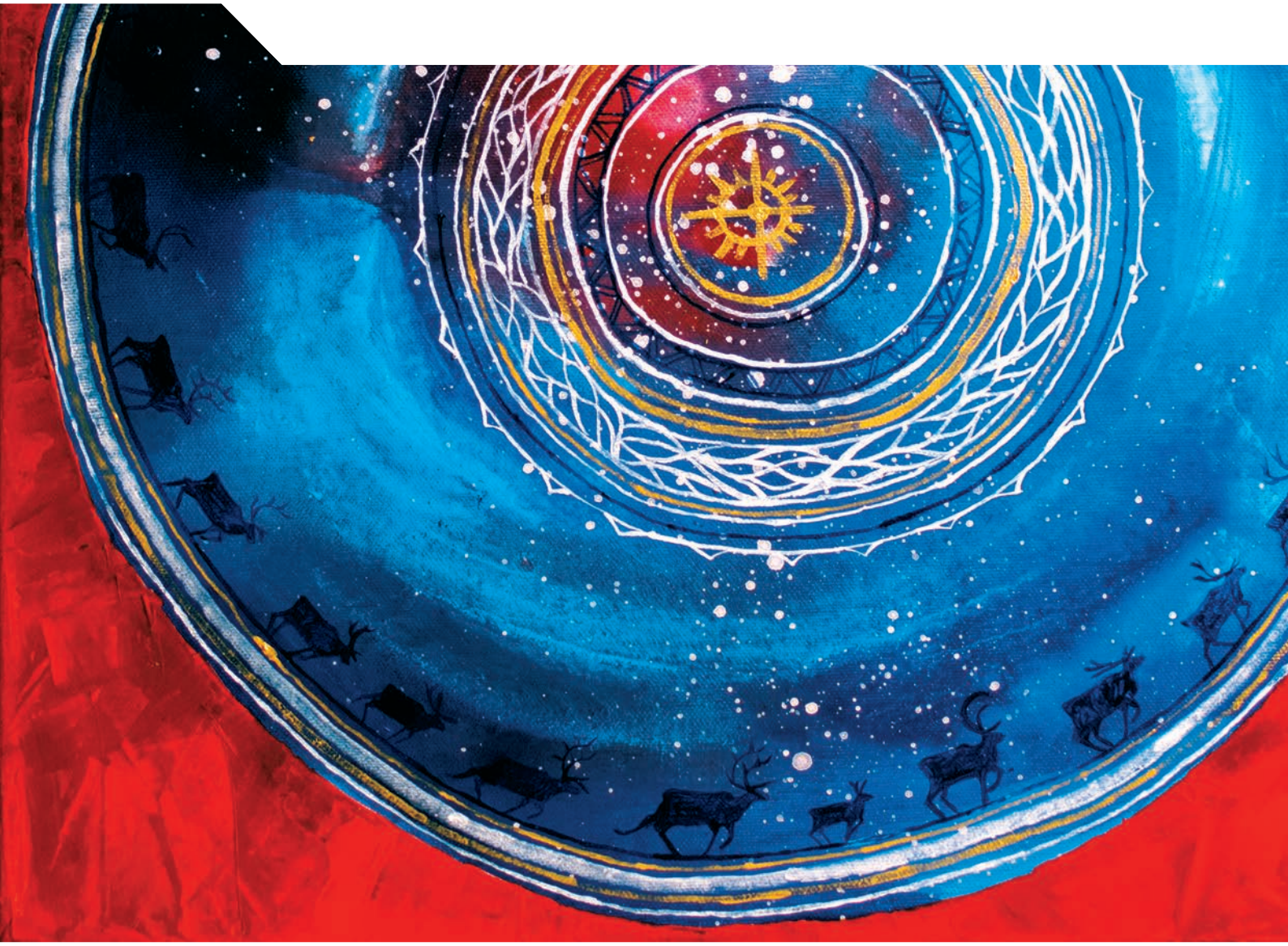
OECD Rural Policy Reviews

Linking the Indigenous Sami People with Regional Development in Sweden



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Foreword

Vibrant Indigenous economies are fundamental to self-determination. There are approximately 38 million Indigenous peoples living in 13 OECD member countries. Indigenous peoples make an important contribution to the culture, heritage, and economic development of these member countries. The diverse spiritual beliefs and worldviews of Indigenous peoples worldwide are rooted in connections to land and nature, emphasizing its stewardship. Indigenous worldviews illuminate the path to sustainable development.

Across far too many indicators – income, employment, life expectancy, and educational attainment – there are significant gaps between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations in many countries. In Australia, Canada, Mexico, New Zealand and the United States, Indigenous people on average have an annual household income that is 30% lower than the non-Indigenous population. They also live on average 6 years less than non-Indigenous populations. Indigenous rates of secondary school completion are 16 percentage points lower, and employment participation is 13 percentage points lower than the non-Indigenous population. Improving the well-being of Indigenous peoples is critical to achieving inclusive development.

Geography is a key factor shaping the economic development and well-being outcomes of Indigenous peoples. Traditional territories are fundamental to Indigenous languages, identities and livelihoods. Indigenous peoples also have assets and opportunities that are important to regional and rural economies. However, Indigenous peoples are often disconnected from efforts to promote regional development. This disconnect contributes to continued disparities in the socio-economic outcomes experienced by Indigenous peoples. This study – *Linking Indigenous Peoples with Regional Development: Sweden* – explores these issues.

The Sami are an Indigenous people who have lived for time immemorial in an area that today extends across parts of Russia, Finland, Norway and Sweden – an area collectively referred to by the Sami as Sapmi (Samiland). The Sami have an important role in these northern economies due to their use of land, their involvement in reindeer husbandry, agriculture/farming and food production, and their connection with the regions' tourism industry. However, in Sweden, and in the other countries where the Sami live, the connections with regional development strategies are often inconsistent and weak. Better linking of the Sami and their local communities with regional development policies would help to preserve and promote Sami culture and create new employment and business opportunities.

This study offers policy recommendations in three main areas: i) improving data collection and dissemination on Sami livelihoods and well-being; ii) enhancing policies and programmes for Sami entrepreneurship and; iii) strengthening the linkages between the Sami – as a group of diverse individuals and institutions – and regional development efforts. It is hoped that this study, together with the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) broader thematic work on these topics, provides

actionable recommendations on how to better include the Sami and other Indigenous peoples in regional development, learning from and incorporating their own perspectives on sustainable development in the process. This report contributes to the work programme of the OECD on regional and rural development. It was approved by the Working Party on Rural Policy [CFE/RDPC/RUR(2018)4] at its 21st Session on 6 November 2018.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

CAB	County Administrative Board
CeSam	Vaartoe Centre for Sami Research
CLLD	Community-led local development
EAFRD	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development
EMFF	European Maritime and Fisheries Fund
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
ESI	European Structural and Investment Funds
EU	European Union
FPIC	Free, prior and informed consent
FUA	Functional urban area
GDP	Gross domestic product
LAG	Local Action Group
MOU	Memorandum of understanding
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
RDP	Regional development programme
ROP	Regional operational programme
RUS	Regional development strategy
SALAR	Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions
SME	Small and medium-sized enterprise
SNI	Standard Industrial Classification
SOS	Official statistical system of Sweden
SSR	The National Union of the Swedish Saami People (*Svenska Samernas RIksförbund/Sámiid Riikkasearvi*)

Executive summary

Assessment

The Sami are important to the economic development and quality of life in northern Sweden

The Sami are an Indigenous people who have lived for time immemorial in an area that today extends across the Kola Peninsula in Russia, northern Finland, northern Norway's coast and inland areas, and the northern half of Sweden. The Sami are the only Indigenous people in Sweden and have an estimated population of around 20 000 to 40 000. A more precise population count is unknown as Sweden does not collect statistical information on ethnicity. A lack of statistical data on the Sami in Sweden makes it difficult to understand the Sami business sector, livelihoods and well-being.

Northern Sweden faces unique challenges related to low population density and remoteness and at the same time has unique strengths – the collective assets of the Sami form one of these strengths. Many Sami businesses draw on traditional knowledge in the management of the landscape and the production of goods and services. Sami businesses tend to balance market participation with non-market values, stressing the importance of sustaining culture over time.

The main Sami business sectors in northern Sweden are reindeer husbandry, tourism and the cultural sector and other rural activities.

- The Sami reindeer industry is seeing a growing demand. With around 3 900 reindeer herders in Sweden, the industry's total turnover is estimated at around USD 43 million. While there are growth opportunities for this industry, it is also limited by such factors as reindeer predators, climate change and competing land uses (e.g. mining).
- The unique culture and traditions of the Sami are an important part of regional tourism strategies. However, there are very few Sami entrepreneurs engaged in touristic offerings. A growing nature-based tourism sector with activities such as hunting, fishing, skiing, snowmobiling and dog-sledding, has the potential to create new sources of income and future employment opportunities for the Sami.
- Sami food production and *duodji* (handicrafts) also show potential for growth. At present, the Sami cultural sector is relatively small. The prospects for the commercialisation for this sector differ and may require either seed capital or grants in order to thrive.

Recommendations

Better linking the Sami with regional development

The enabling environment for Sami businesses is shaped by national sectoral policies (e.g. infrastructure development, natural resources exploitation, environmental policies and supports for business development) and national frameworks for regional and rural development alongside policies and services at the regional/county and municipal levels. This report offers recommendations on how to better link the Sami with regional development in three main areas:

1. Improving data collection and dissemination on Sami livelihoods and well-being

- Synthesise current data sources and identify data limitations in their use and dissemination.
- Increase research funding for Sami data collection.
- Develop ethical guidelines for research related to the Sami.
- Enhance the role and capabilities of the Sami Parliament in statistics collection.
- Expand industry codes for Sami businesses.

2. Enhancing policies and programmes that create a better enabling environment for Sami businesses and livelihoods

- Make regional and rural development programme design more inclusive of the Sami.
- Address the unique regulatory and financial barriers to Sami business development.
- Strengthen the role of intermediary institutions in order to build scale and facilitate access to resources and the pooling of expertise, for example, business clusters and creative hubs.
- Expand skills and training opportunities for Sami business development.
- Enhance supports to develop a sustainable Sami-led tourism industry.
- Acknowledge in programme design that investments in Sami culture and education are investments in Sami economic development.

3. Strengthening the linkages between the Sami – as a group of diverse individuals and institutions – and regional development efforts

- Improve engagement with Sami society in the context of regional and rural development plans, governance and programmes.
- Clarify Sami rights to consultation on land use issues and support capacity building for Sami institutions/organisations to be meaningful partners in such engagement.
- Include Sami land use considerations in regional spatial planning.
- Move toward the development of a new National Sami Policy that can:
  - Identify future priorities for the development of Sami society;
  - Assess the current policy framework in an integrated way and identify actions to improve it;
  - Clarify responsibilities for Sami society between different agencies and levels of government;

  - Establish mechanisms to build the capacity of the Sami Parliament (such as Memorandum of Understanding to govern data, information and resource sharing); and
  - Establish agreed mechanisms for co-ordination and dialogue between different levels of government.
- Establish an annual strategic dialogue between the Swedish Government and the Sami Parliament to assess progress in the implementation of this policy and to identify priorities for future action.
- In the medium to longer term, Sweden should consider how the Indigenous rights framework could evolve to meet the contemporary needs of Sami people and to better support their unique cultural identity and self-determination.

Assessment and recommendations

Assessment

The Sami are important to the economic development and quality of life in northern Sweden

The Sami are an Indigenous people who have lived for time immemorial in an area that today extends across four countries consisting of the Kola Peninsula in Russia, northern Finland, northern Norway's coast and inland and the northern half of Sweden. This area is collectively referred to by the Sami as Sapmi (Samiland). The Sami are the only Indigenous people in Sweden and have an estimated population of around 20 000 to 40 000. A more precise population count is unknown as Sweden does not collect any statistical information on ethnicity. Across the broader Sapmi region, the Sami population is estimated at around 70 000 to 80 000, with the majority residing in Norway.

Northern Sweden faces unique challenges related to sparsity and remoteness and at the same time has unique strengths – the collective assets of the Sami form one of these strengths. The Sami economy in northern Sweden tends to involve small businesses that are grounded in an ethos of sustainability and that emphasise connections to culture. The most visible activity is reindeer husbandry, which is recognised by law as foundational for Sami ventures and culture. However, the Sami are also engaged in other economic activities such as culture (particularly a new "wave" of living culture: film, music, literature, etc.), fishing and hunting, food processing, and handicrafts that contribute to the identity and quality of life of northern Sweden, and its economic competitiveness. In order to ensure the Sami economy is strengthened and maximises its potential, it is important to understand how to make regional and rural development policies more inclusive of them.

Sami economic development is based on a symbiotic relationship with nature and the reproduction of Sami language and cultural traditions

The Sami economy in northern Sweden has a number of characteristics such as the connection between business activities and the reproduction of culture and Sami institutions, the use of traditional knowledge in the management of the landscape and the production of goods and services, balancing market participation with non-market values, and the unique property rights regime associated with reindeer husbandry.

The reindeer industry is seeing growing demand – but it is an industry under stress

The reindeer industry is characterised by the small-scale, ecological production of high-quality reindeer meat in accordance with natural conditions and seasonal changes. Growing consumer demand for sustainably produced and ecological food products has increased demand for reindeer meat and the average price per kilogram is presently at a historical high. A 2014 study estimates the value of the reindeer industry in Finland and

Sweden (all aspects including reindeer meat, fur and other by-products like horn) as having an employment impact of 15 000 and a total turnover of about EUR 1.3 billion: Sweden accounts for about one-third of this total. There are an estimated 3 900 reindeer herders in Sweden, out of which 72% have registered companies; approximately 59% of these companies state reindeer husbandry as their main economic activity.

There could be opportunities for growth in this sector by improving access to markets and adopting value-added activities. However, there are also limiting factors to Sami business growth. For example, reindeer herders are faced with the need to coexist with predators, adapt to climate change and declines in lichen, and mediate conflicts with other land uses (the right to herd reindeer is based on usufructuary rights and is carried out in conjunction with other land users). Large infrastructure projects, mining activities, energy installations and forestry activities can negatively impact access to grazing land and the reindeer's main food – ground and tree lichen. For example, there has been a significant decline (71%) in the area of lichen-abundant forests over the past 60 years in Sweden.

Unlike reindeer husbandry, fishing is at present rarely a main source of livelihoods and has recreational values. *Sameby* members generally have the right to fish in all lakes in *sameby* territory for their own use and for commercial market, but not for tourism purposes. Hunting, (mainly moose hunting) is an important activity among members in *samebyar* and represents a considerable share of *samebyar* members' total income.

There is a growing market for tourism in northern Sweden, but there are few Sami-owned tourism businesses

Visitor nights have grown strongly in Sweden over the past decade, and the tourism industry has ambitious goals to achieve 100% growth in the sector by 2020. Tourism-related activities are important to the labour markets of the northern counties. In 2016, accommodation, and arts, entertainment and recreation services employed between 7%-9% of the labour force in the northern counties – with Västerbotten County seeing the fastest growth in this sector in recent years.

There are an estimated 40 individual Sami entrepreneurs active within tourism, most of which have been in business for less than ten years. Most of these entrepreneurs are women and around 50% run businesses combined with reindeer husbandry, or other Sami trades like *duodji* (Sami handicrafts). Organised Sami tourism is thus a relatively new Sami trade. The vast majority of these companies are small-scale, with only a few employing more than five seasonal workers. A growing nature-based tourism sector with activities such as hunting, fishing, skiing, snowmobiling and dog-sledding, has the potential to create new sources of income and future employment opportunities for the Sami. These activities need to be carefully managed as they can negatively impact render herding.

There are further opportunities in industries related to tourism such as food production and *duodji*. There is a growing demand for high quality and ecological food products worldwide for which Sami food products are well-suited. These activities are quite limited at the moment. For example, out of the 3 700 companies registered in the Sami Parliament business register, less than 2% (65 companies) have stated food production as their main activity. There are very few Sami owned meat processing firms – therefore, the Sami engaged in reindeer husbandry are rarely capturing the value added from the processing of meat. *Duodji* have a strong symbolic value for the Sami identity and are important for cultural reproduction. Out of the 3 700 companies registered in the Sami Parliament business register, just 2% (78 companies) have stated *duodji* as their main activity. One of the greatest barriers to the expansion of this industry is the proliferation of products that

culturally appropriate *duodji* in style and substance, but that are in fact mass-produced, largely for the tourist market.

The Sami cultural sector is relatively small – it will likely require seed capital, grants and other supports to flourish

Sami culture and traditions are a unique asset to northern Sweden. This sector includes photo, film, performing arts, literature, music/*joik*, multimedia, fine art and museum activities. Relatively few Sami businesses note this as a main economic activity. Out of the 3 700 companies registered in the Sami Parliament business register, 2.7% (100 companies) have culture as their main activity. The prospects for the commercialisation for this sector differ and may require either seed capital or grants in order to thrive. Government policies hence play an important role in supporting and encouraging the growth of this sector. Moreover, regional and municipal governments and instrumental in developing and supporting the cultural infrastructure – e.g. workshop space, museums, theatres, performance spaces and community spaces – that helps this industry thrive. Sami actors, musicians, film directors etc. are a small percentage of Sami businesses, but have a large positive impact on Swedish society and have gained international recognition.

A lack of statistical data on the Sami in Sweden makes it difficult to understand the Sami business sector, livelihoods and well-being

There is no official statistical data on the range of the Sami businesses sector and trades, nor data about Sami companies in Sweden. Within the rural economy, Sami participate in a range of sectors and commercial activities outside the traditional trades and culture as both business owners and employees in such industries as mining and forestry but it difficult to gauge the scope and scale of these activities.

This lack of data makes it challenging to present a comprehensive picture of livelihoods and well-being and the nature of change over time. Data privileges traditional activities simply because these are easier to identify as Sami under current data collection practices (these activities are captured by reindeer industry codes in official statistics). It is estimated that less than 20% of the Sami population is connected to reindeer herding. Therefore, the range and diversity of Sami livelihoods are poorly captured and this, in turn, has implications for how Sami contributions are recognised and linked with regional policies in northern Sweden.

The Sami Parliament is responsible for the production of some statistics (e.g. on the reindeer industry), but has limited resources and mandate with which to develop and monitor indicators in such areas as industry/business, culture and social development. While the Sami Parliament has a voting list of people which could be a useful source of data, it cannot use this list to produce statistics due to the prohibition of government agencies collecting data on ethnicity.

A wide range of policies across levels of government shape the enabling environment for Sami business development

The enabling environment for Sami businesses is shaped by a range of national sectoral policies (e.g. infrastructure development, natural resources exploitation, environmental policies and supports for business development) and frameworks for regional and rural development alongside policies and services at the regional/county and municipal levels.

This policy environment structures how Sami rights are realised in practice, how services are delivered and the types of business support that is on offer.

Sweden's National Strategy for Sustainable Regional Growth and Attractiveness 2015-20 is the main framework document to guide regional development policies. The strategy integrates economic, social and environmental (ecological) sustainability into all regional growth priorities and establishes national-level priorities for promoting sustainable regional growth. Within the Strategy, Sami businesses are referenced as a unique asset of the northern regions for which it is important to improve cross-border co-ordination.

While the strategic objectives, programmes and funding of the national government structures opportunities at the regional and local level – regions themselves also elaborate regional development strategies (RUS). While the cultural assets of the Sami are identified in all northern regional development strategies – only the Västerbotten region concretely addresses the need for improved engagement with the Sami.

Municipalities also matter for regional development; they, for instance, provide services for the Sami related to language rights and are therefore important for cultural reproduction. Municipalities also consult with reindeer herders where any land rights and access issues may arise. Where municipalities have been proactive in their relationship with Sami peoples in support of economic and cultural development, there have been very positive outcomes. The Economic Agency and Development Company in Gällivare (Ávki) is a case in point.

Recommendations

Improving data collection and dissemination

There are ongoing discussions on the need for statistics on minority and ethnic groups in Sweden – Sami included. Ideally, information could be collected through Sweden's survey on living conditions which examines a range of variables over time and which would facilitate comparative analysis between groups. However, absent legislative change, alternative strategies are needed. Some options to improve data collection and dissemination for Sami are summarised below.

- ***Synthesise current data sources and identify data limitations in their use and dissemination.*** The landscape of data collection on Sami people and communities (and all other ethnic minorities) is fragmented. Resources are needed to determine what is currently captured and known and by whom and to analyse how data from these sources could potentially be compiled in a comparable manner to develop a more robust picture of Sami conditions.
- ***Increase research funding for Sami data collection.*** Given the lack of official statistics on the Sami in Sweden, there is a particular need for research grants directed to fill this gap. Sweden's largest research funding agency – the Swedish Research Council – does not have any targeted funding programmes for Sami researchers or the study of Sami. This stands in contrast to the research granting councils of Australia, Canada and Norway where there are specific funding streams for research on Indigenous peoples and communities and, in the case of Canada, funding directed specifically to Indigenous researchers.
- ***Develop ethical guidelines for research on the Sami.*** Sami research ethics guidelines should be developed and should be structured to facilitate comparative research across the four countries encompassing Sapmi. Norway's Sami Parliament

is presently developing ethical guidelines on health research which could form the basis of a broader Sapmi-wide framework.

- ***Enhance the role and capabilities of the Sami Parliament in statistics collection***. Allocating a competency to the Sami Parliament for Sami economic statistics and reporting for policy development and regulatory decision making (with resources) could include: i) a standardised approach to Reindeer Husbandry Plans (which describe how *samebyar* use land for reindeer husbandry) which could be extended to include strategic priorities for future land use and; ii) an Annual State of the Sami Economy report, which provides an overview of trends in reindeer and non-reindeer related economic activities, and that highlights best practices innovations in different categories (e.g. reindeer herding, *duodji,* women, youth, etc.). A co-operation agreement between the Sami Parliament and other key state, regional and local economic development agencies (e.g. Agency for Economic and Regional Growth) on economic statistics to govern co-operation on data and information and share expertise/secondment could support such efforts. Such endeavours would require enhanced capacity within the Sami Parliament to fulfil this expanded role and, in the case of reindeer husbandry plans, would need to involve all *samebyar*.
- ***Expand industry codes for Sami businesses.*** The lack of industry (Standard Industrial Classification, SNI) codes for other Sami-owned companies makes it difficult to maintain and update data and to demonstrate the value of Sami business activities. A prefix for Sami businesses and commercial activity in the SNI system for statistics would help to identify relevant data and monitor changes over time. This would make it possible to describe and demonstrate the importance of Sami businesses.

An enabling environment for Sami businesses and livelihoods

The Swedish government provides a range of supports for Sami businesses including funds which are administered by the Sami Parliament as an agency of government. These funding programmes along with initiatives at the regional and local levels play a critical role in supporting Sami economic development and cultural reproduction. There are a number of ways to improve current policy settings for Sami businesses and economic development.

