenous rights, climate, biodiversity.” (Interviewee 1)

Including this angle is seen as a way to foster engagement by showing the personal effects forestry has. The story of Muonio RHC thereby becomes a representation of the negative effects of the practices in the Swedish forestry model – such as clear-

cutting. This representation makes the story more personal and thus enables audiences to relate to a conflict that can otherwise be perceived to be abstract. Interviewee 4 summarises the positive effects of the collaboration for Greenpeace's output on their social media channels like this:

“[...] it is much easier to engage people when it's actually about people. Like it's not just about the trees and the forests. It's about human rights. Like for my job it made it a lot easier to tell personal stories, like how people are affected.” (Interviewee 4)

The collaboration as a tool to reach new audiences even exceeds the borders of Sweden:

“Greenpeace is very good at communicating what is going on. They have good channels for that, especially outside Sweden in Europe. I think that made a difference; this we would have not been able to do ourselves.” (Interviewee 2)

This role of Greenpeace as an amplifier of the story of Muonio will be further described in section 4.2. The value of using the collaboration to reach new audiences is then seen in *building relationships with other partners* in order to achieve goals that go beyond the goals of the collaboration itself. Interviewee 2 describes the hoped impact connected to communicating to audiences outside of Sweden as follows:

“[...] to draw attention to what is happening in Sweden, outside of the country and especially in the EU and hopefully get help from there. It could be Amnesty, who work with stuff like that [legal processes] and have resources and lawyers, but in a shorter perspective an organisation like Greenpeace can be helpful for example to reach audiences outside Sweden – that's the only thing that will help.” (Interviewee 2)

The collaboration is then seen as a short-term arrangement to address the immediate conflict with Sveaskog, embedded in the context of a much larger struggle for Muonio RHC about their legal status as a Forest RHC as described in chapter 3.1.1, showing the wider temporal perspective of the conflict at hand. Through the attention gathered with the involvement of Greenpeace Muonio RHC thus aims to build partnerships with organisations and actors such as Amnesty that can support them in their goal to regain their status as a Forest RHC and thus moving *beyond consultations* in their fight. This is expressed by Interviewee 2 in the following:

“We have had this tiny, tiny goal to get our consultations back. But at the same time this is not the biggest goal, but rather to draw attention to how Sveaskog treats the Sámi in Sweden regarding forestry [...]. And also, this can help with the Forest RHC status, because that is a bigger and more important part for the RHC and our survival than just that specific consultation.” (Interviewee 2)

Similar perceptions can be found coming from Greenpeace. As mentioned before, the case of Muonio RHC serves as an example of the failures and personal impacts of the Swedish forestry model and Sveaskog's approach in particular. Sámi communities are seen as agents of change that actually possess the power to oppose logging operations and are thus a valuable strategic partner in the bigger campaign goal of Greenpeace to transform Swedish forestry. This strategic reasoning behind entering the collaboration with Muonio RHC in the context of the wider forest campaign is described by Interviewee 5 as follows:

“[...] the Sámi communities are the ones that actually have the ability to say no to logging operations. Swedish Forest legislation is very much skewed in favour of the industry. It's very difficult to actually stop logging, even if it should not be happening. So originally, we were looking at working together with the Sámi because we thought: “Hey, there is a great instrument for protection of forest, because the interest of the Sámi community and the interest of nature protection very much dovetail, they coincide. It is the same forests that need protection”” (Interviewee 5)

The collaboration is perceived as a way of strengthening a specific Sámi community in their right to say no to planned loggings as a means to then stop logging of for reindeer herding valuable forests, that are assumed to simultaneously possess high biological values. The collaboration is thus seen as a means to achieve forest protection, a goal that exceeds the joint demands brought forward by Greenpeace and Muonio RHC.

This strategy furthermore spans wider than the case of Muonio RHC. Like the RHC Greenpeace perceives the collaboration as an opportunity to *build relationships with other partners* beyond Muonio by presenting themselves as trustworthy partners:

“I think it really has increased our trust for example. Like now, when I'm in meetings with other NGOs or other parts of the movement there is a lot of credit being due to us for this work.” (Interviewee 1)

This trust building is then described as an important building block in fostering and strengthening Sámi resistance in Sweden, following the strategic thinking presented above with the ultimate goal of stopping logging:

“[...] the result from joining our forces is going to have an impact on the rest of the Sámi communities or Sápmi that it's worth to fight.” (Interviewee 1)

The collaboration is thus perceived as a showcase of both the value of resistance as well as collaborating with Greenpeace as an organisation to other Sámi communities and thus as a stepping stone to more collaborations with other RHC with the aim of stopping logging of valuable forests in Sápmi.

4.2 The Collaboration as a Place of Empowerment

The second theme that emerged from the analysis was the perception of the collaboration as a place of empowerment, in which working together is seen as a benefit for both actors as they feel strengthened through the collaboration, answering research questions 2. For Greenpeace this strengthening happened even internally as the collaboration was perceived to give their campaign a *meaningful purpose* that fostered internal engagement in the campaign. Interviewee 4 describes the collaboration as an opportunity to engage in a concrete place rather than an abstract topic, fostering an internal sense of righteousness:

“So, our planning in the forest campaign got a different path, I would say. Which was hard, because we were in this planning phase. But it was really good because it showed that we could actually really be where things are happening and we want to fight for what is right.” (Interviewee 4)

This feeling of being involved in “what is right” (Interviewee 4) also stretched beyond the forest team and enabled engagement from more employees, as they also wanted to contribute to the meaningful purpose the collaboration with Muonio RHC provided them with:

“[...] we got a lot of people at the office engaged, even though they didn’t work with like the forest or even the program bits, they actually wanted to get engaged, because they also got affected – like this is something important.” (Interviewee 4)

This willingness to engage beyond the frame of one’s own work task and the sense that the work in the collaboration was meaningful resulted in a heightened ability to mobilise resources, such as employees and volunteers supporting the patrolling of forests in Muonio RHC. This created over time a feeling of *togetherness* between two otherwise very different partners (the implications of the differences between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace will be described in 4.3).

