

Cultural Hegemony and Civil Injustice: A Dialectic of Global and Indigenous Perspectives on the Struggle for Justice in the Context of Neo-Colonial Expansion and Capitalist Exploitation in Fosen



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ABSTRACT: This paper examines the implications of the wind energy expansion in the Fosen region on Indigenous communities, specifically the Sampi region, and the resulting human rights violations. Despite the acknowledgment of these violations, the energy companies, and the Norwegian government, represented by the olje og energidepartementet (OED) and Statkraft, have displayed a lack of substantial action over a span of 600 days to address or hold accountable those responsible for these transgressions. This situation underscores the conflict between the interests of the minority and the majority, emphasizing the need to prioritize the well-being of the Indigenous community. However, the state has yet to launch initiatives or compensatory measures to address the damages inflicted. Instead, the Indigenous peoples find themselves on the brink of assuming a significant role within the context of Norwegian and European green capitalism. The objective of this research is to investigate the complex relationship between Western democratic capitalism, neoliberalism, and Indigenous peoples, particularly in the context of climate change and ongoing efforts to decarbonize the energy and transportation sectors. Furthermore, this study explores the historical and contemporary instances of inaction, inertia, and a lack of willingness to effectively confront climate change and social inequality. By critically examining these dynamics, this paper aims to raise awareness about the inherent shortcomings of prevailing economic and political systems in safeguarding the rights of Indigenous peoples and effectively addressing the urgent challenges posed by climate change in our globally interconnected yet unequal world. The study also highlights the disparities in social outcomes experienced by already marginalized groups, both within national and transnational contexts, acknowledging and recognizing perspectives and grievances from those most exposed to social inequity and climate change outcomes.

1.1 Introduction

The primary objective of this master's thesis is to shed light on the interconnected and interdependent nature of climate change-induced risks and harms to society and the environment. The thesis aims to explore how these impacts permeate throughout society, exhibiting inherent variability in outcomes while presenting challenges in understanding their extent and codependency. Within the prevailing Western cultural hegemony and capitalist system, certain economic powers predetermine and predispose us to perpetuate the same mistakes. Although distinctions must be made, these capitalist powers exert a particularly strong influence in the United States and, to a lesser extent, domestically in Norway. Nonetheless, the comprehensive reach of capitalism has established a precedent where actors driven by capital often fail to recognize the broader implications of economic processes and

decision-making, leading to what Marxist theorist and British geographer David Harvey refers to as "capital bondage" (Harvey, 2003).

The cumulative effects of these processes extend far beyond mere economic encroachment. Consequently, it is crucial not to confine the analysis solely to perspectives of economic benefit and loss but to also consider the historical and ongoing injustices, including both historical and contemporary emissions. These factors shape the legacy of our actions, or inaction, in addressing climate change, global warming, and their intricate connections to social injustice, as well as economic, social, and geographical inequalities.

The necessity of transitioning towards renewable energy sources to mitigate the risks posed by climate change brings attention to the inherent instabilities within modernity. This shift, commonly referred to as the "green shift," has resulted in the emergence of green capitalism, alongside neo-imperialism, and neo-colonialism. Within this framework, societies can be divided into two distinct classes: the capital bourgeoisie elites, comprising governmental bodies and multinational corporations, and the proletarian working class, those that are most averse to the impacts of late-stage capitalism and the imminent risks and catastrophes associated with climate change. As a result, an increasing number of scholars and society as a whole attribute capitalism as the fundamental cause and perpetuator of global warming (Klein, 2015; Chomsky & Waterstone, 2021).

While the consequences of industrial and colonial expansion have been extensively examined, their universal dissemination, understanding, or potential deliberate disregard remain noteworthy. This study seeks to illuminate this paradox by investigating the public spheres surrounding climate change, capital interests, and human rights. Specifically, it aims to explore how these issues are portrayed and framed in public discourse pertaining to global warming, capitalist establishments, and social inequities. To gain deeper insights into the challenges associated with global warming and its implications within a neoliberal or capitalist society, this thesis focuses on a specific case in the Norwegian context. It examines the ongoing and historical injustices against Indigenous peoples, with a particular emphasis on the deployment of wind turbines in Fosen, specifically in Roan and Storheia. Throughout this thesis, a nuanced perspective on conflicting interests will be developed by comparing various aspects of difference and similarity at the national and international levels, while considering both past and present circumstances.

1.2 Disposition

The core skeleton for my scholarly inquiry centres around the interplay of social and institutional dynamics between the individual and the state, or more importantly how it is portrayed by different actors and coalitions. It also encompasses the intricate relationships between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, as well as the contrast between white-Anglo-Saxon heteronormative individuals and marginalized groups, particularly those identified as Black, Indigenous, or People of Colour.

Within the context of this research, Anti-imperial, Marxist, Intersectional and Post-Structuralist perspectives are employed to analyse the intersection of climate change and efforts to mitigate or adapt to it. Specifically, attention is directed towards the vested interests of incumbent powers, the state, and capital, and how their interconnections perpetuate neo-colonial industrial expansions through the guise of the majority interest narrative, driven by the promotion of green energy as an alternative to fossil fuels.

The concept of the majority, in an increasingly globalized world, is elusive as we encounter diverse interpretations that deviate from our own. This diversity enables us to gain insights into phenomena that challenge ruling classes entrenched in institutional structures, private property, and capital. The portrayal of neo-colonial energy expansions as unavoidable for the collective welfare traces its roots to historical manifestations of colonial rule and contemporary systems of subjugation.

Consequently, this research draws upon the theoretical framework of historical and dialectical materialism, which underscores the differentiation in material conditions and their unequal distribution across historical periods as well as in the present context. It aims to expose the exploitative nature of colonialism, imperialism, and their contemporary iterations such as neo-colonialism, neo-settlerism, and capital imperialism (Paradies, 2020). As a result, we adopt a counter-sovereignty perspective to gain a comprehensive understanding of the struggles and historical experiences of marginalized communities, particularly Indigenous populations. The primary focus of this thesis centres around the Sami people and other Indigenous groups residing in the Global North, namely Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. Moreover, this study incorporates insights from other Western contexts, including

Canada, the USA, and other contemporary instances of resistance against colonial governance through counter-sovereignty actions (Vimalassery, 2014).

The objective is to alleviate the burden imposed by the prevailing power imbalance between the oppressors and the oppressed. This will be achieved by critically examining and deconstructing the narratives surrounding the Fosen case, climate change, capital, state interests, and Indigenous minorities. By extending this analysis to other regional and transnational contexts, we gain a comprehensive perspective on the dominant narratives within our current socio-economic system. Which is dominated by Western conservative, liberal and social democratic countries, which every country, from Norway, to the US inherently is to the detriment of Indigenous or local communities which lived there before them (Raju Das, 2017), (Normann, 2021).

Through the exposure of the inherent contradictions and intricate interconnectedness embedded within these narratives, it becomes possible to effectively challenge the prevailing cultural hegemony, which often disguises itself as representing broader society or so-called “majority interest.” By employing the dialectical method, the intention is to provide a demonstration that these narratives have been shaped by a common-sense perspective frequently embraced by capital realists, effective altruists, proponents of Reganomics, and advocates of the invisible hand in the free market (Harvey, 2005). This perspective gains additional support from the renowned philosopher and critical thinker Ayn Rand, whose stance on capitalism as the favored global system is evident, despite some ideological ambiguity. Rand advocates for the prioritization of self-indulgence and pursuing self-interest over collective collaboration on a national or communal level (Younkins, 2016). Esteemed intellectuals such as Milton Friedman, Jeremy Bentham, and Adam Smith have made significant contributions to the ideologies of Liberalism, Utilitarianism, Panopticism, and Capitalism, respectively (Friedman, 1963; Bentham, 1789; Hollander, 1927).

Nonetheless, the commitment to these ideologies, theories, and policies concerning socio-economic matters continues to be a matter of investigation and doubt among individuals who have first-hand experience or comprehensive knowledge of the economic and cultural consequences linked to them. As a result, the pursuit of cost-cutting measures frequently leads to politically driven austerity measures and exacerbates climate change impacts on our surroundings, particularly in regions belonging to the Global South (Cheney, 2015).

1.3 Aim and approach

My aim is to shed light on the existing human rights violations in Fosen and delve into their historical roots, including institutionalized discrimination, forced expropriations, and cultural genocide. To achieve this objective, a post-structuralist, neo-Marxist, and dialectical approach is employed, adopting an analytical framework to investigate the ongoing processes and conflicts that occur at the intersection of the individual and the state. By incorporating these theoretical perspectives, the research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted dynamics at play.

Moreover, this analysis takes into consideration the wider context of Western democratic influence and the impact of capitalistic ideology and neo-liberal policies. The evolving relationship between these factors has started to impede genuine efforts to address human rights and global warming concerns. Recognizing the profound implications of these issues for individuals worldwide, the research aims to explore how the interplay between prevailing capitalist systems, Western social democracy, and the pervasive influence of neo-liberalism contributes to and intersects with the challenges posed by global warming and social equity.

By adopting an interdisciplinary approach, the research endeavours to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the intricate issues surrounding human rights violations in the Fosen region. Furthermore, it aims to shed light on the broader domestic and global socio-political and economic contexts in which these violations take place. The analysis will reveal a clear discord and discrepancy between governmental actions and the expressed posture in this particular case, which will be elucidated through theoretical frameworks, historical accounts, and thorough analysis to be more applicable to wider society than previously expected.

To foster socially equitable and ecologically sustainable societies, it is crucial to acknowledge the historical power structures and the institutions that have facilitated and perpetuated them. The advancement of modern progress and democratic achievements has often come at the expense of the destruction or subjugation of the environment and Indigenous communities. The struggles of Indigenous peoples for justice and reconciliation shed light on the intricate, interconnected, and sometimes contradictory relationship between the state and minority groups. Therefore, this research emphasizes the moral and ethical

dimensions inherent in the complex historical, pluralistic, and polarizing dynamics that arise from the clash between Indigenous perspectives on nature and the capitalist bourgeois society.

In my research approach, the influence of bias is inevitable and significant. This bias manifests twofold: firstly, my selection of data may tend to favour less conventional theories and data sources; secondly, I must acknowledge that, as an individual embedded within the cultural hegemony, my views on Indigenous peoples are undoubtedly shaped by contemporary and historical narratives that have predominantly originated from and catered to white Anglo-Saxons.

When discussing the gravity of climate change and global warming in terms of its extensive scope and impact, it is crucial to argue from a multidisciplinary perspective that encompasses climate science, dialectical/historical materialism, socio-historical analysis, environmental considerations, and indigenous justice concerns (Siebert, 2021). This approach is essential to foster theoretical avant-gardism, which is urgently needed given the current alarming trajectories of climate change and global warming.

Getting inspiration from Hegel and Marx, I aim to comprehend societal phenomena by employing the dialectical method, which reveals the interplay of contestation and conformity within the two systems dominating society, Idealism and Materialism (Hegel, 1991), (Marx et al., 2013). In societies governed by social or liberal democratic regimes, the pursuit of individual freedom, spiritual or religious liberty, and the right to earn a wage and acquire property is often championed as the primary driving force. However, it is my hope that by the end of this thesis, I can demonstrate that this purported reality is unattainable for all members of the current social order, and to pretend otherwise would disregard the genuine human suffering and impoverishment experienced by those not in the top 1%/10%/50% respectively. Drawing from Marxist theory, specifically emphasizing the dialectical method and historical materialism as the conceptual framework, this research aims to analyse contemporary society and its historical antecedents. Concurrently, a post-structuralist perspective will be adopted, incorporating Marxist-Gramscian notions of cultural hegemony, Ulrich Beck's concept of the risk society, and consideration for the term "the other" and intersectional thinking. These theories fundamentally critique structuralist approaches that rely on overarching narratives to understand the world and society. Instead, the post-structuralist viewpoint asserts the

subjective nature of truth, suggesting that there is no objective truth that can be universally ascertained. Rather, the goal is to develop a more nuanced understanding by comparing diverse subjective interpretations and worldviews, thereby potentially synthesizing ideas or acknowledging instances where synthesis proves elusive. The choice to employ this approach also aims to distance oneself from realist or capital idealist interpretations that have long dominated the Western cultural hegemony and the canon of the Western gaze.

2.1 Background

In certain regions of Fosen, the rapid installation of wind turbines has had a detrimental impact on its geography and surrounding areas, leading to the disruption of reindeer populations. This situation poses a threat to the sovereignty of the Sámi people in the Sápmi region of Norway, hindering their ability to freely express their cultural identity. The wind energy expansion in Fosen violate the United Nations Convention on Civil and Political Rights (UN, 1966) article 27 and can be categorized as an ongoing human rights violation. Recognizing the unalienable rights of the Sámi people as an Indigenous group across multiple countries, including Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, the Norwegian Supreme Court ruled in favour of the Sámi people. However, the government has not implemented substantial measures and instead prioritizes the economic interests associated with the wind parks. The absence of adequate support for the Sámi people and the lack of meaningful dialogue reflects a resistance within the institutional framework. To comply with the UN Convention and the Norwegian Constitution regarding Indigenous rights (Grunnloven, 1814), immediate and transparent actions such as dismantling the wind parks and mitigating the adverse effects on the Sámi people's livelihoods are necessary to safeguard their cultural heritage and freedom of cultural expression. A notable divergence and conflict emerge between the government or capital interests and humanist, Indigenous, or environmental movement and advocacy groups. The government has employed the transition to renewable energy as a justification for neo-colonial expansion. Regarding the wind-park expansion, Øyvind Ravna, a professor at UiT, criticized the government's lack of action in the Fosen case, stating that it violated their constitutional and UN-mandated commitments. In November 2022, Ravna referred to the government's denial of ongoing human rights violations as a "creative interpretation" of the supreme court ruling (Lindgaard Stranden, 2022). Unfortunately, despite the Norwegian Supreme Court's ruling over 600 days ago, the violations in the affected regions continue without any meaningful resolution.

The government has failed to take effective measures to address these ongoing human rights infringements, despite ongoing discussions. This situation sets a troubling precedent, as economic interests and environmental concerns take precedence over the protection of fundamental human rights, particularly those of Indigenous communities. Throughout history, Indigenous peoples have faced marginalization, persecution, and violence on a global scale. Governments have historically adopted harmful assimilation practices, marked by discrimination and the degradation of Indigenous societies (Normann, 2021).

The situation surrounding the expansion of wind turbines in Fosen and its ongoing conflict with the principles outlined in the 27th UN Convention on Civil and Political Rights serves as a pertinent case study with broader implications for our contemporary society. This case involving the clash between the minority and the majority, as it pertains to issues of freedom and property, establishes a significant precedent. Consequently, it has the potential to shape and influence the actions and agency of individuals as they navigate and interact with their surroundings. Thus, it becomes crucial to engage in an in-depth exploration and analysis of the discourse surrounding this issue to gain a comprehensive understanding of the intricate relationship between the state and the individual in an increasingly globalized, climate change risk adverse world brought on by the political axioms of modernity (Paradies, 2020).

2.2 Global context

To develop a comprehensive comprehension of Norway's positioning within the global context, the inclusion of diverse external perspectives and alliances becomes essential. This methodology facilitates the contextualization of the Fosen case and the dynamics pertaining to the Sámi people and the Norwegian state within the broader historical and cultural landscape encompassing conflicts and disputes involving minority and majority groups. These historical accounts, acknowledged worldwide as tumultuous chapters, will be given considerable attention throughout this thesis. The focus will be directed towards examining the interplay between globalization, hyperconnectivity, interconnectedness of capital accumulation, and the risks and consequences associated with climate change. Initially, the thesis will underscore the dynamics of global power and the gradual transformations thereof, thereby establishing the multifaceted nature and inherent ambiguity of global politics. Subsequently, by shedding light on global historical processes through the utilization of concepts such as dialectical/historical materialism, intersectional thinking, and the

examination of the impact on Indigenous communities, as well as the exploitative experiences of colonial and imperial grieving nations, a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of the interconnected world can be achieved.

2.3 A geopolitical shift of power?

The field of geopolitics aims to comprehend the primary modes of production in international relations and the dynamics of geopolitical power. Recent developments have highlighted a decline in the dominance of Western powers in this domain (Desai, 2022). The traditional belief that a Western coalition, comprising neo-liberal and social Western democracies supported by institutions like NATO and the EU, is impervious to challenges has been contested due to the emergence of influential industrial giants of the south known as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). Geopolitical concerns for Western capitalist interests and state objectives have been further heightened by Russia's ongoing military intervention in Ukraine and China's territorial ambitions. As a result, a new paradigm reminiscent of the "cold war" is shaping the global landscape in the era of globalization (Chen, 2022).

Throughout history, the power imbalance between the imperial core (representing US or EU capital interests) and the periphery, which includes the Global South, has perpetuated colonial, territorial, and geographical inequalities that disadvantage Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour (BIPOC) communities. The United States, as the dominant force, and Europe, as its subordinate "little brother," have resulted in European entanglement in U.S. interests that may not necessarily align with their own or those of their citizens. Examples of this include the controversial invasions and militaristic interventions in Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan, which became the longest-standing military conflicts for the U.S. until the Taliban regained control of Kabul in August 2021. These events have significantly undermined the narrative of "Pax Americana" and exposed the illusion of American exceptionalism (Bacevich, 2022).

Although political figures like French Prime Minister Emmanuel Macron adopt postures of "multipolarity," indicating a departure from rhetorical subservience to the United States, concrete actions to divest or disengage from U.S. hegemonic interests have been slow and lack clarity (Shidore, 2023). At the same time, the European Council on Foreign Relations

(ECFR, 2023) argues that the West can no longer unilaterally define democracy and freedom. It emphasizes the emergence of a multipolar world order that challenges the EU and the U.S. in their ability to monopolize truth and assert cultural hegemonic narratives both domestically and internationally.

2.4 Towards a more global perspective

The discourse surrounding climate change, whether at the international, national, or regional level, exhibits inherent contradictions. While there is a scientific consensus on the detrimental impacts of climate change on the environment, paradoxically, this pressing issue is exacerbated by the pursuit of capital, industrial interests, and geopolitical considerations that prioritize maintaining energy systems and the stability of the bourgeois class on a nation-to-nation scale. In the era of modernity, human activities are the driving force behind the escalation of climate change, solidifying our position in the Anthropocene epoch. However, we find ourselves entangled in internal conflicts and disputes fuelled by mysticism and exceptionalism, perpetuating our reliance on fuel extraction, and reinforcing our dependence on capitalistic modes of production. This dynamic enables major emitters, contributors, and polluters of climate degradation to evade accountability, impeding meaningful discussions and obstructing the necessary steps towards redemption.

In the Anthropocene epoch, it has become evident that we cannot dismiss or disregard the impending devastation we face. The comprehensive report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) encompasses an atlas of human suffering, as emphasized by the United Nations General Secretary in his remarks on the report's findings and projections (Guterres, 2023).

Considering the present pace of carbon emissions and its projected trajectory, we are rapidly approaching the critical threshold of 1.5 degrees Celsius above the global average temperature. Surpassing the 2-degree Celsius mark would already yield significant repercussions, yet the most alarming forecasts indicate that we are well on track to exceed this limit. At our current rate of decarbonization, we are swiftly approaching the perilous range of 3 to 4 degrees Celsius, accompanied by the devastating consequences it entails (IPCC, 2022).

The aspirations for hegemony aimed at safeguarding established economic, geopolitical, and national interests often clash with the imperative of addressing climate change and promoting social equity. While the interdependence between capital accumulation and interpersonal and intergovernmental interests is evident, the pursuit of a dominant narrative within these spheres of interest is a less overt but nonetheless prevalent phenomenon.

The pursuit of capital accumulation and subsequent efforts to uphold it are intricately intertwined with private and national property interests, resulting in global conflicts and land disputes. In extreme cases, these disputes have led to mass deportations, as witnessed in historical events such as the displacement of Native Americans under the Indian Removal Acts. In contemporary contexts, the persistent lack of institutionalized prioritization towards Indigenous communities is starkly evident, exemplified by the ongoing issue of unsolved murders of Indigenous Americans and Inuit people in Canada, commonly known as the "Highway of Tears" (Bender, 2019). This distressing phenomenon serves as a poignant illustration of discrimination perpetuated through inadequate attention and resources allocated to address the safety and well-being of Indigenous communities. These instances further underscore the historical pattern of atrocities and strained relations between capitalist bourgeois society and Indigenous communities.