Make regional and rural development programme design more inclusive of the Sami

Sami businesses and institutions can face some unique challenges in accessing European Union (EU) funds. For example, the minimum threshold size for grants and matching requirements may be too high; the reproduction of traditional knowledge and culture may not be recognised as a legitimate economic development objective; there is a mismatch between the needs of reindeer herders available funding and; there may be administrative burdens associated with grant applications on micro-enterprises.

There are a number of options available to address these challenges and make regional and rural development programmes more inclusive of the Sami which are the purview of the Swedish government but also at the EU-level:

- Ensure that Sami business and economic development objectives are better reflected in future revisions of Smart Specialisation Strategies, and European Regional Development Funds allocations in Sapmi;
- Provide support for intermediary organisations that can support collaboration between Sami owned businesses so they can build scale to jointly apply for grants;

- Redesign rules/create opt-outs in the existing programme framework that create barriers to accessibility for Sami owned businesses;
- Create a separate Sami economic development programme that would combine funding from the EU rural and regional development funds, and give the Sami Parliament of Sweden the competency to managing it and promoting the Sami economy; and
- Explore the potential of linking focus areas such as language and health within the European Social Fund with the Sami in regional and rural development efforts.

Address regulatory and financial barriers to Sami business development

Some Sami businesses face challenges in accessing capital for business development either because they are small and the types of loans that are available may not be the right fit; because there is a lack of data on industry potential in the case of *duodji* or; because land use rights for reindeer herders cannot be used as collateral for financial purposes. These types of challenges in accessing financing are common for Indigenous entrepreneurs across the OECD. There are two key options to consider for removing legislative and financial barriers to Sami business development:

- Remove restrictions in the Reindeer Husbandry Act (1971) to *samebyar* undertaking other economic activities; and
- Examine the viability of establishing a Sami-led Financial Institution (potentially pan Sapmi) that could provide financial intermediation and capacity building initiatives for Sami entrepreneurs and businesses.

Any review of laws and regulations related to reindeer herding should also consider the differences in rights and access to land between Sami who are members of Sami villages and Sami who are not.

Ensure regional and rural development programmes support clustering activities to support small businesses

By clustering activities in certain sectors, Sami entrepreneurs can build capacity (e.g. pool marketing efforts) and have better access to markets. There are examples for instance of hubs for the development of *duodji* that have played a critical role in the community. Public funding to support these types of hubs/spaces (e.g. initial project loans or grants) can thus boost both Sami business and cultural development. Options to better support clustering activities by Sami entrepreneurs are:

- Including a specific reference in programme criteria for the EU rural and regional development funds to support small-scale clusters for Sami businesses; and
- Recognise the role that Sami institutions (schools and cultural centres) can play as business incubators, and in business growth, and ensure they have the funding to provide this role.

Building capacity in the Sami business sector – Strengthening the role of intermediary institutions

Intermediary institutions – those that can act as a bridge between government and other funders and businesses – offer critical supports for Sami entrepreneurship. An effective example of this is the Economic Agency and Development Company in Gällivare (Ávki) which has a specialised competence in supporting the Sami business community. Such organisations are often in a precarious funding position, relying disproportionally on short-

term project funding. More stability in their operations would help them improve their services, develop new projects including mentorship for new and aspiring entrepreneurs, and enhance their ability to partner with regional and local development efforts. Policy options to better support Sami-led development organisations are:

- Provide core funding to these institutions to support projects and support Sami development in society; and
- Consider extending the Ávki model to other municipalities in the Sami language administrative area (or alternatively investigate a shared services model between municipalities).

Expand skills and training opportunities for Sami business development

Growth opportunities for Sami businesses and for northern Sweden more generally in such areas as tourism, cultural industries and food production require training and business skills in order to reach new markets and development, and deliver high-quality products and experiences. Training opportunities in mainstream Swedish education institutions are often too far away from where Sami live, do not offer training in Sami language, or simply do not operate on a timetable sensitive to the annual migration of reindeer that shapes Sami life. In the Rural Development Programme, there are funds managed by the Sami Parliament to support training. However, the reach and specialisation of such training could be expanded and involve a broader array of actors and institutions. Policy options to enhance skills and training opportunities for Sami business development are:

- Adapt rules related to the delivery of business training programmes to better match the needs of Sami entrepreneurs in rural areas; and
- Expand the availability of culturally sensitive business training opportunities (e.g. in Sami language, and/or led by the Sami community and institutions).

Developing a sustainable Sami-led tourism industry

The tourism industry has been identified as a growth opportunity in Northern Sweden. There is potential to develop this industry further – particularly among Sami entrepreneurs. Regional governments are taking a great interest in how they can support tourism efforts together with local governments and key stakeholders, the Sami among them. For example, the region of Norrbotten is investing in Swedish Lapland in tourism in order to strengthen work in this area with Sami entrepreneurs. There is a need to better link Sami tourism with broader efforts.

Part of building a sustainable tourism industry in north Sweden requires addressing land use conflicts. The County Administrative Boards (CABs) should provide better guidance to tourism operators about regulatory compliance issues prior to their engagement with Sami. More generally, there is a need for awareness building and cultural training for tourism operations.

Policy options to develop a more sustainable Sami-led tourism industry are:

- Provide a sustainable financing solution for Sami-led efforts related to certification, raising awareness, and capacity building for tourism operators;
- The northern counties together with local destination companies collaborate with the Sami Parliament, regional tourism organisations, regional and local destination companies as Swedish Lapland and Visit Sapmi to ensure visibility for Sami

tourism assets in local and regional promotional material. It is noted that Visit Sapmi no longer operational due to a lack of funding; and

- For the CABs to develop and promote guidance regarding how tourism operators should engage with reindeer herders and monitor compliance in relation to it (including providing information about reindeer migration timing and routes).

Investments in Sami culture and education are investments in Sami economic development

Sami economic development is linked to Sami culture. Northern regional development strategies all mention the importance of Sami culture as a key asset. However, there are relevantly few institutions that promote Sami culture in Sweden in comparison to, for example, Norway. Sami organisations that support the cultural sector are highly reliant on project funding and volunteer efforts. It is very difficult to build robust cultural institutions with these constraints. The precarious nature of funding in this sector means that employees of Sami cultural institutions often have limited job security and tend to supplement this income with *duodji*. Policy options to develop stronger Sami cultural institutions to support economic development efforts are:

- Work with the Sami *Duodji* Foundation to develop a strategy to raise awareness about the *Duodji* mark of authentication in Sweden, particularly with the tourism sector; and
- Undertake an audit of access to cultural institutions in northern Sweden for Sami people, and identify options for sustainable funding related to their community and economic development functions.

Better linking the Sami with regional and rural development efforts

Improve engagement with Sami society in the context of regional and rural development

Recent regional reforms in Sweden present new opportunities for engagement and inclusion of the Sami in decision making in northern Sweden. While the unique assets of the Sami for northern development are recognised at a general level, regional strategies for development do not have clear mechanisms (policies/programmes) through which to support these assets and promote their development and there are limited incentives for the regional level to engage with the Sami.

A greater understanding and awareness about Sami society and livelihoods is needed. Sami society is characterised by many local and small-scale institutions (*samebyar,* community associations, educational, arts and cultural institutions) that provide an important function in the reproduction of Sami language and culture, kinship relations, and identity. However, these institutions tend to lack capacity and scale to meaningfully engage in (and influence) decision-making, and attract and organise resources to promote cultural activities and exchange, and economic development. The Sami Parliament and other national organisations do play an important role at a national level; however, this tends to be framed in terms of culture and language (and not economic development), and connections with the municipal and regional levels are weak.

Engagement takes many forms – from information to consultation and at the most involved level, co-decision making. More structured engagement processes where there is a real impact on outcomes for those involved will help to build trust among actors. Policy options

to improve engagement with Sami society in the context of regional and rural development are:

- Establish an annual dialogue and agreement between the Sami Parliament and the northern counties (CABs and regions) to govern strategic co-operation in areas such as economic development, culture and language, land management, and health and education services;
- Implement a framework and tools for the duty of public bodies (CABs, regions, municipalities) to consult with the Sami, and complement this with initiatives to build governance capacity and cross-cultural understanding;
- Assess the resourcing implications of the duty to consult on the administrative capacities of the Sami Parliament to ensure it is effectively implemented; and
- Growing competencies for regional planning offer a unique opportunity for regions to adopt a strong spatial vision for development. This spatial vision should include the Sami. The Sami Parliament in Sweden has expressed an interest in a regional co-operation agreement of the type that is used in Norway which could be used to consider land use issues from this integrated perspective.

Land management and regional development

Rights to consultation on land use issues should be clarified and capacity building for Sami institutions/organisations

The question of how land is used, how land rights and consultations on new developments are structured and who is and should be involved in this process are among the most challenging issues to address in terms of how the Sami are included in regional and rural development. An analysis by the Sami Parliament of the threats faced by Sami puts the issue of rights to land and natural resources front and centre. The commercial use of land for resource exploitation and extractive industries, increased recreational activities and tourism in the north, the management of nature reserves and national parks which can restrict reindeer movement, a growth in the large carnivore population and, the impacts of climate change are all recognised as potential threats to traditional livelihoods and reindeer herding activities.

Stronger and more consistent parameters around how and when consultation should occur and with whom are needed. This is important not just for the Sami but for the industries pursuing development in the north for whom it is unclear who they should consult with and how. The absence of Sami rights to the ownership of land coupled with co-existence of Sami rights related to reindeer herding along with minerals extraction as issues of national interest generates uncertainty and conflict for all parties in northern Sweden.

In the absence of legislation that clarifies unresolved questions regarding Sami land rights, there are several actions can help to better structure the engagement process with the Sami for natural resources exploration and development:

- Develop a guideline for the mining, forestry and energy industries together with the Sami Parliament and other Sami stakeholders on how the engagement process should proceed and who should be involved in the process that are clear and consistent, including parameters around what type of information is provided to communities at each step of the process;

- Ensure upstream engagement and rules around how and when notifications should proceed and the nature of the engagement (format, etc.) within the framework of the Minerals Act and Environmental Code; and
- Strengthen the capacity of *samebyar* to be effective partners for engagement; this may entail financial resources alongside some greater overall institutional and analytical capacity to manage demands for consultation.

The management of the Laponia World Heritage site is noted as a best practice for co-management in Sweden. Laponia's co-management model has meaningfully included Sami in decision making and while operational issues remain (such as the need of enhancing capacity for Sami to engage), it is a model that should be strengthened and emulated in other areas.

Enhanced regional spatial planning and an integrated perspective

Reindeer husbandry activities are part of the national framework for land use planning but aspects of land use management practices, which are important for reindeer herding, are embedded in sectoral policies which can be siloed (e.g. across tourism, large predators, transportation and energy investments). There is a need for an integrated perspective across spatial and land use planning and sectoral dimensions – transportation, infrastructure, and critically, natural resources and extractive industries (energy, mining, forestry). The land use needs of Sami communities should be considered within land use and management impact analysis and this should be done in all sectoral permitting processes. Presently, the weight of Sami perspectives within the permit decision-making processes is often weak and/or treated in an inconsistent manner.

One important resource to help develop an integrated perspective on land use which incorporates the Sami perspective is reindeer management plans. Reindeer management plans describe how the Sami use land for reindeer herding and are used to inform others of these activities in order to co-ordinate multiple land uses and manage any conflicts. *Samebyar* can be hesitant to share their detailed data on how land is used by their herders because it can be misconstrued. The Government of Sweden provides yearly financial support to the Sami Parliament to update Reindeer Management Plans.

Regional spatial planning that is better integrated, and more inclusive of the Sami, can be achieved by:

- Incorporate Reindeer Management Plans into strategic spatial and land use planning, and permitting decision-making; and
- Allocating a competency to the body responsible for regional development to produce a regional spatial plan and ensure it is integrated with planning for future natural resource use, and Sami land use.

Towards a comprehensive national Sami policy

The policies directed to the Sami are limited to a subset of issues related to the manner in which rights frameworks are structured – namely reindeer husbandry and culture and language rights related to national minority status. There are policy siloes that make it difficult to have a comprehensive understanding of the manner in which the Sami are engaged and how policies are directed to them.

A comprehensive national Sami policy is needed. Policy options to improve the policy framework for the Sami in Sweden are:

- That the Government of Sweden, in partnership with the Sami Parliament and Sami institutions, move toward the development of a National Sami Policy that can:
    1. Identify future priorities for the development of Sami society;
    2. Assess the current policy framework in an integrated way and identify actions to improve it;
    3. Clarify responsibilities for Sami society between different agencies and levels of government;
    4. Establish mechanisms to build the capacity of the Sami Parliament (such as MOUs to govern data, information and resource sharing); and
    5. Establish agreed mechanisms for co-ordination and dialogue between different levels of government.
- Establish an annual strategic dialogue between the Swedish Government and the Sami Parliament to assess progress in the implementation of this policy, and to identify priorities for future action.
- In the medium to longer term, Sweden should consider how this rights framework could evolve to meet the contemporary needs of Sami people and to better support their unique cultural identity and self-determination. Opening up rights frameworks to reform is extremely political and undoubtedly a long and challenging process. However, there is growing recognition in many countries that their evolution is critical in order to improve relations and support Indigenous self-determination.

Chapter 1. Sami economy, livelihoods and well-being

This chapter presents a diagnosis of the Sami economy, livelihoods and well-being within the context of the broader northern regional economy in Sweden. It explores Sami community and identity in relation to national legislation; describes the Sami economy; discusses the importance of well-being in understanding Sami community and economic development; and offers recommendations on how to improve data on Sami economic activities, socio-economic outcomes and land use, including the importance of Indigenous data sovereignty.

The Sami are an Indigenous people who have lived for time immemorial in an area that today extends across four countries consisting of the Kola Peninsula in Russia, northern Finland, northern Norway's coast and inland and the northern half of Sweden. This area is collectively referred to as Sapmi (Samiland).[1] The Sami are the only Indigenous people in Sweden and have an estimated population of around 20 000 to 40 000.[2] A more precise population count is unknown as Sweden does not collect any statistical information on ethnicity.[3] Across the broader Sapmi region, the Sami population is estimated at around 70 000 to 80 000, with the majority residing in Norway.

The Sami are important to the economic development and well-being of northern Sweden. Sami society – culture, traditions, language and way of life – are unique to the north and form an important cultural asset. The Sami economy in northern Sweden is based on such traditional activities as reindeer husbandry, fishing and hunting, *duodji* (Sami handicrafts) and cultural industries alongside new and emerging opportunities rooted in Sami tradition in such areas as food production and processing, tourism and a range of other industries. Reindeer husbandry is recognised by law as foundational for Sami ventures and culture. These activities are often pursued both sustainably and ecologically – thus demonstrating the potential of sustainable growth in the region.

Economic development is an important part of self-determination; albeit, in the Swedish context, the extent of self-determination as defined in Swedish law as Sami purview over Sami affairs is limited. As this chapter will discuss, Sami businesses face a number of challenges and often lack visibility. Improved conditions and supports could strengthen this economy, bringing benefits for both the Sami and northern Sweden more generally. Over the past 40 years, the Swedish state has made advances in their relationship with the Sami (e.g. by recognising their status as Indigenous people, and establishing the Sami Parliament), and by providing economic and other support to help the Sami build their own institutions to strengthen self-determination at local, national and international levels. However, historical discrimination, dependency on state institutions, lack of understanding amongst Swedish society, a changing Arctic climate, and conflicts and uncertainties about land use negatively impact Sami economic development and well-being.[4]

This chapter presents a diagnosis of the Sami economy, livelihoods and well-being within the context of the broader northern regional economy in Sweden. It proceeds in four parts. It first describes Sami community and identity in relation to national legislation, which in turn shapes the economic activities of the Sami. Next, the Sami economy is described with a focus on traditional livelihoods. Following this, the chapter discusses the importance of well-being in understanding Sami community and economic development. The chapter ends with a discussion of the importance of having improved data on Sami economic activities, socio-economic outcomes and land use and offers a number of recommendations for how this could be achieved.

Box 1.1. A note on terminology

Please note that the term "Sami people" is used in this report to mean the Sami society as a whole. The term *sameby* (or *samebyar* for plural) which translates to Sami village or Sami reindeer herding community is used throughout this report to describe the economic and administrative association created to organise reindeer husbandry within its geographic area. The Swedish terminology is preferred here since the English translation inaccurately connotes that members of the *sameby* live in proximity to one another. The Northern Sami word for handicrafts – *duodji* – is used throughout.

Sami communities and identity in Sweden

The Sami are recognised in Swedish law as both a national minority and as an Indigenous people as well as within the framework of common legislation for all Swedish citizens

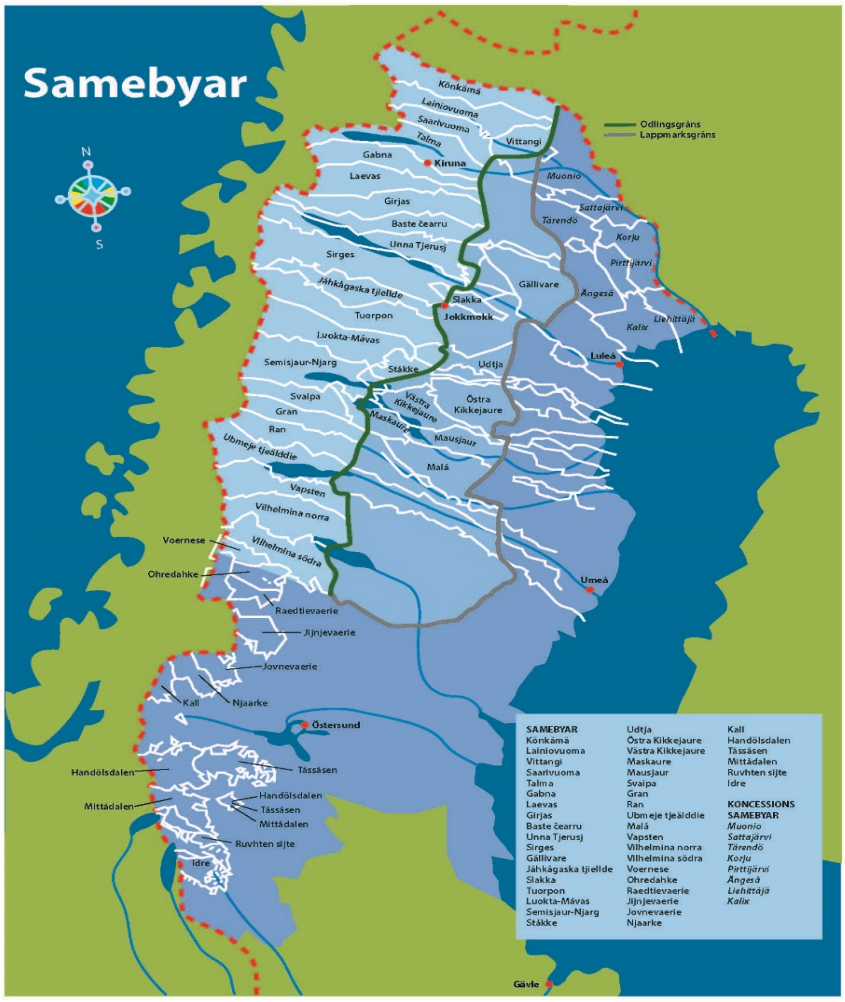
Before proceeding to a discussion of the Sami economy, livelihoods and well-being, it is important to first consider who the Sami are and how their identity and economic activities are shaped by national laws. While the Sami are a singular Indigenous group, their identity is diverse and is complicated by the fact that the treatment of the Sami in national law across the four countries of Sapmi differs. The manner in which Sami identity and rights are recognised in law has wide-ranging implications for such matters as self-determination, land rights, public support for Sami education, languages and cultural programming. These rights also matter in terms of the ways in which they shape and reproduce traditional Indigenous livelihoods such as reindeer husbandry – a point that will be returned to.

The Swedish Parliament recognised the Sami as an Indigenous people in 1977. In 1999, the Swedish Parliament also recognised the Sami as one of Sweden's five national minorities, as covered by the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM).[5] Therefore, within Swedish law, Sami are treated both as a national minority and as an Indigenous people. In terms of international law, Sweden has not as yet ratified the International Labour Organization's (ILO) 15 convention number 169 (1989) concerning Indigenous and tribal peoples which sets self-identification as the fundamental criterion for determining indigeneity and associated rights to self-determination, land and natural resources for Indigenous peoples.[6] In 2011, the Swedish Constitution (the instrument of government) was amended to give explicit recognition to the Sami as an Indigenous people stipulating that the opportunities for the Sami people to preserve and develop a cultural and social life of their own shall be promoted. Sweden also voted in support of the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples (but with a note of explanation);[7] supported the 2014 Outcome Document of the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples and; has supported a number of other United Nations resolutions and initiatives concerning the rights of Indigenous peoples. In 2005 an expert group representing the governments of Finland, Norway and Sweden, and the respective Sami Parliaments of these countries agreed to develop a Nordic Saami Convention which would outline joint Nordic approaches to safeguard and strengthen Sami rights to preserve and develop their language, culture, livelihoods and community life with the least possible hindrance of national borders. This convention has yet to be ratified by all countries and is not yet in force.[8]

Indigenous rights are linked to reindeer husbandry, while national minority rights relate to language and culture

In terms of national minority rights, the state has an obligation to promote the ability of Sami and other national minorities to maintain and develop their culture and language in Sweden.[9] However, when it comes to the expression of Sami rights as an Indigenous people, a major distinction is made between those Sami with membership in *samebyar* and those without (see note on terminology, Box 1.1). *Samebyar* are not villages in the sense of being built-up communities; rather, they are an economic and administrative association (co-operative enterprise) created to organise the reindeer husbandry within its geographic area and its members retain certain hunting and fishing rights (but not control over fishing and hunting).[10]

Figure 1.1. Area of the *samebyar*



Source: Samer (2018[1]), *Map of Samebyar*, http://www.samer.se/4835 (accessed on 23 November 2018).

There are 51 *samebyar* in Sweden covering approximately one-third of the surface area of the country.[11] These constitute areas/lands where the traditional trade of reindeer husbandry is permitted and carried out (reindeer husbandry area/*renskötselområde*). However, areas of state-owned land are disputed by, for example, the Sami Council (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1997[2]).[12] The Royal Decree of 1683 has often been used to verify the state's claim that the land in the north was the property of the state of Sweden.[13] These matters a source of ongoing dispute and are currently being raised by a court case brought forward by the *sameby* of Girjas against the Swedish state over its right to determine hunting and fishing in its territory. In January 2018 the Swedish Court of Appeal ruled that *sameby* of Girjas now has "better right" to determine hunting and fishing in its territory, but not the "exclusive right" to manage hunting and fishing permissions in the Girjas *sameby* independently of the state. This case is being appealed to the Supreme Court.

Reindeer husbandry has great cultural and economic significance for the Sami community and has been declared a matter of Swedish national interest (in the environmental code), emphasising the possibility of preserving reindeer grazing rights on private and state-owned land, according to law. According to Sweden's Reindeer Husbandry Act (1971:437), the right to conduct reindeer husbandry and its related trades is based on prescription from time immemorial and belongs exclusively to the Sami people (as in Norway).[14] However, only Sami who are members of a *sameby* are, according to the act, allowed to exercise this right. As such, Sweden has largely interpreted Indigenous rights as based on one aspect of traditional livelihoods. The *sameby* decide for themselves who can be a member.