For Greenpeace this created a sense of being stronger together, as Interviewee 1 describes:

“[...] it’s going to serve as a good or great example of what can happen when Sámi representatives from one community actually collaborate with an external actor such as us, Greenpeace. And that it is a successful collaboration and a good synergy that makes us stronger together.” (Interviewee 1)

For Greenpeace the empowering aspect of the collaboration is closely related to the aspects described in 4.1: Being able to communicate a strong story and thus being able foster engagement from new audiences as well as internally. Muonio RHC describes the feeling of togetherness first and foremost as a feeling of not being alone in a fight that is perceived as being very asymmetric:

“He [name redacted] asked: “Hej, do you want help?” And I was feeling relieved, because up until then we had been very lonely in this. It felt like we were fighting against this big state-owned company, that has all the resources, e.g. in the form of lawyers. And even though we complained and did everything right in the written way, they ignored us. So we felt that we had nothing left to lose. [...] But it was important from the beginning – like I said – that everything should happen on the RHCs terms.” (Interviewee 2)

The benefit of collaborating with Greenpeace as a partner is seen by Muonio RHC as Greenpeace’s ability to mobilise resources Muonio RHC would not have been able to mobilise on their own. This results in a shift in the power balance between Muonio RHC and Sveaskog, as the quote above suggests. It furthermore suggests that one major contribution to the collaboration being perceived as empowering was the need for *clearly defined roles* between the actors that would strengthen the trust between them. For Muonio RHC it was especially important that they would be treated and perceived as experts in their own rights in regard to reindeer herding and the infrastructure behind it, e.g., the relationships between different RHC and the internal processes of Muonio RHC. The importance of remaining the owner of the story and being treated as experts is related to historical experiences of colonial structures as Interviewee 2 describes:

“It was important from the beginning that everything happened on the RHCs terms. Because the RHC and Sámi today have a history with so-called “Lappfogdeväldet”³, that they would come from the states side and claim that the lapps [sic] were not smart enough to make their own decisions regarding themselves. [...] Even if it is well-intentioned it happens that people come from outside and think they can solve things over the head of the RHC – while at the same time not knowing how it works internally in the RHC and between different RHC and the local society.” (Interviewee 2)

While Muonio RHC remains the owner and the core of the story, Greenpeace becomes the platform on which the story is told, by using its channels and audiences. Interviewee 4 describes the role of Greenpeace in the collaboration as follows:

“Greenpeace is a big organisation, worldwide, we have contacts. We have the platform [...]. We have a big reach, which Muonio RHC doesn’t. So we are letting them use our target groups, our followers to be heard. So I would say that we’re like the middle hand to help their voices be heard.” (Interviewee 4)

This distribution of roles results processes in which Muonio RHC is responsible and thereby in control of the information going out, which reinforces the

³ Lappfogdeväldet („Reign of the Lappfogde“). A Lappfogde (can be translated as “steward of the lapps”) is an old word for a person representing the crown on a local level towards the Sámi (Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland r.f.).

acknowledgement of them being experts regarding reindeer herding, as demanded by the RHC as a precondition for collaborating in the first place, as explained by Interviewee 2:

“We have the main responsibility that the right information comes out, so I carefully read everything that was communicated outside, on both social and traditional media, so that it is correct. Because it is us who are the experts when it comes to reindeer herding and as a branch organisation and how it works between the RHC and other actors and the local society.” (Interviewee 2)

The implications of this responsibility and division of roles and tensions connected to them will be further explored in the third theme in chapter 4.3. Muonio RHC being the owner of the story and serving as experts benefits Greenpeace in several ways: As described in 4.1 the story of Muonio allows Greenpeace to exemplify the problems with the Swedish forestry model and reach new audiences through a more emotional approach. Besides fostering internal engagement, this also is seen to increase engagement in the audience, as pointed out by Interviewee 1:

“[...] their [Muonio RHC] position or their narrative is more impactful if you compare it if they had not been indigenous people. And the strength in that then lies with their story and that the general public or different actors can react and really be outraged about how Sveaskog is behaving.” (Interviewee 1)

Both actors in the collaboration then see it as beneficial as Muonio RHC is able to communicate their story through Greenpeace’s channels, which in return strengthens the campaign of Greenpeace as it adds another moral angle and fosters engagement.