Discrimination and subjugation of BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and People of Colour) communities are not confined to the past; as these and subsequent examples will demonstrate, they are a product of the prevailing and primitive tribalistic perception of "the other" (Bender, 2019). Such injustices are sometimes depicted as diplomatic in nature, characterized as a cooperative effort between colonizers and the colonized Indigenous peoples, but they entail forceful expropriations, induced famines, diseases, and other forms of intervention that curtail indigenous freedom and environmental protection. The public perception of the perceived level of threat or danger to First Nations often uncomfortably aligns with sensitive national and international affairs that prioritize the "majority interest" while disregarding the injustices faced by minority groups.

2.5 Historical account

The history of the Sámi people is extensive and complex, characterized by a bidirectional and contradictory relationship with the state. The coexistence between the Sámi and the state has been marked by a lack of harmony. Understanding the history of the local Indigenous communities is crucial for comprehending the Norwegian context, but unfortunately, parts of the population often overlook the historical relationship between the Sámi and the Scandinavian countries. After elaborating the local history of the Sámi, I will move on to explore the global historical context, where we find more evidence to support our assertions regarding capital accumulation and what it necessitates.

2.5.1 Norway

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the Norwegian government embarked on a process of "Norwegianization" by forcibly converting the Sámi people to Protestant Christianity. This historical event unfolded within the context of Nordic exceptionalism, which emerged from national romanticism and a reinforced sense of nationalistic identity. Norway, having been in union with Denmark and later with Sweden, and grappling with a complex relationship with its Indigenous peoples, justified the subjugation and conversion of the Sámi based on the actions of other Scandinavian countries. The oppression faced by the Sámi resulted in societal apathy, with Norwegian researchers and missionaries actively participating in the "Norwegianization" process through the lens of scientific racism and discrimination, also known as biological racism (Evjen, 2009).

The entangled relationship between exceptionalism and ethnocentrism fostered pseudo-scientific convictions rooted in an ethnocentric discourse and ideology. This further exemplifies the ethnocentric and identity-driven injustices that have perpetuated a White-supremacy. While there has been some gradual recognition of the Sámi in recent times, it would be unjust and narrow-minded to assume that historical injustices will naturally resolve themselves. When a group has a history of being treated as the "other," the grip of these injustices lingers until they are acknowledged as the significant transgressions they are. The consequences of these injustices may not be readily apparent to most society, but they are glaringly evident to those who have withstood the worst of the power imbalance. It is essential to acknowledge the significance of these transgressions and work towards rectifying the injustices inflicted upon the Sámi people (Evjen, 2009).

2.5.2 Contemporary Account

The case in Fosen represents just one instance of ongoing land disputes between the government and Indigenous peoples. Concurrently, there are other endeavours to resist the mining industry's impact in Kvalsund, which poses a threat to the local reindeer industry. Specifically, Nussir ASA, a mining company operating in Finnmark, has received approval to dispose of toxic waste in Repparfjorden, resulting in ecological harm to the fjord's ecosystems and the wildlife inhabiting the surrounding areas (2019).

In addition, the Sámi community faces challenges in accessing their cultural lands due to legal restrictions on motorized travel in natural areas. This restriction significantly hinders their ability to engage in cultural practices such as fishing, gathering plants and berries, and engaging in the reindeer industry. The Sámi people are limited to traveling on foot to reach their lands, with occasional exceptions granted under extraordinary circumstances. However, even in these cases, they must seek permission to access and cultivate their cultural heritage, indicating a restricted and controlled approach to what is supposed to be individual freedoms (Bakken Kåven, 2023). This highlights the importance of considering the Fosen case within a broader context. Human rights violations and offenses rarely occur in isolation, and they will persist unless decision-makers and governments genuinely demonstrate a deliberate intention to address and distance themselves from such practices.

2.5.3 Decaying exceptionalism

Following World War II, the hypocrisy of the allied forces, who fought against fascism while being colonial powers themselves, became too apparent to sustain itself. This led to countries in the Global South demanding independence and advocating for self-sovereignty, urging Western colonial powers to refrain from interfering in their affairs. This sparked a significant decolonization movement that critiqued Western-biased democracies rooted in Enlightenment ideals.

The persistence of Eurocentrism and exceptionalism in certain discourses has played a pivotal role in shaping historical and contemporary narratives. The conventional justifications of the past have proven inadequate in the face of mounting pressure and contradictions within the cultural hegemony. This, in turn, has contributed to a period of decolonization. Countries that achieved independence during the 20th century continue to grapple with the enduring effects

of colonial oppression through U.S dollar dependency and unequal exchange, which creates exploitative global power relations. It is erroneous to claim that this legacy of oppression belongs solely to the past and does not impact contemporary processes and modes of production. Such a view selectively cherry-picks reality, exonerating the White Man from his wrongdoings. This narrative will persist if the prevailing issue of neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism remains unacknowledged and unaddressed (Copeland et al., 2020).

Reciprocity with nature is essential, and none other than Indigenous peoples and tribes know how to treat it better, they have vast amounts of important experience in being stewards of nature. Western colonialism and imperialism however, put a huge dent in this indigenous achievement. Before modernity was forged through the blood, toil of and violence against Indigenous peoples, they lived side by side with nature, a mutual, co-dependent relationship. The advent of capital and industrial production quickly made nature subservient to western-colonial human innovation and advancement, not limited to its Indigenous inhabitants and peoples.

The life and suffering of Indigenous peoples are to this day played down and underacknowledged, especially veiled is its role in maintaining the public discourse, and prevailing narrative in a way which often exclusively portray Indigenous peoples as “the other.” This “othering” dehumanizes the subjugated and justify current and previous transgressions done by the often White and Western majority. For too long have indigenous voices been erased, silenced and ignored, if the history shows us anything it is that we have had countless chances in modern history to pay tribute and make amends for our ancestors mistakes, but time and time again we follow in their footsteps, paving way for new ways of maximizing profits, rather than learning from indigenous peoples the responsibilities and qualities required and needed to provide stewardship to our planet.

This might seem unwise from a measured perspective, but if we are to be critical on what the history crystallize, white Anglo-Saxons seems to be the uncivilized or savaged, since it seems that in our actions to consolidate hegemony and dominance, we are the ones exerting and contending uncivility and savagery against the Indigenous people.

2.5.4 European and US context

To back such a claim, I think it appropriate to highlight both the Norwegian but also the North American context. As I have previously mentioned the Norwegian government actively and forcefully started converting Sámi's, on the quest to "Norwegianize" our first nations, The Norwegians condemned their way of life and beliefs as heresy, while challenging their sovereignty to act upon it as they had done for millennia. These centuries of discrimination and oppression has undoubtedly sown roots and has shaped public perceptions that allow and reinforce systemic and institutionalized differential treatment based on ethnicity and identity. The deplorable treatment against the Norwegian Indigenous peoples is represented in the disputes and forceful expropriations in places such as Kautokeino, Karasjok, Porsanger, Nesseby and Tana among others, which is only in the region of Finnmark.

One of the most politicized struggles for Sámi rights happened in Alta in the 1970's, where the Norwegian government greenlit and started construction of a hydroelectric dam in between Alta and Kautokeino. The Sámi protested this energy project, through civil disobedience and demonstrations, but institutional injustice followed, nonetheless. The state intervened to control information and prevailing narratives which in the way the history repeats itself, was nested on majority interest to the detriment of the minority. The dam was built, but it created a precedence in the struggle for Indigenous rights and representation, its battle cry is still heard today, and many parallels can be drawn between the Alta-controversy and the Fosen-case (Briggs, 2006).

In the US context, there is a plethora of injustices, its legacy is as bleak as it is hypocritical. Manifest Destiny with the American exceptionalism which paved its way gave White-Anglo Saxon Person (wasp) the supreme right to expropriate First Nations to "civilize" or "tame" the western frontiers of the North Americas, condoning and encouraging white-supremacist colonial territorial expansions, its goal? To "expand its dominion and spread democracy and capitalism across the entire North American continent." Their justification built upon white, Eurocentric chauvinism, nationalism/white-supremacy and capital ideology, its success contingent on the downfall of the Indigenous peoples who suffered to manifest the white Anglo-Saxon protestant destiny to consolidate even more power to the capital bourgeoisie class. Romanticisation of "Manifest Destiny" is still happening, and in popular culture we still see both in statements and rhetoric but also mediatized products like games, movies and songs that hold and aggregate discriminatory, heteronormative, liberal, and individual

freedom ideals and tendencies (Humphreys, 2021). Glorifying the wild west holds difficult historical facets, a child game like “cowboys and Indians” has serious connotations that can create cultural inauthenticity and culturally dispossess current Native American populations and belittles their contemporary and historical existence.

Through this elaboration of the oppression of Indigenous peoples, it is clear to see that capital industry and geographical manipulation of the environment goes hand in hand with colonial and capitalist conquest and expansion, this environmental injustice shows the need for an intersectional perspective. Which why groups such as Intersectional Environmentalist (IE) has lately been gaining more steam within social moments since it highlights the interconnectedness and intersectionality of climate change exacerbations to the environment, and those left most exposed to its wake both on an international global North/South dichotomy but also on a domestic level, which at least in the US context is perfectly synthesized by sociologist Robert Bullard writings on environmental justice (Ahmed, 2021). These curtail the exploits of the white-capital class in the US and the UK on BIPOC communities, in the shape of the redlining of districts which relegated citizens that did not satisfy heteronormative, ethnocentric norms to more polluted and health adverse neighbourhoods and city districts. This has only been exacerbated by decades of neglect and maltreatment, with higher toxicity levels in the air, more pollutants in their environment, these impoverished areas have become breeding ground for social inequity and suffering (Agyeman et al., 2003).

The hegemonic prevailing narrative cannot be put in another light than this because the reality of the lived experience of First Nations and BIPOC communities, they had to endure and survive extreme hardships, often been reduced to abject squalor and poverty, only because they are not deemed “normal” or “unravaged by savagery.” They simply do not satisfy the threshold of our current cultural hegemony, so their struggles and cries for help are too often side-lined because of our inherent preference to consolidate and maintain the status quo of the majority, the bourgeoisie capital society.

Often within political discourse and public debate around issues pertaining to climate change and environmental policy there is a divide between the public knowledge on climate change, what the actual science and majority of scientists publish, say, and indicate and lastly the

inherited and local knowledge that Indigenous people inhabit, which often is neglected or ignored.

Traditionally climate change discourse has been heavily reliant on the public opinion polls and surveys that gauge public perception and sentiment on climate change. This methodology of science is based on personal experience and interaction with the world and local environment that we live within, which is coincidental in western countries where such surveys hold higher prominence and importance capture sentiments that reflect a “psychological distance,” since they are in the least climate change adverse locations (Capstick & Lewis, 2015, s. 726).

The global impact of the disparity between public perception of climate change and the scientific consensus remains uncertain. However, studies conducted in the U.S. and UK reveal that the 2008 financial crisis, specifically the political polarization between liberal and conservative Americans, has made climate change and its solutions increasingly controversial and difficult to attain. This political division has been further amplified by the widespread use of social media and the internet, which foster confirmation bias and echo chambers that perpetuate false or harmful information. As a result, public health, the environment, and society are influenced. Moreover, the rapid global adoption of smartphones and prominent technology platforms has heightened the public's susceptibility to the dissemination and consumption of misinformation about climate change (Croteau et al., 2022).

Climate change opinion and sentiment data and polls have predominantly focused on western countries, particularly the United States and Western Europe, leading to an inadequate representation of viewpoints from countries in the Global South. This oversight has marginalized the societal and cultural dimensions of citizens in non-European and non-North American countries, despite them being disproportionately affected by climate change-induced droughts, floods, and other environmental disasters.

Despite the scientific consensus on the necessary actions to mitigate the impacts of climate change, public concern and political action have been hindered by inertia and resistance, resulting in policy stagnation and, in some cases, regression. The prevailing "business as usual" mindset and the belief in perpetual economic growth have been amplified, with some economists arguing that capitalism and a carbon-neutral, climate-friendly lifestyle and

societal organization are compatible or even complementary with a capitalistic mode of production (Capstick & Lewis, 2015, p. 746).

Public engagement and efforts to address climate change are influenced by the perceived importance attributed to the issue by influential figures and organizations from various spheres including public, financial, scientific, and cultural domains. The factors shaping climate beliefs are complex and multifaceted. However, in the context of the United States, climate change opinion is heavily influenced by political ideology, which, in turn, is shaped by different news actors, think tanks, and non-governmental organizations disseminating false information and rhetoric. These entities actively impede and undermine tangible climate change mitigation efforts through campaigns and events.

This inherent inertia perpetuates societal intransigence, leading to a sense of hopelessness or indifference towards global warming. To address this self-reinforcing cycle, proponents advocate for the normalization of eco-friendliness and conscientiousness. Recycling serves as an example where significant perceptual and behavioural shifts have occurred within public discourse, legitimizing its use and importance. While recycling alone is insufficient to address escalating emissions, it represents an impactful sustainability measure that has garnered public awareness and acceptance. This demonstrates that with political will and persistent public advocacy, policies and regulations addressing plastic waste can become normalized and perceived as common-sense measures to combat climate change (Capstick et al., 2014)

To address the discordance in public discourse, science and activism communities emphasize the need for a more equitable distribution of power in land negotiations and state-individual matters. This would provide space for marginalized and disproportionately affected communities, including Indigenous populations who face the dual impacts of climate change and historical colonial, capitalist exploitation. Recognizing and actively working to address these disparities necessitates a harm-reducing and collectivist approach, which contradicts the prevailing capitalist tendencies favouring bourgeois class society and industrial expansion. Some scholars have even advocated for policies that challenge and reform the current neoliberal and capitalist mindset, referring to it as "post-autistic economics" (Fullbrook, 2007).

3.1 Theoretical foundations

By adopting a sociological mindset, we can try to better understand and encapsulate social phenomena around us and what shapes it. These theoretical foundations through central concepts and my dialectical approach will wield us with the analytical and comparative tools to substantiate and encapsulate the different narratives. I will rely on an ambitious number of theories, but they strike an accord in unison, which emboldens our approach and allows for a more critical lens on capital accumulation and exploitation.

3.2 Central concepts

This chapter serves as an introduction to the theoretical framework that underlies the analysis in this thesis. It draws upon traditional and neo-Marxist perspectives, specifically employing a Marxist analysis of capitalism as espoused by Marx and Engels. The term "Capital" encompasses various elements, including conceptualization, intention, accumulation processes, and subsequent phases. As primitive capital becomes increasingly intertwined with the bourgeoisie class, who own the means of production, they exploit the labour force through wage or work exploitation, leading to the alienation of workers (Andersen & Kaspersen, 2015, s. 42). This state of alienation extends beyond the workplace, contributing to the amplification of class consciousness and internal conflicts within the working class. Additionally, the term "alienation" is applied within the context of intersectional thinking and the notion of "the other," depicting the detachment between individuals and their material circumstances, including their workplace, community, and civic involvement.

To substantiate this stance, the Marxist interpretation of the dialectical method, including dialectical/historical materialism, will be employed (Ollman, 2003). The core thesis of Marxism, which deviate with Hegel's understanding of the dialectical method, asserts that material conditions constitute the ultimate determinant of human consciousness and existence (Marx et al., 2013; Hegel, 1991). Tangible and lived material circumstances shape our attainment of ideals, rather than spiritual or symbolic significance. Dialectical materialism emphasizes the relationship between Indigenous and "majority" narratives, highlighting the contradiction between materialism (lived conditions) and idealism (conceptualization of those conditions).

Gramsci's theories complement the traditional Marxist perspective by filling in the gaps in understanding capitalism from preceding centuries. Incorporating post-Marxist theory and Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony, this study aims to construct a conceptual framework that comprehends the influence and dominance of capitalism across policy, politics, and discourse. By examining the narratives surrounding "majority interest" or "capital interest," the objective is to demonstrate how these seemingly common good-serving notions actually uphold the interests of the privileged bourgeois elite classes. The consolidation and perpetuation of power manifest in various realms, resulting in disparities in resource distribution and outcomes that disproportionately affect BIPOC and Indigenous communities (Gandhi, 2022).

Cultural hegemony perpetuates the narrative and canon of capitalism, shaping our sense-making and perception by justifying the existing order through cultural and economic means (Katz, 2006). To understand the meaning of "the other" and its implications, theories around this concept and an intersectional perspective will be used, providing nuanced insights into the compounded effects of oppression faced by the Sámi and other marginalized communities. Culturally rigid societies reproduce harmful norms and values on an institutional level, exacerbating injustice and suffering, particularly within BIPOC communities (Paradies, 2020).

Counter sovereignty emerges as a response to entrenched power structures in nation-states and governing bodies. It challenges and interrogates their authority and structures to address the injustices experienced by Indigenous peoples, advocating for their rights and interests. Through social and resistance movements, counter sovereignty mobilizes for the recognition of Indigenous and minority rights and the pursuit of local or regional autonomy. By contesting traditional conceptions of sovereignty, alternative models of power, governance, and decision-making processes are advocated (Vimalassery, 2014).

This study analyses the power dynamics in the Indigenous-state relationship from a historical/dialectical materialist perspective. It explores the historical experiences of Indigenous peoples, examines academic discourse on Indigenous rights, and investigates how capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism contribute to climate change and human rights violations. The concept of "the other" is employed to elucidate the marginalization of individuals outside the cultural hegemony, involving categorization and judgment based on

criteria such as race, ethnicity, gender, or ability. Intersectional theory provides a framework for understanding the discrimination and oppression faced by Black and Indigenous communities (Crenshaw, 1989).

Ulrich Beck's theory of modernity, particularly the concepts of risk society and risk conscientiousness, will be utilized to explore global implications of risks and their societal impact. The terms "reflexive modernity" or "second modernity" are significant in Beck's analysis of society as primarily structural or post-structural. Reflexive modernity acknowledges the relativity and subjectivity of perspectives and opinions, emphasizing the incorporation of diverse viewpoints. Marx's interpretation of social inequality and class struggle remains relevant within the framework of risk society (Beck, 1992).

While Michel Foucault's post-modernist theories diverge from traditional Marxism, they align with the post-structural analysis employed in this study. His insights into power dynamics, normalization processes, and governmentality provide valuable tools for examining the relationship between individuals, institutions, and the shaping of perception and existence. Although this thesis does not incorporate Foucault's theories extensively, his work calls for further theoretical development in understanding power structures and social class dynamics (Foucault, 2020a, 2020b).

3.3 Conflict, Marxist, Neo-Marxist theory

Conflict theory, originating from the notion of opposing forces, particularly evident in Marxist conflict theory, sheds light on the inherent class conflict and struggle within a capitalist society. The specific focus of this assignment is to develop an understanding of the intricate dynamics of conflict between the bourgeois elite, the proletarian working class and "the other". To accomplish this objective, I employ neo-Marxist theory to adapt traditional Marxism to the contemporary realities of the 21st century. Central to this adaptation is the incorporation of Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony, which plays a pivotal role in comprehending the mechanisms that sustain the existing social order. Moreover, to provide further substantiation for my arguments, I will integrate historical materialism, a fundamental concept within Marxism, and utilize the dialectical method to critically analyse and deconstruct various narratives and their ideological underpinnings.

In contemporary and historical phenomena, many of its interpretations has been Marxist and Neo-Marxist/post-modernist in adaptation, I will for this thesis lean on Ollmann's interpretation of the Dialectical method based on foundational Marxist thought from Marx and Engels, I will supply this methodological approach with a neo-Marxist perspective on cultural hegemony and capitalism tendency to adapt it through economic and cultural prevailing narratives that maintain its status quo. Developing a theoretical framework rooted in Gramscian and Marxist perspectives, we can analyse the phenomenon of cultural hegemony within the prevailing mode of production. This mode of production encompasses not only the foundational principles of capitalism but also the more elusive manifestations of its offspring, namely neo-liberalism. By using conflict theory, with a post-structural, Neo-Marxist frame of conviction, we better get a reflective, multipolar understanding of the Fosen-Case. With a holistic view, we establish a dialectical method by acknowledging the history between the Native's dispossession of their lands, and the capitalist insatiable appetite for expansion and destruction, often embodied in narratives for the "broader society" or "majority interest." Creating the cultural hegemony, bourgeoisie class dominance, and specialization of knowledge which conjure to make an unhealthy systemic malignancy, one which if left unabated, in its reproduction under scrutinized only intensify in the years to come.

One of, if not the most exhaustive in its divisiveness, but bountiful in its interpretations is Marxism, feminism and other anti-fascist and anti-theocratic movements. Dictating these subjects are difficult in today's hyperconnected and increasingly polarized and class concipient society, it is causing divide and prejudice. This comparison is not wholly unjustified, because all try to explain and historize the legacy of systemic and institutionalized discrimination, oppression and racism under white-supremacist, patriarchal societies and the cognitive bias, prejudice, and injustice it produces/reproduces. Belittlement and bigotry of non-whiteness in culturally hegemonic societies are apparent, and the recognition of neo-colonialism, imperialism, and liberalism, in all its shapes should not be strictly capitalistic or neo-liberally perceived and understood.