The majority of the Sami are not members of a *sameby* and as such, are legally prevented to practice reindeer husbandry and do not have hunting and fishing rights on the *sameby* land. In other words, they are on equal footing with other Swedish citizens by law. The special treatment of reindeer herders descends from the first Reindeer Grazing Act in 1886 and has caused great opposition and division among the Sami.[15] If one has not inherited a right to reindeer husbandry within a same by, it is very difficult to become a member of one due to the shortage of reindeer grazing lands and hence a hesitancy of *sameby* members to open up activities to more members; it is up to the *sameby* to accept new members. On the other hand, this can also have contributed to the fact that it still is possible to make a living of reindeer herding and there are those who work full-time as reindeer herders. The 1971 Reindeer Husbandry Act implemented "a herding fee and a voting system that favoured the larger herders; this eventually drove out the smaller herders and caused them, and subsequently their children, to lose the land and water rights associated with *sameby* membership" (Larsen et al., 2017[3]). In practice, membership to *sameby* is passed down to family members (Pontén, 2015, p. 46[4]). Further, there are state-mandated thresholds on herd size in a given area which limit the expansion of these activities. The thresholds are set with consideration to the long-term sustainability of the grazing lands. In sum, the rights to reindeer husbandry, hunting and fishing structure community identity and economic behaviour alike.

With respect to reindeer husbandry, the application of these rights fundamentally requires access to land and has led to growing land use conflicts between, for instance, reindeer herders and mining and energy developments, the forestry industry, private landowners in areas of reindeer winter grazing and between those practicing small-game hunting on crown land above the cultivation line. For example, the clearcutting of large areas of forests has been shown to reduce tree lichen for reindeer grazing (Sandström et al., 2016[5]). Research by Hahn (2000[6]) finds that Sami rights have eroded since the time of the first Reindeer Grazing Act in 1886 when the Swedish state had a clear position on conflicts (and

associated rights) that was relatively favourable to the Sami. It is assessed that this legal clarity has since been lost as competing land uses in these territories have increased – particularly in the case of developments that are considered a matter of national interest, such as forestry, energy infrastructure and mining.

Box 1.2. *Sameby* membership in Sweden

Membership in *sameby* is regulated in Sections 11 and 12 of the Reindeer Husbandry Act. The act (Section 9) states that a *sameby* is not allowed to conduct other economic activity than reindeer husbandry. Further, according to the act (Section 11), *sameby* membership can be composed of:

- Sami who participate in the reindeer husbandry within the grazing areas of the *sameby*.
- Sami who have participated in reindeer husbandry and within the grazing lands of the *sameby* and who have held this as a continuous occupation and who have not transferred to another main occupation.
- A widower or child of a *sameby* member (as defined above) or widow or child of a deceased member.

Further, Section 12 of the act notes that a *sameby* can accept as member other Sami (beyond those referred to in Section 11 above) if he/she intend to conduct reindeer husbandry with their own reindeer within the grazing area of the *sameby*. The Sami Parliament can allow membership, if the applicant is refused membership, in special circumstances.

Source: Reindeer Husbandry Act.

The Sami Parliament Act in Sweden has its own definition of who is Sami

The Sami Parliament in Sweden is both an elected political body and a government agency that carries out mandated administrative tasks. The Sami Parliament Act identifies a Sami person as one who fulfils the subjective and one of the three objective criteria for the purposes of identifying who can be registered on the electoral roll and is thus is eligible to vote in the Sami Parliament elections. By this act, Sami refers to a person who considers him/herself to be Sami (subjective) and ensures that he or she has or have had the Sami language spoken at home, or ensures that any of his or her parents or grandparents have or have had the Sami language spoken at home, or has a parent who is or has been listed on the electoral roll of the Sami Parliament. The main varieties of the Sami language are North Sami, Eastern Sami, Central (Lule) Sami and Southern Sami, encompassing nine dialects.[16] An estimated 6 000 Sami in Sweden speak North Sami, 800 Sami in Sweden and Norway speak Lule Sami and 700 in Sweden and Norway speak South Sami (Sametinget, 2018[7]). All of the varieties of the Sami language are recognised by Swedish law and thus have the same level of protection despite the number of users.

The Sami economy and livelihoods in the context of northern Sweden

The Sami live throughout Sweden and participate in a wide range of economic activities but are not statistically identifiable and hence, their economic contributions are less visible.

There is no official statistical data on the range of the Sami businesses sector and trades, nor data about Sami companies in Sweden. This lack of data makes it challenging to present a comprehensive picture of livelihoods and well-being and the nature of change over time. Far more is known about those Sami who participate in what are considered traditional livelihoods and who live in the reindeer husbandry area situated in the Swedish parts of Sapmi, foremost the regions of Norrbotten, Västerbotten, Jämtland and the northernmost part of the region of Dalarna, because these activities are captured by reindeer industry codes in official statistics (as opposed to ethnic identification).[17] However, it has been estimated that less than 20% of the Sami population is connected to reindeer herding (Axelsson and Sköld, 2006[8]).

Given data limitations, this section focuses on just a subset of the Sami economy in northern Sweden – traditional activities that are more visible due to Sami business/trade associations, industry classifications/*sameby* membership or participation in the business survey conducted by the Sami Parliament. It proceeds by describing the broader regional economy in northern Sweden and, following this, the Sami business sector.

The regional economies of northern Sweden

There are three main features which shape the regional economies of Northern Sweden – abundant natural resources, remoteness (low population density and large geographies) and an arctic climate. The northern counties of Jämtland-Härjedalen, Västerbotten and Norrbotten together account for half the Swedish land mass. They are sparsely populated, and, with the exception of Västerbotten, have seen a net population loss over the past several decades.[18] While northern Sweden is remote with low population density and large land areas, it is also very centralised – most of the population is concentrated in larger cities along the coast with some smaller cities inland. The population living outside these settlements is very low (and is in many areas also concentrated in smaller towns. As the distances between settlements are long, commuting is not always an option. This means that each city, especially in the inland area of north Sweden, tends to form a labour market of its own.

The average age of the population in the three counties is higher than the national average, as is the dependency ratio (the percentage of the population ages 65 and over relative to those ages 15-64), particularly in the cases of Jämtland and Västerbotten. Population projections to 2050 indicate that both Jämtland and Norrbotten are anticipated to continue to lose population (by -4.8% and -7.2% respectively between 2015 and 2050) while Västerbotten will continue to see an increase (of 3.2%) (Eurostat, 2016[9]). These population dynamics have a number of implications for the regions' respective development. An ageing population together with outmigration – particularly in rural areas – will make it more challenging for these places to retain and deliver public services such as healthcare and education. At the same time, the size of the working age population is declining and leading to labour market shortages in some areas.

Table 1.1. Population and demography in northern Sweden, by county

	Population, 2017	Population change, 1970-2017	Average age of population, 2017	Dependency ratio, % 65 over pop. 15-64	Population density per km², 2017	Land area km², 2017	Percentage of Swedish land mass
Jämtland-Härjedalen	129 806	-1.13	43.2	38.0	2.7	48 935.4	12.0
Västerbotten	268 465	15.16	41.7	32.91	4.9	54 664.6	13.4
Norrbotten	251 295	-1.59	43.7	37.61	2.6	97 238.8	23.87
Sweden	**10 120 242**	**25.2**	**41.2**	**31.47**	**24.8**	**407 310.6**	**x**

Note: "x" = not applicable.
Source: Statistics Sweden (2018[10]), *Population Statistics*, Statistical Database, http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__BE__BE0101__BE0101B/BefolkningMedelAlder/table/tableViewLayout1/?rxid=86abd797-7854-4564-9150-c9b06ae3ab07# (accessed on 06 March 2018).

Northern Sweden industrialised rapidly post WWII based on forestry, energy and mineral exploitation. Today the economies of Jämtland- Härjedalen, Västerbotten and Norrbotten remain dominated by these industries and also have a large share of public sector employment (Table 1.2). The three counties were negatively impacted by the 2008 economic recession and in general, have cyclical economies due to the nature of their industries which are characterised by peak periods of investment, particularly for large energy and mining projects, followed by declines in both output and employment. Between 2000 and 2016, the average annual gross domestic product (GDP) in each of the three regions was below that of the national average (Table 1.3). In Norrbotten County , both the goods and services sectors of the economy grew at the same rate over this period, while in Jämtland- Härjedalen, the services sector has seen the fastest growth, outstripping other sectors. Västerbotten has seen the highest average annual rate of GDP growth in goods production between 2000-16, but its services sector has also been strong, with a higher rate of growth than that of the other two counties over this period.

In contrast to historical trends (see Figure 1.2), the rate of employment in both Jämtland and Västerbotten stood above that of Sweden as a whole in 2017 (at 68.6% and 68.7% respectively versus 67.8% for Sweden), while in Norrbotten it was lower (at 64.9% in 2017) (OECD, 2018[11]). In 2017, the unemployment rate was lower than the national average in all three counties.[19]

Table 1.2. Percentage of employment out of total by industry, 2016

	Jämtland- Härjedalen	Västerbotten	Norrbotten	Sweden
A - Companies in agriculture, forestry and fishing	5.4	3.4	3.4	2.0
B+C - Mining, quarrying, manufacturing	7.4	11.6	12.5	11.4
D+E - Energy and environmental companies	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.0
F - Construction industry	7.4	7.6	8.7	7.1
G - Trade	9.6	9.8	9.0	12.0
H - Transport and storage companies	4.5	4.5	5.1	4.7
I - Hotels and restaurants	4.5	3.0	3.4	3.5
J - Information and communication companies	2.1	2.6	2.1	4.1
K - Financial institutions and insurance companies	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.9
L - Real estate companies	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.6
M+N - Professional, scientific and technical companies; administrative and support service companies	9.9	8.5	9.7	11.8
O - Public authorities and national defence	7.9	4.9	8.2	5.8
P - Educational establishments	11.0	13.1	10.2	10.8
Q - Human health and social work establishments	20.0	21.9	18.8	16.8
R+S+T+U - Establishments for arts, entertainment and recreation; other service companies etc.	4.7	4.0	3.8	4.4
00 - Unknown activity	1.7	1.0	1.1	1.0

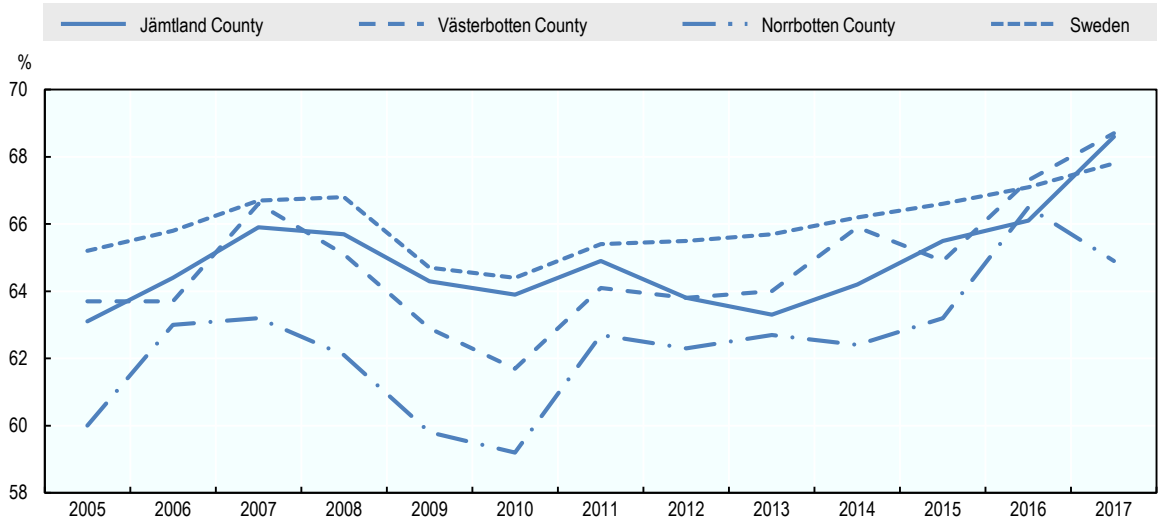
Source: Statistics Sweden (2016[12]), *Gainfully Employed 16+ Years by Region of Work (RAMS) by Industrial Classification NACE Rev. 2 and Year*, http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__AM__AM0207__AM0207K/DagSNI07KonK/table/tableViewLayout1/?rxid=86abd797-7854-4564-9150-c9b06ae3ab07.

Table 1.3. GDP, Average annual growth rate, 2000-16

	Sweden (%)	Jämtland- Härjedalen (%)	Västerbotten (%)	Norrbotten (%)
A01-F43 producers of goods	0.8	0.9	2.5	2.0
G45-T98 producers of services	3.1	1.9	2.1	2.0
Unallocated	2.2	1.4	2.3	1.9
Government and NPISH	2.2	1.4	1.6	1.2
Total economy	**2.2**	**1.4**	**2.1**	**1.8**

Note: NPISH = Households and non-profit institutions serving households.
Source: Statistics Sweden (2018[13]), *Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP, ESA2010), Current Prices, Million SEK by Region, Industrial Classification NACE Rev. 2 and Year*, http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__NR__NR0105__NR0105A/NR0105ENS2010T03A/?rxid=07a6bcad-db37-49a7-a254-4c0712e315be.

Figure 1.2. Employment rate by county, 2005-17



Source: Statistics Sweden (2018[14]), *Labour Market Statistics*, http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/.

Previous work by the OECD on Northern Sparsely Populated Areas (2017[15]) has noted the importance of identifying areas of absolute advantage – i.e. locational assets which enable productivity and product differentiation and which are unique to that region – in order to overcome such challenges as a lack of agglomeration benefits and greater distance to markets common to these northern economies. In northern Sweden, these absolute advantages include minerals and energy, forestry, and a growing tourism industry and are connected to immobile assets such as resource endowments, coastal topography or national parks. They also include the collective assets of the Sami (financial, technological, human, social and cultural), which are unique to that part of the world – a point that will be returned to. The absolute advantages of the NSPA region are largely natural resources-based, which places conflicting demands on how land used. The need for effective governance frameworks to manage this important asset is discussed in Chapter 3.

Table 1.4. Absolute advantages: Västerbotten, Norrbotten and Jämtland Counties

Region	Absolute advantages
Jämtland County	Attractive landscapes (mountains, lakes, rivers and wilderness areas), proximity to the city of Trondheim in Norway, a history and tradition of tourism-related activity, and food producers which are integrated with the tourism industry.
Västerbotten County	Mineral endowments and forestry resources, a history and tradition of manufacturing and services linked to these natural resource-based industries, its attractive landscapes and proximity to Norrbotten, and the research and innovation infrastructure based around Umeå University.
Norrbotten County	Mineral endowments and forestry resources, attractive landscapes (mountains, lakes and rivers, wilderness areas), industry research networks embedded within the Luleå University of Technology, and proximity to Norway and Finland.

Note: Analysis based on NSPA case studies.
Source: OECD (2017[15]), *OECD Territorial Reviews: Northern Sparsely Populated Areas*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264268234-en, p. 193.

The Sami business sector

The Sami business sector today consists of a multitude of activities and trades that share the basis of the close relationship between traditional industries, the environment and culture and that are generally characterised by small-scale and local production. This sector can be categorised according to four groups:

1. Reindeer husbandry companies with the supplementary hunting and fishing activities;
2. Sami companies that have traditional culture as a base such a Sami *duodji* (handicrafts), tourism industry, Sami food production/craft;
3. Sami companies within the cultural sector based on traditional trades such as design, art, music/*joik*, theatre, literature, photography, film, etc.; and
4. Other companies owned by Sami but not directly linked to the Sami culture but still important from a rural perspective, for development and Sami livelihoods.

These economic activities tend to combine elements that are important to well-being and lifestyle and thus support cultural reproduction. Many Sami economic activities today originate from traditional ways of living, interactions with nature, cultural expressions, customs and traditional knowledge and it is therefore difficult to separate non-commercial traditional/customary activities from commercial ones (Sametinget, 2018[7]). While Sami livelihoods have traditionally been based on such activities as reindeer husbandry, hunting, fishing and *duodji*, they have evolved to include such activities as small-scale farming, food production, tourism, interpretation services, music and media production – all of which present growth opportunities. It bears noting that although there is a close relationship between traditional industries, environment and culture, there are not well-established connections between the different categorised groups, such as between the tourism industry, reindeer husbandry and Sami culture.

Economic development from the perspective of Sami society is based on a symbiotic relationship with nature and the reproduction of Sami language and cultural traditions (Box 1.3). There are commercially viable activities that meet these goals such as food production, *duodji*, artistic and cultural expression, and tourism. Potential exists to grow these businesses within a framework that is self-determined by Sami society. From a conventional standpoint, the Sami are important economic actors because of their use of land, and possibilities to support diversification in rural areas through unique tradeable products and services. However, this potential and economic role is not well understood amongst decision-makers. Moreover, reindeer husbandry activities, for which the Sami are very visible in northern Sweden, often set herders interests against that of large industries with intensive land usage – issues that will be discussed in depth in Chapters 2 and 3.

The informal economy is important among the Sami, as are family ties. The family itself is understood as much larger construction as in modern western societies in general; this is particularly the case among reindeer-herding Sami. This informality makes it difficult to measure the economic importance of Sami economies as it is not entirely a monetary economy – e.g. local food (reindeer meat, hunted meat, fish, berries) is distributed informally for own consumption and to share with friends and relatives. Subsistence hunting and fishing for personal consumption are common alongside small-scale farming for own use and berry picking. The number of persons involved in these activities is difficult to estimate, but activities are generally considered an important part of life either through personal involvement or through family and neighbour relations. Furthermore, informal access to traditional products occurs through sharing which is seen as an important social and cultural activity.

Box 1.3. A Sami view of economic development

The Sami economy, based on traditional livelihoods such as reindeer husbandry, hunting and fishing, is dependent on the shared access to land and water. The Sami, therefore, carry out our activities in a way that respects nature and uses lands, natural recourses and biodiversity in a sustainable manner. The Sami view on nature as an animated, living being stands in strong contrast to the Western view of nature. This view of nature has characterised Sami values, customs, social structures and trades and is reflected in the Sami language. The protection of nature is therefore linked to the preservation of Sami culture. Therefore, the concept of economic development and growth from the Sami perspective is very different from that of mainstream Swedish society. Principles of sustainability and cultural reproduction are foremost in Sami considerations.

An emphasis on cultural preservation does not preclude adaption to innovations and new preconditions. Preserving is interpreted as being able to carry out traditional livelihoods and to maintain Sami elements and traditions in a modern society.

Sami traditional knowledge, *árbediehtu,* is guiding for the development of Sami trades. It is a knowledge that builds on a holistic view and interaction between man and nature in contrast to market-dominated views and production systems. The utilisation of natural resources should be adapted to a flexible balance between what nature can provide and what it can endure without leading to soil degradation or negative impact on climate and ecosystems.

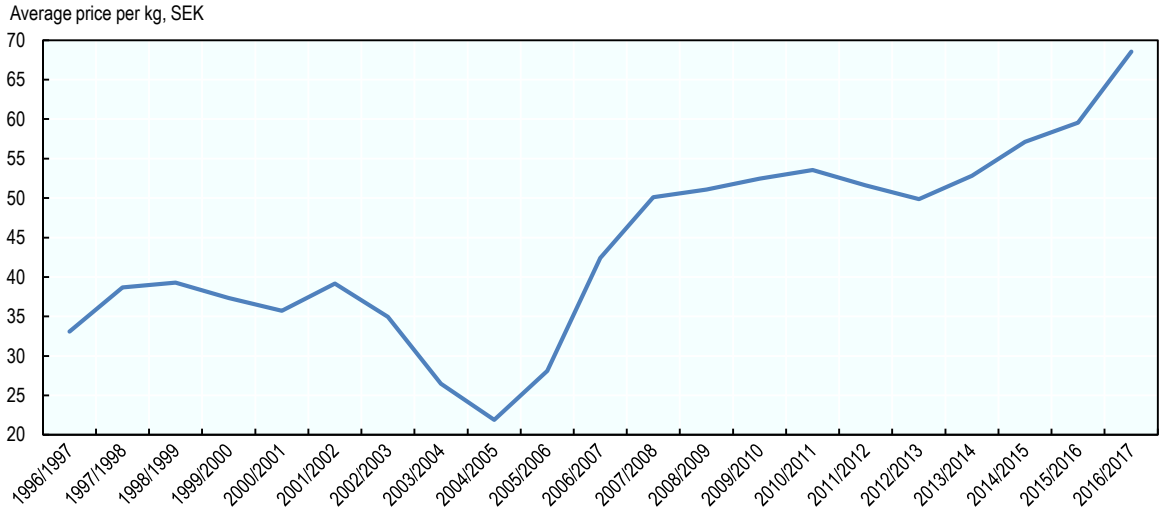
The Sami believe balanced business development occurs through small-scale, ecologically and socially sustainable solutions, local management of natural resources, consideration of biodiversity and responsible consumption. Furthermore, that sustainable economic growth takes place with climate-smart technology, efficient natural resources and environmentally friendly resource consumption.

Source: Sametinget (2018[7]), *2018 Questionnaire*.

Reindeer husbandry, hunting and fishing

The reindeer industry is characterised by the small-scale, ecological production of high-quality reindeer meat in accordance with natural conditions and seasonal changes. Growing consumer demand for sustainably produced and ecological food products has increased demand for reindeer meat and the average price per kilogram is presently at a historical high (Figure 1.3). A 2014 study estimates the value of the reindeer industry in Finland and Sweden (all aspects including reindeer meat, fur and other by-products like horn) as having an employment impact of 15 000 and a total turnover of about EUR 1.3 billion (Paliskuntain yhdistys, 2018[16]). Sweden accounts for about one-third of this total (Paliskuntain yhdistys, 2018[16]). According to data collected by the Sami Parliament, there are 3 900 reindeer owners, out of which 72% have registered companies; approximately 59% of these companies state reindeer husbandry as their main economic activity (Sametinget, 2018[7]).[20]

Figure 1.3. Price of reindeer meat per kg, SEK, Sweden



Source: Sametinget, (2018[17]), *Renslakten i Kronor*, https://www.sametinget.se/statistik/ekonomi (accessed on 19 March 2018).