Additionally, the collaboration with Muonio RHC and their role as experts benefitted Greenpeace through the opportunity to learn as Interviewee 2 explains:

“[...] Greenpeace gained a bigger understanding of Reindeer herding, both in regards to the sameby and more general. In the beginning there were many very basic things we were forced to explain. But it has become a bit more secure – we know better now what we have in each other and how we can collaborate and communicate.” (Interviewee 2)

This also highlights the role of trust in making the collaboration empowering. While Muonio RHC bears the responsibility of owning the story and making sure that the information communicated by Greenpeace is correct, Greenpeace has to show responsibility by being a trustworthy partner, as Interviewee 4 describes it:

“Muonios role is to trust us and also be the story. We needed the faces behind the story. [...] they just have to trust us that we can keep their voices safe and getting them heard.” (Interviewee 4)

This process of building trust and fulfilling the roles agreed upon however, was not always friction free. While the participants of this study generally viewed the collaboration as positive and successful, it is nonetheless also seen as a place of asymmetry, which I will further describe in the next theme below.

4.3 The Collaboration as a Place of Asymmetry

The third theme that emerged from the analysis is the perception of the collaboration as a place of asymmetry. Muonio RHC and Greenpeace Sweden are two very different actors with different preconditions and needs, which leads to asymmetries and even tensions between the partners, answering research question 3.

One important asymmetry is the starting point of the collaboration. While Greenpeace actively sought out Muonio RHC and therefore chose to enter the collaboration and the conflict, Muonio RHC had less choice. As Interviewee 2 from Muonio RHC expressed it: “So we felt we had nothing left to lose”. While the collaboration happened voluntarily, the conflict with Sveaskog did not. Furthermore, the campaign demanded a lot of *resources* that were unevenly distributed as Greenpeace was able to put paid staff on the campaign while the representatives of Muonio RHC had to invest their free time besides their main occupation as reindeer herders. This is perceived as an inequality in resources between the partners:

“They are not paid staff to do this campaign. And since we want, of course, for them to be very influential in everything we say and do around this campaign, it has also put a lot of strain on them timewise, or energy wise [...]. We are doing this joint thing, because we have the same goal. However, we are coming from different preconditions in regard to bringing capacity into it. And I think that we have learned something by this experience, and so have the representatives. And it’s a bit unequal, I guess, because they are also extremely forces to do this collaboration, because they are so desperate. And we’re [GP] more in the position to choose it.” (Interviewee 1)

This process of learning to adjust to different preconditions was perceived to be frustrating as it is viewed as disruptive to the normal campaigning processes with set deadlines and quick decision making, which is not compatible with a life reality of reindeer herders, whose schedules might vary depending on season, weather etc.:

“You know, it’s like when the digital officer has decided “this is the window when we can put out this particular action or meme or Instagram post or whatever” but that needs to be signed off by the sameby. We have perhaps talked with them about it but they need to see the final product and say that this is okay. But they are out with the reindeer – that day and the next day. Sitting in Stockholm you are used to decision making that’s just like five minutes, but may take

a couple of days for the sameby. How we deal with it? Well, we just have to adjust.”
(Interviewee 5)

While these differences caused frustrations, they also highlight the commitment of the two actors to the agreed-upon principle that the collaboration needs to happen on the terms of Muonio RHC. As Interviewee 5 in the quote above points out, Greenpeace tried to adapt to the rhythm of Muonio RHC even if it meant delays in publicising, which indicates an acknowledgement of Muonio RHC being the experts and owners of the story. However, by representing the conflict with Sveaskog and telling their story, the representatives of Muonio RHC faced multiple *risks* that also point towards an asymmetry between the partners, caused by the different preconditions. Greenpeace acts in the collaboration as a powerful external organisation with access to resources and the risks presented by entering the collaboration are purely experienced as organisational and/or resource related. Interviewee 5 for example describes the risk of being locked in a stalemate that starts to eat away resources without any ending insight as a main risk they saw upon entering the collaboration. This risk qualifies as purely resource related:

“One of the risks was that we would be in a stalemate that would just go on forever. You know, that Sveaskog would just attempt to wait us out for years and years and years and be like: “Okay, well, this ultimatum – we just wait for the noise to lay down, for Greenpeace to go away and then we’ll just go back in there.”” (Interviewee 5)

Muonio RHC is fundamentally an economic organisation⁴ as well, however, the lines between organisational and personal risks and goals are blurry and at times indistinguishable as the representatives of the RHC do not only act in that role but are also private people rooted in a local community and members of an indigenous community that still faces discrimination.

This results in the risk of experiencing personal attacks e.g., in online channels and becoming the target of racism:

“The digital landscape can be fucked up. So, there is always a risk when you do personal story telling, because there is always a real person behind it. It’s not just the organisation.”
(Interviewee 4)

This reveals an asymmetry in benefits and risks: While both Greenpeace and Muonio RHC benefit from spreading the story of Muonio, the representatives face a personal risk of being met with hostility, that Greenpeace as an organisation does not have to face. This risk is perceived to be even more important in the local context, as the representatives of Muonio RHC are deeply rooted in a local

⁴ Sametinget describes RHC as being organised like an economic and administrative organisation, that has its own board. Its role is to lead reindeer herding in its respective geographical area (Sametinget, 2020a).

community, whose members might share critical views on the engagement of Greenpeace in the conflict:

“People have a special view on Greenpeace [...]. And when you live in a small village you are dependent on each other. It can be so that I need a tractor. Or we need someone to plough the roads for the RHC. And the loggings... some have an income as small entrepreneurs from them.” (Interviewee 2)

“[...] they [Muonio RHC] are reliant on the relations being good with the local people. And I also know that they don't want to stand out too much, because they also don't want to be the subject of racism towards them, because when they stand up, then this Sámi hate or racism increases.” (Interviewee 1)