By choosing to acknowledge other learning, understandings, and interpretations from other disciplines, cultures, and countries we can more lucidly see the folly of the western spheres of interest and how they have been culturally and geographically dominated and manipulated.

The pronesis which I strive to normalize in cases of societal and environmental impacts stemming from economic capital and climate change exacerbation is the “Perestroika Movement,” which encourages cross disciplinary scientific paradigms, it is the recognition of other roles and experiences that are key to an equitable and swift move forward into a world-order that can sustain us. Therefore, it stipulates methodological pluralism, to allow for cross-learning and acknowledgement of other disciplines.

In summary, the significance of both traditional and neo-Marxist theory in this thesis is substantial. These theoretical frameworks provide us with valuable analytical and critical instruments that can help us examine and elucidate conflicts and contradictions that are overlooked or downplayed by capitalist ideology. By employing the dialectical method, we embrace contradictory data and adopt a multifaceted approach, enabling us to navigate various perspectives simultaneously. This approach allows us to assess and compare concepts and phenomena from different interpretations, with the ultimate objective of attaining a nuanced understanding and striving for a productive synthesis.

3.4 Cultural hegemony/Global North/Imperial Core theory

Cultural hegemony, within the context of capitalism and neo-liberalism, refers to the dominant cultural, ideological, and discursive framework that upholds and perpetuates the interests and values of the ruling capitalist class. It involves the exertion of social and cultural power by the dominant class to shape and control societal norms, beliefs, values, and practices, thereby establishing their worldview as the prevailing and unquestioned "common sense" or "natural" order of things.

The construction and preservation of this sense of understanding is actively pursued and fiercely defended, often at the expense of individuals who fall outside the dominant cultural hegemony. This is evident both within domestic contexts, where in-groups and out-groups are formed, and in the tendency to marginalize those who do not conform to the established hegemony. Additionally, the affluence and luxury enjoyed by the Imperial Core, or the Global North are sustained by a system built on unequal development, imbalanced trade relations, and the dominant role of Western/US economic power, supported by factors such as the dependence on the US dollar, the influence of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These mechanisms all work in favour of Western/US supremacy in the realms of finance, geopolitics, and culture.

Under capitalism and neo-liberalism, cultural hegemony is instrumental in maintaining and legitimizing the existing socio-economic system. It operates through various means, such as mass media, education, institutions, and discursive practices, to disseminate and reinforce capitalist ideology, individualism, consumerism, and the pursuit of profit. This dominant cultural hegemony creates a sense of consent and acceptance among the broader population, leading them to internalize and reproduce the interests and values of the ruling capitalist class, even if such interests are not aligned with their own.

By shaping and controlling cultural narratives, capitalist cultural hegemony obscures alternative perspectives, marginalizes dissenting voices, and perpetuates inequalities and power imbalances. It functions to ensure the reproduction and stability of the capitalist system by maintaining the dominance of the ruling class and suppressing potential challenges or alternative ways of organizing society.

Marxist, anti-imperial and anti-colonial theory and thought all conjoin in their dissent from and scope in on capitalism and the constituent mechanisms and organisms' material or metaphysical that reproduce and sustains them. The Imperial Core, or Global North is the dominant and prevailing cultural hegemon, which makes it an instigator, manipulator, and contender of many of the phenomena we face today (Parenti, 2010), creating a precedence of accumulation by dispossession (Raju Das, 2017). Therefore, the writings exploring and elaborating on Neo-imperial thought have inherent anti-colonial/anti-imperial roots and seeks to show the consequences of imperial western hegemony, in doing so predetermining it to be delegitimated, too radical to employ and too utopian to succeed.

It is no wonder why, it undeniably takes a staunch perspective on the capitalistic or imperial core, and how its periphery, the global south has toiled for their recreation and capital gain. To perceive it otherwise, would be to neglect the multiple locations that globalization in its contradictory state has wreaked havoc on and exploited for centuries. Therefore, does not all sing their praises of neo-liberal ideology, when the bourgeoisie class society enrichment comes from the disenfranchisement of the worker class and BIPOC communities and predominately off the backs of "third-world countries," an artifact of how we still misperceive a globalized world, and justify our position within it (Gulson & Pedroni, 2011, s. 165).

A comprehensive examination of the actions and exploits of the imperial core, considering historical and cross-cultural perspectives, enables a more nuanced comprehension of the

concepts of "higher standards of living," "Gross Domestic Product" (GDP), and advancements in living conditions. Furthermore, it raises concerns about the limitations of these measures by highlighting the aspects they fail to encompass, particularly in relation to societal and environmental considerations (Desai, 2022).

The history of colonial and subsequent capitalist rule is built upon questionable acquisitions of power and capital. In the context of the adage "history is written by the victor," this leaves us susceptible to exceptionalism, apologist rhetoric, and historical or cultural inauthenticity (Michelson-Ambelang, 2022). The enduring effects of colonial imperialism and capitalism continue to have significant ripple and trickle-down effects on the Global South. In the case of Asia, the long-standing interference in foreign affairs and colonial rule on the continent have disproportionately confined its populations to low-wage labour, curbing their upward social mobility and impeding their right to self-determination. Consequently, many individuals are predisposed to unfavourable outcomes due to historical institutionalized oppression as well as contemporary systemic discrimination prevalent in society.

In response to these challenges, scholars such as Giuseppe Feola emphasize the importance of degrowth, and the dismantling of the cultural hegemony associated with neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism. This necessitates the challenging and decolonizing of preconceived Western imperial imaginaries (Giuseppe, 2019). Such efforts are crucial to address the contemporary injustices that perpetuate the already strained and imbalanced relationship between Indigenous peoples and nation-states.

The notion of a cultural hegemony or prevailing ideology and how it shapes discourse and perception of society also share similarities with other modern critical theorists such as those of the Frankfurt school. Adorno and Horkheimer with their book *dialectic enlightenment*, which discusses the disparity between how we ideally look at ourselves through our technological advancements and a general optimism about the future and how our tangible existence in its fallibility really manifests itself. The historical past we are moving away from seems so bloody, savage and unsensible in comparison. What they point out however, is the irrationality of putting all our faith in said advancements and adopting a "things can only get better from here" rationale, in effect they argue that this dehumanizes the population and relegates them to subjects that are driven by technological optimism, rather than societal

advancement (*Organisasjonsteori*, 2014, s. 266). This is also written on by Herbert Marcuse in his book *One-Dimensional Man* which argues that citizens are increasingly losing their agency to self-determination because of 24-hour news cycles and a never-ceasing consumer society (*Organisasjonsteori*, 2014, s. 267). Lastly, we also have Jurgen Habermas, which tried to create a theoretical elaboration on how to alleviate the issues that Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse spoke of, through communicative rationality, a system of discourse and debate which is supposed to foster an ideal communicative approach. Although Habermas is widely known and influential, his critics argue he idolizes and places too much emphasis on the ideal debate, language, and communication skills as the driving force for societal change (*Organisasjonsteori*, 2014, s. 267).

This acceptance of prevailing narratives is spread and disseminated through a hyperconnected society, but also through the continued ignorance and subjugation of “the other.” Since we are ignorant on our Indigenous peoples and their way of life, we more easily concoct negative and objectifying narratives about them (Evjen, 2009).

It shows the bigotry at play when apologists of colonialism, capitalism, and liberalism to this day “other” developing world populations and even defends actions of museums still inhabiting African and Asian relics and exhibitions, or the historical injustice, even going as far as justifying Christopher Columbus or Antebellum slavery, it illuminates the canonical nature of living within the cultural hegemon of the imperial core (Michelson-Ambelang, 2022, s. 166). “They” were bad, but “we” are good! And then the conversation morphs back into to the odd shaped grey elephant that no one wants to acknowledge, or dare talk about, what the true nature of our increased wealth and prosperity means. To unmask such a conundrum, we must briefly describe and explain colonial governmentality.

Colonial governmentality establishes and perpetuates power dynamics that position the colonizers as superior and exceptional, justifying their interventions and control over the colonized territories. This exceptionalist narrative is often deeply ingrained in the prevailing state narratives of both the colonizer and colonized societies, even after the formal end of imperial western colonialism (Össbo & Lantto, 2011).

In the context of post-colonial states, the remnants of colonial governmentality can still be observed in various cultural, social, and economic structures. Prevailing state narratives often

maintain and reinforce the ideologies and values inherited from the colonial era, perpetuating power imbalances and inequalities. These narratives may promote the continuation of Western/Nordic systems and norms, while marginalizing and suppressing local cultures, knowledge systems, and practices (Evjen, 2009).

Furthermore, prevailing state narratives influenced by colonial governmentality can shape public perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours. They may perpetuate a sense of inferiority or dependency among the colonized populations, while promoting a sense of superiority and entitlement among the colonizers. This can contribute to the internalization of colonial ideologies and the reproduction of power dynamics within post-colonial societies (Paradies, 2020).

To further explore this topic, it would be beneficial to examine case studies of post-colonial states and their prevailing state narratives. This could involve analysing the ways in which colonial ideologies and exceptionalist tendencies are maintained and reinforced, as well as the impact of these narratives on cultural, social, and economic structures (Giuseppe, 2019). Additionally, studies can explore the resistance and decolonial movements that challenge and transform prevailing state narratives, aiming to promote a more equitable and inclusive society (Copeland et al., 2020).

In this thesis, cultural hegemony assumes a central and influential role as the cohesive force within society. It encompasses preconceived notions and deeply ingrained beliefs that are symbolized by flags, representing the ideals of a free-market society that promises to enhance living standards and sustain economic progress. By adopting Gramsci's interpretation of this concept, the aim is to demonstrate that these ideals are far from attainable for a significant portion of the population. As a result, the prevailing narratives of "go get it," "pull yourself up by your bootstraps," and the "entrepreneurial dream," which underpin American exceptionalism, manifest destiny, Reaganomics, and liberal ideology, are called into question. These narratives promote the belief in perpetual economic growth as the most divine and important goal, often overshadowing other perspectives and alternative paths that may not align strictly with economic objectives.

To comprehend the intricate dynamics between minority groups and the larger society, it is essential to develop an understanding of the conceptualization and symbolism associated with the notion of "the other."

3.5 The other

The concept of "the other" is multifaceted, but it encompasses the process of "othering". "The other" are usually individuals who fall outside the boundaries of the perceived "normal" or "default." This phenomenon is evident in various social constructs, such as patriarchal systems, White supremacy, notions of American or Nordic exceptionalism, orientalism, the marginalization, and subjugation of women, as well as the exclusion of individuals who identify outside the heteronormative cultural norms or those with disabilities that alienate them in public. These diverse manifestations of "othering" share a common element: a power imbalance that is shaped and perpetuated by the ruling class, which primarily caters to the values and interests promoted by the prevailing cultural hegemony. It is therefore crucial to understand how the ruling class, through dominance in political, economic, and cultural spheres can create a hegemony that reinforces their interests and hurts those not willing to conform to them.

"The other" encompasses a wide-ranging concept that pertains to the social phenomena of alienation or differentiation of various groups within societies. This phenomenon highlights the ways in which the dominant majority, or the perceived majority, establishes cultural, political, and economic hierarchies that systematically position certain groups as the norm while marginalizing and distinguishing others based on their sex, gender, race, and cultural background. Consequently, this process often manifests as a blend of state-sanctioned and socially accepted assimilation, gentrification, and discrimination, perpetuating white-supremacist ideologies.

To comprehensively grasp the implications of "the other" within our specific context, it is imperative to elucidate its origins and emphasize the salient aspects of this term that are particularly significant for this academic paper. The notion of "the other" or otherness denotes the negation and categorization of identity. In societies characterized by cultural hegemony or ethnic homogeneity, the construction of "the other" often occurs through discursive practices and interpretations that ascribe meaning to physical attributes, ethnicity,

gender, sexuality, and religious affiliations, all within the broader framework of our worldview. It also manifests itself on an institutional basis through heteronormative and ethnically White ideals of what constitutes a family, man, and woman.

These discursively established norms, values, perspectives, and interpretations of the other engender sexist, xenophobic, bigoted, and discriminatory practices. The impact of these practices is felt not only on a social level, where minority individuals are marginalized and ostracized, but also systemically, as institutions become conduits for upholding and perpetuating these biased ideologies. The establishment of these institutional structures is often predicated on the prioritization of a specific set of values and life aspirations that favour a white, heterosexual, and Eurocentric norm, while systematically excluding, marginalizing, and devaluing Indigenous peoples, immigrants, non-whites, and non-males, perpetuating stereotypic tropes, and subordinating other genders and sexual alignments.

Therefore, by examining the various manifestations of "the other" with an emphasis on Indigenous peoples, we can gain a more nuanced understanding of how power dynamics, social structures, and cultural frameworks contribute to the systemic marginalization and discrimination experienced by the Sámi.

Within the Scandinavian context, we observe the manifestation of othering processes in the scientific measurement, scrutiny, differentiation, and mystification of the Sámi people. Through this othering, the Sámi are portrayed as untamed, problematic, and uncivilized, perpetuating narratives that serve to legitimize colonial expansion and the subjugation of Indigenous populations. The state, representing the predominant cultural hegemony, actively engages in constructing and disseminating such narratives (Össbo & Lantto, 2011).

The concept of "the other" encompasses the social phenomena of alienation and differentiation among various groups in society. It involves the establishment of hierarchies by the dominant majority, which marginalizes and distinguishes certain groups based on their sex, gender, race, and cultural background, perpetuating white-supremacist ideologies. In the context of cultural hegemony or ethnic homogeneity, "the other" is constructed through discursive practices that attribute meaning to physical attributes, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and religious affiliations.

In the specific context of examining "the other" in relation to Indigenous peoples, it becomes evident that power dynamics, social structures, and cultural frameworks contribute to systemic marginalization and discrimination. Within the Scandinavian context, the Sámi people are subjected to othering processes that involve scientific measurement, differentiation, and mystification. These narratives portray the Sámi as untamed and uncivilized, serving to legitimize colonial expansion and the subjugation of Indigenous populations. The state, representing the predominant cultural hegemony, actively participates in constructing and disseminating such narratives. To gain an even deeper understanding of the concept of "the other" and the workings of the phenomenon of othering, we can turn to intersectional theory as a theoretical framework.

3.6 Intersectional perspective

Intersectional theory, introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw, offers a valuable framework for comprehending the complex intersections of oppression experienced by individuals with multiple marginalized identities. Crenshaw initially formulated this concept to illuminate the stark disparities in outcomes between African Americans and their white counterparts (Crenshaw, 1989). By examining both interpersonal bigotry and systemic and institutional racism, intersectionality challenges the idealistic portrayal of the world and highlights the pressing need for social and structural change. However, critics of intersectionality have vehemently opposed its teachings, citing it as unconstitutional under the guise of opposing "critical race theory." Similarly, in the struggle for LGBTQIA rights, opponents often denigrate policies and statements promoting gender egalitarianism as "gender ideology." Within our specific context, it is imperative to employ intersectional thinking to elucidate the societal and systemic discrimination and oppression faced by the Sámi people and other Indigenous communities.

Intersectional thinking, both as a term and a theory, has emerged relatively recently, with its roots originating from marginalized communities based on factors such as ethnicity, gender, able-bodiedness, or class. This theoretical framework serves as a critique of the pervasiveness of heteronormative society and challenges traditional Marxist critiques by emphasizing the significance of intersecting markers such as race, sex, gender, and able-bodiedness in shaping individual and collective identities. Consequently, a strictly class-based perspective alone falls short in providing a comprehensive interpretation of the world and its injustices.

Intersectional theory sheds light on the compounding effects of systemic oppression and discrimination, revealing the stark contrast between the privileges afforded to White-Anglo-

Saxon individuals and the sustained disparities faced by marginalized groups. The discrepancies in outcomes, autonomy/agency, and quality of life between a white Anglo-Saxon male and individuals such as Afro-American women, Sámi, or Native Americans are readily apparent. Cultural norms and mechanisms within the dominant cultural hegemonic canon perpetuate and reinforce certain class-contingent views and lifestyles, while "othering" or marginalizing those who do not conform to these norms. This often manifests through belittlement, dehumanization, demonization, or devaluation of the lived experiences of individuals who are not part of the majority society (Davis, 1981).

Contemporary societies continue to grapple with persistent systemic discrimination and racism, highlighting the imperative of employing intersectional theory as an analytical tool to illuminate and comprehend the multifaceted nature of racial, gendered, ability, and minority-based oppression and discrimination. Intersectionality has emerged as a significant framework within modern debates and discussions, characterized by its commitment to egalitarianism, anti-classism, and the rejection of discriminatory practices. It challenges dominant narratives such as patriarchy, capitalism, neo-colonialism, and Western imperialism. In offering an alternative perspective on prevailing phenomena, intersectional thinkers contribute valuable insights into history and society that often elude contemporary and conventional sociological, environmental, and political thought.

One of the central arguments put forth by intersectional thinkers is the critical examination of the means of production and how they have been consolidated and accumulated. This analysis includes considering ill-gotten gains and privileges within hierarchical structures and modes of production that inherently undermine the agency and social mobility of marginalized communities. Intersectional thinking enables us to unravel the complex interplay of systemic oppression based on class, race, gender, and minority identities. The detrimental effects of systemic discrimination and racism on our institutions and legal systems disproportionately impact minority groups, exacerbating and reinforcing one another. Recognizing the correlation between systemic discrimination and its amplification of climate change risks for the most vulnerable is crucial for effectively addressing these issues. Intersectional thinking underscores the importance of understanding and addressing the intersecting forms of oppression faced by marginalized communities, particularly in the context of Indigenous peoples' struggle for true emancipation within a capitalistic world driven by relentless industrial pursuits (Crenshaw, 1991; Davis, 2008; Collins, 2000).

Intersectional theory encompasses an egalitarian, anti-classist, and non-discriminatory approach, challenging the prevailing hegemonic narratives of patriarchy, capitalism, neo-colonialism, and western imperialism. By adopting a contrarian stance, intersectional thinkers gain insights into history and society that have been overlooked or neglected by contemporary and traditional sociological, environmental, and political thought.

Central to intersectional thinking is the argument for a critical assessment of the means of production and their consolidation and accumulation. This analysis includes examining capitalism's inherent nature of stratification within hierarchical structures and modes of production, which inherently undermine the agency and social mobility of lower-class individuals. Through an intersectional lens, we can uncover the ways in which systemic oppression based on class, race, gender, and minority identity exacerbates social inequalities.

The application of intersectional thinking provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics of power, privilege, and discrimination, shedding light on the interconnectedness of social, economic, and environmental injustices.

Recognizing the correlation between systemic discrimination and its contribution to heightened climate change risks for marginalized communities is essential for addressing these issues effectively.

To strengthen the validity of intersectional thinking, it is crucial that we embrace an Environmental Justice perspective, as advocated by sociologist Robert Bullard in his academic writings. Bullard's research presents compelling empirical evidence that sheds light on the actions of regional legislators and city planners who have constructed waste fills, industrial incinerators, and dumped polluting waste in predominantly Black neighbourhoods. This evidence serves to not only reveal these practices but also to hold responsible those individuals and institutions involved in perpetuating environmental injustice within these communities (Ahmed, 2021). Intersectional theory, introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw, provides a framework for understanding the complex intersections of oppression faced by individuals with multiple marginalized identities. It challenges idealistic portrayals of the world and emphasizes the need for social and structural change by examining both interpersonal bigotry and systemic racism. However, critics have opposed intersectionality under the guise of opposing "critical race theory" or "gender ideology." Employing intersectional thinking is crucial for comprehending societal and systemic discrimination faced by the Sámi people and other Indigenous communities.

Intersectionality critiques the pervasiveness of heteronormative society and emphasizes the role of intersecting markers such as race, gender, and able-bodiedness in shaping identities. It reveals the compounding effects of systemic oppression and the privileges afforded to certain groups, highlighting disparities in outcomes and quality of life. Dominant cultural norms perpetuate and reinforce class-contingent views while marginalizing those who do not conform. Intersectional thinking contributes valuable insights into history, society, and contemporary debates, challenging patriarchy, capitalism, neo-colonialism, and Western imperialism.