By law, reindeer husbandry must be conducted in a way that maintains biodiversity and that ensures that the long-term grazing capacity of the natural pasturelands (i.e. by setting thresholds).[21] Reindeer generally migrate from the summer's high mountains to the winter's forests – covering a wide expanse. Sweden's reindeer herding area covers 150 000 km^2, equal to around a third of the Swedish land base.[22] Severe disturbances at certain times and places may lead to over or under-utilisation of grazing resources, which in turn has consequences for other parts of the grazing cycle. The natural behaviour and needs of the reindeer determine the manner in which reindeer husbandry is conducted. The practice of reindeer husbandry inherently requires flexibility in relation to environmental and weather variations. The industry can be very busy at some times of the year, requiring time away from home in remote locations with limited accessibility (helicopters, motorcycles and snowmobiles are nowadays commonly used). As such, the practice of reindeer husbandry in conjunction with other economic activities demands flexibility and can limit the types of secondary activities that can be undertaken. The rights that are defined in the Reindeer Husbandry Act place limits on the ability to earn money in traditional land areas for Sami in the reindeer husbandry trade. Moreover, as defined by the act, *sameby* are prohibited from undertaking any economic activity other than reindeer husbandry which limits the ability of *samebyar* to act as a vehicle to scale up other business initiatives; this does not, however, preclude *sameby* members working in reindeer husbandry from having their own companies and there are no restrictions on such a company's activities.[23] Overall, the fact that many Sami businesses in the reindeer husbandry industry are relatively small is not just a matter of preference, but also a fact of the ecological limits and could also be a product of the rules regarding the types of economic activities that can be taken on alongside reindeer husbandry.

Reindeer husbandry is under a great deal of stress in northern Sweden. The right to herd reindeer is based on usufructuary rights and is carried out in conjunction with other land users which can lead to land use conflicts. Large infrastructure projects, mining activities, energy installations and forestry activities can negatively impact access to grazing land and the reindeer's main food – ground and tree lichen. For example, there has been a significant

decline (71%) in the area of lichen-abundant forests over the past 60 years in Sweden (Sandström et al., 2016[5]). Around 2 500 reindeer died in traffic collisions in 2017 in the four northernmost countries (Sverige Radio, 2018[18]). As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the long-term sustainability of the reindeer herding industry requires improvements in frameworks and practices to manage competing land uses. While herding strategies (i.e. use of different grazing areas and grazing resources) and husbandry strategies can be employed to manage climate change impacts, research from Sweden has indicated that competing land-uses and a lack of instruments and difficulties in exerting influence in governing interactions have more of a detrimental impact on Sami reindeer herding adaptability (Tyler et al., 2007[19]; Löf, 2014[20]).

Unlike reindeer husbandry, hunting and fishing activities are rarely a main source of livelihoods and have recreational values. *Sameby* members have the right to fish in certain lakes for their own use, and for the commercial market, but not for tourism purposes.[24] Out of the 3 700 companies registered in the Sami Parliament business register, only two have stated hunting as their main activity while eight have stated fishing as their main activity (Sametinget, 2018[7]). Commercial fishing was the most extensive in the 1970s when about 85% of the total number of fishermen in Sweden's five northernmost municipalities consisted of Sami fishing in the upper Lule River water system (Sametinget, 2018[7]). Household fishery for daily needs belongs in many areas to everyday life for both reindeer-herding Sami and Sami-farmers, but also for non-Sami people. This is a combination of own subsistence economy and exchange economy between family and friends.

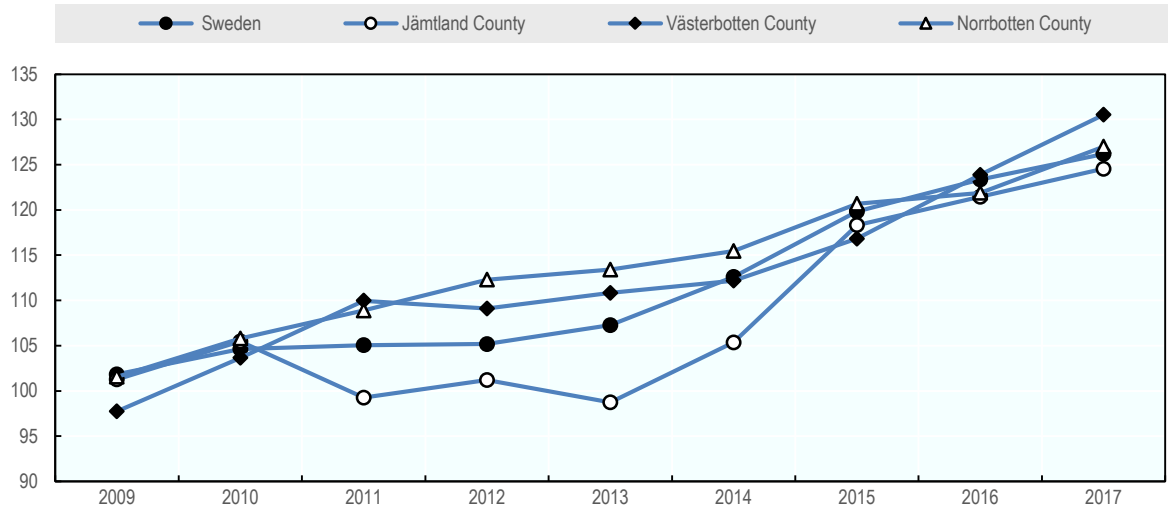
Hunting (mainly moose hunting) is an important activity among *samebyar* members and represents a considerable share of members total income. Most of the moose meat on the Swedish market is produced by *samebyar* members. For example, in Luokta Mavas *sameby,* members are licensed to harvest 50 adult moose and 45 moose calves, with an estimated value of SEK 845 000.[25]

Tourism, duodji *and food production*

There is a growing market for tourism in northern Sweden and the tourism industry has ambitious goals to achieve 100% growth in the sector by 2020 (Invest in Norrbotten, 2018[21]). Visitor nights have grown strongly in Sweden over the past decade, and the growth for the northern counties is in line with the national average (Figure 1.4). Tourism-related activities are important to the labour markets of the northern counties. In 2016, accommodation, and arts, entertainment and recreation services employed 9.3% of the labour force in Jämtland-Härjedalen, 7.2% in Norrbotten and 7% in Västerbotten. Västerbotten has seen the fastest growth in this sector in recent years, with particularly strong growth in domestic tourism.[26] While the tourism sector presents an opportunity, it does face some challenges in that the season tends to be short and the distances between attractions are large in northern Sweden. There are only a few areas of northern Sweden where the tourism sector has led to a substantial restructuring of the regional economy – most notably, large ski resorts (Almstedt, Lundmark and Pettersson, 2016[22]).

Figure 1.4. Number of visitor nights, Sweden and northern counties, 2008-17

Growth index (2008 = 100)



Source: Statistics Sweden (2017[23]), *Statistics Sweden, Nights Spent. All hotels, Holiday Villages, Hostels, Camping Sites, Commercially - Arranged Private Cottages and Apartments by Region/County - Year 2008-2017*.

There are an estimated 40 individual Sami entrepreneurs active within tourism, most of which have been in business for less than ten years (Sametinget, 2018[7]). Most of these entrepreneurs are women and around 50% run businesses combined with reindeer husbandry, or other Sami trades like *duodji* (Leu and Müller, 2016[24]). Organised Sami tourism is thus a relatively new Sami trade. Businesses in this area have evolved from a focus on guided tours in the mountains and hunting towards tourist activities tied with cultural learning about Sami traditions and way of life. Approximately a quarter of Sami tourist companies focus on conference events where the opportunity to hunt and fish are offered (Sametinget, 2018[7]). The vast majority of these companies are small-scale, with only a few employing more than five seasonal workers. In addition to tourist entrepreneurial activities, there is also a range of tourist experiences available at museums and retail centres for Sami *duodji.*

Tourism brings mixed benefits for Sami communities and there are debates about how the Sami should engage with these activities. The Sami are frequently used in tourism promotion and marketing in northern Europe and they thus represent an asset for the growing tourism industry. This could bring benefits by increasing awareness of Sami culture and traditions, but at the same time, there is a risk that the Sami are portrayed as an exotic "other". Indeed, their representation in tourism brochures in northern Sweden has generally depicted them within the context of a reindeer husbandry nomadic lifestyle in a manner that is not always culturally sensitive or reflective of present circumstances – the modern world of the Sami is seldom represented (Müller and Pettersson, 2001[25]). Sweden's Equality Ombudsmen notes that the definition of the Sami as nomadic reindeer herders in law has reinforced such perceptions and is founded in a conception of cultural inferiority stemming from a time when policies were formed about the Sami, not with them (Swedish Equality Ombudsman, 2008, p. 28[26]). There are also ongoing discussions, mostly in Finland and Norway, about who can wear a *gákti* (Sami national costume) in tourism activities. For example, whether only Sami should wear a *gákti* or whether others

can also wear them and also whether persons in tourism activities/pictures are wearing real *gáktis* or whether "made-in-china" "tourist" costumes used.

A growing nature-based tourism sector with activities such as hunting, fishing, skiing, snowmobiling and dog-sledding, has the potential to create new sources of income and future employment opportunities for the Sami. Despite this, very few Swedish Sami choose to make a living within tourism and, for those who do, it is often alongside reindeer husbandry – though the combination of these two livelihoods is not without difficulty due to the cyclical nature of herding which requires time away from home. Some of the main constraints preventing Sami from getting more involved in tourism development include cultural norms and legal obstacles for tourism development; a large geographical area and dispersed attractions; a lack of business traditions within the Sami communities themselves and; expensive and exclusive touristic offerings, which limit the size of the market (Müller and Pettersson, 2001[25]; Müller and Huuva, 2009[27]). Moreover, nature-based tourism can disrupt reindeer herding and this has led to conflicts between both non-Sami and Sami tourist operators and reindeer herding Sami (Müller and Pettersson, 2001[25]). There is no general permit or licence for tourist operators in protected areas, but there are laws and regulations within the Swedish environmental code that must be followed within the purview of such activities (Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, 2018[28]).

The growth of the tourism industry in Northern Sweden is opening up the potential of *duodji* and food production which have long been an important part of Sami culture. There is a growing demand for high quality and ecological food products worldwide for which Sami food products are well suited. High-end restaurants in northern Sweden such as Fäviken in Jämtland, have raised the profile of northern cuisine based on local ingredients including traditional Sami fare such as salted meats and fish. Groups such as Slow Food Sapmi – an organisation that includes the Sami regions of Sweden, Finland, Norway and Russia – and Slow Food Sweden, represent Sami food entrepreneurs and Sami people interested in cuisine and the sustainable use of natural resources. There is potential to grow this sector further, which is quite limited at the moment. For example, out of the 3 700 companies registered in the Sami Parliament business register, less than 2% (65 companies) have stated food production as their main activity. There are very few Sami owned meat processing firms – therefore, the Sami engaged in reindeer husbandry are rarely capturing the value added from the processing of meat. The presence of large established meat processing businesses in northern Sweden present barriers to the expansion of the Sami meat processing market. The Sami meat processing market is also heavily dependent on national interpretation of EU legislation – large established meat processing "factories" are "obligatory" to sell the meat. This change from "killing at place" to the transport of living animals to meat processing plants due to changes in EU regulations related to food health and safety has been one of largest changes in reindeer herding during the last decades.

Duodji have a strong symbolic value for the Sami identity and are important for cultural reproduction. The commodification of *duodji* is an issue of longstanding debate; it is often thought of as a form of cultural expression as opposed to a developable trade. The vast majority of local arts and crafts, including *duodji*, are sold to tourists (Dlaske, 2014[29]). The lack of available statistics on turnover, business structure, market analyses, etc. makes it difficult to demonstrate the needs and competitiveness of *duodji.* Out of the 3 700 companies registered in the Sami Parliament business register, just 2% (78 companies) have stated *duodji* as their main activity (Sametinget, 2018[7]).

One of the greatest barriers to the expansion of this industry is the proliferation of products that culturally appropriate *duodji* in style and substance, but that are in fact mass produced,

largely for the tourist market. These products undercut the value of authentic *duodji*. This is an issue that is common to many Indigenous peoples and there is growing recognition of the need to protect the cultural and intellectual property of Indigenous design and techniques. Doing so can help Indigenous peoples to build their craft into a viable market based on sustainable principles and traditional knowledge. To protect genuine Sami *duodji* and guarantee original Sami design, a special seal has been introduced for which only licensed Sami artists are permitted to mark their products and distinguish them from imitations. While this helps direct consumers to authentic products, it does not address the appropriation of Sami designs more generally. Litigation against the appropriation of Sami designs has been pursued in some cases; the time and expense associated with such litigation lead to its infrequent use.

Cultural trades

Sami culture and traditions are a unique asset to northern Sweden and Sapmi more generally which extends to the cultural industries. This sector includes photo, film, performing arts, literature, music/*joik*, multimedia, fine art and museum activities. Relatively few Sami businesses note this as a main activity. Out of the 3 700 companies registered in the Sami Parliament business register, 2.7% (100 companies) have culture as their main activity. Therefore, this does not appear to be a large sector at the moment; though, the limitation of this data needs to be considered.

Support for the cultural industries has shown to have wide-ranging benefits on such factors as schooling, health, economic participation and leadership and is increasingly recognised as an essential element of well-being.[27] Culture has, for example, been recognised as a social determinant of health in countries such as Canada and has been included within the framework of the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. The prospects for the commercialisation for this sector differ and may require either seed capital or grants in order to thrive. Government policies hence play an important role in supporting and encouraging the growth of this sector. Moreover, regional and municipal governments and instrumental in developing and supporting the cultural infrastructure – e.g. workshop space, museums, theatres, performance spaces and community spaces – that helps this industry thrive (Lindqvist, 2015[30]).

Other rural activities

Within the rural economy, Sami participate in a range of sectors and commercial activities outside the traditional trades and culture as both business owners and employees in such industries as mining and forestry. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to gauge the scope and scale of these activities due to a lack of statistical data. In terms of Sami-owned enterprises, these activities involve small-scale industry, construction, transport, retail and private service companies and can generally be characterised as small businesses with few employees, low competition, limited markets and low profitability (Sametinget, 2018[7]). For example, small-scale farming is practised by around 9% of companies registered in the Sami Parliament business register (318 out of 3 700). In the three northernmost counties, there are a large number of so-called small-scale farms that have a very varied background both in terms of origin and development. Farming often involves a combination of small-scale farms with animal husbandry, hunting, fishing and small-scale tourism. In general, the share of agriculture in northern Sweden has declined in recent decades and this is not a growing sector.

Forestry is a large industry in northern Sweden and is conducted in accordance with forestry legislation that applies to Sami and non-Sami alike. Reindeer herding Sami have no tradition of commercial forestry but have used forest resources and remain dependant on them for building and handicraft materials, firewood, and to provide shelter and protection for reindeer against wind and rapid temperature changes.[28]

Box 1.4. Comparison of trades among Sami and non-Sami

There are two surveys from the localities of Soppero (Kiruna Municipality, Norrbotten County) and Funäsdalen (Härjedalen Municipality, Jämtland County) which provide information on Sami business activities in comparison to non-Sami activities in these areas. In Soppero, trades linked to reindeer husbandry, such as meat production and processing and tourism are more often practised by Sami than non-Sami people. However, it also appears that the Sami businesses account for 80% of the total economic activity, indicating that Sami activities are very important in this rural, scarcely populated area. In Funäsdalen, only 4% of the total economic activity is carried out by Sami businesses; this due to the large extent of forestry and tourism businesses in the area.

Table 1.5. Comparison of trades among Sami and non-Sami

	Soppero		*Funäsdalen*	
	Sami (%)	Non-Sami (%)	Sami (%)	Non-Sami (%)
Reindeer husbandry*	15	0	12	0
Sameby	8	0	25	0
Duodji (handicraft)	6	0	2	0
Food production	38	0	36	1
Retail, trade, tourism	23	39	12	48
Industry and forestry	9	59	13	44
Other services	2	2	1	7

* The activities and turnover for *samebyar* relate to internal administration and maintenance matters (for example salaries, annual meetings, board meetings, etc.) whereas the table for reindeer husbandry refers to activities and turnover in the individual reindeer herding companies.
Note: The chart above describes the percentage of total turnover for the region, separated by activities.
Source: Sametinget (2018[7]), *2018 Questionnaire*.

Sami businesses/livelihoods and connections to the regional economy

Sami businesses in northern Sweden have unique characteristics and face a number of challenges in terms of their connections to the regional economy. First, many Sami businesses are small. There could be opportunities for growth in this sector by improving access to markets and adopting value-added activities. However, there are also limiting factors to Sami business growth. This is perhaps most evident for reindeer herders who need to coexist with predators, climate change, declines in lichen, conflicts with other land uses and whose herds sizes are capped with maximum thresholds set by the national government. Second, Sami businesses and cultural practices are not always well understood or well aligned with that of some of the growing industries in the regions. While there are ongoing efforts to make forestry practices more compatible with reindeer husbandry, conflicts still occur. The dominance of the energy and mining sectors within the northern economies can detract from herding activities, as can nature-based tourism. This raises the importance of effective policies and good governance to help mediate and overcome some

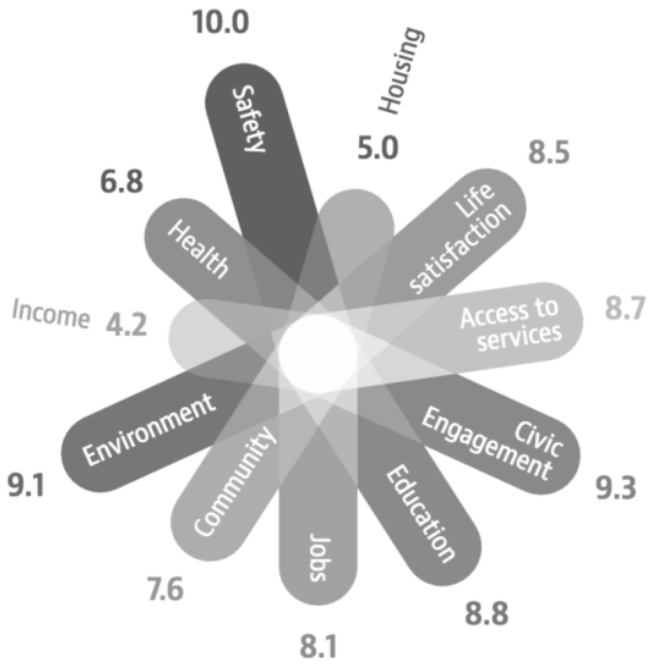
of these challenges in order to ensure that regional development works for all – issues that are discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Finally, it is important to note a bias in understanding Sami businesses stemming from the fact that the data privileges traditional activities simply because these are easier to identify as Sami under current data collection practices. The range and diversity of Sami livelihoods are thus poorly captured and this, in turn, has implications for how Sami contributions are recognised and linked with regional policies in northern Sweden.

Sami well-being – taking a broad view of development

Sami livelihoods and their connection to the broader regional economy are but one aspect of the conditions that shape day-to-day life. It is equally important to consider well-being more generally, including dimensions that go beyond material considerations. Such framing is grounded in a capabilities view of development which highlights the processes that expand people's choices and opportunities to use resources to live the lives they have reason to value (Sen, 2005[31]). Well-being has gained attention as a regional development policy concept because it captures a number of factors that are important to the competitiveness of places, and the manner by which it reinforces the importance of complementarities across sectoral policies. Drawing on this approach, the OECD has developed a regional well-being framework which encompasses 11 dimensions across both objective and subjective measures: income, jobs, housing, health, access to services, environment, education, safety, civic engagement and governance, community, and life satisfaction. By this measure, regional well-being in Upper Norland (Norrbotten and Västerbotten) demonstrates strengths in the indicators for safety, civic education and the environment but relative weaknesses in the areas of income and housing among OECD regions (Figure 1.5).

In a broad sense, the OECD well-being framework is a useful starting point for considering economic development and well-being for Indigenous people. Its underlying concept of development based on capabilities is fundamentally linked to the idea of self-determination. This approach acknowledges that desired goals vary across individuals, households and communities as opposed to relying on a preconceived idea of what "success" is in terms of development. However, the categories included in the OECD well-being framework do not account for some types of assets which are unique to Indigenous communities such as those related to social, cultural, political and natural capital. As such, it can be critiqued for ignoring dimensions of well-being that are specific to Indigenous communities and for placing too much emphasis on development gaps with respect to other parts of society that may have different goals and aspirations (Yap and Yu, 2016[32]) (see Box 1.5 for elaboration).

Figure 1.5. Well-being in Upper Norland



Source: OECD (2018[33]), "Sweden", in *OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2018*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/tour-2018-38-en.

Box 1.5. Improving the relevance of well-being measures for Indigenous communities

Global, national and regional frameworks to measure well-being and development need to be adapted to include the unique needs and circumstances of Indigenous peoples. Self-determined economic development should enable Indigenous peoples to make a range of different informed choices about the development of their community, clan or nation. This requires investing in different forms of capital and linking them to governance and policies to make sure they are effectively managed to deliver benefits for community members. See Table 1.6 for a summary.

For example, standard measures of **cultural and social capital** are designed for societies which place less emphasis on kinship and family relations compared to Indigenous communities. In this sense, subjective well-being for Indigenous communities may have a stronger collective and relational component (Yap and Yu, 2016[32]), and may be broadened to give more weight to cultural components such as the continuation of language, cultural artefacts and representations, protection of sacred sites, and traditional knowledge. For Indigenous communities, where there is a strong connection between cultural and natural capital, policies focusing on expanding economic capital need to balance the community views on the way in which their resources are used.

Political capital (access to democratic decision-making) also has different implications for Indigenous peoples. Across advanced OECD nations, there has been a shift toward self-determination (the right for Indigenous communities to govern their own affairs and shape relations with institutions with the framework of the nation-state). Putting

self-determination at the centre of economic development for Indigenous people allows a better alignment between policies and development goals determined at the level of communities, as well as more participation throughout the policy design and implementation process. Political capital for Indigenous peoples needs to encompass issues such as representation, the role of community-controlled organisations, the legitimacy and cultural match of Indigenous representative and decision-making bodies, and consultation by governments about matters that impact upon Indigenous peoples.

Natural capital encompasses: the use of renewable and non-renewable natural resources (sub-soil resources, water, forests) in the production process to generate income; the asset value of ecosystems and the flow of ecosystem goods and services (air, clean water, climate, cultural and recreational benefits) into the future and; the use of land and access to it. This includes access to affordable, safe and high-quality living environments. In terms of **physical capital** (built infrastructure and housing), this can include access to clean, safe and drinkable water, electricity and sanitation and waste systems and services, and the resulting impacts on the environmental and public health in communities. It also encompasses the stock and quality of housing, and whether these assets are managed by Indigenous communities. In remote areas accessibility is a key issue in terms of the capacity to deliver services, and access markets (phone network coverage, internet and broadband, roads, and airports), which can also be impacted by seasonal conditions (winter, dry and monsoon seasons).