Collaborating with Greenpeace thus bears the risk of being met with rejection by the local community, with the possibility of causing practical problems for the members of Muonio RHC. Furthermore, Greenpeace itself might be the cause of negative experiences, as Interviewee 4 expresses:

“I was kind of afraid that this big organisation [GP] is stepping in on this small Sámi Village and like be the saviour, which is like “ah the white saviour”.” (Interviewee 4)

Greenpeace as a powerful organisation in the collaboration poses the risk of reproducing patterns Sámi communities have been experiencing for a long time: making decisions over their heads – even if well-intended – and thus taking away agency from them and using them for their own benefit (see 4.2 for quote on Lappfogdeväldet). This reproduction of such patterns was something Muonio RHC experienced several times within the collaboration:

“It has happened a few times that I experienced that Greenpeace overstepped and acted over Muonio RHCs head. [...] Then I was forced to say something about what I think of the situation [...] they have acted and maybe believed that they can solve something the RHC didn't manage to solve, but they don't have all the background information about what the issue is actually about.” (Interviewee 2)

The perception that Greenpeace overstepped some boundaries and acted above the heads of Muonio RHC is not shared by the participants of this study coming from Greenpeace's side. Rather the interview partners do not mention these instances at all, taking about organisational frustrations when asked about conflicts within the collaboration or present them as a cause of negative feelings but not an overstepping of Greenpeace. This suggests an asymmetry in as how important these instances of conflict are perceived:

“The conflict between them [Muonio RHC and another party] and us getting information about it and also trying to understand the conflict – that whole process was not totally friction free [...]. I wouldn't say that it has created like a conflict between the representatives of Muonio and us, however, it did create negative feelings.” (Interviewee 1)

“I don’t think we have experienced any conflicts. At times, there’s been a frustration at kind of like the speed of things, you know. We come from different worlds, but we needed to adapt ourselves to their rhythm. [...] I think the sameby also had to adapt a little bit to our needs as well. Not needs, but like our way of working in order to be able to accomplish this joint fight we had to adjust a bit. I think we probably had to adjust more.” (Interviewee 5)

Another asymmetry that emerged from the data is an asymmetry in the perception of what counts as a win and the *timeframes* connected to it. As mentioned above the pace of working and the different schedules on which both organisations operate has led to tensions between the partners. Furthermore, it was seen as a risk for Greenpeace to be locked in a stalemate for a long time which indicates a wish for a quick resolution of the conflict with Sveaskog by winning back formal consultations, in order for Greenpeace to be able to move on and spread resistance spatially by forming new collaborations with other RHC. For Muonio RHC the conflict with Sveaskog is embedded in a larger conflict regarding their legal status as a forest RHC as described in the case description and section 4.1. While the larger goal of regaining their status is acknowledged by Greenpeace, there is a difference in perception of the value of gaining back the consultations with Sveaskog as demanded by the collaboration: As described in 4.1 for Greenpeace winning this conflict will entail being able to show other RHC that taking on fights is worth it and thus giving them the opportunity to form new collaborations. In contrast an interviewee from Muonio RHC formulated their perception of winning the consultations back as follows:

“We can be happy, that we don’t go under even more, because of how we did with Sveaskog. But it is not like we – if we get our consultations back – have won a victory or are in a better position when it comes to rights. But it’s just that we have well fought to get something back that we used to have. So I only see us drowning. It might sound horrible, but now it’s all about how fast we drown. We try to keep afloat.” (Interviewee 2)

Winning back consultations then becomes no victory at all but simply a reestablishment of former rights that does not change their overall struggle of keeping reindeer herding and the culture connected to it alive in Muonio against the many struggles they are facing. This becomes evident when asked about the wishes for the future: The perspective spans beyond the collaboration and even the regaining of the legal status as a forest RHC:

“To become a forest RHC again. To get back the rights we had before 1928 [...]” (Interviewee 3)

“[...] to succeed at reversing much of what Sveaskog has done. That these lands get hanging lichen in the trees back and that the lands recover. That won’t happen within one generation. It might be our grandchildren who can see the land recover.” (Interviewee 3)

This shows an asymmetry in timeframes for acting between Greenpeace and Muonio RHC. Greenpeace is focussed on shorter-term wins and moving fast, while for Muonio RHC the struggle began in 1928 and will continue for generations, exceeding the immediate conflict with Sveaskog and going beyond forestry but rather entailing regaining their full rights and securing a future in which their way of life can be passed on.

4.4 Analysis

Generally, the collaboration has been perceived by the participants of this study as positive, providing the partners with collaborative advantage. In this section I relate the results to the themes of common aims and trust in order to answer the fourth research question: How have common aims and trust enabled the partners to navigate the tension between collaborative inertia and collaborative advantage?

4.4.1 Common aims

When Muonio RHC and Greenpeace sent a joint letter to Sveaskog in the beginning of the collaboration, they stated an explicit aim: No logging by Sveaskog was to happen within the borders of Muonio RHC until formal consultations had been re-established. This aim is focussed on substance and is to be achieved through the collaboration. It furthermore then served as a guide for following actions; e.g., the patrolling of forests and active stopping of logging to enact that aim.

Apart from this substance aim, Muonio RHC explicitly stated an aim with focus on the process of the collaboration as a precondition to entering the collaboration in the first place: The collaboration was to happen on terms of Muonio RHC; acknowledging the owners of the story and experts regarding reindeer herding and the conflict with Sveaskog. This process goal also served as a guide for how the partners would interact and while it sometimes caused frustrations (see section 4.3), it was accepted by both partners.