It also examines the means of production and their consolidation, addressing the undermining of agency and social mobility among marginalized communities. Intersectionality sheds light on the interplay of systemic oppression based on class, race, gender, and minority identities, reinforcing each other. Recognizing the correlation between systemic discrimination and climate change risks for vulnerable groups is crucial. By embracing intersectional thinking and an Environmental Justice perspective, we can uncover and address environmental injustices perpetuated in marginalized communities.

3.7 Theory of modernity

Ulrich Beck's theory of modernity, commonly referred to as "the risk society," is employed in this thesis due to its applicability in elucidating the inherent ambiguities of existence within a capitalist society. By shedding light on the risks entailed by a modernized society, including food pollutants, ocean acidification, and the disruption of ecosystems through environmental degradation predominantly driven by industrial capitalism, Beck's theory becomes instrumental in addressing the question of the functionality of contemporary society. Through the utilization of his theory, we embrace a post-structuralist approach that challenges the notion of societal function and structure as inherently legitimate. This perspective asserts the impossibility of attaining objective truth and meaning, and instead emphasizes the reliance on relative and subjective notions in assessing the moral justifiability or incomprehensibility of phenomena and societal phenomena. By adopting this stance, we position ourselves more effectively to accommodate nuance and subjective perspectives, rather than being confined to establishing causality or structural interpretations of phenomena and society.

The theory of modernity examines the foundational theories of capitalism, neo-liberalism, and free-marketism, which are characterized by their economic fixation on individual gain and profit, while neglecting to consider the consequences of modernity. Ulrich Beck's book, "Risk Society," delves into the intricate nature of our increasingly complex and globalized world, which is marked by cosmopolitanism. As nations become more interconnected through globalization

Ulrich Beck's concept of "reflexive modernity" provides a theoretical framework to understand the complexities of contemporary society. According to Beck (1992), reflexive modernity refers to a new phase in the development of modern societies, marked by a shift in societal dynamics and a heightened awareness of the unintended consequences and risks associated with modernity itself. Beck argues that we are currently transitioning towards a second phase of reflexive modernity characterized by mystification and multipolarity.

The term "mystification" in this context refers to the growing complexity and opacity of social processes, making it increasingly difficult for individuals to fully comprehend and navigate their social reality. This is a consequence of the rapid advancement of technology, globalization, and the interconnectivity of various social spheres. As a result, individuals may feel disoriented and uncertain about their place in society, leading to a sense of mystification.

The notion of "multipolarity" highlights the existence of multiple and diverse sources of power, knowledge, and influence within contemporary society. In reflexive modernity, traditional centres of power and authority are challenged by the emergence of new actors and discourses, resulting in a more fragmented and pluralistic social landscape. This multipolarity reflects the increased participation and agency of various social groups, as well as the diversification of cultural, political, and economic systems.

Beck's concept of a second reflexive modernity emphasizes the ongoing transformation of modern societies and the need for individuals and institutions to grapple with the uncertainties and complexities that arise. This theoretical framework encourages a critical examination of the existing power structures, social norms, and cultural practices to better understand and respond to the challenges of contemporary society.

In the same way we can adopt his notion of second modernity as an answer to our position on the question of a structural or post-structuralist approach. Beck posits that in this mystique and multipolarity we increasingly become fragmented from one another, but also society in its multiplicity and ambiguity becomes unknown, unmeasured, and unpredictable.

Beck argues that the risks we face at the intersection of capitalism and climate change are obscured by a numbers game that humans are no longer able to predict or adequately prepare for. The modernity shaped by capitalism has fostered a worldview that exacerbates political inaction and creates a "scapegoat society" (Beck, 1992, p. 75).

Additionally, Beck introduces the concept of risk conscientiousness, which pertains to the ambiguity in the interplay of risks, entangled and concealed at the boundaries between experiential knowledge, societal norms, and their interpretations. Consequently, understanding and perceiving these phenomena require a multifaceted approach that lacks localized or nuanced perspectives. Paradoxically, those who critique the irregularities of this all-encompassing world order are often dismissed as radical and out of touch. When examining the historical account and legacy of industrial and imperial rule, it is justifiable to exhibit cynicism, advocate for concrete actions and remedies, and seek justice on behalf of those affected by such systems of governance. The risks posed by the normalized indifference of those outside the bourgeois elite, and the indulgence in self-serving anthropocentric activities, are accelerating and undermining the solidarity of all living beings, becoming enigmatic in their existentiality. In this state of perplexity, those who take a contrarian stance or reject engagement with this mystification are labelled as fanatics who are disconnected from reality. Their calls for change are trivialized and undermined. In our understanding of modernity, we often seek to resolve economic contradictions while overlooking the inherent contradictions within our world systems, denying moral, ethical, or retributive nuance (Beck, 1992, p. 75).

Beck further argues that in the context of modernity, when risks are not fully elaborated or comprehended, it creates a void that authoritarian and repressive forces exploit to justify their inaction, denial, or delay. They establish a monopoly on specialized knowledge and intellect (Beck, 1992, p. 80). By excluding the masses from intellectual discourse and concentrating power in the hands of a select few to define issues, we establish a system that is incapable of effectively addressing social, ecological, or economic challenges. This is because these issues

are often perceived as occurring within their own isolated and specialized fields or domains of study.

In this regard, the challenges we encounter possess inherent reflexive, comprehensive, and interconnected aspects, which Beck characterizes as contingent and dynamic. He contends that the prevailing status quo has perpetuated these challenges through its capitalistic production processes, resulting in the familiar pattern of irresponsibility observed in modernity (Beck, 1992, p. 78).

Beck argues that within the risk society, there are latent side effects that carry significant and impending consequences. These side effects encompass the hidden and obscured risks that pervade our society, including pollutants present in our food, the toxic air we breathe, and the uncertainty surrounding future developments. Of particular importance is the unequal distribution of both risk and capital, as wealth tends to accumulate at the top while risks are disproportionately borne by those at the bottom (Beck, 1992, p. 35). Although Beck's theory originated in 1985, it bears similarities to our contemporary understanding and conceptualization of risks associated with phenomena such as global warming or climate change within the context of our present risk society. These risks, like the latent side effects described by Beck, have far-reaching consequences and remain obscured and opaque until they manifest, necessitating a critical examination of the unequal distribution of both risks and benefits in our society.

Ulrich Beck's theory of modernity, also referred to as the risk society, explores the uncertainties and risks inherent in a capitalist society. It sheds light on the environmental hazards and disruptions caused by industrial capitalism, such as pollution and ecosystem degradation, and raises questions about the functionality of contemporary society. Beck's theory challenges the notion that societal structure is inherently legitimate and instead emphasizes subjective and relative perspectives when assessing moral justifiability.

Reflexive modernity encompasses the complexities of our interconnected globalized world. It delves into the concept of mystification, which refers to the increasing complexity of social processes that hinder a full understanding and navigation of societal realities. Furthermore, it acknowledges multipolarity, where diverse sources of power and influence challenge traditional centres of authority.

Beck's theory underscores the ongoing transformation of modern societies and emphasizes the need to grapple with uncertainties. It encourages a critical examination of power structures, norms, and cultural practices to better comprehend and respond to contemporary challenges. The theory also highlights the risks and consequences that are obscured by capitalism and climate change, leading to inadequate preparation, and fostering political inaction.

Risk conscientiousness, introduced by Beck, emphasizes the ambiguity and interplay of risks, necessitating a multifaceted approach. However, those who critique the existing world order often face dismissal, and authoritarian forces exploit the gaps created by insufficiently elaborated risks. Concentrating specialized knowledge in the hands of a few impedes effective responses to social, ecological, and economic challenges.

The risk society exhibits latent side effects with significant consequences, including an unequal distribution of risk and capital. Wealth tends to accumulate among the privileged few, while marginalized groups bear a disproportionate burden of risks. Beck's theory resonates with contemporary understandings of risks associated with phenomena like climate change, calling for a critical examination of the unequal distribution of risks and benefits in society.

4.1 Dialectical Method

By adopting the dialectical method as my chosen methodology, I transcend the need for investigations based on induction, deduction, and abduction. This is because embracing a dialectical perspective for analysing a phenomenon inherently establishes a unique approach and operational framework. Similarly, in this particular context, I depart from the conventional understanding of research questions and instead focus on examining conflicts or contradictions within the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, or more specifically, the "majority interest" and the Sámi people, which is relevant to this thesis. While I refrain from explicitly formulating research questions, I contend that certain guiding principles can be discerned within our investigative path. By shedding light on the concrete and tangible societal issues we confront as climate change intensifies and the bourgeoisie class accumulates greater wealth, I embody principles that call for a reengagement with genuine and universal ideals of freedom, liberty, and individual autonomy, rather than those superficially appeased and simulated by capitalist or liberal dogma.

4.2 Materialism/idealism

The dialectical method revolves around the interplay between materialism and idealism. Materialism pertains to the tangible conditions that shape our cognitive existence and encounters, which find expression in our interactions and engagements with fellow individuals, including acquaintances, colleagues, broader civil society, and the state. These relationships between actors and the various spheres of influence emerge within the context of contingent material circumstances.

On the contrary, idealism encompasses the metaphysical, existential, and spiritual dimensions of human existence or consciousness. It constitutes the domain where narratives are constructed, values are shaped, and traditional rituals are maintained (Andersen & Kaspersen, 2015, p. 44).

The dialectical method involves the analysis of differences between two or more phenomena with the aim of achieving a more nuanced understanding. It posits that no phenomenon is fixed, or absolute, and that there are always contradictions inherent to the public zeitgeist. Which influence both material and idealistic conditions and interpretations of the public sphere or broader society. Dialectics can be traced back to ancient religious and theocratic beliefs and is primarily concerned with shedding light on the dynamic and ever-changing nature of practical knowledge and its interrelationship with metaphysical concepts, ideals, and phenomena. Hegel's philosophy, particularly his exploration of the societal spirit or "Geist," played a crucial role in revitalizing dialectics. It examines the juxtaposition between the material conditions in which we live and our metaphysical perception of the world and our place within it (Rosen, 1982). A philosophical distinction between Marx (2013) and Hegel (1991) lies in their perspectives on the role and potential of philosophy. Hegel adopted a more modest approach, acknowledging that philosophy is adept at comprehending the past but may have limited efficacy in shaping a novel future. In contrast, Marx disagreed with this notion. While not strictly deterministic, Marx believed that through the class consciousness of the proletariat and as the inherent contradictions within a seemingly stable and functioning global system become increasingly apparent, the inevitable emergence of revolutionary sentiments and the overthrow of the existing world order would ensue, revealing its true nature.

The dialectical method differs from contemporary methodologies by emphasizing the incorporation of contradictory data. It opposes the approach of narrowing down events or phenomena to identify cause and effect relationships. This aligns with Marxist principles that reject "great man theories" and, in later neo-Marxist and postmodern thought, the resistance against "grand narratives" that seek to neatly explain and conceptualize history from an inherently ambiguous and multipolar perspective. Consequently, employing the dialectical method aims not at uncovering the origins of a phenomenon, but at exploring the various narratives and perceptions within its discourse. The focus lies on comprehending the hermeneutics, symbolism, and rhetorical elements of a narrative to expose the flaws and contradictions within an argument or statement. This process facilitates the development of a more objective and balanced perspective, revealing contentions and contradictions that challenge the often knowledge-authorized, established, and dogmatic tendencies of capitalistic narratives to which we are frequently exposed (Ollman, 2003).

Marx, along with many other scholars discussing modernity, asserts that contemporary society is characterized by fragmentation, individualization, and specialization. These developments can be attributed to the increasing legitimization of meritocracy, as economic capital becomes separated from religious or ethical considerations that were previously emphasized in the feudal order. This creates a vacuum that gives rise to a world order driven by economic pursuits and fixations. Weber's work on the "Protestant Ethic and the Capitalistic Spirit" serves as an exemplification of this phenomenon, as it suggests that accumulating wealth and economic surplus is perceived as a tribute or blessing from God, leading to a closer relationship with the divine (Andersen & Kaspersen, 2015, pp. 117-118). However, Marx posits that the foundation of capitalism, its underlying logic and mode of production, can be traced back to the earlier urban communal movements that predated the Protestant era by several centuries (Avineri, 1969, p. 178).

The perception of world systems as distinct and separate sectors undermines the intricate interconnectedness and complexity of relationships that exist between them. This reductionist approach fails to acknowledge the intercorrelation and interdependence of various dimensions within these systems. Narratives that solely focus on historical, religious, or economic aspects in isolation are undialectical in nature.

By neglecting the dialectical perspective, which emphasizes the interconnectedness and mutual influence of several factors, these narratives overlook the dynamic and multifaceted nature of social phenomena. A more comprehensive analysis should consider the dialectical interplay between historical, cultural, and economic dimensions, recognizing their interconnections and mutual shaping. This approach allows for a more nuanced understanding of the complex web of relationships and processes that characterize our world systems.

4.3 Dialectical/historical materialism

The dialectical method has a historical background originating from Hegelian philosophy, which emphasized idealistic and spiritual elements. However, it underwent a transformation towards a more materialistic philosophy when Marx adopted and utilized it. Since then, the dialectical method has emerged as a potent tool for researchers to analyse and comprehend various aspects of capitalist modes of production, culturally dominant ideas, propagandized narratives, and commonly accepted approaches to phenomena. This is achieved by exploring the intricate and interconnected relationships between material conditions and metaphysical or cognitive ideas rooted in idealism. By examining the points of similarity and difference, as perceived in the Marxian sense, which assumes that material conditions and physical surroundings are the driving force behind creative pursuits in idealism, a more comprehensive understanding can be gained (Andersen & Kaspersen, 2015, pp. 44–45). Which may shine light on inequality of outcome, income and material means and possessions.

While Hegel placed significant emphasis on "the absolute idea" and the shaping influence of a greater existential being on society, Marx acknowledged the significant roles played by both materialism and idealism in shaping our perception of the world. The divergence between Hegel and Marx lies in their respective emphasis on materialistic or idealistic conditions as the foundation for social relations and the mode of production. Marx views matter as the ultimate determinant for existence, while recognizing the importance of idealistic interpretations that stem from it (Ollman, 2003, p. 27).

It is important to note that the distinction between materialism and idealism should not be reduced to a simplistic opposition. While a materialist perspective posits matter as the fundamental basis of the universe, an idealist perspective emphasizes the primacy of ideas. However, Marx recognizes the dynamic interplay between the two, asserting that there is more to life than what can be solely observed and measured. Marx, an atheist, and proponent of secularity, interprets idealism as a means of categorizing beliefs, thoughts, and ideologies as mental abstractions or convictions, rather than attributing them to external intervention of a “higher being” (Ollman, 2003, p. 34).

Applying dialectical materialism to the Fosen case sheds light on the complex and multifaceted relationship between the Sámi people and the “majority interest.” This relationship is characterized by a series of infringements, expropriations, and exploitations endured by the Indigenous community because of the pursuit of industrial capital interests. Within the framework of dialectical materialism, we recognize that this relationship is not one-dimensional or static, but dynamic and evolving. It stems from the contradiction between the needs and aspirations of the Indigenous people to protect their land rights, cultural heritage, and way of life, and the relentless drive of capital interests to maximize profits and achieve economic growth, while portraying the capital accumulation and energy expansion as a common good.

The Sámi people, as an Indigenous community, have historically experienced various forms of encroachment and marginalization. The pursuit of energy projects in the Fosen region, such as wind turbines or hydropower plants, undoubtedly necessitates the acquisition and development of land and bodies of water, which can directly impact the territories traditionally inhabited and utilized by the Indigenous communities. This clash between the interests of capital and the rights of the Sámi people illustrates the broader contradictions inherent in the capitalist system. Capitalism, driven by the accumulation of capital and the pursuit of profit, tends to prioritize economic interests over the well-being and autonomy of Indigenous communities. Furthermore, the state, as an agent intertwined with capital interests, plays a significant role in this relationship. It is often complicit in facilitating the expropriation of land and the exploitation of natural resources for the benefit of capital. The state's alignment with capital further exacerbates the power imbalance and reinforces the marginalization of Indigenous peoples.

Applying dialectical materialism allows us to understand the complexities and contradictions underlying the Sámi and capital energy interest relationship in the Fosen case. It provides a framework for analysing the historical, economic, and social factors that shape this relationship and enables us to identify the inherent conflicts and potential avenues for change. By examining the dialectical interplay between the interests of capital and the rights of Indigenous communities, we can strive for a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the power dynamics at play. This understanding can inform efforts to address the human rights violations suffered by the Sámi people and advocate for a more just and equitable society that respects the rights and dignity of Indigenous communities.

4.4 Relations and abstractions

The subject at hand involves four distinct categories of relationships and the abstract concepts necessary for comprehending them. The first category is identity/difference, which pertains to the recognition of objects or entities as either identical or distinct from one another.

Economic analyses often overlook the moral dimensions of surplus value, but a sociological and Marxist perspective reveals the multifaceted and interconnected nature of capitalism. In a bourgeois society, advertently obscures class consciousness and perpetuates a cultural, economic, and political hegemony through the maintenance of the status quo (Ollman, 2003, p. 15). To truly grasp the similarities or differences within a phenomenon or process, a more profound investigation is required. Approaching a phenomenon uncritically and at face value oversimplifies its complexity. Marx argues that our failure to acknowledge capital as a fluid and pervasive force in social functions represents a philosophical deficiency. Furthermore, most individuals neglect to abstract our existence and our role within it, perpetuating ignorance through cultural inheritance of ideas and ways of life. This lack of sufficient and critical self-abstraction, considering ourselves and society as a cascade of interdependent relations, hinders our ability to perceive capitalism in its true form or the "thought concrete," ultimately allowing the bourgeoisie to govern society, the green transition, and the proletariat (Ollman, 2003, pp. 61–62).

The interpretation of opposites relates to the fundamental contrast between the bourgeois elite and the proletarian working class. In a capitalist hegemony, no event, institution, person, or process exists solely in isolation but is situated within a set of interrelated conditions. The coexistence between the bourgeoisie and proletariat is not stable, and according to Marx, the

rift between the rich and the poor becomes more pronounced as capitalism advances, thereby fostering higher class consciousness (Ollman, 2003, pp. 16-17). Such interpretations of opposites often mask themselves in ideological justifications, both historically and contemporarily. To uphold and perpetuate a capitalist class society, the bourgeoisie fabricate abstractions that serve as the fundamental components of ideology. They monopolize the interpretation and understanding of society, enabling increased capital accumulation while minimizing dissent and discontent through notions such as laziness or lack of work ethic (Ollman, 2003, p. 62). The relationship between quantity and quality concerns two distinct stages within the same process, with each stage encompassing both a build-up and a breakdown. For Marx, it remains uncertain when capital accumulation reaches its maximum capacity, but capital is deemed substantial when it moves out of its primitive form, when surplus profit can purchase labour power or generate value. The aspects preceding and following transitions in the world order are assessed through the lens of quantity and quality. This implies that the sheer magnitude of surplus value and its eventual transformation into a sufficiently qualitative element within capitalism aligns with Marx's prediction of capitalism devouring itself, symbolized by a snake consuming its own tail. This collapse occurs when the qualitative magnitude within the capitalist process reaches its peak or when the quantity of surplus value or contradictions in its distribution become so apparent and imbalanced that class consciousness sparks reforms waves or revolution (Ollman, 2003, p. 17).

Contradiction permeates every aspect of capitalism, as aptly summarized by Marx's quote, "In capitalism everything seems and in fact is contradictory" (Ollman, 2003, p. 17). This quote encapsulates the paradoxical nature and state of late-stage capitalism, which ostensibly aims for emancipation through individualization, free-market liberalism, and capital accumulation, but beneath the surface reveals a democracy primarily benefiting a select few—an economic oligarchy rather than a true democracy. The socially determined contradictory features inherent to its components expose capitalism's fundamental problem. It is the amalgamation of these contradictions, along with the subsequent justifications and common perceptions surrounding them, that shape the public, cultural and political "zeitgeist." This situation is not fixed, nor is it benign, but strategically and structurally implemented within dynamic processes. Constructed by the convergence of public, private, and capital forces, as the state and economic sphere navigate their prospects for continued existence amidst the accumulating contradictions that challenge the prevailing image of the free capitalist society (Ollman, 2003, pp. 17–18).

In the context of Western capitalist society's cultural hegemony, there exists a multitude of contradictions and hypocrisies, to such an extent that it has been argued both historically and contemporarily that our current cultural hegemony in the Western states is saturated with intrinsically conflicting notions of morality. Marx contends that this often leads to a struggle for establishing a dominant truth. On a state level, this struggle has historically resulted in resistance and frequently violent crackdowns on freedom of expression and efforts to dismantle work unions and left-leaning activism. A prime example can be observed in the labour movements of Western societies during the early 20th century, which experienced significant upheaval and subsequent decline. Noam Chomsky eloquently explores these dynamics in his anti-imperialist works, revealing a deliberate endeavour to subjugate the working class and the cultural norms that contribute to dehumanizing laborers, particularly those who immigrate for work (Chomsky, 2017).