Table 1.6. Community assets and Indigenous economic development

Forms of community assets	Description	Considerations for Indigenous peoples in relation to economic development
Physical capital	Built infrastructure – roads, buildings, houses	Access to basic services, Indigenous ownership of assets
Human capital	Work skills, leadership, educational attainment, health	Customary activities and traditional knowledge
Social capital	Norms, networks and trust	Kinship and family relations
Environmental capital	Air, water, land, flora and fauna	Land stewardship, control over access and use of land
Financial capital	Money, access to credit, equity	Indigenous-owned businesses, collective forms of asset ownership, customary activities and traditional livelihoods (imputed income)
Political capital	Access to democratic decision making	Self-determination, duty to consult, legitimacy and cultural match of representative institutions
Cultural capital	Arts and culture, museums, ethnic festivals	Indigenous language, traditional knowledge, cultural artefacts

In terms of **financial and human capital** (income, wealth, skills and jobs) there are a number of key issues that need to be considered in relation to Indigenous peoples. The first is that self-determined economic development can generate a range of different development choices for Indigenous peoples. In OECD member countries standard measures of economic participation (investment, employment, income, and equity), and human capital development (educational attainment) are also applicable to Indigenous populations. However, this needs to be balanced with issues such as cultural obligations, customary activities and traditional economies (particularly in remote areas); and community governance arrangements that may result in collective forms of assets ownership and utilisation. Another key aspect for economic participation is the role of Indigenous owned businesses which can provide a vehicle to generate income and wealth,

develop leaders and mentors in communities, and support the maintenance of Indigenous languages and cultural practices.

Sources: Table adapted from Haines and Green (2015[34]), *Asset Building and Community Development*, https://books.google.fr/books?hl=en&lr=&id=J3xZDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT15&dq=asset+building+and+community+economic+development+haines+and+green&ots=bVath7LXGW&sig=oXSRA5Vc54BxsoPjUyc8F2yraWM#v=onepage&q=asset%20building%20and%20community%20economic%20develop (accessed on 23 November 2018).
Yap and Yu (2016[32]), "Operationalising the capability approach: Developing culturally relevant indicators of indigenous well-being – An Australian example", http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13600818.2016.1178223.

There is a limited picture of Sami well-being in Sweden

Sweden does not collect official statistics based on ethnicity or Indigenous status and as a result data limitations make it difficult to provide an assessment of Sami well-being in Sweden. There is data related to the occupation of reindeer husbandry which enables statistical analysis related to this activity (size, gender, and prices for example) but this is only an estimated 15% of the total Sami population in Sweden. The geography of the Sami can also be delimited by the 19 municipalities that belong to the administrative area of the Sami language, and the 51 *sameby* areas, but many Sami live outside of these areas, including in the largest cities (Beach et al., 2015[35]).

There are few comprehensive statistical studies of the Sami, and in particular, a lack of studies that examine multiple dimensions of well-being. The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth has developed municipal level well-being data, but it is not possible to distinguish Sami well-being within (Tillväxtverket, 2018[36]). There are, however, smaller studies – qualitative case studies, sample surveys, etc. – which have examined socio-economic indicators for Sami and non-Sami populations which can offer a partial picture of Sami well-being. For example, a 2015 study on the living conditions and quality of life of Indigenous peoples included assessment of the Sami in Sweden (Beach et al., 2015[35]). The sample for the study was drawn from the voter registration list of the Sami Parliament of Sweden, and although limited, does provide some important insights about the well-being of Sami peoples. Overall, the well-being of the Sami is characterised by high life satisfaction, impacts of out-migration from rural areas, the balancing of formal market participation with non-market values and subsistence, and managing pressures associated with climate change and resource extraction (Beach et al., 2015[35]). There are similar patterns apparent to the non-Indigenous population in terms of youth out-migration (for education and work) with lower levels of mobility for men, which is impacting the overall demographic profile of the Sami in rural areas over time. Identity issues are also important in Sami society, particularly the differences in recognition and rights between *Sameby* and non-*sameby* members. Gender issues are also important because voting rights in *samebyar* are predominantly given to men (Beach et al., 2015[35]).

The majority of studies about Sami well-being have focused on health outcomes. While poorer health outcomes among Indigenous populations versus non-Indigenous are common in many countries, research from Sweden indicates that the Sami have a life expectancy and mortality patterns similar to the general population with the exception that slightly greater incidences of cancer and cardiovascular diseases have been reported (Sjölander, 2011[37]). However, there are greater incidences of unnatural death among reindeer-herding men which is related to working conditions and the use of off-road vehicles. Between 1961-2000 there are no reported differences in suicide rate between Swedish Sami and other Swedes (Sjölander, 2011[37]). It is also noted that the suicide risk among reindeer herders

has been slightly higher than among other mountain peoples and reindeer-herding Sami men and women as well as Sami living in the three north most counties may be at particular risk for suicidal expressions (Kaiser, Niclas; Salander Renberg, 2012[38]; Sjölander, 2011[37]; Omma, Sandlund and Jacobsson, 2013[39]). Studies of suicide have reinforced the importance of linking these issues to power relations and identity within a threatened Sami cultural context – this, in turn, raises the importance of culturally-relevant services and curriculum in schools for suicide prevention (Stoor et al., 2015[40]). In terms of youth, a study of Sami youth aged 18–28, the majority expressed pride in their heritage and a desire to preserve their culture (Omma and Jacobsson, 2011[41]). Nearly half had perceived discrimination or ill-treatment because of their ethnicity, with reindeer herders reporting a higher degree of ill-treatment (70%) (Omma and Jacobsson, 2011[41]). In terms of educational outcomes, there are no studies that compare educational achievement between Sami and non-Sami. However, research by Omma (2013[42]) indicates that Sami school children have lower health-related quality of life (HRQL) than other Swedish children and that education is one of the areas where they scored lower than other Swedes.

Some recent government-funded studies help to fill in the gaps in healthcare knowledge and promote culturally appropriate healthcare practices

There are several recent government-funded studies that help to fill in some of the knowledge gaps on Sami well-being. For example, in 2015, the government commissioned the Sami Parliament to compile knowledge about psychosocial ill health among the Sami people in Sweden. This knowledge overview was conducted in order to provide support to the Public Health Agency of Sweden and the relevant County Councils in work to design culturally-appropriate psychological interventions. A 2016 report by the Sami Parliament found that mental health among the Sami population, especially the reindeer herding Sami, is worse than other groups in society (Stoor, 2016[43]). This is shown both among young Sami, women and especially among reindeer-herding Sami. Rates of suicide during 1961-2000 were 50% higher among reindeer-herding Sami men than what would be expected among Swedish men. Reindeer herding Sami also have lower confidence in the healthcare system (primary healthcare and psychiatry) than other inhabitants in the northern part of Sweden and healthcare providers may lack knowledge about Sami population health.

In 2018, the Swedish government committed to funding a population-based study called HALDI – health and living conditions in Sapmi, Sweden – which will identify participants on the basis of ethnic self-identification (Axelsson, 2018[44]). The study was submitted by the Centre of Sami Research at the University of Umeå and will be structured in a manner that is similar to that of an earlier Norwegian health study led by the Sami Centre for Health Research at the Arctic University of Norway (UIT) – thus facilitating comparability between the two countries.

Most recently, in March 2017, the Government granted Västerbotten County Council, together with Jämtland County Council, Norrbotten County Council, the Sami Parliament and Swedish Sami organisations, SEK 3 000 000 to develop a knowledge-based network about Sami health outcomes. The three-year project will be used to develop a centre for Sami health which will work to increase the availability of culturally relevant healthcare that is accessible in the Sami language. The results of this initiative will be presented in 2020. This project, together with the above-mentioned studies address the need for improved understanding of Sami healthcare needs and enhanced capacity to deliver culturally-adapted health services.

Box 1.6. Conditions for Sami women

The preconditions have changed for those Sami who used to sustain themselves on reindeer husbandry, hunting, fishing, *duodji* and small farming. As the traditional lands are shrinking (due to other land use for infrastructure, extractive industries, etc.) fewer Sami can carry out their traditional livelihoods. This has led to that primarily Sami women have had to search other livelihoods and occupations. As such they have come to be regarded as extra labour instead of active main practitioners.

As reindeer husbandry has been mechanised and industrialised, it has become a male-dominated profession. Today, reindeer husbandry is largely carried out by men. According to statistical data from 2013 published on the Sami Parliament website, four out of ten reindeer owners are women. Only 17% of so-called group leaders are women and they own less than half as many reindeer (87 reindeers/person) as their male counterpart (196 reindeers/person). Despite this, women are very important to reindeer husbandry due to their shared responsibility in providing for and supporting the family. Many Sami women are working to strengthen the family's economy while at the same time being in charge of the family business. To contribute to the family economy women more often than men conduct work outside the traditional Sami trades. Many women in reindeer husbandry families are also responsible for general planning, bookkeeping and accounting. Still, they participate actively in activities connected to reindeer husbandry, especially during the more labour-intense periods. However, measures are needed to facilitate for women to more actively run reindeer husbandry businesses of their own.

Source: Sametinget (2018[7]), *2018 Questionnaire*.

Improving data collection and statistics

As has been noted throughout this chapter, the lack of statistical data on the Sami in Sweden makes it very difficult to understand group characteristics – e.g. how many individuals identify as Sami in the country – and to capture both the nature of their economic activities and to provide an assessment of well-being and potential inequalities. In countries such as Australia and Canada, where data on ethnic identity is collected by national statistical agencies and where there are in-depth studies on the socio-economic conditions of Indigenous peoples, inequalities across a wide range of dimensions are reported such as poorer health and educational outcomes and access to basic infrastructure.[29] The extent to which this may be the case in Sweden is not fully known due to a lack of evidence.

Statistics construct power relations – they shape social realities, conveying a powerful truth (Walter and Andersen, 2013[45]). Statistical indicators are often critiqued for their inadequacy in capturing key elements such as culture and traditional knowledge which are central to Indigenous identity. However, a lack of visibility of Indigenous peoples in official statistics is equally problematic as it obscures group identity and conditions. This, in turn, may affect the design and evaluation of public policies for Indigenous peoples and communities. This section discusses both data challenges and their implications and offers recommendations for how data and statistics on the Sami population in Sweden could be improved.

Data challenges and implications

Within Sweden's official statistics system (SOS system), Sami businesses cannot be separated from Swedish ones. Hence, there are no statistics on Sami economic activities in the Swedish statistical system, nor is data collected at the programming level (e.g. how Sami businesses access government programmes). The exception to this is data that can be obtained from reindeer herding companies because they have their own identity marker in the Swedish Standard Industrial Classification (SNI) system of the SOS.[30] One of the outcomes of this is that in Sweden, there are far more studies of Sami based on reindeer herding identity than that of the broader Sami community due to ease of identification. There are, for example, no studies or in-depth assessments concerning the situation of members of the Sami community residing in the country's urban areas (European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance, 2018[46]).

Reindeer herding Sami, therefore, have greater prominence in the academic literature on contemporary Sami conditions and outcomes. This, in turn, shapes community identity and politics. This greater visibility can lead to the assumption that those who practice reindeer herding are "true" and "authentic" in contrast to other Sami (Lantto and Mörkenstam, 2008[47]).

The lack of comprehensive and comparable longitudinal data on Sami in Sweden affects the policy process/policy making in a number of ways. The contributions, conditions and experiences of Sami are largely rendered invisible which makes it challenging to direct policies towards this community or to understand where they are having a positive or negative impact. Sweden, by law, has specific obligations to Sami in terms of the protection of their language and culture, to ensure that they are not discriminated against and to ensure land rights. A lack of data on how these rights are being realised and respected makes it difficult to know if they are being fulfilled (Equality Ombudsmen of Sweden, 2012[48]). Where data does exist to serve this role, it is often fragmented or siloed in such a way as it is not useful to inform policies. For example, *samebyar* collect their own land use data in their reindeer management plans, but there is no Swedish agency with the responsibility of publishing that data within Sweden.[31] *Samebyar* are careful about sharing and making these plans public as they might be used by the industry or other stakeholders in a wrongful manner (see Box 1.10 for elaboration). Consequently, when a local municipality makes a land plan, they often do not know which *samebyar* should be contacted as stakeholders in the process (as reported in interviews).

Sweden is not alone in having a lack of statistical data on its Sami population. Both Norway and Finland also do not collect data on ethnicity in official statistics. See, for example, efforts in Norway to try and overcome this issue (Box 1.7). In some countries, a lack of statistics on ethnic identity can be compensated with geographic data based on where Indigenous peoples live. However, this is not the case in Sweden – geographical parameters cannot be used as proxies since the Sami in Sweden do not live in distinct communities.[32] Rather, their *sameby* land rights relate to use across a wide territory. Meanwhile, in Finland, reindeer herding is not solely a Sami occupational and as such, the system of identification through industrial codes cannot be used as a proxy identifier. This raises the broader issue of a lack of comparable statistics across Sami.

Box 1.7. Efforts to improve the collection of Sami statistics in Norway

In 2003, the Sami Parliament in Norway commissioned a project in co-operation Statistics Norway and the Nordic Sami Institute (*Sámi Instituhtta*) to develop a permanent framework to collect and dissemination of Sami statistics. This was done by producing statistics for select Sami settlement areas that qualify for support from the Sami Development Fund which is managed by the Sami Parliament.[33] This only captures a portion of the Sami population in Norway; however, the underlying rationale for this approach is that the data on these defined areas are needed in order to evaluate the effectiveness of policy instruments and also that these areas are of particular relevance for the reproduction of Sami language, culture and traditions. The resulting data includes statistics on Sami Parliament elections, size and composition of the population, education, the use of Sami languages in kindergartens and schools, income and personal finances, employment, reindeer husbandry, agriculture and fishing and catch (Slaastad, 2016[49]).

In 2008/09, Statistics Norway examined the possibility of producing Sami statistics for individuals based on existing registers such as the 1970 census, the register of persons affiliated with reindeer herding activities (from the Norwegian Agriculture Agency) and the electoral register of the Sami Parliament. However, difficulties gaining permission to access this data, along with the feasibility of combining the sources accurately, led to this approach being abandoned. Norway also has an academic analysis group for Sami statistics which publishes an annual report which aims to increase knowledge that can be used by the government and the Sami Parliament in co-operation, both in consultations, budget preparation and development (Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet, 2017[50]).

Sources: Slaastad (2016[49]), *Samisk Statistikk 2016*, https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/2445389/RAPP2016-05_web.pdf?sequence=1; Kommunal- og moderniseringsdepartementet (2017[50]), *Samiske Tall Forteller 10*, https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/samiske-tall-forteller-10/id2582761/ (accessed on 05 March 2018).

Options for improved data collection and dissemination

There are ongoing discussions on the need for statistics on minority and ethnic groups in Sweden (Axelsson, 2018[44]).[34] This has been raised for example by the work of Sweden's Equality Ombudsmen in a 2012 study on the role of statistics in work on addressing discrimination.[35] Ideally, information could be collected through Sweden's survey on living conditions which examines a range of variables over time and which would facilitate comparative analysis between groups.[36] However, absent legislative change, alternative strategies are needed. Some options to improve data collection and dissemination for Sami are summarised below.

- **Synthesise current data sources and identify data limitations in their use and dissemination.** The landscape of data collection on Sami people and communities (and all other ethnic minorities) is fragmented. Resources are needed to determine what is currently captured and known and by whom and to analyse how data from these sources could potentially be compiled in a comparable manner to develop a more robust picture of Sami conditions. Potential data sources include: Sami schools; centres of Sami health; the Sami parliament; *samebyar*; Sami business associations; municipalities, granting agencies and universities/academic studies, etc. The range of actors involved presents a co-ordination challenge and there is

further a need to develop guidance involving the Sami people, communities and organisations on how data collection and dissemination might proceed in an ethical, culturally sensitive and useful manner. University research institutes fulfil this role in part.[37] These efforts require long-term funding in order to produce comprehensive and longitudinal data. Moreover, there is a need to better connect these efforts and instrumentalise them in order to improve public policy and interactions with industry in northern Sweden. Chapter 2 will discuss in greater depth how data could be improved to inform policies and programmes.

- **Increase research funding for Sami data collection**. Only official statistical agencies of the government are presently prohibited from collecting data on the basis of ethnicity. While there is a wide range of academic studies that examine the Sami, these studies tend to be small in scale, with limited geographic and community representation and are rarely structured to facilitate Sami versus non-Sami comparisons of outcomes or longitudinal analysis. Given the lack of official statistics in Sweden, there is a particular need for research grants directed to fill this gap. The public sector in Sweden finances research and development through grants paid directly to higher education institutions and through support for research councils, sectoral research agencies and research foundations (Vetenskapsrådet, 2018[51]). County councils and municipalities also fund research, mainly in healthcare and social services. Sweden's largest research funding agency – the Swedish Research Council – does not have any targeted funding programmes for Sami researchers or the study of Sami. This stands in contrast to the research granting councils of Australia, Canada and Norway where there are specific funding streams for research on Indigenous peoples and communities and, in the case of Canada, funding directed specifically to Indigenous researchers.
- **Develop ethical guidelines for research on Sami.** One of the hindrances to improved research and data on Sami livelihoods and well-being is a lack of clear ethical guidelines on Sami research. For example, in a review of Swedish research proposals on the Sami, Drugge (2016[52]) finds that ethical guidelines for research are often referred to, but that a common view on what guidelines to use is lacking, leading to variations in terms of how they are applied in practice. There is uncertainty among researchers on ethical guidance and how to relate to current legislation around research ethics as well as a need for directions on how to conduct research in a culturally appropriate manner. The need for ethical guidelines in the conduct of research on Sami has been raised by the Sami Parliaments in Finland, Norway and Sweden; however, guidelines have yet to be developed (Stordahl et al., 2015[53]). Research ethics guidelines for Indigenous research in Canada, New Zealand and Australia serve as useful examples of how this could be pursued; however, any Swedish guidelines need to be uniquely adapted. For example, Sami research ethics guidelines may be best structured to facilitate comparative research across the four countries encompassing Sapmi. Norway's Sami Parliament is presently developing ethical guidelines on health research which could form the basis of a broader Sapmi-wide framework (Samediggi Samitinget Norsk, 2018[54]).
- **Enhance the role and capabilities of the Sami parliament in statistics collection**. The Sami Parliament is responsible for the production of some statistics (e.g. on the reindeer industry) but has limited resources and a limited mandate with which to develop and monitor indicators in such areas as industry/business, culture and social development. The Sami Parliament reports having difficulty fulfilling existing requirements for reporting and analysis; a point which the Swedish Office of the Auditor General has reiterated on several occasions (Sametinget, 2018,

p. 16[55]). In its most recent budget reporting (2018-20), the Sami Parliament has noted a growing need for data and statistics on a wide range of measures related to mining and forestry in the northern regions, climate change impacts and the need to better understand the nature of Sami businesses, language and culture (Sametinget, 2018[55]). While the Sami Parliament has a voting list of 8 700 people which could be a useful source of data, it cannot use this list to produce statistics due to the prohibition of government agencies collecting data on ethnicity. The Sami Parliament of Sweden has advocated taking on a larger role in data collection which would require additional resources and staff. There has as yet been no resolution with the government on this issue. This connects to broader debates about the importance of Indigenous data sovereignty – that is, having Indigenous peoples in control of their own data content (Kukutai and Taylor, 2016[56]) (Box 1.9. Allocating a competency to the Sami Parliament for Sami economic statistics and reporting for policy development and regulatory decision making (with resources) could include: i) a standardised approach to Reindeer Husbandry Plans (which describe how *samebyar* use land for reindeer husbandry) which could be extended to include strategic priorities for future land use and; ii) an Annual State of the Sami Economy report, which provides an overview of trends in reindeer and non-reindeer related economic activities, and that highlights best practices innovations in different categories (e.g. reindeer herding, *duodji,* women, youth, etc.). A co-operation agreement between the Sami Parliament and other key state, regional and local economic development agencies (e.g. Agency for Economic and Regional Growth) on economic statistics to govern co-operation on data and information and share expertise/secondment could support such efforts. Such endeavours would require enhanced capacity within the Sami Parliament to fulfil this expanded role and, in the case of reindeer husbandry plans, would need to involve all *samebyar*.

- **Expand industry codes for Sami businesses**. The lack of industry (SNI) codes for other Sami-owned companies makes it difficult to maintain and update data and to demonstrate the value of Sami business activities. For example, Sami handcrafters cannot use national statistics as a business rationale because Sami *duodji* are not identifiable therein. In order to show the extent of Sami entrepreneurship, a business inventory on each specific sector would be required. Sami sector organisations have their own membership registers, but there are many companies that are not affiliated with any trade association. Were a prefix for Sami businesses and commercial activity to be added to the SNI system for statistics, relevant data could be collected and changes over time could be monitored. This would make it possible to describe and demonstrate the importance of Sami businesses.
- **Establish a searchable Sami business directory.** While the Sami Parliament collect information on Sami businesses through a voluntary process (business self-identify), this information could be expanded by developing a searchable directory. As an example, Aboriginal business directories have been established in Canada in order to increase procurement opportunities for businesses and to increase business visibility (Indigenous Services Canada, 2018[57]).

Box 1.8. Targeted funding for Indigenous research: Australia, Canada and Norway

The government research funding agencies of Australia, Canada and Norway all offer targeted funding support for either Indigenous researchers or Indigenous research. This funding helps to establish the research careers of Indigenous academics in a wide variety of fields. It also offers targeted supports for Indigenous research and supports research networks and partnerships with Indigenous communities and peoples.

For example, Norway's Programme for Sami Research II has been established to promote basic research activities targeted towards strengthening Sami research in the humanities and social sciences, both qualitatively and quantitatively (The Research Council of Norway, 2018[58]).

In Canada, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) is implementing several pilot measures intended to support research by and with Aboriginal Peoples (known as Aboriginal Talent Measures). These include:

- An opportunity for applicants to self-identify as Aboriginal, allowing SSHRC to track and assess participation and success rates for First Nations, Métis, Inuit and other Indigenous doctoral and postdoctoral applicants (this information is not used in the adjudication process);
- An opportunity to identify a proposed programme of study as Aboriginal research, such that SSHRC's Guidelines for the Merit Review of Aboriginal Research will apply; and
- An opportunity to identify and detail additional special circumstances that might impact the academic careers of some Aboriginal applicants (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2018[59]).

SSHRC has also identified the experiences and aspirations of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada as essential to building a successful shared future as one of six key future challenge areas that are likely to emerge for Canada in the next few decades. SSHRC encourages and promotes research on this topic through several of its funding programmes (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2018[59]).

Similarly, Canada's Institute of Indigenous Peoples' Health (IIPH) fosters the advancement of a national health research agenda to improve and promote the health of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples in Canada, through research, knowledge translation and capacity building (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, 2018[60]). It is one of the thirteen Institutes of Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR). IIPH provides research funding supports in the form of grants, funding of capacity building programmes and training for aboriginal researchers. This work is supported by the IIPH Network Environments for Aboriginal Health Research (NEAHR) initiative which allows researchers to continue their studies while working alongside aboriginal people – it encourages partnerships with aboriginal peoples (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, 2018[60]).

In Australia, the Australian Research Council provides targeted funding for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers through its Discovery Indigenous scheme (Australian Research Council, 2018[61]). It also includes the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) and the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education as Eligible Organisations to administer funding under the National Competitive

Grants Programme and engages with stakeholders about support for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander researchers.