These two agreed upon aims lay the groundwork towards achieving collaborative advantage. Their role in building and retaining trust by helping the partners form expectations will be further explored in section 4.4.2.

However, each partner also expressed aims that go beyond those two explicit aims, as the theme “The Collaboration as a Stepping Stone” shows: Muonio RHC seeks to regain its status as a forest RHC; an aim that was explicitly stated and will not be achieved through the collaboration with Greenpeace but rather with other partners, e.g., Amnesty. While this aim goes beyond the common aim of the collaboration, it does not contradict it. For Muonio RHC to regain its status as forest RHC would further strengthen their position in consultations as it would protect

them from having taken consultations away from them if they say no to loggings in the future as it has happened with Sveaskog, causing the conflict the collaboration engages in.

Greenpeace as an environmental NGO on the other hand shows more focus on the stopping of logging. The organisational goal is to protect valuable forests. While this could be realised for the time being through the joint aim of no logging until formal consultations are re-established, this aim has the potential to generate conflict between the partners and lead to collaborative inertia: As shown in section 4.1 it is assumed that enabling Sámi communities to say no to logging will lead to protection of forests as the forests that should be protected – according to Greenpeace – are also the forests that are essential to reindeer herding and thus RHC would stop them from being logged. This aim is not as explicitly stated and cannot be achieved by Greenpeace alone as they would need Muonio RHC to agree to it and thus - if formal consultations with Sveaskog are achieved – say no to logging in those forests. This situation has not yet occurred; however, it bears the potential of causing tension and even collaborative inertia if Muonio RHC and Greenpeace disagree about where potential loggings could take place in the future. This organisational aim highlights tension derived from different organisational purposes: while bringing together the perspectives of indigenous rights and protecting the environment enabled Muonio RHC and Greenpeace to collaborate and gain advantage in the first place, they might potentially collide. However, in general the common aims have provided the partners with guidelines and a shared purpose, helping to shape the way forward and navigate the relationship and have not been obstructed by organisational aims.

4.4.2 Trust

The above-described common aims regarding the substance and process of the collaboration played a vital role for the building of trust between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace through the forming of expectations and managing risks. As shown in section 4.3 Muonio RHC and Greenpeace have different preconditions and the risks associated with the collaboration are thus also very different: For the RHC the lines between organisational and personal risks are blurred as they have to consider for example how other people in the local community view Greenpeace and how this would affect the members of the RHC. The process focused aim that the collaboration has to happen on the RHC's terms thus was essential to building enough trust to take the risk associated with the collaboration, as it allowed Muonio RHC to have ownership over the story and the process. It facilitated the forming of expectations about the roles in the collaboration: As shown in sections 4.1 and 4.2 the roles were clearly defined: Greenpeace offered its channels to amplify the story

of Muonio RHC, who on their part acted as the experts in charge of verifying information given out. While this arrangement caused sometimes frustrations due to e.g., different speeds of working, both partners showed a clear commitment to it, which then further built trust. Together with the substance aim to stop all logging by Sveaskog within the borders of Muonio RHC the process aim provided the collaboration with guidelines on how to move forward and develop tactics that supported both aims; e.g., the active stopping of logging in Muonio, the patrolling of forests and filing a complaint about Sveaskog to FSC.

Additionally, as outlined in section 4.3 the partners had very different starting points in joining the collaboration: Greenpeace could actively choose, while Muonio RHC expressed desperation in the conflict with Sveaskog. This could have impacted their willingness to take the risk of collaborating as the risk of not working together (and continue to not have consultations with Sveaskog) is potentially greater than the potential negative consequences of working with Greenpeace.

Over time the dynamic of the collaboration changed as Greenpeace established a presence in order to enact the agenda of the collaboration by stopping logging from happening. Greenpeace invested more resources into the collaboration through mobilising people and allocating paid staff to be present, however the very collaboration also increased their ability to do so, as pointed out in section 4.2. This new phase in the collaboration also marks a need to sustain the initial trust build through managing the differences in power and the new dynamics: New people came in – both as volunteers for Greenpeace but also as parts of other organisations such as Skogsupprøret and Amnesty Sápmi – and situations arose, which showed that the “how to” within the collaboration had not been completely defined: As pointed out in section 4.3 representatives from Muonio RHC felt that Greenpeace overstepped boundaries and acted above the RHC’s heads on several occasions and thereby offending the ownership Muonio RHC holds. The participants in this study from Greenpeace did not perceive any overstepping. This indicates that it has not been completely defined where the boundaries are and who gets to set them ultimately; especially when dynamics change. This could potentially negatively impact the trust built over time.

However, as shown in section 4.2 both partners showed commitment in nurturing the collaborative relationship, getting to know each other and thereby the trust between two very different partners, leading to the overall perception of the collaboration as empowering and providing them with collaborative advantage. As Interviewee 2 put it: “In the beginning there were many very basic things we [Muonio RHC] were forced to explain. But it has become a bit more secure – we know better now what we have in each other and how we can collaborate and communicate.”.