Capitalism frequently exhibits entrenched or predetermined paths, stemming from the belief in the inherent mechanisms embedded within the processes of capital accumulation. As a result, the primary objective and underlying preference of the ruling bourgeoisie is to eradicate contradictions, thereby upholding the existing political elite or prevailing cultural hegemony. By expunging these contradictions, they establish legitimacy for their own governance (Ollman, 2003, p. 18).

As a result, the capitalist elite, driven by their pursuit of dominance, establish and propagate the dominant narrative, consolidate their power, and suppress dissent. However, capitalism finds itself in a state of contradiction, unable to simultaneously claim "X" and "not X" (Ollman, 2003, p. 18). Consequently, it resorts to employing rhetorical justifications, giving rise to a priori thinking, system I thinking, or common-sense thinking. This implicit approach plays off cognitive biases and enables and endorses the triumph of state and economic interests through what Marx referred to as "real abstractions," the ideological foundations that legitimize the continued existence of capitalism (Ollman, 2003, p. 62). In stark contrast, such a system is confronted with the lived experiences of suffering and environmental degradation of the eco-systems. Which in the years and decades to come will most likely prove to become more difficult to sweep under the carpet, ignore, or justify in a capitalist or neo-liberal frame of conviction.

The prevailing narrative that gains traction in the intersections of social, cultural, political, and economic spheres is shaped by dynamic processes that can potentially bring about change. However, in a society deeply influenced by capitalism, the economic and political interests tend to be embraced as the "common-sense approach." It is unsurprising, then, that individuals living under such conditions are predisposed to accept this narrative without question. Nevertheless, with the advent of globalization and the recognition of multipolarity, coupled with growing cynicism towards established narratives, we find ourselves in a new political landscape characterized by post-truth, where the relationship between phenomena is constrained to either being different or identical. Alternative narratives challenging the prevailing one are not easily accepted, and thus, the moral, ethical, and egalitarian dimensions of social equity and environmental sustainability are undermined.

This undermining encompasses the neglect of the surplus value derived from the labour of workers, which is not returned to them in the form of wages. This prompts us to question whether an individual truly has a rightful claim to the fruits of their labour. In a society characterized by bourgeois ideals, the interests of capital take precedence, making it imperative for the lower classes to comprehend this reality for the inherent contradictions of capitalism to dissipate. According to Marx, as these contradictions accumulate and become more evident, the eventual shattering of the metaphorical "glass ceiling" will expose the glaring and pervasive contradictions within capitalist bourgeois society. This, in turn, will foster a collective class consciousness that will precipitate the collapse of capitalism itself. Although often dismissed as utopian and naïve, this vision paves the way for a new world order based on socialism or Marxism. However, for this vision to materialize, we must disrupt the stability of the capitalist mode of production, as Marx argues that "stability is the paralysis of movement" (Ollman, 2003, p. 66).

4.5 Case and application

I will establish the discourse around the Fosen-case by highlighting public debate statements from the Norsk kringskasting (Norwegian broadcast) hereby mentioned as NRK. The debate on Sámi rights and Norwegian green capitalist expansion in Roan and Storheia, I will supply this with opinions and statements published by state, majority interest and other media websites to constitute "broader society." But to avoid becoming ahistorical, we will also employ a historical materialist view on the Fosen-case and the public discourse around it. In

so doing we engage in what Marx would call a conceptualized reality (Ollman, 2003, s. 30). Where we will try and construct nuance and show complexity, we conceptualize capital accumulation, to scrutinize its supposed externalities, this inspection reveals that these “external” factors such as property, wage-labour, worker, work, product, commodities, means of production, capitalist, money, and value are not externalities, but co-elements enabling the capital accumulation and surplus profit (Ollman, 2003, s. 25).

Which in our case coincides with the green capitalistic expansion in Fosen. In the Norwegian newspaper *Finansavisen*, with the title “grådige samer” which roughly translates to greedy Sámi’s, argues that the Norwegian supreme court ruling was culturally convicted and that tearing down the already constructed wind-turbines is unfair to “broader society.” “We cannot let the Sámi bully us around,” they also throughout the article sow doubt and cynicism around the consequences of the expropriation, while playing down its illegality under the UN convention (Trygve, 2023).

This indifference and profit fixed vision is further exemplified by the hasty approval of expropriation granted by Tord Lien, a member of the political party FRP, in 2014 (Øvrebekk, 2023). This action clearly deviates from established procedures and has the potential to compromise the integrity and universality of our democratic processes. Moreover, in the context of the domestic green shift, we observe a growing trend of state-sanctioned and encouraged expansion of renewable energy systems. This entails an accelerated pace of granting land concessions and permits for energy projects, surpassing previous due course and ethical considerations (Sørgard, 2023).

The Fosen case reveals a complex interplay of power dynamics and conflicting interests between the state and the Sámi Indigenous community. Despite the inertia and resistance from the state, certain political parties like FRP are advocating for the reopening of the case. Prominent and infamous politician Carl I Hagen argues that the broader society's interests have been side-lined, claiming that the Sámi community is gaining excessive power. He contends that the Sámi’s near-exclusive rights to 40% of the Norwegian wilderness and the marginal nature of the Sámi reindeer industry warrant a reconsideration of government subsidies, which he believes burden the majority taxpayers (I. Hagen, 2023).

On February 28, 2023, NRK, a prominent Norwegian platform for debates, hosted a discussion centred around the Fosen case and the persistent human rights violations within the region. This debate encompassed diverse narratives and arguments presented by various stakeholders. The analysis will commence by analysing the Indigenous rights perspective, with particular emphasis on the challenges faced by the Sámi community. Subsequently, attention will be directed towards exploring the "majority interest" viewpoint, which encompasses the perspectives of the state-operated Olje og Energi Departementet (OED) and the government-controlled entity Statkraft (NRK, February 28).

5.1 Analysis

With a dialectical approach providing contextual understanding, the upcoming chapter will primarily concentrate on discourse analysis to examine the disparities between the dominant narrative representing the "majority interest" and the counter-narrative put forth by the Sámi community. By closely examining these conflicting narratives within the domains of capitalism, climate change, and human rights, a more comprehensive and nuanced comprehension of the phenomena under scrutiny can be achieved. The focal point of this discourse analysis will be to identify, deconstruct, and evaluate the discursive constructions and power dynamics inherent in these narratives. This approach will facilitate an exploration of the underlying assumptions, ideological foundations, and rhetorical strategies employed within the discourse surrounding capitalism, climate change, and human rights. By contrasting and critically assessing the relationship between these narratives, a more informed and balanced understanding of the convolutions and workings of the phenomena can be attained.

To initiate the analysis, attention will be given to the Indigenous rights narrative, with a specific focus on the multifaceted nature of the Sámi in Norway, while also acknowledging the presence of other Indigenous groups and communities in the region. The central arguments advocating for Sámi rights and conservation will be elucidated, encompassing cultural, legal, environmental, and humanitarian dimensions. Subsequently, a comparison will be drawn with the ideologically driven "majority interest" narrative, wherein the power of ideology will be explored in its pervasive influence. This narrative primarily relies on economic or utilitarian justifications for the "greater good" while invoking outdated ethnocentric justifications and emphasizing the imperative of a green energy transition as a rationale for continued dispossession of Indigenous peoples in the 21st century.

5.1.1 Minority/majority acknowledgement

Prior to delving deeper into the Indigenous narrative, it is crucial to provide a concise explanation of the concept of minority/majority acknowledgment. This clarification is necessary due to the nature of this case, which involves a minority group (the Sámi) pitted against the majority composed of capitalist bourgeois society and the state. It is essential to recognize and treat this case as a matter of minority rights versus majority interests. By law, as a minority group, the Sámi are entitled to protection from the dominance of the "majority interest." Despite the existence of numerous laws and provisions established to acknowledge and safeguard the rights of the Sámi minority, the narratives emerging from the NRK debate suggest that these legal protections are not always fully realized (NRK, 28. February).

5.2 Thesis (Indigenous rights narrative)

The Norwegian Indigenous perspective sheds light on an ongoing human rights violation and land dispute, encompassing a diverse range of considerations. At the heart of this perspective is the distinct and ancestral culture of the Sámi people, who bear the direct brunt of land expropriation and its immediate and long-term consequences. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that this perspective represents only a segment within the broader narrative of Sámi culture and their enduring struggle to safeguard their identity and way of life. The quest to reinstate Sámi sovereignty and the right to self-determination forms an integral part of their ongoing story.

Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasizes that individuals belonging to ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities, along with their respective communities, should not be deprived of their right to preserve and express their own culture, practice their religion, and use their language (UN, 1966). This article served as the foundation for the verdict delivered by the Norwegian Supreme Court. In a unanimous decision, the court recognized the violation of Indigenous rights concerning the Sámi community. It underscored that the continuous granting of concessions and expropriation of Sámi lands by the state directly jeopardizes the reindeer Sámi's ability to safeguard and uphold their own traditions and cultural practices.

“An issue does not cease to exist merely because the majority share in it.”

The quote by Leo Tolstoy from his work "A Confession" highlights a profound insight into the nature of societal issues and their relation to majority opinions. According to Tolstoy, the existence of an issue cannot be negated or dismissed simply because the majority holds a prevailing and canonical viewpoint (Tolstoy & Kentish, 1987).

This perspective raises important questions about the dynamics of power, influence, and decision-making within society. It challenges the assumption that the majority opinion always reflects the objective truth or the most just outcome. Instead, it emphasizes the need to critically examine and evaluate the underlying complexities of an issue, especially when minority voices are marginalized or silenced.

In the context of the ongoing injustice faced by the Sámi community in the Fosen case, Tolstoy's quote holds significant relevance. The struggle for Indigenous rights and land sovereignty is not diminished or invalidated by the fact that it may not align with the “majority perspective” or the interests of those in positions of power. The injustice and violation of human rights experienced by the Sámi community cannot be overlooked or dismissed simply because it may not be widely recognized or acknowledged by the majority. This raises important questions about the role of power structures, social norms, and the distribution of influence within society. It calls for a critical examination of the underlying assumptions, biases, and narratives that shape public discourse and decision-making processes. It also underscores the importance of amplifying and valuing diverse perspectives, including those of marginalized and minority groups, to ensure a more equitable and just society.

Academically, this quote invites further exploration into the complexities of power dynamics, social justice, and the role of minority voices in influencing social change. It underscores the need for inclusive and participatory processes that consider the perspectives and experiences of all members of society, especially those who have historically been marginalized. By doing so, we can strive towards a more inclusive and just society that upholds the rights and dignity of all its members.

5.2.1 Human-rights (minority/majority)

This issue demands utmost attention as it pertains to human rights that should not be trivialized. The Indigenous populations residing within United Nations member countries are afforded legal protections, highlighting Norway's commitment as a nation and state to endorse numerous laws and regulations aimed at safeguarding minority groups from the interests of the majority. The ongoing occurrence of human rights violations in Fosen serves as a glaring reminder that our prevailing capitalist society is not exempt from perpetrating such offenses, both at the state and corporate spheres of influence. The intervention in Indigenous affairs for the purpose of enriching the state or private actors represents a grave injustice. Hence, the United Nations has formulated and ratified these statutes in direct response to the enduring and detrimental coexistence of indigenous discrimination and expropriation, intricately linked to the domains of imperialism, capitalism, and within the paradigm of contemporary western democratic regimes, neoliberalism. These statutes have not arisen as proactive conventions, but as a reactive measure to address the historical and ongoing challenges faced by Indigenous communities in the face of systemic oppression, dispossession, and marginalization within these overarching socio-political and socio-economic modes of governance.

Recognizing and comprehending the trajectory that has brought us to the present moment, as well as acknowledging the legal protections afforded to Indigenous peoples, is vital for fostering a constructive and well-intentioned debate. In the absence of such acknowledgment, it becomes evident that discussions and debates tend to deviate and dwell upon matters that undermine the advancement of human rights, particularly when they exclusively prioritize the economic concerns of the "majority interest."

During the NRK debate, Beaska Niillas, a representative of the Norwegian Sámi Association (NSR), articulated the following viewpoint: "As a minority, we are safeguarded against economic comparisons; the existence of laws protecting us stems from our minority status" (NRK, February 28). This assertion resonates with parallel situations where tensions arise between minority and majority groups. It underscores the imperative of preventing unchecked dominance of capital interests, as it would engender a state of lawlessness.

The statement articulated by Beaska carries substantial significance, particularly within the context of his Sámi identity as a member of a minority group. In democratic societies such as Norway, the presence of laws and regulations is intended to safeguard the rights of minority groups, acknowledging their status as a smaller segment of our society. Throughout history, the Sámi people have endured profound mistreatment, inflicted both by the state and society at large. This mistreatment has been fuelled by nationalistic chauvinism and efforts to assimilate the Sámi through a process referred to as Norwegianization or "Fornorsking." Initiated in the 18th century, this assimilation campaign involved forcibly separating Sámi children from their families, suppressing the Indigenous languages and right to cultural expression, and implementing numerous other reprehensible policies that dehumanized, undermined, and denied agency to the Indigenous peoples of Norway (Evjen, 2009).

The conflict between minority and majority is inherently imbalanced, which is precisely why statutes and laws are established to protect the rights of the minority from encroachment by majority interests. These legal measures serve to defend the minority from undue intervention. Moreover, such actions that violate these protective laws can be considered as transgressions of tort laws, which aim to prevent "injury" and "harm" and establish liability for those responsible for such violations.

The existence of laws safeguarding minority rights is intended to prevent the domination or hindrance of minority cultures and livelihoods by the state, capital interests, or the majority population. Despite the official ratification of protective measures for minorities, such safeguards are frequently disregarded. By scrutinizing the ruling of the Norwegian Supreme Court and the subsequent absence of tangible action, a dissonance emerges between legal principles and their practical implementation. Although the government proclaims its support for Indigenous rights and acknowledges their entitlement to such protections, they prioritize capital interests or, in the present context, the pursuit of a "green shift" over the fundamental rights of the Sámi as an essential component of Norway's Indigenous community with a rich historical heritage.

An additional area of contention within the supreme court ruling pertains to the question of subsequent steps. Although the ruling recognized the unlawful nature of the transgressions in accordance with the UN Convention on Human Rights, it lacked specific instructions regarding the means to redress or provide reparation for the inflicted harms and land expropriation. Consequently, this situation has caused an atmosphere wherein the

government, energy companies, and financial institutions involved have merely offered apologies and assurances of rectification without undertaking substantive actions to fulfil these commitments.

In the NRK debate, Terje Aasland, the director of OED, emphasized the initiation of dialogues with the affected parties and the establishment of a comprehensive knowledge foundation to tackle the Fosen "situation." While recognizing the urgency of impending repercussions on the reindeer industry and the impacted regions, Terje affirmed the state's commitment to securing a stable and prosperous future for the industry. However, no specific remedies or solutions were put forward to substantiate this promise (NRK, 28th February).

The statements articulated by the oil and energy minister appear devoid of substance, particularly when considering the considerable time lag following the supreme court ruling. Moreover, the minister failed to explicitly acknowledge or confront the established and ongoing human rights violations. Beaska drew attention to this during the debate, noting that the director of OED seemed unable to acknowledge or characterize the Fosen case as a persisting human rights violation (NRK, 28th February). This absence of recognition and urgency provides little reassurance for a timely resolution to the matter.

5.2.2 The legal argument

I have previously mentioned article 27 of the UN civil and political convention, but to further perforate the legal argument in favour of the Sámi's we can look to the Norwegian constitution. Article 108 in Grunnloven reads as follows "It is part of the Norwegian government's responsibility to facilitate conditions that secures the Sámi people's right and access to develop and secure their language, culture, and civil life".

Norway has sought to address the enduring legal and social disputes involving the Sámi community through the establishment of the Finnmark Commission. The creation of this commission was a response to the International Labour Organization's Convention No. 169, which specifically addresses the rights of Indigenous peoples and tribal communities in countries with historical colonization. The commission's main purpose is to enhance comprehension of the existing conflicts and facilitate their resolution. As a result of these

initiatives, the Finnmark Act was enacted in 2005, underscoring the progress made in this area (Ravna, 2013).

From a legal standpoint, it is crucial to emphasize that the arguments presented here are grounded in concrete laws that constitute a significant challenge within our democratic system and legal framework. These are not mere moral or idealistic claims, but legally established principles. Therefore, it is important to note that the expansion of the wind park in Fosen was not granted legal approval and authorization before its construction. Its ongoing existence stands as a clear example of an inherent injustice. Consequently, the profound and critical outcry from the Indigenous people and civil society raises legitimate concerns about the concentration and maintenance of power within our institutional structures. This raises pertinent questions regarding the efficacy and integrity of our governing institutions (Ravna, 2022).

Since protecting and facilitating Sámi rights and their way of life is part of the Norwegian constitution, its importance should not be understated. The Sámi people, as a minority group and of First Nation status, are protected by multiple comprehensive national and international legal frameworks that clearly stipulates governmental accountability to preserve the Sámi minority, this includes their professions, property, and access to freely pursue their right to happiness as it overlaps with the right to cultural expression.

5.2.3 The sustainability/environmental argument

Wind energy both on and off-shore is steadily becoming one of the most attractable and technologically matured renewable energy sources, (although not without controversy) together with solar and hydroelectric production, therefore arguing strictly from an environmental argument at face value, we can see how through cognitive bias and apoligism we ignore or outweigh the Sámi plight over our shared ambition and goal to reach carbon-neutrality.

Furthermore, as the impending consequences of climate change and global warming daunts upon us, support towards a renewable energy transition has been gathering steam over the last decades both domestically and globally. When we then consider the sheer magnitude and scope of the Fosen-wind park, as it is currently the biggest wind energy project in Europe, it

would not be folly to assume that trying to remove it at this point will be a massive undertaking and would consequently reverse some of our momentum in reaching carbon-neutrality.

It is important to realize that the Sámi is not here arguing against the green shift or wind energy, but where it is placed and how it disproportionately affects them as an Indigenous people. The environmental impact, and their critique of it is not a slight to the green energy transition or renewable energy or windmills for that matter, but the way in which it has been greenlit without legal sanction, and in doing so undermine and devalue Sámi sovereignty.

Therefore, it is important to separate Sámi misgivings of the wind-energy expansion as a critique directed at the state, economic capital and the “overruling of the minority class” which is not to say that there isn’t any environmental impact of deploying wind-turbines at such scale which we see in Fosen, there are some which I’ll elaborate on now.

The wind-energy expansion in Fosen is detrimental to the reindeer industry in two ways, firstly it has created a more industrialized and precarious state on the grazing grounds the reindeer used to have undisturbed. Since they are placed at a high elevation, it gets cold and ice builds up on the blades of the wind-turbines, these can suddenly break off and fling of into the distance, potentially hitting a reindeer or a Sámi herding them. Secondly, its impending consequences are predicted to be more dire, within a decade or two, it is estimated that the reindeer population around Fosen will decrease with over 50%.

5.2.4 The diversity of Indigenous People’s

Toril Bakken Kåven, a representative for the Nordkalottfolket in the Sámi Parliament, draws attention to the diverse composition of the Indigenous communities and emphasizes the significance of incorporating the perspectives of various Indigenous groups, including the Fish, Foraging, and Reindeer Sámi, as well as the Kven amongst others. Kåven contends that the prevailing discourse in the debate has primarily centred around the Reindeer Sámi and Fosen, neglecting the viewpoints and challenges faced by other Sámi and Indigenous groups whose livelihoods rely on fishing or foraging or other cultural essential activities (NRK, 28. February).

This acknowledgment underscores the multipolar nature of the Sámi people, indicating that their aspirations and concerns are not uniform. It is crucial to recognize and comprehend this diversity within the Sámi population, just as we acknowledge the multicultural and contrasting nature of our broader society and the global context. Concentrating solely on one aspect of the reindeer Sámi struggle against majority interests may inadvertently undermine the narratives and struggles of other Indigenous communities.

In succession, it is urgent that we expand our knowledge and move beyond oversimplified narratives, recognizing that the pursuit of equality among the Sámi is multifaceted and does not always manifest as a unified front. By doing so, we can challenge the stereotypes and canonicalization present in prevailing discourses, thus acquiring a more nuanced understanding of the intricate challenges faced by the Sámi and other Indigenous peoples.