Sources: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (2018[59]), *Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Website)*, http://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/home-accueil-eng.aspx (accessed on 08 April 2018); Canadian Institutes of Health Research (2018[60]), *Institute of Indigenous Peoples' Health*, http://www.cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/8172.html (accessed on 08 April 2018); The Research Council of Norway (2018[58]), *Programme for Sámi Research II*, https://www.forskningsradet.no/en/Funding/SAMISK/1253987444661 (accessed on 08 April 2018); Australian Research Council (2018[61]), *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Researchers*, http://www.arc.gov.au/aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-researchers (accessed on 08 April 2018).

Box 1.9. Indigenous data sovereignty – Why it matters

A lack of quality and disaggregated data on Indigenous peoples has long been raised in international fora such as the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. As noted by Kukutai and Taylor in their edited volume on *Indigenous Data Sovereignty*:

> *"the absence or lack of data that reflect where and how many Indigenous peoples there are, and how they are faring in relation to the realisation of their individual and collective rights is directly related to the weakness of governments and intergovernmental bodies in formulating and implementing Indigenous-sensitive decisions and programs". (Kukutai and Taylor, 2016, p. xxi[56])*

This has raised the growing need for more effective and inclusive forms of data collection and data disaggregation on Indigenous peoples, including measures that could help to support the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals in relation to realising Indigenous peoples' rights. What these researchers emphasise is that: "any such initiative must be firmly positioned in an Indigenous (rights) approach, including the right of the Indigenous peoples to themselves determine, define and hold ownership over such initiatives and databases" (Kukutai and Taylor, 2016[56]).

In Sweden, these issues should be front and centre for any discussions on how to improve data relating to the Sami and should involve Swedish Sami Parliament, Swedish-Sami national institutions and interest organisations and an active dialogue and consultation with representatives of various Swedish Sami political and cultural organisations when relevant. There are many sensitivities related to how such information can and should be collected and used.

Reindeer husbandry land use plans are a case in point. *Samebyar* presently hold their own detailed data on land use while the Sami Parliament has a different data set which is less detailed, and which is critiqued for representing the view of the Swedish state. These plans are government financed. *Samebyar* can be hesitant to share their detailed data on how land is used by their herders because it can be misconstrued; reindeer herding needs to be extremely adaptable to changing conditions and data from one or even several years does not necessarily represent future use. Furthermore, while this data captures the movement of reindeer herds, it does not capture the depth of traditional knowledge which is not mapped and yet equally important to understanding the industry and how land is used. If land use is viewed as static by industry or governments, this could lead to a loss of rights related to its use. It is thus important to consider from the perspective of the Sami how data

can be interpreted and what restrictions and possibilities there should be in terms of access and use. Similarly, slaughter statistics readily available but are also sometimes critiqued for not capturing "non-monetary" values and thus framing herding as an industry, as opposed to a traditional livelihood and cultural carrier. A Sami lens on how data is constructed, collected and used is thus critical.

It is important to overcome these data challenges. Reindeer husbandry land use plans have great utility to both government, industry and *samebyar* if they can be used in a manner that is deemed sensitive to the Sami concerns.

Source: Kukutai and Taylor (2016[56]), *Indigenous Data Sovereignty: Toward an Agenda*, Australian National University.

Notes

[1] Historically and in an international context, parts of Sapmi are also known as Lapland. The geographical landscape Lappland spans parts of the counties: Norrbottens län, Västerbottens län and Jämtlands län. Lapland should not to be confused with the World Heritage site Laponia.

[2] Sami population estimates today been historically impacted by processes of colonisation. The historical categorisation of the Sami by their occupations, gender or by others (e.g. identification and enumeration by the Church in the 19th century) has over time led to a loss of ethnic identity by many families. For an overview, see Axelsson and Sköld (2006[8]).

[3] This is based on the national interpretation of an EU directive which prohibits identification based on sexual orientation, union membership, racial and ethnic origin and political views Sweden's Equality Ombudsmen notes that data on ethnicity for the purpose of combating discrimination is not forbidden in the international legal instruments concerned with data protection, such as the EU Data Protection Directive. However, Sweden's Personal Data Act (1998:204) prohibits the processing of sensitive personal data on the basis of race, ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, membership in a trade union or health and sex life. The Personal Data Act is subsidiary to the Official Statistics Act (2001:99) and the Official Statistics Ordinance (2001:100). For instance, the processing of data on health – which is classified as sensitive – in ULF/SILC is explicitly regulated through the Official Statistics Ordinance (Equality Ombudsmen of Sweden, 2012[48]). This serves to illustrate that that the decision to prohibit the processing of data on ethnicity is not mandated by the EU Data Protection Directive but rather, a matter of national interpretation and preference.

[4] The Sami have suffered from centuries of state oppression including the first ever institute of racial biology (operating between 1921 and 1958) which influenced politics, legislation, and educational curriculum (Hällgren, 2005[64]).

[5] Sweden has ratified the FCNM and the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages. When ratifying the charter, all varieties of Sami were given the status of territorial/regional languages which has a strong and extensive protection in the charter.

[6] The International Labour Organization's (ILO) Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention 169 proposes that self-identification as Indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which its provisions apply, which include: i) tribal peoples in independent countries whose social, cultural and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations; and ii) peoples in independent countries who are regarded as Indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present State boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.

[7] Sweden's Explanation of Vote at the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People states that the duty of States to consult and co-operate with Indigenous peoples "does not entail a collective right to a veto". Thus, the principle of "Free, Prior and Informed Consent" is interpreted as a means to achieve a consultative process, not a standalone right.

[8] A draft Convention was submitted by the Governments of Finland, Norway and Sweden to its respective Sami Parliaments on 13 January 2017. Thereafter deliberations within the Sami Parliamentary Council have taken place and in June 2018, the Sami Parliamentary Council submitted its amendments to the Governments. These amendments mostly concern: the definition of Sámi for the purpose of the electoral roll in the current draft preamble text and the understanding on how self-determination can be exercised as outlined in Article 4. The Sami Parliaments and Sami Parliamentarian Council await response from the Governments on the amendments.

[9] See the National Minority Language Act (2009: 724).

[10] For people who are not in the reindeer husbandry trade, special permits are required for fishing with nets and these are restricted in number.

[11] Of the 51 *sameby* in Sweden, there are 33 mountain communities (*fjällsameby*), 10 forest communities (*skogssameby*) and an additional 8 concession communities (*koncessionssameby*) where in the latter reindeer husbandry is conducted according to a special permission given by the regional authority (*Länsstyrelsen*).

[12] The Sami dispute the Swedish state's registration of title to the land. The State refers to the Royal Decree of 1683 on forests that "properties that lie in the wilderness" belong to the Crown. The interpretation of this criterion is disputed by the Sami, since the lands referred to as "wilderness" were populated and used by the Sami people. The Sami oppose this claimed ownership and see themselves as the rightful owners of this land.

[13] The Government of Sweden has viewed that the Sami tax-lands were Crown land. Until the end of the 1600s Sami had the right to pursue reindeer husbandry, hunting and fishing on that land.

[14] Concerning reindeer winter grazing land beyond the "lap landline" (*lappmarksgränsen*) in the County of Norrbotten and Västerbotten and the winter grazing lands outside the *samebyar* in the County of Jämtland, the Supreme Court made a landmark decision in the Nordmaling case in 2011, were the court stated that reindeer winter grazing right was based on customary law.

[15] Until 1971, there was parallel legislation for non-reindeer herders' rights to land use. Sami who could no longer engage in reindeer herding, for any reason, were provided rights to land use such as fishing and hunting through other legislation that gave them a right to lend land without fee. The "special treatment" began 1971 when the new reindeer husbandry act was introduced without the same being done with the parallel legislation for non-reindeer herding Sami.

[16] It is estimated that 40%-45 % of the Sami (in all of Sapmi) know their native language. Those who speak Sami are at least bilingual – many know three or more languages (Sametinget, 2018[7]). The Sami language was oppressed and marginalised during the 20th century and as such, the number of Sami speakers has declined over time.

[17] Reindeer herding companies as they have its own identity marker (SNI code 01491) within the SOS system.

[18] The almost uninterrupted positive population growth in Västerbotten county since the mid-20th century has mainly taken place in urban areas at the coast, with its regional capital - Umeå - one of Europe's fastest growing cities.

[19] The Jämtland, Västerbotten and Norrbotten counties stood at 5.6%, 5.3% and 6.4% respectively in 2017, while for Sweden as a whole it stood at 6.7% (OECD, 2018[11]).

[20] In carrying out its administrative responsibility of reindeer husbandry, the Sami Parliament presents annual statistical summaries to reindeer herding companies and the Sami communities. In its policy action programme for the Sami business sector, the Sami Parliament has defined Sami companies as "commercial activities carried out by Sami people". At least 3 700 Sami companies were registered in 2014, according to statistic from the Sami Parliament's company register on reindeer herders. The data in this register is based on applications from those companies who applied for EU-support and who participated in activities and competence development through EU-projects. The number of companies listed is the minimum amount.

[21] See Section 65A of the Reindeer Husbandry Act.

[22] See SOU 2006:14 page 73, Proposition 1971:51 page 24, SOU 1966:12 page 21.

[23] As stated in Section 9 of the Reindeer Husbandry Act.

[24] They can also fish (within the *sameby*) for sale (25 § RNL). The limit lies in the prohibition to sublet the right to fish.

[25] The value of Luokta Mavas *sameby's* moose meat is estimated at 13 000 kg of meat that can be sold at a price per kg of approximately 65 SEK.

[26] For example, total accommodation income per capita in Västerbotten increased by 6.5% between 2015 and 2016, while in Jämtland and Norrbotten by 2.2% and 0.5% respectively. Domestic tourism to Västerbotten increased by 9.2% between 2015 and 2016, versus 6.0% for international tourism. This stands in contrast to Jämtland where domestic and international tourism was more balanced, with increases of 2.2% and 2.6% respectively between 2015 and 2016 and Norrbotten, where it stood at 1.9% and 1.0% respectively (Tillväxtverket, 2016[66]).

[27] See for example a summary of research from Australia on how investments in culture improve the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in such areas as early childhood education, schooling, health, economic participation, healthy homes, safe communities, governance and leadership (Australia Government, 2013[63]).

[28] Reindeer herders also have some rights by law to use forests, e.g. collect firewood and material for building (apart from grazing) (see Sections 17 and 20 of the Reindeer Husbandry Act, 1971).

[29] See for example O'Gorman and Penner (2018[65]).

[30] The SNI code for reindeer herding in Sweden is 01491.

[31] While there is no single point of access to *sameby* land use data, there are maps denoting administrative borders of *sameby*. According to Section 7 of the Reindeer Husbandry Act, it is the responsibility of the Sami Parliament to decide the administrative borders of the *samebyar*. Currently the Sami Parliament publishes these borders along with the land use of the *samebyar* on its website. The borders available although these maps and digital material have no legal status.

[32] The municipality in Sweden with the largest share of the Sami population is Jokkmokk, with about 20% Samis.

[33] See Slaastad (2016[49]) for more recent publication of the Sami Statistics in Norway (2016).

[34] Sweden's Personal Data Act was replaced by the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in 2018, but the lack of data in ethnic groups remains and the GDPR does not address Indigenous data collection.

[35] Reports by Sweden's Equality Ombudsmen have long included this observation. For example, a 2008 report by the Swedish Equality Ombudsmen notes that "the lack of research and statistics is a problem when it comes to evaluating adherence to rules intended to secure the Sami rights and follow up changes over time" (Swedish Equality Ombudsman, 2008[26]).

[36] Sweden does not conduct a population census. Rather, official statistics are based on administrative registers – a survey on living conditions on a yearly basis which is integrated with the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC). This survey is sample-based and is conducted every year through telephone interviews. The survey covers the following areas: housing, income, health, leisure, civic activities, social relationships, employment and security.

[37] For example, Umeå University is working on constructing a Demographic Data Base covering Sapmi and the university's Vaartoe Centre for Sami Research (CeSam) serves as a hub for multidisciplinary research (Umeå University, 2018[62]).

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Chapter 2. Linking the Sami with regional and rural development policies and programmes

This chapter reflects on how the Sami are included in regional and rural development policies and how this shapes Sami contributions, livelihoods and outcomes. It describes Sami affairs in national and EU policies and regional and local affairs. It explores how the Sami could be better linked with regional development efforts with a particular focus on land management and reindeer herding. Finally, it recommends how policies and programmes could be better structured in order to create an enabling environment for Sami businesses and livelihoods.

Northern Sweden faces unique challenges related to sparsity and remoteness and at the same time has unique strengths – the collective assets of the Sami form one of these strengths. The Sami economy in northern Sweden tends to involve small businesses that are grounded in an ethos of sustainability and that emphasise connections to culture. In order to ensure that regional development works for all, it is important to understand how the policy environment shapes the opportunities for Sami businesses and communities in northern Sweden. This entails a wide range of policies – some that are place-based and others that are not. This chapter examines the rural and regional policy environment in northern Sweden and its connections to the Sami community and economic development.

Recent reforms present an opportunity to strengthen these connections. Directly elected County Councils, governments on a regional level, or indirectly elected Regional Co-operation Bodies, consisting of the municipalities in the region have gradually taken over responsibility for regional development over almost 20 years from decentralised national administrations (representatives of the national government in the regions called County Administrative Boards). In recent years, there has only been a movement towards County Councils. From 1 January 2019, County Councils will be responsible for regional growth in all 21 counties (with the exception of the island of Gotland where the municipality has the responsibility of a County Council as well). (Sveriges Riksdag, 2018[1]). This presents an opportunity to better connect the Sami with regional development efforts and to build new partnerships with them. Doing so requires that the framework conditions are in place. As will be discussed, the Sami economy is not at present realising its potential. There is a lack of data and information about the Sami economy and about Sami culture and society more generally (as noted in Chapter 1). This has contributed to a lack of visibility of the Sami within regional and rural development efforts in northern Sweden. Enhancing awareness and developing stronger partnerships between the Sami and the national, and regional and local governments is critical in order to build a shared vision and establish priorities for the future.

Another recent reform has been the adoption of a new rural policy in Sweden (adopted in June 2018) (Sveriges Riksdag, 2018[2]). The new rural policy aims to achieve a viable rural area with equal opportunities for entrepreneurship, work, housing and well-being that leads to long-term sustainable development throughout the country. Prior to its adoption, rural policy in Sweden was addressed by a bundle of measures (mainly the European Union (EU) Rural Development Programme and other measures within other policy areas such as regional policy). The new rural policy ushers in a coherent and comprehensive national approach with goals decided upon by the parliament (which is stronger than decisions by the government alone). Within this new policy environment, the regional level has an important role; regions are responsible for co-ordinating regional growth (at the regional level) and for developing and implementing a regional development strategy (RUS) that includes the rural perspective.

This chapter outlines this policy environment. It reflects on how the Sami are included in regional and rural development policies and how this shapes Sami contributions, livelihoods and outcomes. The chapter begins by describing Sami affairs in national and EU policies before proceeding to how they are reflected in regional and local affairs. It then discusses how the Sami could be better linked with regional development efforts with a particular focus on land management and reindeer herding. The chapter ends by outlining how policies and programmes could be better structured in order to create an enabling environment for Sami businesses and livelihoods. Related to these issues, the final chapter of this report (Chapter 3 on governance) reflects on how the Sami – as a group of diverse

individuals and institutions – could have stronger linkages to regional development and be better included in decision making on the issues that impact them.

The multi-level governance framework for rural and regional development – Sami affairs at the national, regional and local levels

A wide range of polices across levels of government shape rural and regional development outcomes in northern Sweden and in turn, impact the enabling environment for Sami businesses and communities. These extend from national sectoral policies (e.g. infrastructure development, natural resources exploitation, environmental policies and supports for business development) and frameworks for regional and rural development – to policies and services at the regional/county and municipal levels. This policy environment structures how Sami rights are realised in practice, how services are delivered, and the types of business supports that are on offer. This section outlines this policy environment and governance framework while reflecting on how the Sami are included within it.

Sweden has three levels of government – national, regional (County Councils) and local (municipality) – as well as representatives of the national government in the regions (County Administrative Boards [CABs], regional state agencies). The national government shapes rural and regional development accordingly to the goals decided upon by the parliament. The goal for the rural policy is for rural areas to have equal opportunities for enterprise, work, housing and welfare that lead to long-term sustainable development throughout the country. Beyond this, the rural policy's sub targets set goals for sustainable growth; a circular, bio-based and fossil-free economy; and the creation of attractive rural environments to live and work.[1] The national policy goal for regional development is to develop the potential in all parts of the country with stronger local and regional competitiveness.

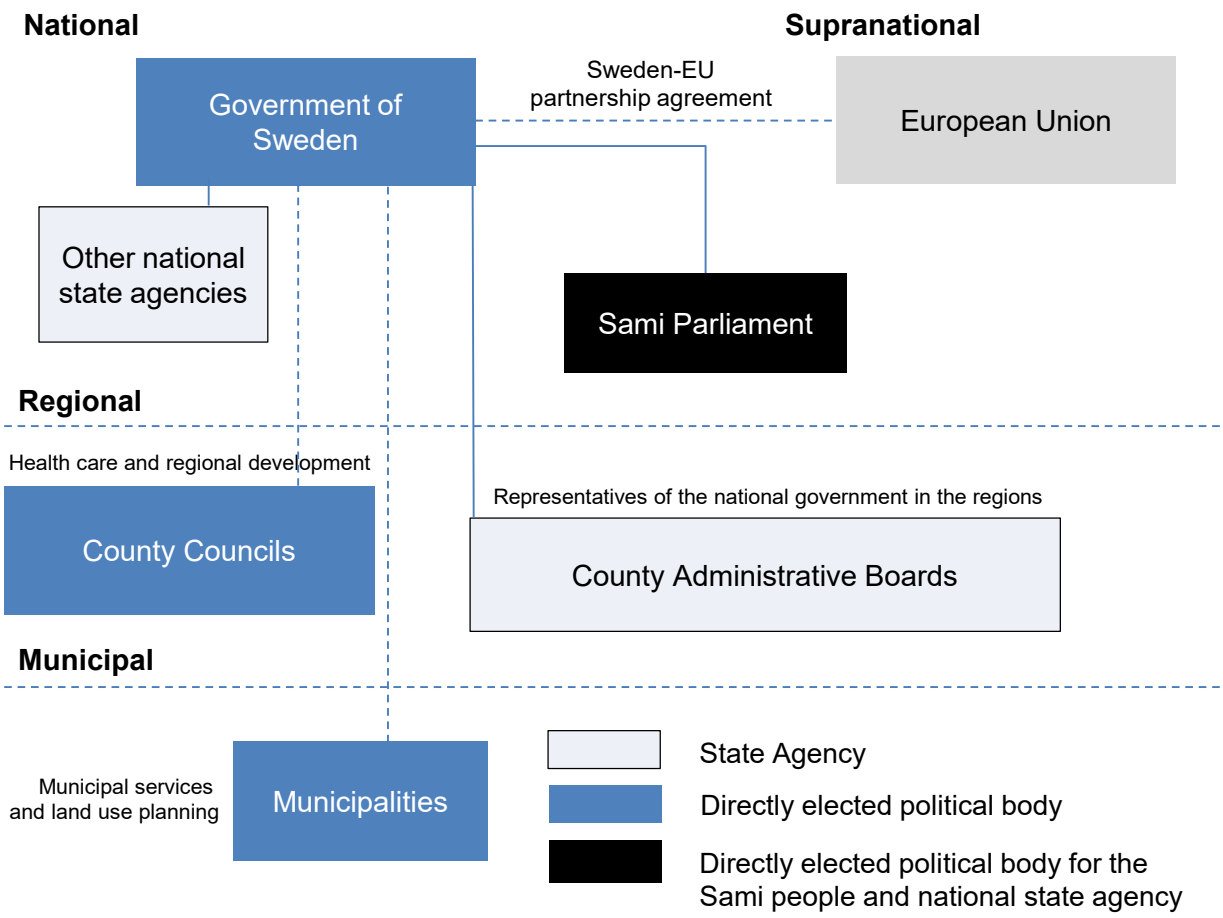
The national government specifies the regional policy through the National Strategy for Sustainable Regional Growth and Attractiveness. The National Strategy for Sustainable Regional Growth and Attractiveness 2015-20 sets the direction for the alignment and implementation of regional growth efforts as well as the involvement of state authorities in the work with regional growth. It is also binding for how the national funding for regional growth measures should be used. Regional growth policy is also closely integrated with the implementation of EU cohesion policy for regional growth and employment.

Both the main goals in these policy areas as well as the sub-targets within rural policy and the priorities within regional policy are cross-sectoral and therefore these two policy areas need to involve many other policy areas as well as different levels of government and other actors. This means that sectoral co-ordination and multi-level governance are central. Sectoral co-ordination requires cross-sectoral governance as well as interaction between actors in different sectors. Multi-level governance involves co-operation between actors at different levels but also the management of resources and governance of state agencies. Here the regulation of work with regional growth is important. Initiatives within these policy areas are funded by both national funding and EU-funds. But just as important are the resources within all expenditure areas and policy areas.

Beyond these policies, the national government also shapes regional and rural development through other sectoral supports and, importantly, through the manner in which Sami rights are recognised and related obligations are delivered (e.g. in terms of the protection of language and culture). European Union programme objectives and funding are also

important in this regard, both in terms of programmes for regional and rural development and for cross border collaboration (which address Sami affairs).

Figure 2.1. Multi-level governance in Sweden from 1 January 2019



At the regional level, directly elected County Councils – which were formally largely focused on delivering healthcare – will soon take on responsibilities for regional development. These reforms have taken place over a period of 20 years, some counties at a time; but from the 1 January 2019 County Councils will have the responsibility in all 21 counties (except in the municipality of the island of Gotland which also has the responsibility of a County Council). The strategic objectives, programmes and funding of the national government structures opportunities at the regional and local level – but regions themselves elaborate regional development strategies and this presents an opportunity to strengthen relations with the Sami at this level. Municipalities also matter for regional development; they, for instance, provide services for the Sami related to language rights and are therefore important for cultural reproduction. This section discusses how each level of government shapes the inclusion of the Sami in rural and regional development policies.

The national government sets rights frameworks for the Sami and structures national, regional and rural development policies

Rights frameworks for Sami shape economic development and self determination

As noted in Chapter 1, how Sami rights are recognised is critical for shaping Indigenous identity, self-determination and economic relations. It also shapes how policies are structured and delivered. The core rights framework for the Sami recognises them at once as an Indigenous people and as a national minority and there are state obligations associated with each connotation. In terms of national minority rights, the state has an obligation to promote the ability of Sami and other national minorities to maintain and develop their culture and language in Sweden. In terms of Sami rights as an Indigenous people, a major distinction is made is between those Sami with membership in Sami reindeer herding communities (*sameby*) and those without. Those without membership do not for example, have rights to consultation over large scale mining and energy projects that impact land use and the environment, other than rights as a regular citizen.

These rights (as national minorities and as Indigenous peoples), alongside remnants of old colonisation and guardian policies, in turn, have implications at the operational/policy level. The Sami Parliament has purview over matters concerning reindeer herding, compensation for damage caused by predators, and Sami language and culture – but not sole purview. County Administrative Boards are for instance responsible for hunting and fishing licences. At the more operational level, the manner in which the totality of these rights are applied is embedded in both relevant acts and regulations and then reflected in how policies and programmes are delivered – from the national down to the local levels.