The commitment of both partners to the collaboration furthermore becomes evident in the fact that none of the participants expressed that there was ever a

thought of ending the collaboration before the joint aim was reached. As the collaboration was mainly bilateral with other actors offering some support here and there, either Muonio RHC or Greenpeace stepping out would have negative consequences for both as Muonio RHC would lose access to Greenpeace's platforms and resources and Greenpeace would lose Muonio RHC's story and potentially future relationships with other RHC, if seen as an untrustworthy partner. Seen from a resource angle Greenpeace is the more powerful actor in the collaboration, however, both possess the power to leave the collaboration at any given time. This is further amplified by the simple structure of the collaboration not only in terms of it only being two organisations but also a limited number of individuals actively involved, who showed trust and commitment. The structure in itself then becomes an important part in nurturing the collaborative relationship and the fact that the partners found ways to express frustrations and conflicts with each other points towards a trustful relationship and the perception that working together provides both with collaborative advantage.

Discussion and conclusions

In this chapter I will discuss my empirical and analytical results in relation to other literature. Furthermore, I will show the limitations of this study as well as suggest directions for further research.

The collaboration between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace Sweden shows similar tensions as outlined in the theory and practice of collaborative advantage (Huxham and Vangen, 2005): It is in its essence a collaboration between two organisations with different resources and preconditions as well as purposes and while these differences are the reason the partners can achieve collaborative advantage together by complementing each other, they also created frustrations. These frustrations – e.g., created through different ways of working and unclear boundaries – also show the dynamic between collaborative advantage and inertia: While the collaboration is overall seen as successful, the results show that there have been instances where inertia was felt; which was overcome by continuously working on the relationship. The importance of common aims for this aligns with Vangen and Huxham (2014) as they not only served as guidelines for the way forward and thereby supported the building of trust, but also increased the partners' commitment to the collaboration itself. This commitment then increased the ability of the partners to overcome frustrations born out of asymmetries between them.

The interconnectedness and overlapping between the themes as outlined by Vangen and Huxham (2005) also became evident e.g. the common process focussed aim, that the collaboration has to happen on the RHC's terms and being essential in building trust. This, however, also points towards a limitation of the study: Due to the scope of this thesis only the two theory-derived themes of common aims and trust could be explored. I will address this further when discussing limitations and further studies in section 5.1.

An aspect not reflected in Vangen and Huxham's (2005) conceptualisation of trust that emerged in the analysis is how the risk of not collaborating impacts the willingness of taking the risk associated with collaborations: Having “nothing left to lose” (Interviewee 2) put Muonio RHC in a position to enter the collaboration despite the concerns and putting their trust into it.

The dynamics in the collaboration, the need to adapt to each other and the important role of self-determination are furthermore reflected in literature on collaborative research in the context of Sápmi, that forms the basis of my own

reflections and ethical considerations as described in section 3.6: As Löff and Stinnerbom (2016) show one of the key challenges in relation to Sámi research is to overcome hierarchical relations and ensure agency and the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples in the research process. This also proved to be essential in the collaboration between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace and was ensured through the above-discussed common aims and the power of each party to exit the collaboration at any time; a possibility that was also communicated to the participants of this study. The clear acknowledgement of Muonio RHC as the experts regarding the conflict with Sveaskog and reindeer herding and having the final word ensures ownership and acknowledgement of knowledge and how this knowledge is used in communication, resonating with the right to self-determination (Löff and Stinnerbom, 2016).

Additionally, the asymmetries between the partners that emerged in the results and the challenges connected to them furthermore relate to the need for reflexivity and sensitivity to each other's needs in collaborative research: In order for the collaboration to be successful partners have to not only build trust and find common aims but also adjust practically and be willing to learn from and about each other (Löff and Stinnerbom, 2016).

5.1 Limitations and further studies

As the scope of this study was limited by both timeframes and length, the analysis focussed only on the themes of common aims and trust. Conducting action research from the beginning of the collaboration would have enabled me to more deeply explore the dynamics; e.g., changing aims and deepening relationships and how they impact the collaboration. Some potential conflicts have not played out yet and have therefore not been captured; e.g., the described tensions between organisational and common aims.

As my method of data collection, I conducted interviews. In a longer action research project other methods could be employed; e.g., participant observation in meetings between partners to explore internal dynamics such as who sets agendas in meetings and how common aims are negotiated. Furthermore, it was difficult to assess which aims were explicit, which were unstated or even hidden as it was not always clear if the organisational aims were discussed in meetings or never stated at all. Participant observation could have given insight into aspect.

Furthermore, I focussed in my interviews mostly on the participants as representatives of their respective organisation. Therefore, their personal aims and motivations were less prominent. For further research it would be interesting to focus more on these personal accounts and thereby gain insights into other themes connected to collaborative advantage and inertia, e.g., the role of culture and

identity specifically in a Swedish context. Other themes discussed by Vangen and Huxham (2005) also arose, such as membership structures and power, but also could not be explored in depth due to the institutional restrictions of the thesis in terms of scope.

5.2 Concluding remarks

In this thesis I aimed to map the collaboration between Muonio RHC and Greenpeace Sweden and explore if and how they achieved collaborative advantage. However, coming from a transformative worldview the purpose of the study exceeds the understanding of the collaboration by developing practical learnings and induce change not only for this specific but also future collaborations in a Swedish context. In order to achieve this purpose, I will conclude the action research spiral: This thesis will be the basis for a reflection together with the participants in order to develop learnings together that can be applied for this or future collaborations.

As described in section 3.2 action research aims not only to induce change in the practice itself but also in how the practice is understood and on a broader scale the conditions in which it takes place (Kemmis, 2009). Concluding the action research spiral together with the participants therefore offers the opportunity to not only strengthen this collaboration but also – in the case of Greenpeace – gain a deeper understanding of the organisational conditions needed for such collaborations in a Swedish context.