In our quest for knowledge, it is vital to maintain an openness to diverse perspectives and resist rigid positions. The interests of the government and the energy sector, both within Norway and globally, have frequently overshadowed meaningful civic engagement, exacerbating the marginalization of the Sámi people. Discrimination and differentiation have systematically excluded the Sámi from institutional and systemic inclusion (Graffy, 2012, p. 309). Therefore, it is crucial to critically examine the dominant narratives propagated by the state, capital interests, and the media, and to seek a more comprehensive understanding of the diverse realities and struggles within the Sámi community.

5.2.5 Summary

Let us now provide an overview of the key points discussed thus far. One of the primary arguments supporting the rights of the Indigenous people is the minority/majority argument. This argument emphasizes the need to protect the Indigenous communities as a minority group from the dominant majority, specifically the bourgeois capitalist society. As a minority, the Sámi lack the resources and capabilities to effectively counter the influence and power exerted by the majority. Consequently, there is a compelling case for safeguarding their interests to address the inherent power imbalance (NRK, February 28).

Secondly, it is important to consider the legal frameworks and international conventions that provide protection to Indigenous peoples. The UN Convention on Civil and Political Rights (UN, 1966), which has been ratified by Norway, includes provisions aimed at safeguarding

the rights of Indigenous communities. Additionally, the Norwegian constitution, specifically §108, offers legal protections to the Sámi people, prohibiting expropriations and restrictions on their cultural heritage (Grunnloven, 1814). Moreover, Norway has ratified the Finnmark Act, a specific commission established through the International Labour Organization's Convention No. 169 in 1989, further demonstrating its commitment to addressing the concerns and rights of Indigenous communities (Larsen & Gilbert, 2020).

Additionally, it is crucial to examine the ongoing human rights violations from an environmental standpoint. Merely considering the renewable nature of the energy project and its alignment with the green shift does not negate the existence of these violations. The ruling of the supreme court highlighted that despite the potential benefits of wind-energy expansion and the majority's right to live in a more sustainable world, the fact that the construction took place without permission undermines this argument (NRK, February 28).

Finally, it is essential to recognize the diverse nature of the Sámi peoples as an Indigenous group, as this understanding is crucial for gaining a nuanced perspective on the issues at hand. It is important to note that not all Sámi individuals are solely focused on the reindeer industry. By fixating on a specific case and narrowing our view within the broader and continuous historical context of the Sámi, we risk falling into a tunnel-vision that obscures the complexity of their experiences. This highlights the potential pitfalls of canonicalization and the limitations imposed by media portrayals, which can hinder our ability to comprehend the complete picture (NRK, February 28).

5.3 Antithesis (Ideological/Majority interest narrative)

After delving into the narrative presented by the Sámi community, it is important to acknowledge that their experiences represent only a fraction of the diverse range of lived experiences within the Indigenous groups and communities. However, this perspective brings to the forefront the critical importance of legal rights and protections for Indigenous Peoples, which serve as a shield against the encroachment of state and capital interests. The historical and ongoing conflicts between the Sámi and the state expose a growing discontent and disharmony stemming from past injustices and a persistent disregard for their rights that has become deeply ingrained in our institutional systems.

Moving forward, it is imperative to critically examine the ideological narrative commonly referred to as the "majority interest" coalition, which encompasses the state and well-established energy and monetary interests. Through this analysis, we can draw comparisons with the Sámi Indigenous rights narrative, thereby shedding light on the contrasting perspectives and interests that are at play in this complex situation. By carefully considering these different viewpoints, we can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the underlying dynamics and the broader implications at stake.

5.3.1 The common-sense approach

The task of comprehensively explaining capitalism and its multifaceted influence within the confines of this thesis is beyond its scope. Therefore, our investigation will focus on two aspects that are frequently emphasized in the prevailing narratives within the logic of the prevailing narrative, cultural hegemony embodied in Capitalistic and (Neo)Liberal Countries.

Firstly, it is crucial to recognize that prevailing narratives often rely on a "common-sense approach" or "face value sense-making." Secondly, we will explore how specifically the capitalist and neoliberal narrative, despite its omnipotence and predominance, often contradicts itself.

Arguments stemming from the ideology of the free market often rest on presuppositions or general statements that establish an ideological "truth." For instance, neoliberals frequently invoke the concept of the "invisible hand of the market" as an inherently positive force that eliminates personal bias, subjectivity, or unilateral actions (Beck, 1992, p. 74). Proponents of neoliberalism argue that the market, with its flexibility and lean structure, cannot go wrong. They maintain that market forces possess the strength to recover and rebound from shocks and disturbances to the system, asserting that it is the ultimate source of economic surplus value that benevolently trickles down into jobs and "liveable" wages for the workers (Beck, 1992, p. 76).

To comprehend the pervasiveness and omnipotence of contemporary capitalist iterations of ideology and its ability to shape public discourse, it is necessary to briefly define the common-sense approach.

In this context, common sense refers to immediate perception, implicit understanding, and the subtle influence of "System I" thinking. It encompasses the impulsive and incessant tendency to accept interconnected, multipolar, and conflicting phenomena at face value, and subsequently adopt the prevailing narrative endorsed by the state, capital interests, or the media. In other words, the conditioning and rhetorical strategies employed by neoliberal apologists and proponents of the free market are contingent on a dramaturgy that prioritizes perceptions and the consolidation of power, rather than engaging in sincere conversations or facilitating material and societal transitions that benefit all members of society, not just the ruling bourgeois class.

Societies, including those within late-stage capitalism, are inherently contradictory, unveiling the cracks in their façade and necessitating continuous repair of the wall of "complicity." Consequently, efforts are made to address the existential, moral, and ethical challenges arising from societal inequities and ecological degradation.

It is crucial to recognize that the prevalent approach often relies on a canonical common-sense perspective rooted in established traditions, fortified by Eurocentrism, American exceptionalism, or Nordic exceptionalism. This perspective perpetuates a "heteronormative" and "culturally hegemonic" worldview, which scrutinizes and categorizes individuals and groups outside the scope of what is deemed "normal" by the dominant societal norms. This approach disproportionately benefits a particular group within society while simultaneously limiting the discourse and opportunities for enrichment to those who conform to this categorical and canonical cultural hegemony.

The prevailing ideology that has dominated western democratic nations in the past four decades, commonly known as neoliberalism and often rooted in a capital realist approach, has significantly influenced business practices. However, there is a growing moral disconnect as the justifications for these practices increasingly rely on capital rationality and economic or utilitarian arguments, allowing even the most severe transgressions to be justified as necessary for the greater good. What might give this even healthier legs to stand on is the notion of Objectivism, put forth by Ayn Rand, which favours self-serving interests as an inherent good, and although an important writer in her own right, whose books and philosophy is too expansive to get into here, suffice to say that her writings around capitalism as the currently most humane and equal socio-economic system has some Credence, since

she moved to the USA from the old Soviet bloc, giving her experience to criticize and doubt the validity and feasibility of Communism and subsequently Marxism and Socialism. Her assertions, however, would in a collectivist nature be hard to implement or synthesize, since her opinion on ideology is nested in the same traditional liberal notions which uphold and maintain the current social order, favouring private property and capital (Younkins, 2016).

This ideology is grounded in a common-sense perspective that prioritizes financial considerations over non-financial aspects, thus upholding the existing situation. While capitalism has undoubtedly facilitated progress and benefited certain individuals, leading to advancements in fields like medicine, space exploration and renewable energy utilization to mention a few, the current socio-scientific landscape is experiencing significant transformations and so far, it is often relegated to the privileged that can afford or have access to it.

These shifts are challenging the established societal and scientific paradigms that have been perpetuated by the prevailing ideology. As we confront urgent global issues such as climate change and social inequity, it becomes increasingly apparent that a narrow focus on financial gains is inadequate. Addressing these complex challenges necessitates a broader perspective that encompasses non-financial dimensions, such as social and environmental considerations. Accordingly, there is a growing recognition of the need for a change in basic assumptions in our understanding and approach to societal and scientific progress, moving beyond the confines of traditional capitalist frameworks.

Although some may downplay or dismiss the importance of climate change and global warming, scientific consensus confirms their significance. However, the issue goes beyond historical climate denialism, as we now face a more concerning problem: climate delay. This delay is being legitimized through the concepts of green capitalism and greenwashing. Despite extensive research conducted by scholars and even within the fossil fuel industry itself, which establishes the connection between fossil fuel usage and carbon emissions, key findings on climate change were withheld from the public as early as the 1980s. Oil and gas companies now seek to shift responsibility and accountability for climate change-related risks and consequences away from the fundamental capitalist processes of extraction, production, and consumption. They employ interpretive frames that are non-climatic, non-scientific, or

socially inequitable, redirecting blame from corporations and states by emphasizing concepts like "individualism," "market exceptionalism," and "personal responsibility."

The disproportionate emphasis on financial considerations within the capitalist framework can be seen as an impressive feat in terms of generating wealth and economic growth. However, this overreliance on financial factors raises concerns regarding the neglect of non-financial dimensions. This narrow focus on financial gains often leads to the suppression or downplaying of research findings that highlight the severity of potential consequences associated with certain practices or policies.

The concealment of research findings can arise from various factors, such as the sway of vested interests, political pressures, or the inclination to preserve the existing status quo. In certain instances, influential entities within the capitalist system may attempt to safeguard their financial interests by diminishing or withholding information that could potentially contest the prevailing narrative or demand alterations in business or governmental operations. This suppression of critical information has the potential to obstruct well-informed decision-making and impede advancements in tackling urgent social and environmental concerns. Moreover, it undermines the autonomy of individuals as they engage with society. The prioritization of financial considerations over non-financial dimensions within capitalism raises important questions about the transparency, accountability, and ethical implications of such a system. It underscores the need for a more balanced approach that incorporates a broader range of considerations, ensuring the well-being of not only economic actors but also society and the environment.

Companies engage in greenwashing, presenting symbolic gestures towards carbon-neutral practices while simultaneously continuing their "business as usual" activities. For decades, they have contributed to pollution either out of ignorance, indifference, or denial of the risks and consequences. This mindset of perpetuating a "business as usual" approach and reproducing the same cultural norms without broadening perspectives is, at best, narrow-minded and, at worst, exclusionary and silencing for the most vulnerable members of society. It perpetuates harmful and regressive modes of thinking within the green transition, hindering the emancipation of all people on transnational, intergenerational, and intersectional level.

Hence, it is essential to recognize and comprehend the influential discourse embedded within the commonly adopted common-sense approach concerning climate change, capitalism, and human rights. The "business as usual" mindset, available predominantly to those occupying privileged positions within the social hierarchy, enables them to disregard the pressing issues at hand and attribute the entirety of responsibility to individuals, thereby evading an understanding of the consequences associated with their privileges.

5.3.2 NRK Debate

Now, I will present a comprehensive analysis of the arguments supporting the "majority interest" narrative, which is advocated by state actors, political economists, and public officials.

Firstly, it is crucial to address the title of the debate, "Samer vil stenge staten" (the Sámi wants to shut down the state). While it is likely a sensationalized headline aimed at attracting attention, it is important to recognize that such titles can reinforce prejudiced or anti-Sámi sentiments, even if they do not accurately reflect the actual content of the discussion.

Terje Aasland, the oil and energy minister mentioned earlier, has been actively involved in damage control and attempting to address the grievances and discontent among the Sámi people and their advocates. During the debate, he strongly advocated for dialogue, the establishment of a more comprehensive knowledge base, and the preservation of the Sámi people's freedom to express their culture (NRK, February 28).

Aina Borch, the mayor of Porsanger and a member of the Sámi Indigenous community, holds a municipal perspective. She opposes the dismantling of the wind park and criticizes the ongoing protests and demonstrations, viewing them as complicating and undermining the existing agreements made between the Sámi community and the local government. When questioned about the human rights violations, she echoes the established position that the government must promptly address the situation, emphasizing the need for all parties involved to reach a mutually acceptable agreement. She also highlights the necessity of caution, as acceding to the demands of the Sámi people and amplifying their momentum could potentially have adverse effects on commercial prospects and economic growth (NRK, February 28).

These perspectives contribute to the broader discourse surrounding the "majority interest" narrative. State actors and public officials argue for dialogue and the need for balanced decision-making, considering both cultural preservation and economic development. Their emphasis lies on finding a compromise that considers the interests of all parties involved, while also ensuring that the ongoing human rights concerns are adequately addressed.

5.3.3 The economic/utility argument

The government is not under an obligation to dismantle the wind turbines if such action is considered disproportionate to the request. The estimated construction costs of the Roan and Storheia wind parks are approximately six billion NOK, while the economic value of the Sámi reindeer industry amounts to 220,000 NOK (NRK, 28. February)

It is crucial to emphasize that in conflicts characterized by power imbalances and significant disparities in economic, cultural, and societal capital and power, the use of economic value arguments undermines the civil and political rights of minority groups involved. Further elaboration on this point will be provided in the forthcoming discussion. It is essential to recognize that economic value should not take precedence in matters involving minorities, despite the potential arguments based on economic value that may be presented from a neo-liberal perspective. Scholars and experts well-versed in the laws, rights, and deliberations surrounding similar cases understand this principle. However, it is paramount to reiterate this point, as we will be addressing arguments that actively employ economic value to advocate for the "majority perspective" (Pressekonferanse Fosen Vind, 2016).

During the press conference unveiling the largest onshore wind energy project in Europe, Christian Rynning-Tønnesen, the former CEO of Statkraft, highlighted that the energy project would generate over 3.5 TWh annually, equivalent to the energy consumption of approximately 170,000 households. He further described it as the most significant investment on Norwegian soil in decades (Pressekonferanse Fosen Vind, 2016).

A representative from Trønderenergi, a partner in the project, emphasized the utilitarian benefits for all and the profitability for Norwegians, citing their local knowledge and experience as the primary energy company in the region (Pressekonferanse Fosen Vind, 2016).

Dominik Bollier, the managing partner for Credit Suisse Energy Infrastructure, outlined three economic and utility arguments that influenced their decision to invest in the project. These included the collaboration between established utility and energy companies (Statkraft and Trønderenergi), the favourable location and wind accessibility, and the project's substantial economic scale and scope (Pressekonferanse Fosen Vind, 2016).

Economist Oddmund Enoksen adopted a capitalist realist approach when comparing the economic value of wind turbines to the local reindeer industry during a debate on NRK. He accused the Sámi people of being "free passengers" of the "green shift," suggesting that they were exempt from making sacrifices while expecting others to contribute. This insinuation implied that the Sámi community was not doing enough to contribute to the environment compared to the perceived majority interest, represented by the predominant cultural hegemony and bourgeois elite (NRK, 28. February).

An additional argument employed to mitigate and minimize criticism of the wind park expansion is the assertion that 40% of Norwegian land remains undisturbed and suitable for reindeer grazing. On the surface, this claim undermines the Sámi 's objections to the wind park by suggesting the availability of ample alternative land. However, a closer examination reveals that the concept of "undisturbed grazing lands" encompasses areas such as cities, villages, ice glaciers, lakes, and roads. When considering how much of these designated "undisturbed grazing lands" genuinely represents untouched nature, as the term implies, the actual proportion is significantly lower. This striking disparity between the presented statistics, their framing, and the reality of the situation underscores the importance of adopting a more nuanced perspective that transcends sensationalized media narratives (Lindin, 2023).

5.3.4 The legal argument

The Norwegian supreme court rendered a verdict in favour of the Sámi people. However, during their deliberations, they recognized the substantial progress made in constructing the windpark, with it already being erected. As a result, they acknowledged the considerable costs involved in reversing the project for Fosen Vind, whose primary stakeholder is the governmental company Statkraft.

The supreme court encountered a stalemate when assigning responsibility to the various actors involved in encroaching upon Sámi lands. While legal violations of Sámi sovereignty and independence were evident, the court's ruling pertained solely to the legality of the state's expropriation. It did not establish a legal framework or provide instructions on how the Sámi people's rights to self-determination and cultural expression should be redressed or reinstated. While it may be understandable from an economic perspective that addressing the windpark expansion and its potential removal poses practical challenges, it gives rise to concerns regarding the legal precedence of such cases. When a minority group succeeds in the supreme court by demonstrating human rights violations, it is uncommon to observe actions, or the absence thereof, that appear more as damage control rather than a genuine and earnest endeavour to rectify and provide reimbursement for ongoing injustices. Furthermore, the persistent portrayal of the Sámi people in public discourse and media as burdensome and demanding serves to intensify the situation. Which for a while was even worsened by the State's stance to deny or question the legal ramifications of the expropriation and subsequent wind park-expansion, creating internal conflicts between state actors, causing further disarray in swiftly dealing with the consequences of the ongoing human rights violations at Fosen (Lindgaard Stranden, 2022)

5.3.5 The sustainability/environmental argument

One of the prevailing narratives within the context of the ideological "majority perspective" revolves around the wind turbine expansion in Fosen, positing it as a significant stride towards realizing a more sustainable and carbon-neutral society. Advocates argue that the Fosen project, being the largest onshore wind energy initiative in Europe, is in line with the broader objective of reducing emissions by 50% by 2030 and achieving carbon neutrality by 2050. Roan and Storheia are portrayed as pivotal milestones in the pursuit of a greener society. While this perspective is not entirely unfounded, it tends to offer a limited and one-sided portrayal, disregarding the intricate complexities inherent in the situation.

This perspective can be attributed to a capitalist realist lens that emphasizes the economic contributions of the wind turbines on the ancestral lands of the Sámi people. During a debate on NRK, Oddmund Enoksen presented the viewpoint that the Indigenous community may be perceived as having limited involvement in actively contributing to achieving carbon neutrality, contrasting with the perceived benefits of the wind turbines in advancing this goal (NRK, February 8, 2023).

Investor Ulltveit-Moe expressed caution to the Sámi regarding the potential dismantling of the wind turbines, highlighting the potential negative consequences of such action, including increased greenhouse gas emissions and furthering global warming. He emphasized the need to strike a balance between the Sámi's right to cultural expression and the imperative of the "majority interest" in pursuing a green transition towards carbon neutrality (Ulltveit-Moe, 2023).

The statements and viewpoints draw attention to the conflict that arises between the objectives of the Sámi community and the larger objectives of the green energy transition. They emphasize the necessity for an approach that is more detailed and all-encompassing, considering the cultural representation and entitlements of marginalized communities, while concurrently striving for a sustainable future. It is of utmost importance to navigate these intricacies and discover resolutions that harmonize the ambitions of various involved parties, guaranteeing that the pursuit of carbon neutrality does not impinge upon Indigenous rights or amplify pre-existing inequalities.

Equinor, a state-owned oil and gas company, recently announced its energy projects and financial spending plans. However, a report by Oil Change International has raised concerns about Equinor's practices, highlighting a departure from pathways aligned with the goal of limiting global temperature increases to 1.5 or 2 degrees Celsius (Tong & Trout, 2023). The report reveals that while Equinor invests one dollar in renewable projects, it allocates 28 dollars towards fossil fuel projects. This disproportionate allocation raises questions about Equinor's commitment to sustainable practices. Furthermore, Equinor's significant contribution to climate pollution is troubling, as its greenhouse gas emissions are approximately five times higher than Norway's domestic emissions (Tong & Trout, 2023). This highlights the need for closer examination of Equinor's strategies and the potential misalignment with climate objectives.

The increasing prominence of the concept of "economic growth" coexisting with "ecological sustainability" is gaining media attention and political support at both domestic and international levels. Before delving further, it is crucial to define these terms. Economic growth encompasses various scales for measuring profit, economic value, and margin improvements, often quantified through metrics like GDP for countries, organizations, companies, or groups of people. However, it is important to recognize that focusing solely on

GDP can be misleading as it disregards social, cultural, individual, and environmental concerns that contribute to equality, mental well-being, and environmental soundness. Capitalism, including its current manifestations such as democratic capitalism, green capitalism, and neoliberalism, has all demonstrated an ability to produce unequal treatment, exclusion, and discrimination based on factors such as ethnicity, heredity, spirituality, or sexuality. The lack of inclusion of young, coloured, Indigenous, queer, and disabled individuals in policymaking and decision-making is evident across various levels of bourgeois elite society. This systemic and intersectional exclusion extends to the Sámi Indigenous peoples, as exemplified by the Norwegian Supreme Court's ruling on the Fosen case, which has resulted in inaction and no plans for removal or compensation for the affected people, despite the wind park being constructed on and around Sámi cultural heritage and being vital to the Sámi people's reindeer industry. The question arises of how we can expand renewable energy projects in an ethical and equitable manner. Attempting to combine the ideals of neoliberal or green capitalist accumulation and profit maximization with genuine or even close-to-ideal solutions for climate change while implementing one of the most significant cultural and socio-technical transitions to achieve global carbon neutrality is bound to create conflicts of interest.