Responsibilities for Sami affairs extend across a number of national ministries

There are a number of ministries in Sweden which are important for Sami affairs but the Ministry of Culture is recognised as the lead ministry in these matters. In all countries with Indigenous populations, Indigenous affairs will be relevant to a range of ministries/portfolios. In countries such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand, there is a minister assigned specifically for Indigenous affairs.[2] In Sweden, there is no single minister for Sami affairs and this is in turn reflected in both legislative frameworks and polices. There are benefits and drawbacks to this approach. On the one hand, Sami issues touch on a range of topics and as such, it makes sense to have this reflected across a number of ministries. On the other hand, it can be difficult to obtain a comprehensive picture of government actions on Sami affairs and how the range of policies complement or detract from one another – co-ordination challenges inherently arise.

There is no collection of Sami legislation in one place which makes is hard to provide an overview of Sami rights and understand how the Sami should participate in decision making. The government of Sweden is generally characterised by a joint-decision making process wherein every minister is equally responsible for every decision and can be held accountable. Thus, there is no single point in the ministries accountable for all decisions about Sami affairs or monitoring a cohesive Sami perspective on different decisions in other sectoral policies affecting Sami affairs. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, this makes it more difficult to have Sami interests reflected in government policy because the Sami – as a relatively small group with limited resources – are asked to consult or need to pay attention to a wide range of laws, programmes and policies that may impact upon. Table 2.1 outlines the Swedish ministries that have responsibilities for some aspects of Sami affairs alongside the relevant acts/legislation. There are established channels of communication or

co-operation between the Sami Parliament and the ministries noted in Table 2.1 with the exception of the Ministry of Justice, where none presently exists.

Table 2.1. Key Swedish ministries for Sami affairs

Ministry	Responsibility	Sami affairs	Relevant acts
Culture	Culture, media, democracy, human rights at national level and religious communities	National minorities and the language and culture of the Sami people. Provides funding for Sami culture and Sami organisations. The Sami Parliament of Sweden, as an agency of government, reports to the Ministry of Culture.	Language Acts in Northern, Lule and Southern Sami; Act on National Minorities and Minority Languages. Sami Parliament Act.
Education and Research	Education, research and youth policy	Sami School Board – state school authority – Sami children with a Sami-oriented education and to contribute to preserving and developing the Sami language and the Sami culture.	Education Act; Sami school ordinance; Act on National Minorities and Minority Languages
Enterprise and Innovation	Business sector, housing and transport, information and communications technology (ICT), regional growth and rural policy	Responsible for fisheries, hunting and reindeer husbandry policies for Sami. Responsible for rural and regional development policies – this includes Sami projects. Sami right to use land and water for Sami to conduct reindeer herding is protected in law under the Reindeer Husbandry Act of 1971. The act states that land uses that jeopardise reindeer husbandry are not permitted and infringements on rights must be compensated in accordance with the regulation on expropriation. Partly provides funding for The Sami Foundation that decides for themselves if to promote reindeer husbandry, Sami culture and Sami organisations with the available funding.	Reindeer Husbandry Act and Reindeer Ordinance, the Planning and Building Act, the Minerals Act, Forestry Act
Environment and Energy	Environmental, energy and climate policy	Rights to consultation by *sameby* before any decision is taken regarding land use as relates to planning and building, mineral development, environmental code, forestry, power line projects (the *sameby* as concerned stakeholder). Reindeer herding is protected in the environmental code.	The Environmental code; Electricity Act
Justice	Fundamental laws	The constitution stipulates that the Sami people's opportunities to keep and develop their cultural- and community life shall be promoted and that the Sami right to reindeer husbandry is regulated in law Swedish Constitution.	Swedish Constitution
Health and Social Affairs	Social welfare, including health promotion and healthcare	The overall national objective of public health policy is to create conditions in society enabling the entire population to enjoy good health on the same terms. For the Sami, the government has authorised a grant of SEK 3.7 million toward the establishment of a network on Sami health issues in the aim of the project is to increase the availability of healthcare taking into account Sami language and culture.	Patient Act, Health and Medical Services Act

Sami affairs at the national level focus on language and cultural policies, reindeer husbandry and consultation on matters involving Sami

There are three main areas of responsibility for Sami affairs that inform the nature of regional and local/rural policies. The first pertains to Sami culture and language policies which are overseen by the Ministry of Culture and largely implemented by the Sami Parliament which is an elected representative body of the Sami people but at the same time a national state agency of the Swedish government. The Sami Parliament is tasked by the government to promote Sami culture and is mandated to make decisions about the distribution of state funds from the Sami Fund for Culture and Organisations, and other state funds. The regulation for regional growth work (*Förordning (2017:583) om regionalt tillväxtarbete*) is one way in which the regional policy and its national strategy is implemented. For example, this regulation states that relevant actors at the national, regional and local level should be involved in the cross-sectoral work on regional growth; that the regional strategic plans (RUS) should be developed with relevant actors and; that the finalised plan must be sent to them – e.g. including the Sametinget. The regulation does also state that state agencies should be involved and contribute to the goal of regional growth policy.

Within regional and rural policy, the Sami Parliament is also a Competent Authority for the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) and a member of the Monitoring Committee for the regional development programme (RDP). In the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), they are also a part of the Monitoring Committee. It is also mandated to appoint a board for the state agency the Sami School Board (*Sameskolstyrelsen*), decide upon goals for and guide the work on the Sami language and to ensure Sami interests and needs are taken into consideration in such areas as reindeer husbandry and the use of land and water.[3] These policies are critical for the reproduction of Sami language and culture, economic development and self-determination. The dual role of the Sami Parliament is important to note; it acts as a voice for the Sami people in Sweden, but it is not an independent voice as they are also an agency of government that implements government policies and manages government funds. As such, the scope for the Sami Parliament to advocate for policy positions that contradict the Government is reduced (Lawrence and Mörkenstam, 2016[3]).

The second main area of responsibility relates to the practice of reindeer husbandry and rights to hunting and fishing. The Swedish government annually allocates approximately SEK 113 million for various forms of remuneration to the reindeer husbandry. These include compensation for example, the presence of predators. While the Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation is responsible for fisheries, hunting and reindeer husbandry policies for the Sami, the Sami Parliament also bears some responsibility for ensuring these rights.[4] This pertains to such matters as the monitoring of the stock of reindeer and their health, tracking of the impact of predators on reindeer and compensation for predators. In terms of the division of responsibilities, the Sami Parliament is responsible for, for example, the geographical division of *samebyar,* while County Administrative Boards are responsible for deciding the maximum number of reindeers in each *sameby*. These two elements are related to one another and require co-ordination.

A third major area of policy for the government relates to rights to consultation on matters impacting Sami. For example, Sweden's Environmental Code (Chapter 3, Section 5) outlines protections for land and water areas that are important for reindeer husbandry (as well as for commercial fishing and aquaculture). Beyond this, acts on land use planning, forestry, minerals, infrastructure and the prevention and limitation of chemical accidents,

are connected to provisions in the Environmental Code and are important in terms of how they govern land use issues – including on reindeer herding lands. On land use issues, there is a distinction between those Sami who are members of reindeer herding communities and those who are not. In terms of the principle of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC), Sweden's interpretation is that this is an important principle. In Sweden's Explanation of Vote at the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, the Swedish Government stated that the duty of States to consult and co-operate with Indigenous peoples "does not entail a collective right to a veto". Rather, the principle of "Free, Prior and Informed Consent" is interpreted as a means to achieve a consultative process, not a standalone right. This is a critical area of policy because access to grazing is fundamental to the practice of reindeer husbandry. For example, all infrastructure projects that have the potential to disrupt the grazing grounds and migration of reindeer along with forestry practices, mining and energy projects all require some element of consultation with *sameby* in order to ensure compatibility of use.

The formality within the law in terms of how consultation rights are treated in this sectoral legislation differs. For example, there is no law that directly addresses Sami land rights in infrastructure planning. For both road and railway planning, there is a mandatory process of consultation, treating land owners and use-holders (i.e. holders of beneficial rights) including *samebyar*, equally. When the Swedish Transport Agency launches a new infrastructure project in reindeer grazing areas, consultations with the affected *samebyar* are held but these are non-binding on outcomes. While reindeer herding is recognised as an industry of national interest, so too is mining. If there is an area with a national interest for the reindeer husbandry that might be affected, the Sami Parliament is also involved in the consultation process. Some Swedish ministries and agencies are presently developing guidelines on how to engage with the Sami which could bring more consistency to this process. For example, the Swedish Transport Administration in the midst of developing a standardised and established approach to consultations on reindeer husbandry and infrastructure. The CAB has the task to ensure that the national interest of reindeer herding is considered in planning and permits. Sometimes the CAB also balances national interests of different kinds against each other and makes an assessment on which is the most sustainable.

Box 2.1. The dual role of the Swedish Sami Parliament – Elected body and agency of government

The Sami Parliament in Sweden is unique in its dual role. As an elected political body, it has a mandate to advocate for Sami affairs, including as a voice of critique against the Swedish government. At the same time, it is reliant on the government for its funding and, as government authority, bears responsibility for a range of activities and programmes in such areas as social planning, Sami business, landscape protection/drainage, rural development, the promotion of Sami cultural expressions, and the protection of cultural heritage, leading the Sami language work, Nordic co-operation across Sapmi, human rights, minority issues and Indigenous peoples' issues. The Sami parliament's role in these various areas has increased over time, particularly with regards to its obligations to consult with a wide range of actors – e.g. the national, regional and local governments, mining and energy firms.

Table 2.2 provides an overview of the Sami Parliament's budget in 2016. The largest budget area by far (57% out of total) relates to the Parliament's work supporting the reindeer husbandry industry; this includes providing reindeer herders with compensation for game injury and loss by predators (which has been growing in recent years, with different regions impacted to different extents). This work is supported by the "Sami Fund" – a fund intended to promote and support the Reindeer herding, Sami culture and Sami organisations. The fund's income consists of interest, damages for intrusions (e.g. mining, motorways, aviation) and fees for leases, hunting and fishing, and land sales. The government, based on a proposal from the Executive Board of the Sami Fund, determines on annual basis a maximum amount that may be submitted as a contribution from the fund.

The political activities of the Sami Parliament account for approximately one-fifth of the budget while measures for national minorities, which primarily related to the promotion of the Sami language, account for 18% out of the total budget and contributions to general cultural activities, development and international cultural exchange and co-operation, 8% out of the total budget. The Sami Parliament's most recent budgetary documents (2018-20) express that "with the current workload and resource allocation, the Sami Parliament cannot fully fulfil its statutory role – neither at the official level nor at the political level" (Sametinget, 2018, p. 7[4]). A 2011 report by the UN Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of Indigenous peoples echoes this view, stating that, in Sweden, "the Sami Parliament receives funding principally to carry its obligations as a government agency, but has minimal funding for its work as an independent publicly elected body" (Anaya, 2011, p. 12[5]).

Table 2.2. Overview of Sami Parliament Budget, 2018, SEK thousand

	2018	Percentage of total
Sami Parliament	52 401	24
Measures for national minorities	32 000	15
Contribution to general cultural activities, development and international cultural exchange and co-operation	17 800	8
Supports for reindeer husbandry	113 900	53
Total	**216 101**	

Sources: For table: Appropriation direction regarding Sami Parliament (2018), appropriation regarding 7:1 and 7:2 Measures for national minorities (2018), appropriation regarding 1:22 Supports for reindeer husbandry (2018).
Sametinget (2018[4]), *Budgetunderlag 2018-2020*, https://www.sametinget.se/116048 (accessed on 26 March 2018), p. 9; Anaya, J. (2011[5]), "Human Rights Council Eighteenth Session; Promotion and protection of all human rights: The situation of the Sami people in the Sápmi region of Norway, Sweden and Finland", https://www.regjeringen.no/globalassets/upload/fad/vedlegg/sami/anaya_rapport.pdf (accessed on 08 April 2018).

In terms of rights to consultation as a national minority group, the Act on National Minorities, aims to create a balance between the consideration of minority and majority interest. Consultations provide a way to capture Sami interests in this regard and can counter conflicts in the local community (Hagsgård, 2016[6]). In practice, the manner in which such consultations are conducted can differ considerable depending on the issue and the place. The Ministry of Culture is presently working on an Act on Consultation which

will outline the duty of the government and agencies to consult with the Sami Parliament, *samebyar* and other Sami organisations on matters outlined in the act. It is anticipated that these guidelines will help to bring more rigour and consistency to the process.

European Structural and Investment Funds are an integrated part of Sweden's national regional growth policy

Sami affairs are also reflected in regional and rural policies at the national level in Sweden. Both national rural and regional policy as well as the EU-funded parts of these policies fund and support rural and regional development within the Sami society in such areas as tourism, businesses within *duodji*, etc. However, the connections are not always as direct as in the above-mentioned policy areas. The remainder of this chapter examines the manner in which these connections could be better recognised and reinforced within regional and rural development efforts.

The European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) are the EU's main investment tool to deliver on the objectives of the *Europe 2020 Strategy* which are to foster competitiveness, knowledge and innovation; strengthen the sustainable and efficient use of resources for sustainable growth; and increase employment, promote employability and improve access to the labour market. There are three main funds which are important in the Swedish context: the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD). All three funds support regional and rural development activities across the three northern regions. The largest fund among these is the EAFRD, which accounts for 55% of total ESIF funds in the 2014-20 programming period (Table 2.3). In Sweden, a large share of ERDF for the period 2014-20 has been allocated to regions in Northern Sparsely Populated Areas (45%), while the share of ESF allocated to these regions is relatively small (7% of the total) (compared to their share of the national population which is 9.1%) (OECD, 2017[7]).

Regional and rural development policies are both overseen in Sweden by the Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation (Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3). The member state and the European Commission form a partnership agreement regarding how the ERDF and EAFRD will be operationalised in the Swedish context (this is true also of the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF) and European Social Fund (ESF). This includes identifying the strategic areas of focus, and how the fund will be prioritised and delivered across different regional areas. Historically, Sweden has a relatively centralised approach to strategic planning and policy development in an OECD context (OECD, 2017, p. 195[7]). This helps Sweden to deliver equitable levels of infrastructure and services across the national territory; but may also diminish the capacity to adapt polices to the needs and circumstances of different places. Beyond this, there is a general guiding ethos that programmes and services should work for all – that is, that certain segments of society (e.g. Sami, migrants) should not be specifically targeted.[5]

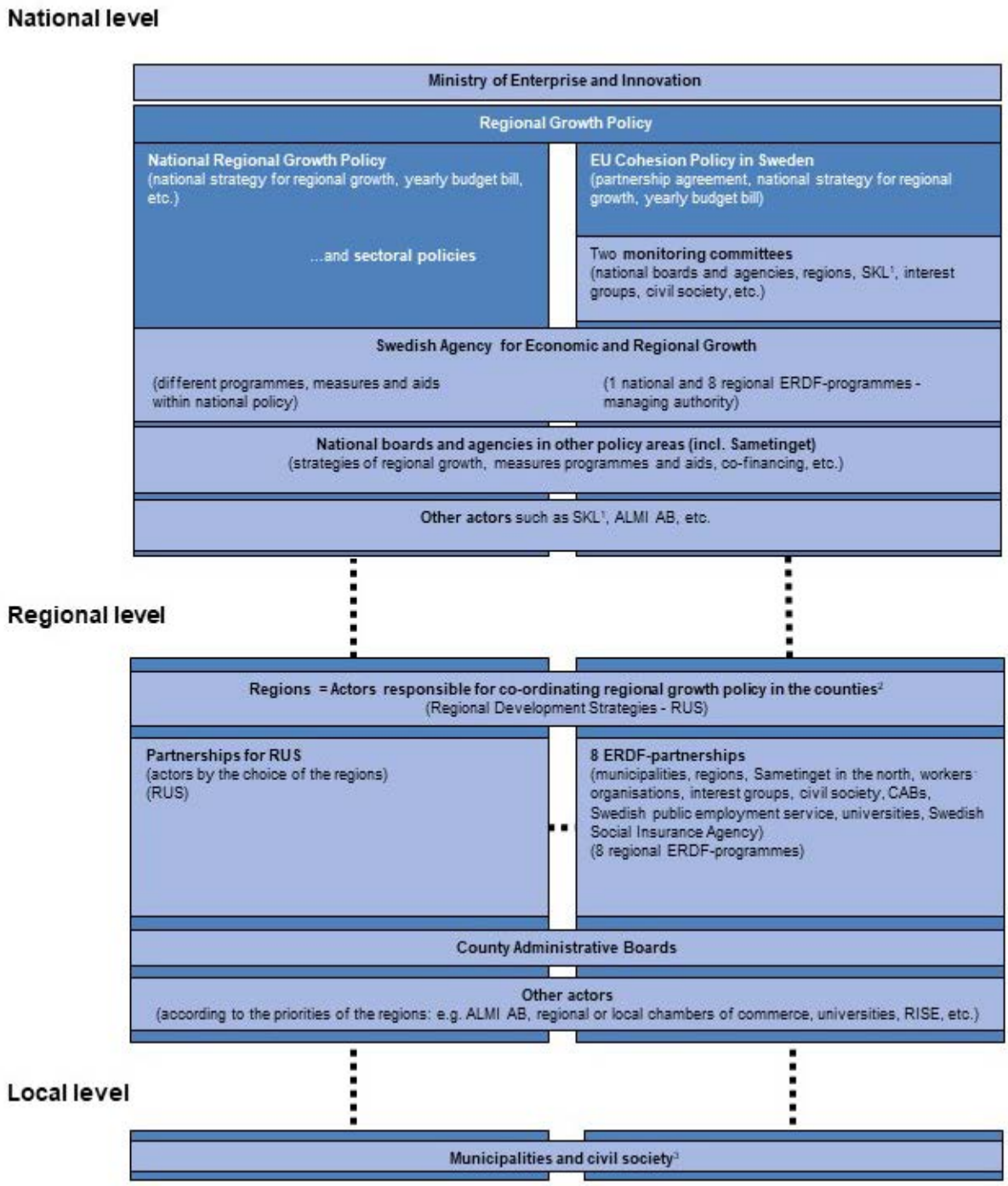
Table 2.3. Components of the European Structural and Investment funds, Sweden, 2014-20 programming period

ESI fund	Description	EU and national contributions (EUR millions)	Total funding amount (EUR millions)	Percentage out of total ESI funds for 2014-20
European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)	Focuses on resolving the particular challenges facing the EU's rural areas; agricultural competitiveness and environmental issues and rural development	EU: 1763.6 SW: 2647.9	4411.5	55
European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)	Strengthens economic and social cohesion within the EU by reducing regional disparities. Invests in growth and employment to strengthen regional development in a sustainable way	EU: 934.8 SW: 961.2	1896.0	24
European Social Fund (ESF)	Supports employment-related projects throughout Europe and invests in Europe's human capital – its workers, its young people and all those seeking a job	EU: 719.9 SW: 719.9	1439.9	18
European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF)	Helps fishermen to adopt sustainable fishing practices and coastal communities to diversify their economies, improving quality of life along European coasts	EU: 120.2 SW: 52.7	172.9	2
Youth Employment Initiative (YEI)	Supports young people not in employment, education or training in regions experiencing youth unemployment rates above 25%	EU: 88.3 SW: 44.2	132.5	2

Note: The European Territorial Cooperation (Interreg) is not included in the numbers for ERDF. The YEI is not traditionally thought of as one of the five core ESI funds; it is a special fund for the 2014-20 perspective and includes joint initiatives with the ESF.
Source: European Structural and Investments Funds (2018[8]), *ESIF 2014-2020 Finances Planned Details - Data*, https://cohesiondata.ec.europa.eu/dataset/ESIF-2014-2020-FINANCES-PLANNED-DETAILS/e4v6-qrrq (accessed on 13 April 2018).

In the past decades, there has been greater decentralisation of roles and responsibilities related to regional development, which has resulted in a differentiated approach to the governance of regional development policies across Sweden. The implementation of the Rural Development Programme has been retained by different national agencies, including the County Administrative Boards (CAB), the Sami Parliament, Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth (Tillväxtverket), the Swedish Board of Agriculture (Jordbruksverket) and the Swedish Forest Agency (Skogsstyrelsen), and voluntary Local Action Groups (LAG) also playing an important role in programme implementation (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.2. Schematic of public governance arrangements for regional growth policies

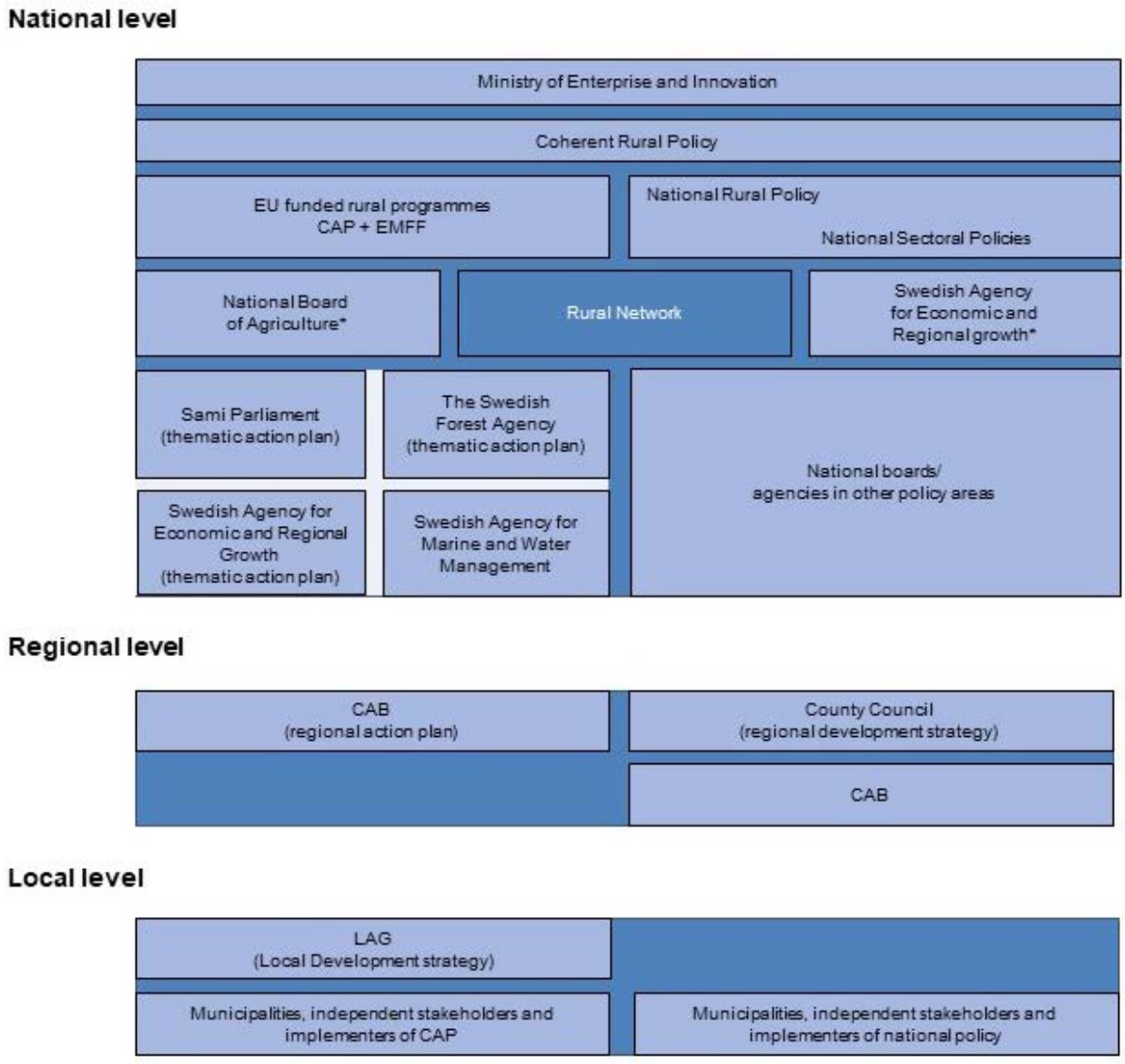


Notes:

1. SKL = Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Region.
2. Until 2018-12-31: 13 County Councils, 1 municipality (with the role of a County Council), 6 regional co-operation bodies and 1 County Administrative Board.
From 2019-01-01: 20 County Councils and 1 municipality (with the role of a County Council.
3. Involvement mainly through the regional actors.
The figure does not include INTEREG an important part of the Cohesion Policy.