This fills an important research and practice gap: As more co-operations and collaborations between the environmental movement and Sámi actors in Sweden are emerging (see: Amnesty Sápmi, 2022; Pettersson, 2022) this study contributes to understanding how such collaborations can be successful and contribute to change in a Swedish context.

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Popular Science Summary

The collaboration between Greenpeace Sweden and Muonio reindeer herding community is a collaboration between two very different partners, that showed commitment and willingness to adjust in order to work together successfully. This thesis explored how the actors benefitted from the collaboration as well as the challenges of working together. To do this I interviewed five people from both Greenpeace Sweden and Muonio. The transcripts of these interviews were then analysed, looking for themes regarding the collaboration as well as what aims the actors presented and how trust was built and sustained.

The study shows that both actors perceive the collaboration as a stepping stone to achieve aims that go beyond that demand, showing the different purposes of the two actors: Muonio aims to change its legal status as an organisation, giving them more rights to be consulted by companies like state-owned forestry company Sveaskog. The collaboration provides them with a platform to tell their story and reach out to other organisations who can help them achieve this aim. For Greenpeace telling the story of Muonio helps showing the impacts forestry in Sweden has on people. The overarching aim is to protect forests and it is assumed that reindeer herding communities would stop logging in valuable forests as these are also valuable for reindeer herding – helping Muonio to gain consultations with Sveaskog is thus seen as a way to enable them to stop logging from happening.

Furthermore, the study shows that the collaboration is perceived as empowering: Muonio found an ally for a fight they previously fought on their own and this very fight provided Greenpeace with a purpose; enabling them to mobilise people to join. An important precondition for this empowerment is the agreement between the two partners that everything within the collaboration had to happen on Muonio's terms: They are the owners of the story and the experts regarding reindeer herding. Greenpeace offered its platforms to them, but Muonio kept control over what was communicated. This agreement helped to build trust and while it also created frustrations, it provided the two partners with guidelines on how to work together.

The frustrations experienced by the actors stem from different preconditions: Muonio having the final say on what was to be communicated also means that things would take longer for Greenpeace as Muonio does not have paid staff to work in the collaboration. Both actors had to adjust to each other and continue building trust. That none of the actors considered leaving the collaboration – a

power both possess – shows the commitment and willingness to adjust, that together with shared aims and trust made this collaboration successful.

The results of this study are valuable for both Greenpeace and Muonio as they help to develop learnings from the collaboration that can strengthen the relationship between the two and future collaborations. It is also relevant to other organisations that plan to join such collaborations as it shows ways how these collaborations can be successful and where the challenges may lie, ultimately contributing to a wider change in how organisations work together.

Appendix 1 – Interview Guide English

Hey and thanks that you agreed to participate in this interview for my master's thesis! The thesis is part of my education at SLU in the programme "Environmental Communication & Management". The topic of the thesis is to explore the collaboration between Muonio Sameby and Greenpeace Sweden.

Is it okay for you if I record this interview? The recording will only be used for the transcription and deleted afterwards.

Do you wish to be anonymous in the study or have your name mentioned?

It is okay to stop the interview anytime or to choose to not answer a question. During the interview we will be talking about the situation between Muonio Sameby and Sveaskog and the collaboration between the Sameby and Greenpeace Sweden.

Do you have any questions before we start the interview and I start the recording?

Part 1: Introduction

- Presenting the project, aim and design
- Information about the interview (documentation, length, ending of interview, presentation of results)
- Ethical concerns: confidentiality, anonymity
 - o Do you have any questions before we start the interview?

Part 2: Personal Introduction

- Can you tell me a little bit about who you are?
 - o For Muonio Sameby: Can you tell me a little bit about the sameby?
 - o For GP: Can you tell me what is important to know about Greenpeace as an organisation?
- What is your role in Greenpeace/Muonio sameby?

Part 3: Forests and conflict

- What does forest mean to you?

- Please tell me about the relationship between Muonio Sameby and Sveaskog?
 - o How do you experience the interaction between Muonio Sameby and Sveaskog?
 - o Has the relationship changed?
 - o If yes: What do you think are the reasons and in what way has it changed?
- (What are the impacts of forestry as it is practiced by Sveaskog?)
- How does the situation with Sveaskog influence Muonio sameby?
 - o Are there other aspects you would like to mention that impact Muonio sameby?
- How does it impact you personally?
- Do you think it is possible to solve this situation?
 - o If yes: How can it be solved?
 - o By whom? And on what level? → explore agency of the different actors
 - o Do you see obstacles to this process?

Part 4: Collaboration with the other party

- How would you describe the collaboration between Greenpeace and Muonio Sameby?
- Can you tell me a little bit about how this collaboration came into place and why?
- Have there been earlier collaborations within similar partners?
 - o Does this collaboration differ from these earlier ones and if yes how?
- What expectations did you have towards this collaboration?
 - o Have they been fulfilled?
- How is the collaboration useful?
 - o Do you see any risks?
- Has the collaboration changed over time?
- What would you say is the role of your organisation in the collaboration?
- And what is the role of the other party in the collaboration?
- Have you experienced any conflicts between the partners?
- What would you say is the goal of the collaboration for your organisation?
- What are your wishes for the future?

Part 5: At the End

- Thank you for your time and openness
- Would you like to add anything?