The economic perspective must encompass the interconnectedness of the climate crisis and global inequity. Whose economic growth is being pursued? Is it primarily benefiting the bourgeois capital elite, the "majority interest," or the canonical "cultural hegemony," or is it genuinely inclusive of everyone? Furthermore, when we refer to "everyone," whose perspectives and experiences are being considered and applied? It is crucial for countries like Norway to actively involve and accommodate First Nations, as they possess invaluable knowledge and experience regarding our shared habitats and their evolution over decades. Failing to include them or acting against their wishes through maladaptation, urbanization, and lack of foresight will further exacerbate climate change and contribute to indigenous inequities.

5.3.6 Summary

At the ideological level, the prevailing discourse has heavily relied on a simplistic common-sense standpoint that juxtaposes the economic benefits of the state and capital interests with the dispossession and expropriation endured by Indigenous communities. The Sámi people's

fight for self-sovereignty and self-determination is frequently marginalized through economic realist justifications, as exemplified by Oddmund Enoksen's use of the term "economic inconveniences" to describe the potential ramifications of removing the wind turbines during the debate. Additionally, these injustices are often rationalized by invoking the global shift towards green energy, thus overlooking the legal implications of such acts of injustice.

This common-sense approach, as mentioned earlier, is inherently ideological and driven by capital interests, but it is presented as representing the "majority interest." The majority's interest is framed within the context of the "green shift," endowing them with a higher moral conviction or justification for the expansion of wind energy. This is evident in how economic and utilitarian arguments emphasizing the "greater good" of the majority prevail in debates and discussions, even though such arguments should not theoretically be given legitimacy in the context of a minority versus majority equation according to the UN Convention on Political and Civil Rights.

However, contemporary arguments continue to rely on these justifications because the supreme court has not imposed any legal obligations to dismantle, compensate, or rectify the expansion of wind energy. In this legal vacuum, sustainability and environmental arguments have predominantly aligned with and favoured the prevailing neoliberal narrative embodied in the "majority interest," thereby legitimizing the expansion despite its clear violation of human rights in legal terms.

Finally, it is imperative to critically examine Equinor's intentions to deepen our dependence on oil and gas in the long term, especially considering the concurrent efforts by certain actors in public discourse to discredit Sámi activism and protests for improved rights by portraying them as a "selfish and non-sustainable" perspective in relation to the Fosen case.

6.1 Discussion

“Without an ethic of love shaping the direction of our political vision and our radical aspirations, we are often seduced, in one way or the other, into continued allegiance to systems of domination.” Bell Hooks

The quote by Bell Hooks eloquently captures the current predicament, both within the Norwegian context concerning the Sámi people and globally, regarding our continued

allegiance to capitalism in its various iterations within Western democracies, particularly emphasizing neo-liberalism. By doing so, we inadvertently expose ourselves to the perpetuation and exacerbation of injustices and domination over minority groups. I have shed light on the problematic nature of our current cultural hegemony, which constructs 'the other' and hinders coexistence and mutual development. In this context, "the other" serves as a term encompassing individuals who do not conform to the prevailing heteronormative, white-supremacist hegemonic world order. It is crucial for us, as members of Western societies, to acknowledge and comprehend the enduring legacy of imperialism and colonialism. Furthermore, we must recognize that contemporary capitalism is intertwined with neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism, encompassing ongoing projects of vanity and affluence that rely on labour exploitation and the subjugation of the Global South and BIPOC communities. Merely satisfying ourselves with capital's self-serving economic interests should not lead us to cease investigating its ramifications. By adopting a more integrated approach in our discussions and explorations, we can illuminate that capital encompasses far more than mere repositories of wealth.

6.2 The Fosen-case

Let us now delve into the focal point of this analysis, namely the Fosen case, and examine its implications for the struggle for Indigenous rights and how it correlates with the green shift, and capital interests.

The wind energy expansion in Fosen, as demonstrated throughout this thesis, embodies a complex, interconnected, and inherently contradictory nature. It encompasses both the material aspects of the wind park and its physical consequences, as well as the multitude of interpretations concerning political, socio-historical, and indigenous equality dimensions. These dimensions shed light on how the state and majority interests treat minority communities that reside at the mercy of state and capital interests. As a result, a power dynamic has been established where state and capital interests take precedence over moral, ethical, and humanitarian considerations.

The construction of the wind park by Statkraft and its partners before obtaining proper permits exemplifies this power dynamic. They proceeded with construction, assuming eventual clearance, even though they were aware of the dispute with reindeer Sámi territories,

a fact acknowledged by the supreme court. The ruling of the supreme court further legitimizes the critiques levelled at those responsible for the planning and execution of the wind park expansion. It becomes evident that local knowledge, indigenous rights struggles, and international and constitutional laws were not adequately considered at any stage of the planning, construction, or subsequent maintenance processes.

6.2.1 Capital accumulation through dispossession

Through examining the Fosen case from both the Indigenous peoples and neo-liberal or “majority” perspectives, the results point to an unhealthy dialectic arising from these phenomena and others of similar nature and scope. This common-sense approach is deeply entrenched in historical traditions, perpetuating eurocentrism, American or Nordic exceptionalism, and the canonical view of male/normal whiteness/normal. These perspectives actively harm and restrict the scope of debate, benefiting only those within the established cultural hegemony.

Moving forward, it is crucial to address and rectify the power imbalances and injustices inherent in the Fosen case and similar situations. This requires a genuine commitment to Indigenous rights, the inclusion of local knowledge and perspectives, and adherence to international and constitutional laws. Only through such efforts can we foster a more equitable and inclusive approach to the current energy transition and ensure that the green shift is not achieved at the expense of marginalized communities and their rights.

6.3 Modernity as risk society

These repositories of capital accumulation, hide vast but veiled truths within them, which brings into question the soundness of inquiry, in the sense that when all is intercorrelated and dynamic, how do we make sense of it all?

Ulrich Beck argues that the metaphysical invisibility, scientific uncorrelation, and unconfirmed consequences of risks, along with their contradictory relationship with modes of production, serve to mystify, conceal, and obscure responsibility. In a neoliberal perspective, attributing blame, and targeted accountability to the complex and interconnected web of cascading effects, which result from capital accumulation and production, becomes nearly impossible.

This obscurity extends beyond economic considerations. In our reflexive modernity, contradictions and disputes regarding beliefs, ideologies, and concepts of justice and accountability are often addressed in highly specialized and individualistic ways, contributing to a lack of transparency and universality. This lack of transparency and universality favours the bourgeois capitalist class by cloaking the understanding of phenomena and contradictions to avenues that they possess power in to define issues and legitimize frameworks tackling them.

The risks we encounter are escalating and assuming greater significance, presenting existential challenges. Current endeavours frequently prioritize the preservation and perpetuation of the neoliberal hegemony associated with the imperial/Western core, rather than actively addressing climate change, and aiding those most vulnerable to its impacts.

6.3.1 Risks of global warming

The countries and populations that experience the least advantages from the outcomes of industrial capitalism are also the most vulnerable and susceptible to its impacts. The Global South, which encompasses Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the majority of Asia (excluding developed countries such as Israel, Japan, and South Korea), bear the greatest burden of the adverse consequences of global warming. It is, therefore, highly unjust to expect and demand developing nations to fulfil the goals and commitments of the UN climate agreements without adequate assistance.

The risks associated with initiating and perpetuating the industrial revolution are extensive and widespread, transcending national boundaries and disrupting ecosystems beyond their origins. This complexity complicates the attribution of responsibility and accountability as we progress further into modernity and confront different potential scenarios for global average temperature increase, ranging from 1.5 to 4, 5, and 6 degrees Celsius.

The long-term effects and consequences of these scenarios remain uncertain, even though developed countries in favourable geographic locations may experience relatively liveable conditions in the coming decades. However, the impacts will eventually affect everyone. Maintaining hope for limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius is crucial, as exceeding this threshold will undoubtedly result in global upheaval, with nature unleashing havoc through extreme and unprecedented changes in weather patterns and natural habitats.

Countries must act, as maintaining the status quo or business as usual is no longer sustainable. Therefore, the hosting of COP 27 by Egypt, as part of Africa, carries significant importance, as it allows for increased representation of African nations severely affected by climate-induced natural disasters such as water shortages and droughts.

6.4 Global South/North (BIPOC)

The recurrence of landgrabs through capitalist and Neo-imperial decision-making processes can be observed in numerous ongoing cases of government overreach against Indigenous peoples. This phenomenon is not unique to Norway but is seen globally. Major companies and corporations, whether state-owned or not, have provided inadequate responses to global warming and its anthropogenic consequences. As a result, BIPOC communities are disproportionately affected by severe environmental pollution, leading to a decrease in their autonomy, including mobility, both in physical and social-cultural contexts. This infringement on their rights further alienates "the other," those outside of the Global North, while also subjugating marginalized groups within the Imperial Core.

6.4.1 Imperial Core/Periphery

What the constituent believers and members of the Imperial Core fails to consider in its processes is the multitude of human-caused disasters resulting from regulatory negligence, lack of transparency, and failure to rectify historical and impending environmental damage. Their continued carelessness and obstinacy predictably project forthcoming unilateral damages to infrastructure, environment, and the material conditions that influence cultural freedom and mental health. Consequently, these material conditions crystallize evident power imbalances, challenging the perceptions of those in control of the means of production and those striving for a more egalitarian society.

Countries' responses to climate change, including their mitigation efforts, public discourse, and policymaking, shape the discourse, framing, and understanding of the issue.

Unfortunately, with the current policy pursuits, there is a tendency to embrace symbolic gestures such as "green oil" or carbon capture and storage, rather than genuinely addressing the complex problem. For instance, in the Fosen case, the Norwegian government pays lip service to the fight for Indigenous rights to cultural self-expression while simultaneously allowing their continued suffering and erasure. Meanwhile, the government, energy, and financial incumbents, and the so-called "majority interest" continue to reap substantial profits

from oil extraction and export, making Norway the 11th largest exporter in the world, predicted to rise to the 8th position by the end of 2023 (Tong & Trout, 2023).

Governance is never an easy task, but evading responsibility through inaction and obstinacy is undoubtedly easier than acknowledging and rectifying past and present offenses. This is especially troubling considering the societal and personal losses endured by individuals affected by the Fosen case in Norway, as well as the broader history of the Sámi people's struggle against economic, industrial, cultural, and governmental dominance. However, this issue extends beyond Indigenous communities, as how we treat minority groups in society reflects the festering hostilities embedded within civil society and policies, perpetuating further divisions between minorities and the larger society.

Chemical spills, train derailments, dam breaches, mine accidents, construction injuries, and numerous other incidents continue to occur. If these issues can be swept under the rug or justified from an "economic" or "sustainability" perspective, we allow for further transgressions against equality and the environment. Furthermore, under COP15 developed nations agreed to pledge 100 billion USD yearly to help developing countries into renewable energy transitions (Roberts, et al., 2010).

The fulfilment of eco-finance commitments made by developed countries to vulnerable nations facing climate-induced risks, such as disasters and livelihood challenges, remains pending, leaving some to questions why we even bother with climate summits at all (Cuff, 2022). Compensation for loss and damage should be provided through financial subsidies or the installation of renewable energy systems in developing countries. Ensuring accountability requires transparent reporting of CO₂ emissions and carbon footprints. To achieve our goals, a rapid and comprehensive expansion of renewable and sustainable energy sources and systems is necessary on technological, economic, societal, and cultural fronts, which poses significant challenges. Implementing emissions trading systems, through what the UN calls enhanced transparency framework or (ETFs) that benefit developing nations is crucial. Notwithstanding the pledged annual funding of \$100 trillion, there exists a significant shortfall of \$17 trillion, rendering it impractical to anticipate developing nations to achieve sustainable energy and production transitions while simultaneously addressing underdevelopment, poverty, and climate-induced catastrophes. These expectations may demonstrate a misdirected sense of optimism or an attempt to evade climate responsibility by

shifting the burden onto developing countries or China alone, instead of industrial developed countries and multinational corporations which are primarily responsible for our current predicament.

6.5 Accountability and deflection

The notion of private ownership consistently emerges as a fundamental pillar within capitalist bourgeois society. This entitlement relies on the accumulation of capital, a process that is intricately entangled with ethical, moral, and equity considerations. By promoting the ideals of individualism, in-class competition and a consumer-centric culture, responsibility for substantial transgressions against both the general populace and marginalized minority communities is shifted away from corporations or the state. Paradoxically, this shift undermines the very rights to private ownership, individual freedom of expression, and equitable representation that are stripped away from these affected individuals.

6.5.1 Capitalist contradiction and propaganda

The influence of consumerism, news media, state-controlled journalism, the suppression of labour unions, and the presence of Marxist ideas in Western societies can be observed as mechanisms for shaping public opinion. This becomes apparent when we analyse perspectives that diverge from the established and dominant narrative. Such examination reveals that capitalism, in all its various forms, is characterized by societal conflicts, political class struggles, and internal power dynamics, often overshadowing the comparative impact of attempted socialist and Marxist societal structures. While it is important to acknowledge the Indigenous atrocities and exceptionalist tendencies associated with Marxist interpretations, such as Soviet Communism and Maoism, disregarding capitalism's own relationship with such issues would be historically inaccurate. Despite the frequent portrayal of communism as inherently evil by proponents of capitalism, who tend to emphasize the negative outcomes attributed to Marxist ideals and theories, there seems to be a noticeable lack of awareness regarding critical examinations of capitalism's own shortcomings. This includes its detrimental effects on marginalized segments of society, particularly when considering intersecting forms of discrimination and systemic inequities.

Furthermore, communism's death toll is often falsely attributed to WW2 casualties, and other "red scare" propaganda still prolonged to this day (Courtois & Kramer, 1999). This further

strengthens the ignorance and paranoia around Communism, Marxism, Socialism, or communally owned means of production.

The stance adopted by liberal thinkers and theorists is characterized by a firm commitment to the narrative of liberal progress while evading accountability for state responsibilities. Particularly noteworthy is their strong opposition to socialist or Marxist ideas, often accompanied by claims such as "Socialism is when the government does stuff," "communism has caused more deaths than capitalism" (Courtois & Kramer, 1999). Again, muddying the waters and creating discord for true emancipatory or socialist reform. They also argue that every socialist or communist revolution has resulted in failure and worsened conditions for countries like China, Russia, Vietnam, and Venezuela, among others.

6.5.2 Western Involvement in foreign affairs

These flawed arguments neglect to recognize the substantial impact of geopolitical interests held by Western capitalist and imperialist nations in undermining socialist movements and Marxist revolutions on a global scale. Additionally, proponents of these perspectives frequently exhibit a lack of critical engagement with information and a limited exploration of sources beyond the boundaries of Western cultural hegemony. By actively reinforcing and contributing to the establishment and perpetuation of oppressive authoritarian regimes, which they outwardly condemn and criticize, these proponents conveniently overlook their own failures in promoting equality in terms of class, gender, and race, both historically and in the present context.

The imperial core, characterized by dominant Western powers, relies on the notion of American and Western exceptionalism to sustain neo-liberal and social democracies. Conflictingly, this dependence perpetuates and normalizes unequal exchange within global capitalist power dynamics. The hegemony of globalised capitalism disproportionately puts developing nations into US and Western interests and economically locks them to capitalistic socio-economic systems and global trade and work markets. Extracting surplus value through colonial tribute, imperial rent and openly supporting and aiding authoritarian and dictatorial regimes that do not seek to become democratic states.

Despite right-wing, neo-liberal and sometimes social democratic populist movements positioning themselves as contrarian and oppositional to the status quo, their actions reinforce and embrace traditional, free-market-driven structures and policies. Notably, nationalist chauvinism, imperialistic exploitation, and neo-imperialism persist within societal and cultural ideals, further exacerbating the pre-existing imbalance of geopolitical, economic, and cultural power between the Global North and Global South. Analysing this phenomenon through the lens of the Global North/ South or Core/Periphery perspective provides us with these valuable insights.

6.5.3 Capitalist conviction and tunnel vision

The capitalist critique of socialism and Marxist thought often relies on strawman arguments that reduce complex issues to notions of individual jealousy, laziness of workers and communists, or a tendency to adopt victimhood and self-pity instead of embracing self-determination and individual effort ("pulling themselves up by their bootstraps"). The term "socialism" carries such loaded connotations that genuine discussions based on good faith are scarce. Additionally, socialism is frequently obscured and incorrectly attributed to social democratic contexts like those found in Scandinavia. Paradoxically, those who interchangeably assert that socialism/Marxism has been attempted in various forms but never succeeded contribute to the limited understanding and misrepresentation of socialism. Critiques of socialism or Marxist thought from a capitalist standpoint often rely on fallacious arguments, portraying individuals who advocate for worker rights and communism as lazy, resentful, or perpetuating a victim mentality, rather than taking personal responsibility and striving for self-improvement. The historical shortcomings of past endeavours to implement socialist and Marxist reform and principles, often within authoritarian regimes, have provided undue rhetorical ammunition for neoliberal thinkers and economic experts. They contend that the attainment of socialist reforms or a revolution is unrealistic and utopian. To simplify, socialism raises the question, "Is an individual not entitled to the fruits of their labour?" In a socialist perspective, if workers lack autonomy to determine where, how, and with whom they work due to capitalist, systemic, or institutional barriers, it would be considered unethical and only serving the interests of the few who possess land or workplace ownership, rather than the workers themselves. Given this, can we truly answer affirmatively to the previously posed question?

6.5.4 The illusive notion of socialism

Consequently, as the assessment of capitalism and its various manifestations has become more critical, numerous neo-liberal and social democratic governments have adopted a strategy known as the "Spoonful of socialism" approach, drawing inspiration from Bismarck's efforts in Germany to placate dissent and discontent through relatively modest social and welfare policies that maintained popular satisfaction. This rhetoric is designed to preserve and uphold the existing status quo while misleadingly aligning with egalitarian and socialistic principles that are fundamentally incongruous with capitalism and neo-liberalism. As a result, some countries have reached a compromise in the form of social democracy, with the prevailing notion that true socialism is unattainable. However, this argument fails to acknowledge the historical and ongoing burden placed on the Global South to sustain the affluent lifestyles enjoyed by the Global North (Gulson & Pedroni, 2011).

It is imperative then, to underscore that our social democracy and other Western democracies are predicated on the ongoing exploitation of the "imperial periphery" to sustain the privileges and advantages enjoyed by the "imperial core." The notion of "enlightened centrism," which promotes reform and compromise, frequently results in practices such as greenwashing, rainbow-washing, or white-washing that serve to uphold existing power structures. These practices often involve reductions in economic socialization spending and the implementation of austerity policies, which aim to lower taxes and subsequently weaken or undermine the welfare system.

The analysis of capitalism, in its various forms and abstractions, is facilitated by adopting a Marxist perspective. This paper has aimed to delve into the specific contributions of Global Capitalism and Neoliberalism to social inequality and environmental degradation. An essential article in this regard is "Marxism and the Three Movements of Neoliberalism" by John O'Connor, a scholar from Central Connecticut State University. This article employs a Marxist framework to comprehensively understand the diverse body of research on neoliberalism. It examines the underlying logic and processes that drive neoliberal transformation, encompassing both its theoretical foundations and practical implementations.

6.5.5 The crouching tiger of neoliberalism

The rise of neoliberalism can be seen as a response to the economic downturn witnessed between 1974 and 1982, which created a crisis of profitability within advanced capitalist nations. Consequently, these nations shifted their focus away from the socialization of economic activities and instead embraced the principles of coercive competition (O'Connor, 2010).

Coercive competition, characterized by market contestability, state rationalization, and factor mobility, played a pivotal role in restructuring the balance of class forces, transforming the mode of production, and reorganizing the accumulation processes within social formations. These changes were instrumental in restoring higher levels of profitability within the capitalist system. By examining the theoretical foundations and practical implications of coercive competition, this framework provides insights into the dynamics and outcomes of neoliberalism (O'Connor, 2010).

Drawing on Marxist analysis, the article contributes to a deeper understanding of the multifaceted nature of neoliberalism and its impact on socio-economic structures. By situating neoliberalism within a historical context marked by crisis and class struggles, this framework offers a nuanced perspective on the complexities of neoliberal transformations and their implications for capitalist societies.

Neo-liberalism, as a socio-economic framework, prioritizes the interests of capital, resulting in the enrichment of a privileged few while neglecting public spending on crucial sectors like healthcare and education (O'Connor, 2010). It finds its roots in the entrepreneurial American dream, exemplified by Reaganomics, the adoption of austerity measures, and the implementation of so-called "trickle-down economics" (O'Connor, 2010). Margaret Thatcher famously proclaimed that "there is no such thing as a society" (Thatcher, 1987), emphasizing lack of personal responsibility and individual ambition as primary barriers to social mobility and equity.

This perspective often encourages individuals to prioritize personal improvement before engaging in broader social critiques. Jordan Peterson, a notable advocate for capitalism, patriarchy and the continuation of the gender gap echoes this sentiment by urging individuals

to "clean their own room" or in his own words "set your own house in perfect order before criticizing the world" (Peterson et al., 2018). While such statements may hold some validity in the context of personal development or self-help, they are often exploited to undermine or delegitimize genuine discussions about social inequalities and unjust wealth distributions.

However, it is important to recognize and uphold the fundamental human right to express personal struggles in an interpersonal society, even when societal factors and dynamics often overlook this right. Failure to address such issues within our own country, as exemplified by the situation in Fosen, poses a significant challenge for Norwegians as we grapple with the implications of our heavy reliance on and capitalization of oil and gas in the coming decades. The inherent contradiction arises when our government promotes a green vision in public discourse and foreign relations while concurrently investing in and expanding fossil-fuel-driven energy projects, thereby perpetuating our dependence on finite resources.

Consequently, it is not surprising that such incongruity breeds social unrest and upheaval, as evidenced by the emergence of more radical movements like "stop oljeletinga" (stop oil exploration) and "extinction rebellion" (NRK, 2022). During a televised debate on NRK on November 24, 2022, a member of "stop oljeletinga" expressed the potential adoption of revolutionary violence if the government failed to initiate a transition away from oil and gas (Skahjem, 2022). These sentiments align with the themes explored in the book "How to Blow Up a Pipeline," which sheds light on the contradictory nature of capitalism in a climate-vulnerable reality. The book emphasizes the role of citizens in effecting change, while also acknowledging the need to challenge the political will and criticize the inherent capitalist incentives that hinder class consciousness and exacerbate climate change (Malm, 2021). According to Malm, the author, non-violent protest alone is unlikely to disrupt the business-as-usual corporate status quo (Malm, 2021).

The notion of "revolutionary violence" is frequently misattributed, as most of the violence stems from those opposing reform or revolution rather than those advocating for it, as aptly noted by Michael Parenti (Parenti, 2010). Additionally, the burden of past socialist experiments, along with the emergence of corporate planned economies driven by increasing market monopolies and concentrations, further shape the discourse surrounding socialism and its perceived viability.

6.5.6 Estimating the socio-historical emissions of inaction on climate change

The social cost of carbon concept is insufficiently explored and lacks support in legal, economic, and cultural domains. It fails to adequately consider the socio-historical and socio-technical emissions associated with carbon-intensive industries, particularly neglecting factors like fossil fuel extraction, energy systems and transportation. These industries not only contribute significantly to carbon emissions but also cause environmental acidification, degradation, and various socio-technical and biological risks. The relationship between capital accumulation and historical emissions is evident through the labour-based processes involving multiple individuals, highlighting the interconnectedness of their work. The origins, emissions, and environmental damage of enterprises are intertwined throughout the production cycle. Neoliberal and capitalist policies tend to downplay environmental justice in public discourse, despite the escalating climate change and its global consequences. To assess whether capitalism has effectively promoted environmental conservation, circularity, sustainable growth, and social equity, it is essential to analyse the costs of inaction in the present and past, considering their intergenerational and global impacts. Inaction has historically prioritized economic status quo and capital accumulation over environmental and humanitarian needs, perpetuating a "business as usual" perspective that neglects carbon emissions, ecosystem pollution, planetary boundaries, and social inequality.

Historical climate inaction has had a profound impact on delaying and impeding climate action and policy. Although quantifying the exact extent of this impact is challenging, historical climate inaction undermines ongoing efforts to achieve a sustainable future. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that the longer we postpone concrete and comprehensive climate action, the more costly and challenging it becomes both economically and in terms of the suffering endured by humans, animals, and the environment. Inaction perpetuates itself, reinforcing a detrimental mode of production. The cultural dominance of neoliberalism/capitalism, driven by the controlling bourgeoisie elite class, shapes discourse and frames global warming issues. Inertia poses a significant challenge and could become the most existential problem of our time. Examining the effects of climate change on ecosystems reveals a complex interplay of socio-historical and socio-technical factors, characterized by interdependence and mutual reinforcement. It is therefore possible to understand why terms such as climate homicide or the sixth extinction is gaining traction, it is precisely because that capital forces in its current form primarily serve to consolidate and maintain power and capital, not to make a habitable world that favours all that share it (Arkush & Braman, 2023)

To summarize, our comprehensive endeavours have expounded on the pervasive nature of the existing socio-economic systems that remain inextricably bound, as aptly stated by Bell Hooks, to the perpetuation of oppressive forces. This dissertation has sought to address the void in understanding and recognition of the plight of marginalized individuals, emphasizing the significance of identity and autonomy. Consequently, we shall now advance towards the concluding statement of our undertaking: Can a synthesis be achieved as anticipated or does the present socio-political and cultural system elude our grasp? Rendering its realization utopian in nature and elusive in its triumph.

7.1 A synthesis?

Forecasting the trajectory of global affairs in the future, is a formidable undertaking given the intricate and interconnected nature of multiple mechanisms. Attaining absolute certainty in making definitive predictions is a challenging endeavour. Though, it is possible to engage in speculation regarding the evolution of the green transition and the advancement of capitalism as climate change consequences intensify. The question arises: Will capitalism, in its different iterations, continue to dominate and thrive in the face of an increasingly globalized world, adverse to climate change, and characterized by social inequities? Alternatively, will the inherent contradictions of capitalism eventually contribute to its own demise?

One key question is whether the green transition will be universally embraced, and if so, how its shape and implementation will vary based on local contexts, cultures, and political systems. While these questions can be contemplated endlessly, the knowledge gained throughout this thesis equips us to better understand the green shift and its interactions with capitalism, social (in)equity, and human rights. This relationship will become increasingly significant and impactful as we move forward. Thus, realizing this relationship is key for addressing future global warming challenges and climate change in a sustainable and equitable manner.

Presently, it is evident that our society is heavily reliant on carbon-intensive practices, with fossil fuels satisfying more than 80% of global energy demand. Scholars specializing in energy transition argue that in the coming years, the role of the state or governing regime will increasingly shape and influence the expansion of renewable energy projects through incentives, subsidies, and guidance, to meet the growing energy needs and global warming. This shift in focus within sustainability literature towards the political dimensions of the

green transition highlights its potential to accelerate progress towards sustainability. However, it is essential to recognize that regimes often encompass vested interests and incumbents, such as state-owned oil or utility companies, which hold power, dominance, and prevailing narratives. This incumbency can both exacerbate and mitigate climate change, as it perpetuates business-as-usual practices through entrenched investments and unwavering technological optimism, leading to dependencies on fossil fuel and energy incumbents that reinforce the prevailing capitalist status quo—undoubtedly the primary driver of the ongoing climate crisis. In the context of Norway, for example, we observe the simultaneous expansion of renewable energy and electric vehicles alongside the issuance of new oil drilling licenses, knowing that the actual extraction will take at least 15 years from the time the licenses are granted. This perpetuates a significant and self-serving prophecy, whereby future generations will undoubtedly view our continued reliance on fossil fuel extraction and export well beyond 2030 or even 2050 as controversial, contradicting the commitments made in various COP meetings and agreements.

Prior to reaching a conclusion, it is essential to engage in a critical analysis of the abstractions that have been examined thus far, particularly in relation to the interaction between the Sámi people and the prevailing capitalist/neoliberal hegemony of the Western world. The state and energy capital interests present this hegemony as the "majority interest." Through a comprehensive exploration of both perspectives, I have formulated a thesis grounded in the Sámi and Indigenous rights perspective, which I compared to the antithesis represented by the "majority interest," better described as the "ideological narrative." Capitalism, as the dominant socio-economic system, significantly shapes this ideological narrative, which is constructed upon historical injustices such as imperialism and colonialism. Furthermore, the interplay between the capital industry's reliance on fossil fuels, its territorial demands, and their adverse effects on ecological systems contribute to the exacerbated devastation, a realization that has been underscored by climate science as being more interconnected and interdependent than previously acknowledged.

Despite its historical context, contemporary forms of capitalism often rely on similar interpretations of social injustice, often justified in the name of "the greater good." Consequently, these justifications are rhetorically framed through a lens that supports the notion of "the ends justify the means." Capitalist realist approaches reinforce this perspective, often deflecting corporate or state responsibility either towards consumers, citizens or

marginalized groups like the Sámi people or justifying actions as serving the broader interests of society.

The pursuit of synthesizing disparate and conflicting ideas and perspectives explored raises a fundamental query. The task of establishing such a synthesis is inherently arduous, primarily due to prevalent societal stances and ideological foundations that undergirds our society. Numerous factors contribute to this difficulty, including the marginalization of the Sámi people, historical injustices, and the impact of a reflexive second modernity within the melange that is Late-Stage Capitalism.

According to Beck's argument, the reflexive nature of second modernity gives rise to a complex relationship with morality and ethical dilemmas, where subjective perspectives and societal positioning hinder the attainment of an "objective truth," which remains elusive within our post-Structuralist framework. Our adoption of post-Structuralism does not absolve us of the responsibility to adhere to ethical and moral considerations, which have been consistently emphasized throughout this dialectic.

This reflexive second modernity, characterized by its inherent ambiguity and complexity, reveals the presence of inherent inequalities in its historical and contemporary manifestations, which are marked by misunderstandings and inauthentic abstractions. As we confront this tarnished legacy, we paradoxically find ourselves reaffirming our commitment to the same unjust system. It is a paradox because, in the face of the urgent imperative to address climate change and ensure energy stability and security, we allow for the further marginalization of communities that are native to and counter-sovereign of modern nations and states.

Despite arguments suggesting that the expansion of wind parks may not result in increased affordability of energy for many Norwegians and that substantial taxpayer funds will be allocated to this energy expansion, dissenting perspectives have been systematically suppressed, thereby reinforcing our reliance on Nordic exceptionalism, and perpetuating the harmful tendencies associated with it.

These dynamics culminate in a perspective of cultural hegemony that upholds a perplexing, discriminatory, and exclusionary approach to categorizing and perceiving society as a hierarchical structure, wherein the White man continues to be idealized as the epitome of

aspirations to strive for. This perspective impedes the potential for meaningful synthesis and perpetuates existing power structures and inequalities.

As a result, we find ourselves at an impasse, facing the dilemma of prioritizing Indigenous rights or aligning with the prevailing narrative driven by the "majority interest." The predicament of Indigenous peoples is frequently dismissed, disregarded, or undermined, if it is justified in the name of the collective "majority interest." Consequently, it becomes imperative to critically examine our cognitive biases, exceptionalist justifications, and inclinations toward neo-colonial apologism. Which shapes and creates sort of colonial governmentality or cultural hegemony. Throughout the course of this paper, my objective has been to challenge and deconstruct the common-sense approach that embodies the perceived will of the majority. I aimed to illustrate that the will of the "majority interest" predominantly resides within specific sectors of our society, notably encompassing state institutions, energy entities, and economic institutions. I have done so by using dialectical/historical materialism, to show the disparity in outcome and equality between developing and developed countries and the culturally hegemonic members of society and Indigenous or minority groups.

The primary objective of this inquiry was to thoroughly examine and question whether the alignment with the "majority interest" genuinely advances the collective welfare. While proponents argue, with significant support, that the expansion of wind parks is imperative in the face of the impending perils of global warming, viewing it as essential for attaining our climate goals and perceiving a failure to do so as a grave violation of human rights, it is crucial to reflect on the contextual comprehension developed in this study. Considering this analysis, I contend that we can no longer rely solely on invoking the overarching objective of carbon neutrality as a justification for the means undertaken, particularly in the context of the green shift as it encroaches on Indigenous rights and protections.

Based on my research and analysis, it is evident that within the existing social structures, institutions, and cultural perspectives, it is currently not feasible to reconcile the thesis and antithesis, thus precluding the establishment of a synthesis.

To achieve a synthesis, the illusion of capitalist prosperity in heteronormative and ethnocentric contexts must be dealt with, as per the teachings of Martin Luther King Jr., a key figure in the Afro-American civil rights movement, it is essential to recognize that for Black individuals to attain equal rights comparable to White individuals, a state of universal socio-economic equality must be established.

Similarly, within the context of the Sámi people in Scandinavia, unless we perceive the present socio-political and economic power distribution as inherently unjust and biased towards favouring the capitalist class, we will not be able to attain a satisfactory level of progress in advocating for equal rights for those outside the dominant cultural hegemony. This conflict is increasingly becoming readily apparent under climate change exacerbation and world inequality, which leads us to the age-old question within Marxist theory and fighters for it, reform, or revolution?

Within the chapter addressing "accountability and deflection," a rigorous examination has been conducted to uncover the inherent deceit embedded in the bourgeois elite operating within capitalist or neo-liberal systems. The privileged status they enjoy, often acquired through hereditary or culturally hegemonic means, is characterized by significant disparities in wealth accumulation and divergent outcomes, as substantiated through the exploration of theories and historical contexts throughout this thesis. Beck's observations regarding the concentration of wealth at the upper echelons of society while risks amass at the lower strata, along with Marx's arguments concerning the bourgeoisie's affluence derived from the exploitation of wage-dependent and alienated proletarian workers, have been exhaustively examined. While acknowledging the temporal context of these works, this research also incorporates contemporary and more radical perspectives that underscore the significance of identity within this discourse. Intersectional theory and the concept of "the other" have been invoked to shed light on the multifaceted injustices and oppressions engendered by capitalism, which perpetuate a spectrum of privilege that eludes consequence to those fortunate enough to remain entrenched within the confines of cultural hegemony or maintain a stable income capable of mitigating the oppressive forces inherent within a capitalist society.

However, as briefly alluded to multiple times, this focus on identity politics may render certain aspects of our findings less accessible to individuals constrained by and embroiled in such discussions, traditions, or social rituals. While the importance of identity politics cannot be undermined, as it serves as a paramount tool to alleviate or, in a utopian sense, eradicate discrimination, racism, and other forms of oppression, it has also shifted attention away from the traditional Marxist pursuit of class struggle. Consequently, one could argue that a side effect of heightened awareness surrounding white privilege and BIPOC oppression is a deviation from class politics, thereby obscuring our (in the Marxist sense) true adversary, the bourgeois elite, rather than immigrants or minorities. This has inadvertently fuelled racial conflicts and tensions, which have been further amplified by the rise of conservative and right-leaning governments in social democratic and neo-liberal countries, which again is exacerbated by echo-chambers and polarization through mediatisation and hyperconnectivity (Croteau et al., 2022).

Lastly, to reach a synthesis, it is imperative to address the internal conflicts that arise between social classes, often resulting from the "divide and conquer" strategy employed by numerous governments. A pertinent example regarding the Sámi people involves the juxtaposition of the green shift and Indigenous rights, which creates unnecessary discord. Consequently, this manipulation is bolstered by the prevalence of mundane distractions and entertainment, akin to the concept of "bread and circuses" observed during the Roman era, which served to placate dissent and maintain societal complacency and. Given our constant exposure to digital information, we experience a desensitization that often leads us to withdraw into ourselves instead of critically evaluating these narratives. Notable scientist Carl Sagan identifies this as a form of scientific illiteracy, manifesting in a lack of understanding regarding climate change and its connection to human activities, as well as a blissful ignorance and apathetic indifference towards verified and corroborated human rights violations both domestically and internationally stemming from capital exploitation and overconsumption.

Given the multitude of issues outlined, is it truly feasible to achieve a synthesis that satisfies all parties involved? Can we find a compromise through reform? Considering the present circumstances and trajectory, synthesizing these narratives appears to be an unattainable goal. This prompts us to question whether social reform alone can effectively address the crisis and

inequity of the 21st century. Is a revolution of socio-economic systems, perhaps, the only viable path forward?

8.1 Conclusion

The ongoing transition in the energy sector is gradually taking shape amidst our heavy reliance on fossil fuels. This transition and how it inherently impedes the Sámi is has been the locus of this research, which investigates the contrasting narratives of the Indigenous People of Norway, as represented in the Sámi narrative, and the energy incumbents and state, as represented in the neo-liberal narrative within the Norwegian context of Social Democracy. From this example I have also shown the inclination towards free-market ideology and neo-liberal policies and actions. To examine the differences and similarities in these narratives, I employed a dialectical approach supported by Marxian and Neo-Marxian theories to gain a deeper understanding of the minority/majority narrative dynamics. I also drew upon Gramscian concepts of cultural hegemony to underscore how established narratives become legitimized through the argument of "majority utility/economic value" and how state or capital interests often rely on economic knowledge and experts to justify cultural, political, and economic contradictions within the prevailing cultural hegemony. Moreover, proponents of the neo-liberal narrative have contended that dismantling the wind turbines in Fosen would result in economic losses and impede the progress of the green transition. However, the Sámi community rightfully challenges this assertion, pointing to a Supreme Court ruling that places the responsibility of rectifying the issue with OED, Statkraft, and their economic partners since the construction was not authorized by the state or the Sámi community. Moving forward, it is crucial to learn from this dispute. While the green shift is essential, it should not be used as an excuse to expropriate the Sámi people and undermine their cultural heritage. Such actions do not align with the principles of democracy that Norway purports to uphold. It therefore becomes glaringly apparent that genuine need to change and adapt to social inequality and climate change needs to come about as soon as possible, lest we wish to shrug our shoulders and rely on contingent capital beliefs that will save us, which I hope I have shown surely will lead us down a path of further inequity and environmental degradation.

8.2 No reconciliation

Reconciling climate change mitigation and adaptation into capitalist socio-economic systems have proven to be difficult. The failure to do so align with our current export and profit records on gas and oil, and overreliance on a fossil-dependent lifestyle, which to this day is paid for through Indigenous expropriation and globally subjugated labourers and workers. To stimulate a broader discourse on capitalism and neoliberalism amidst climate change and social inequity, my intention was to utilize anti-imperial, post-structuralist, and (Neo)Marxist, theories, along with intersectional thinking. These theoretical frameworks aimed to highlight the systemic and institutionalized discrimination faced by the Sámi community within the national context, as well as the historical and contemporary exploitation on the global south or the imperial periphery. Rooted in the cultural hegemony of the imperial core, the main drivers of industrial and historic colonial capitalism. While some may perceive these perspectives as radical, they underscore the notion that narratives are constructed and disseminated to some extent, regardless of whether one resides in an authoritarian regime or a liberal democracy. According to a post-modernist ethic, canonical or established narratives should be rejected, or at the very least, subjected to rigorous scrutiny in the spirit of dialectics. This approach enables the nuanced examination and evaluation of a phenomenon, rather than unquestioningly subscribing to a canonical "truth" or a narrative driven by the perceived interests of the majority.

The finite nature of our shared resources and the presence of goodwill in shaping our collective future raise legitimate concerns when confronted with instances of injustice, maladaptation, and the pervasive influence of capital in the context of the green shift. Such observations elicit a sense of apprehension about the potential triumph of capital, which historically tends to supersede considerations of ethical rationality, fairness, and egalitarianism. Consequently, crucial questions emerge regarding the long-term viability of our goodwill and faith in the existing system, particularly as we continue along a trajectory in academic terms: The prevailing presence of human rights violations and the concentration of wealth among an exclusive bourgeois class taints our society. Will we recognize these urgent concerns before they become irreversibly detrimental? Unfortunately, under the influence of neoliberal hegemony and a capital-cantered society, we often acknowledge these issues only when it is too late or not at all. As history repeats itself, it may appear poetic in a self-indulgent manner, but this self-indulgence relies on the suffering of others. While individual

accountability plays a limited role in addressing these challenges, we should not interpret this critique of systemic powers and capitalism as an invitation to be complacent. It is crucial that we introspect and hold ourselves accountable to combat social injustice and advocate for environmental equity. The present conclusion sincerely wishes to mitigate social injustices and advance environmental justice by critically examining current socio-economic policies and cultural dominance, which currently pose significant barriers to universal acceptance and success of a green energy transition in a universally equitable manner.

Lastly, further practical, and theoretical research should be made into the social, cultural, and ethical dimensions of climate change, capitalism and human inequality, to adequately adopt to climate change and its consequences, a universal understanding of attribution of carbon emissions and global inequality outcomes should be stressed and comprehensively understood within academia, public discourse and corporate and political decision making. To conclude then in the spirit of many dialectics before me, the only truth that we can hold for certain is change itself, and it's progressive and regressive ability in a further complexing and globalizing world.

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