Appendix 2 – Interview Guide Swedish

Del 1: Introduktion

Hej, tack för att du vill medverka i denna intervju och i min kandidatuppsats! Uppsatsen är en del av min utbildning på SLU där jag läser Miljökommunikation & Management. Uppsatsens syfte är att undersöka samarbetet mellan Muonio sameby och Greenpeace Sverige.

Känns det okej för dig att intervjun spelas in? Jag kommer enbart använda mig av ljudinspelningen och ta bort videoinspelningen direkt efter mötet. Ljudinspelningen kommer inte att spridas till någon annan.

Vill du vara anonym i studien eller önskar du att ditt namn står med? Det går bra att avbryta intervjun när som helst eller välja att inte svara på frågor. Under intervjun kommer vi prata om situationen mellan Muonio Sameby och Sveaskog och samarbetet mellan samebyn och Greenpeace Sverige.

Har du några frågor innan vi påbörjar intervjun och jag sätter i gång inspelningen?

Del 1: Introduktion

- Presentera projekt, mål och design
- Information om intervjun (dokumentation, längd, intervjuslut, presentation av resultat)
- Etiska frågor: sekretess, anonymitet
 - o Har du några frågor innan vi startar intervjun?

Del 2: Personlig introduktion

- Kan du berätta lite om vem du är?
 - o För Muonio Sameby: Kan du berätta lite om sameby?
 - o För GP: Kan du berätta vad som är viktigt att veta om Greenpeace som organisation?
- Vilken är din roll i Greenpeace/Muonio sameby?

Del 3: Skogar och konflikter

- Vad betyder skog för dig?
- Berätta gärna om förhållandet mellan Muonio Sameby och Sveaskog?
 - o Hur upplever du interaktionen mellan Muonio Sameby och Sveaskog?
 - o Har förhållandet förändrats?
 - o Om ja: Vad tror du är orsakerna och på vilket sätt har det förändrats?
- (Vilka effekter har skogsbruket som det bedrivs av Sveaskog?)
- Hur påverkar situationen med Sveaskog Muonio sameby?
 - o Finns det andra aspekter som du skulle vilja nämna som påverkar Muonio sameby?
- Hur påverkar det dig personligen?
- Tror du att det är möjligt att lösa den här situationen?
 - o Om ja: Hur kan det lösas?
 - o Av vem? Och på vilken nivå?
 - o Ser du hinder för denna process?

Del 4: Samarbete med motparten

- Hur skulle du beskriva samarbetet mellan Greenpeace och Muonio Sameby?
- Kan du berätta lite om hur det här samarbetet kom på plats och varför?
- Har det förekommit tidigare samarbeten med liknande partner?
 - o Skiljer sig detta samarbete från dessa tidigare och om ja hur?
- Vilka förväntningar hade du på det här samarbetet?
 - o Har de uppfyllts?
- Hur är samarbetet hjälpsamt? Är det hjälpsamt?
 - o Ser du några risker?
- Har samarbetet förändrats över tid?
- Vad skulle du säga är din organisations roll i samarbetet?
- Och vilken roll har motparten i samarbetet?
- Har du upplevt några konflikter mellan parterna?
- Vad skulle du säga är målet med samarbetet för din organisation?
- Vad har du för önskemål inför framtiden?

Del 5: I slutet

- Tack för din tid och öppenhet
- Vill du tillägga något?

Appendix 3 – Previous studies

List of previous studies reviewed for this thesis, focussing on collaborations and conflicts involving indigenous communities and non-governmental actors

Davis, L., O'Donnell, V. and Shpuniarsky, H. (2007) 'Aboriginal-Social Justice Alliances: Understanding the Landscape of Relationships through the Coalition for a Public Inquiry into Ipperwash', *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, (36), p. 95. doi:10.7202/040778ar

Di Chiro, G. (2007) 'Indigenous Peoples and Biocolonialism: Defining the "Science of Environmental Justice" in the Century of the Gene', in Sandler, R.D. and Pezzullo, P.C. (eds) *Environmental justice and environmentalism: the social justice challenge to the environmental movement*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, pp. 251–283. Available at: <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10173729> (Accessed: 20 May 2022).

Löf, A. and Stinnerbom, M. (2016) 'Making collaboration work - Reflections from both sides', in Drugge, A.-L. (ed.) *Ethics in indigenous research: past experiences: future challenges*. Umeå (Sámi dutkan, no. 7).

Murphy, M. and Arenas, D. (2010) 'Through Indigenous Lenses: Cross-Sector Collaborations with Fringe Stakeholders', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 94(S1), pp. 103–121. doi:10.1007/s10551-011-0782-4.

Persson, S., Harnesk, D. and Islar, M. (2017) 'What local people? Examining the Gállok mining conflict and the rights of the Sámi population in terms of justice and power', *Geoforum*, 86, pp. 20–29. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.08.009.

Raitio, K. (2016) 'Seized and missed opportunities in responding to conflicts: constructivity and destructivity in forest conflicts management in Finland and British Columbia, Canada', in *Environmental Communication and Community. Constructive and destructive dynamics of social transformation*. London ; New York, NY: Routledge Earthscan, pp. 229–249.

Steinman, E. (2019) 'Why was Standing Rock and the #NoDAPL campaign so historic? Factors affecting American Indian participation in social movement collaborations and coalitions', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(7), pp. 1070–1090. doi:10.1080/01419870.2018.1471215.

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