Source: Data provided by the Government of Sweden, Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation.

Figure 2.3. Schematic of public governance arrangements for rural policies



* denotes co-ordinating body.
Source: Data provided by the Government of Sweden, Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation.

Framework for Regional Growth Policy in Sweden

Sweden's National Strategy for Sustainable Regional Growth and Attractiveness 2015-20 (hereinafter the "National Regional Development Strategy 2015-20") is the main framework document to guide regional development policies. The strategy is focused on the importance of integrating economic, social and environmental (ecological) sustainability into all regional growth priorities and establishes four national-level priorities for promoting sustainable regional growth: i) innovation and business development; ii) attractive environments and accessibility; iii) provision of skills and

competence; iv) international co-operation (Regingskansliet, 2015[9]). It places an emphasis on business development (over business creation); accessibility and transportation system and infrastructure; more fully integrating and activating its labour force; and furthering cross-border collaboration. The strategy serves as a guideline for regional authorities, state agencies, government offices, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other actors involved in regional growth efforts (Box 2.2). It is also binding for how the national funding for regional growth measures should be used.

Box 2.2. The co-ordinating role of the Strategy for Sustainable Regional Growth and Attractiveness 2015-20

The Strategy for Sustainable Regional Growth and Attractiveness 2015-20 describes the priorities of the government for regional policy and it acts as guidelines for actors to prioritise regional-level activities, such as sector programming at the national level and the regional-level development strategies. It is also used to support spending evaluations, specifically of national grants, and it monitors and steers the use of central government appropriations for regional growth measures.

The strategy was developed through close dialogue with regions and other actors. Despite being associated with concrete objectives, the strategy is non-binding to the relevant actors – following it is purely voluntary – and there are no explicit incentive mechanisms to prompt actors to incorporate these guidelines into their relevant programming. This said, regions can and do use the strategy to help them prioritise regional growth efforts, Regional Development Strategies (RUS) and programming for EU funds. Where the strategy is binding is in term of how national funding distributed to national agencies and regions.

One of the primary measures of the strategy is to facilitate and maintain a continuous dialogue among a wide and diverse array of stakeholders (e.g. municipalities, counties, central government, central government agencies, third sector actors and the private sector) via the Forum on Sustainable Regional Growth and Attractiveness. Another very important policy measure has been to further clarify the roles and responsibilities among the national and regional actors. Regions across Sweden are taking on a greater role in regional development in order to stimulate regional growth. This process is being supported by ongoing dialogue between the national, regional and local levels to build trust between these actors as their roles evolve.

Source: OECD (2017[10]), *OECD Territorial Reviews: Sweden 2017: Monitoring Progress in Multi-level Governance and Rural Policy*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264268883-en.

The National Strategy 2015-20 mentions the Sami only once in reference to the unique assets of the northern regions and the need to better promote cross-border co-ordination (Regingskansliet, 2015, p. 54[9]). The Sami live across the four countries of Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Kola peninsula of Russia (collectively referred to as Sapmi) and cross border collaboration occurs through cultural institutions, reindeer herding practices and the Sami Parliamentary Council – an umbrella organisation for the Sami Parliaments of Finland, Norway and Sweden (est. 1998).

Beyond cross-border collaboration, other elements of the National Strategy 2015-20 which are of particular importance for Sami affairs are entrepreneurship and business development and support for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs – given that Sami

businesses tend to be small and can face challenges accessing capita) alongside culture, leisure and tourism policies. In recent years, there have been efforts to better link up the various tourism bodies at the national level with regional tourism efforts and the government has dedicated resources to a new a Sustainable Product Programme due to run from 2016 to 2019 which will focus on cultural and nature tourism (see Box 2.3 for details). This emphasis on culture and nature tourism is a good fit for Sami tourism businesses which tend to cater in these areas.

Table 2.4. National Strategy for Regional Growth and Attractiveness (2015-20): Priorities and focus areas

Priority: 2015-20	Focus areas: 2015-20
Innovation and business development	Innovation and research – regional innovation environments
	Entrepreneurship and business development
	Business development in environmental technology and energy
	Support for SMEs (commercialisation, internationalisation, provision of capital)
Attractive environments and accessibility	Using transport systems and ICT to improve accessibility
	Commercial and public service
	Spatial planning and housing
	Culture, leisure, and tourism
Provision of skills and competence	Labour market matching
	Education and training structures
	Increase supply of skilled labour through integration and diversity
International co-operation	Deepen regional co-operation globally and with neighbours
	Export and trade promotion
	Cross-border integration
	Exchange of experiences and learning

Source: OECD (2017[7]), *OECD Territorial Reviews: Northern Sparsely Populated Areas*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264268234-en.

Box 2.3. Tourism and governance funding in Sweden – A focus on cultural and nature-based tourism

A new national policy for tourism

The Swedish government initiated a Commission of Inquiry into a coherent policy for the tourism industry in October 2016. The aim has been to provide the government with information to strengthen the tourism and hospitality industry as an engine for export growth and job creation throughout the country. The Inquiry submitted its report to the government in December 2017. The report included 50 proposals and the report was until the beginning of April referred for consultation. The report and the consultative responses are now being analysed in the government offices.

One of the Commission of Inquiry's recommendations is that the government engage the Sami Parliament to support the development of a Sami tourism industry network. In 2016, the Minister of Enterprise and Innovation established a forum bringing together public and private players in the tourism industry to identify common challenges.

Well-functioning transport is crucial for Sweden's tourism development given its sparseness and remoteness, particularly for the northern regions. These same variables make destination development and profitability particularly challenging in rural areas. In all Swedish regions, access to high-speed internet is also an important factor for the industry. Sweden faces large seasonal variations, with distinct and rather short winter and summer seasons, with great variations within the country. There are efforts in all Swedish regions to extend the tourism season.

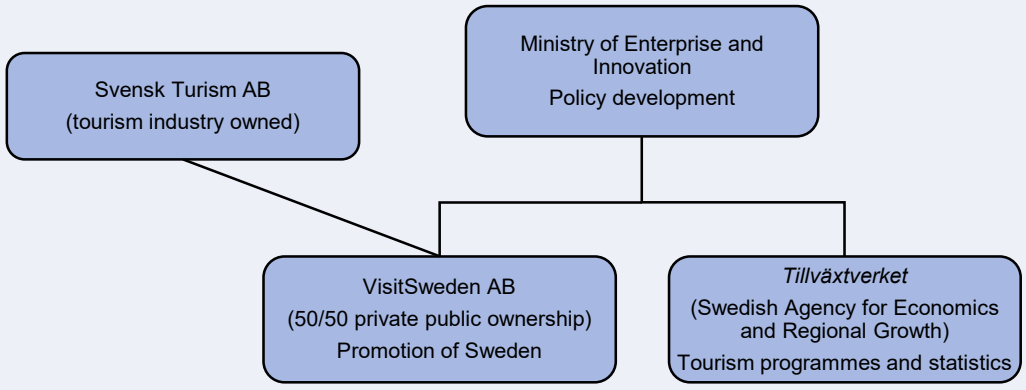
The Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth – Tillväxtverket – is responsible for promoting the tourism industry in Sweden, and has a focus on strengthening the Swedish tourism destinations. Tillväxtverket is based in Stockholm but has a regional structure handling issues related to structural funds. VisitSweden AB (a company half owned by the government and half owned by the tourism industry) is responsible for marketing Sweden as a tourist destination internationally. Both Tillväxtverket and VisitSweden AB report to the Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation, the Ministry of Culture, the Swedish Institute, Business Sweden and VisitSweden are members of the Council for the Promotion of Sweden.

Strengthening sustainable tourism in the regions

The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) is an umbrella organisation for local and regional authorities. In recent years, SALAR has increased its engagement in tourism through partnerships with industry organisations and platforms for networking with municipalities, County Councils and regions.

Tillväxtverket has been tasked to develop sustainable destinations, increase SME competitiveness, and improve knowledge in how to develop attractive and functional destinations. Tillväxtverket's current sustainable tourism programme - the Sustainable Production Programme was launched 2016 and will run until 2019. The programme has a budget of SEK 40 million, and another SEK 40 million in co-funding.

Figure 2.4. Sweden: Organisational chart of tourism bodies



Source: OECD (2018[11]), "Sweden", in OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/tour-2018-38-en, p. 277.

The European Regional Development Fund as a part of regional policy in Sweden

The ERDF is implemented by an operational programme developed for groups of counties within Sweden. The Sami are not strongly represented in these guidance documents. In Upper Norrland (the counties of Norrbotten and Västerbotten), the operational programme (2014-23) emphasises the importance of improved transport and communications infrastructure to overcome challenges associated with distance and low population densities. Although it mentions the territory of the Sami, the traditional knowledge and industries of the Sami are not noted as a competitive strength. The focus areas for Smart Specialisation have some intersection with the Sami economy through a priority on experience, cultural and creative industries and Sami businesses are explicitly mentioned in the investment priority for entrepreneurship. The Operational Programme for North Middle Sweden (the counties of Västernorrland and Jämtland) also mentions the importance of experience, cultural and creative industries but does not mention the Sami beyond their invitation to attend consultation meetings. There are Interreg programmes (with ERDF funding) in the regions as well, which will be discussed further in a following section of this report.

As a condition for accessing ERDF funds, regions also prepare strategies for Smart Specialisation or similar regional development strategies connected to the ERDF programmes regarding investment. These have been developed in the northern counties and prioritise areas such as technology testing, energy, tourism, and cultural industries (Table 2.5). The essential idea of the approach is that regions have some ability to shape their future economic development by identifying sectors where they either currently have a comparative advantage, or they could have a comparative advantage in the future, and then targeting innovation policies to provide new products and processes in these areas (OECD 2017). The Sami have the potential to be part of Smart Specialisation; however, they are not well connected in an operational sense because the ERDF prioritises larger scale projects with higher barriers to entry through matching requirements.

Table 2.5. Smart Specialisation Priorities – Northern regions

Region	Smart Specialisation Priorities
Norrbotten	● Technology and service development – including primary and manufacturing activities ● Testing, tests and pilots of products - transport and communications ● Energy and cleantech ● Digital services ● Cultural and creative industries
Västerbotten	● Sustainable energy and environmental technology ● Digital service sectors for smart regions ● Life science ● Innovations in healthcare ● Experience based and creative industries ● Testing activities ● Technology and service development for industry
Jämtland–Härjedalen	● Clean tech ● Tourism, sports and leisure time ● Public sector innovation, spin-offs and improved processes

Source: European Commission (2018[12]), *Smart Specialisation Platform*, http://s3platform.jrc.ec.europa.eu/.

The Rural Development Programme provides access to funds for Sami businesses and initiatives in reindeer herding, tourism and culture

Within the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EARDF), Sweden's Rural Development Programme for 2014-20 (the second pillar of Common Agricultural Policy) establishes a number of priorities for which the competent authorities (The Swedish Board of Agriculture, the County Administrative Boards, the Swedish Forest Agency, the Sami Parliament, the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth) then develop regional or thematic strategies on a more detailed level. The CABs are tasked with implementing national policy priorities at a regional level and are responsible for developing an action plan for rural development in the region. The highest overall priority in the RDP (in terms of the share of funds allocated) is for restoring, preserving and enhancing ecosystems related to agriculture and forestry; around 60% of funds are allocated for this priority out of the total RDP envelope (Table 2.7).

The Swedish Sami Parliament is a competent authority for a portion of the RDP funds (2014-2020).[6] Together with a number of key Sami organisations, the Sweden Sami Parliament developed a regional action plan for 2014-20 that was used to inform programme delivery (Sametinget, 2015[13]).[7] This included a SWOT (strength, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) analysis focusing on Sami business and economic development (Box 2.4) As such, it is possible to determine how Sami businesses, individuals and institutions are making use of the RDP for applications that are received through the Sami Parliament. Of course, a much larger share of the Sami population may be accessing other funds, but this is not identifiable.

Box 2.4. Sami Parliament SWOT analysis to inform RDP (2014-20)

The Sami Parliament of Sweden has conducted a SWOT (strength, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) analysis of the rural programme which serves to illustrate how Sami businesses and initiatives could be better supported by both rural and regional development efforts (Table 2.6). The strengths of the community lay in their unique culture, language and traditions for which small scale, high quality ecologically produced and sustainable activities and products are valued. Within this, reindeer herding is clearly a very visible and important component, but there are also new and emerging opportunities in such areas as the promotion of Sami food and tourism and using traditional knowledge in new ways. New service solutions – e.g. new technologies – will help Sami businesses make the most of these emerging opportunities and gain vicinity and increase access to markets. The enabling environment for Sami businesses and livelihoods could be enhanced in order to build on its strengths and help to realise its possibilities.

Table 2.6. SWOT Swedish Sami Parliament RDP 2014-20

Strengths	Weaknesses
● Living Sami cultural landscape ● Specific Sami livelihoods with long-term ecological sustainability ● Sustained and adaptable reindeer industry with long-term ecological sustainability ● Unique common culture - and livelihood resources such as Sami food and Sami tourism ● Diversity of languages and cultural traditions ● Long and substantial experience in combination livelihoods ● Own raw materials and traditional production methods ● Sami culture and social life enriches the rest of society ● Traditional knowledge via own Sami competence ● Potential for developing new livelihoods ● The Sami languages find new areas of use	● No well-developed branch organisations or business structures ● Lack of risk capital and in certain cases solid funding ● Lack of development motors ● Inadequate equality between men and women ● Lower levels of education and education traditions in some regions ● Sparse population and community structure ● Long distances to attractive markets ● Strong dependence on public sector ● Low level of refinement of goods and services ● Low level of innovation and commercialisation of innovations ● Resistance to change ● The Sami languages are not used naturally in all Sami activities
Possibilities	**Threats**
● Strong and profitable reindeer industry businesses ● Focus on the unique aspects of Sami businesses - Sami knowledge based on sustainable use of resources ● Use of traditional knowledge in new ways, for example, Sami food businesses/Sami food craftsmanship ● Increased small businesses in new areas such as service, year-round tourism and distance work ● Increased co-operation between traditional and new livelihoods, clustering ● Development of new service solutions for rural communities via new technology ● Increased co-operation within different (Sami livelihoods, languages, cultures, traditional knowledge, FoU) ● Increased competition via investments in innovations, entrepreneurship and new livelihoods ● Attractive and unique natural environment	● Minority in a majority society ● Lack of knowledge by the rest of the world ● Outer affecting factors that steer the control of natural resources ● Exploitation of Sapmi ● Migration/draining of Sami human resources and competence ● Competition for natural resources ● Lack of resource centres ● Lack of risk capital ● Marginalised Sami businesses in regional politics ● Lack of local/regional participation ● Lack of service functions in rural areas ● Sami languages are threatened ● Structural discrimination

Source: Sametinget (2015[13]), *Sametinget Handlingsplan för Landsbygdsprogrammet*, https://www.sametinget.se/94731 (accessed on 15 March 2018).

Among the various programme priorities accessed through the Sami Parliament as a competent authority have been allocated for projects that address social inclusion, poverty reduction and economic development – around 52% of funds have been accessed under this priority measure to date (around 41% for new jobs and diversification and 11% for local development in rural areas) (Table 2.7). Activities under this priority have included skills training (including for reindeer herding) and funds for tourism businesses, Sami cultural industries, such as *duodji* and food entrepreneurship. This includes efforts to connect entrepreneurs and provide supports to Sami industries so that they can raise their profiles and grow their businesses. The second most accessed priority measure is for restoring, preserving and enhancing ecosystems in agriculture and forestry; this measure amounts to 30% of the funding to date managed by the Sami Parliament and just over 60% of the total RDP funding that is allocated to this priority.

Table 2.7. Sweden's Rural Development Programme 2014-20 – Funds managed by the Sami Parliament

RDP 2014-20 priorities	Percentage of funding out of total RDP allocated to priority	Funds managed by the Sami Parliament by focus area	Total funding to date per focus area managed by Sami Parliament	Percentage of funding to date per focus area managed by the Sami Parliament
1. Knowledge transfer and innovation	(Priority 1 is horizontal and is to be promoted in all parts of the programme)			
2. Farm viability, competitiveness and sustainable forest management	7.85	Competitiveness, restructuring and diversification	4 948 030	6.0
		Start farming/generational renewal	3 250 000	3.9
3. Food chain organisation, including processing and marketing of agricultural products, animal welfare and risk management	4.15	Animal welfare and short food chain	3 894 783	4.7
4. Restoring, preserving and enhancing ecosystems in agriculture and forestry	60.63	Biodiversity's restoration, preservation and enhancement	24 936 674	30.0
5. Resource efficiency and shift to low carbon and climate resilience economy in agriculture, food and forestry sectors	1.57	Energy use efficiency	..	..
		Renewable energy	2 619 609	3.2
6. Social inclusion, poverty reduction and economic development in rural areas	21.79	New jobs and diversification	34 387 503	41.4
		Local development in rural areas	8 962 041	10.8

Notes: "." = not available
This table only shows those focus areas for which the Sami Parliament manages funds.
Sources: Data provided by the Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation; European Commission (2014[14]), *Factsheet on 2014-2020 Rural Development Programme for Sweden*, https://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/sites/agriculture/files/rural-development-2014-2020/country-files/se/factsheet_en.pdf (accessed on 29 March 2018).

Within the RDP, the Sami Parliament, along with other competent authorities at the regional and national levels, have several mechanisms for vertical and horizontal co-ordination. In terms of vertical integration, the EU regulations, Swedish regulations, and procedures for RDP are addressed within the governing law and regulations. There is also a formal process of consultation with the competent authorities such as the Sami Parliament which takes place prior to the introduction or updating of rules. In terms of horizontal integration, there are several mechanisms such as the Sami Parliament's action plan for rural development, the Sami partnership; the Monitoring Committee for RDP and; dialogue fora, which are Dialogues between the Swedish Board of Agriculture and the competent authorities such as the Sami Parliament which take place digitally and at conferences and at meetings organised by the National Rural Network.

A need for greater flexibility in RDP programming requirements to meet Sami needs

Sami businesses and initiatives can face some unique barriers to access. The above-mentioned funds tend to be focused on either reindeer herding or traditional and cultural industries and are dominated by small firms. The RDP projects that fall under the competent authority of the Sami parliament are on average four times smaller than those of the RDP programme as a whole.[8] This raises two issues. The first is the extent to which there is the potential and willingness among Sami entrepreneurs to grow their business, given that small and sustainable activities are often important values, and secondly, whether RDP and other funds are well-structured for their unique characteristics. Few Sami projects have been received in the current programming period, which could be a symptom of either of these factors. Recent changes to the programme structure may also explain these differences in project size; applications are not open but need to follow nominations made by the Sami Parliament and these amounts are smaller now than before. When comparing the sizes of projects receiving funding it bears noting that "projects" also include other types of funding, such as investment funds or start-up funds.

There are several barriers to how funds are accessed by Sami businesses including the selection criteria for different measures (e.g. on innovation and technology, focus on agriculture); how support is defined (skills, hiring); and requirements for matching funds (and coving upfront costs) and reporting requirements which may be burdensome for smaller businesses and which may not work well for the cyclical nature of reindeer herding in particular. Some key examples of these RDP mismatches and barriers are as follows.

- Co-financing can present a barrier due to the small scale and local nature of Sami activities in terms of minimum amounts of support and the degree of administration required for small projects.
- Under current rules, reindeer herders can only apply for the start-up support within 24 months from when the business was started. Since most reindeer herders develop their businesses from when they are young, they often have been active for more than 24 months when they turn 18/19 and are eligible to apply to the funds (i.e. the point in time when they shift from being students to being active full time in their business).
- Specific funding is available for food strategies including supports to develop food companies and short food chains. This focus on food production is based on innovation and technology (as it is in most measures/funds), whereas the Sami use more traditional knowledge in food production. The food policy signals the

importance of Sami food, but the funding criteria are not well suited for this type of support.

- The current programme structure does not take into consideration that reindeer husbandry is an extensive, mobile (in the meaning nomadic over large areas) business. Funds are presently only granted for the construction of fixed/permanent facilities and as such, buildings and facilities required for reindeer husbandry (such as mobile slaughter houses) cannot be funded.
- Some of the funding under the RDP is directed towards skills upgrading and hiring new employees. However, Sami businesses tend to be family run and have requirements for investment in infrastructure as opposed to skills.

In some cases, measures that were deemed to have been working well for the Sami have been ended. For example, between 1999 and 2013 the Rural Development Programme offered environmental compensation which aimed to preserve Sami cultural environments and landscapes in the traditional reindeer herding area, specifically elements such as pasture fields, *renvallar* and fences.[9] The purpose of the compensation was to protect and preserve the high cultural values associated with reindeer husbandry and Sami traditional living that are unique both from a national and European perspective. The landscaped elements that the compensation set out to protect are associated with older reindeer husbandry and display the presence of Sami activity in the areas and preserve the traces of Sami tradition, work and life - a living Sami cultural landscape. It is important for the Sami culture and trades to visualise and preserve the Sami heritage, especially for following generations. The support generated a compensation of approximately SEK 100 million in 2007-13 (Sametinget, 2018[15]). In the new EU Rural Development Programme for 2014-20, the measure was replaced by an investment support for Sami cultural environments (e.g. Sami traditional buildings such as *kåtor*) and the compensation was decreased to SEK 25 million (Sametinget, 2018[15]).

A new framework for rural policy in Sweden – but limited engagement with Sami affairs

In terms of rural policy, Sweden has historically focused on sectoral support for agriculture, and state aid for businesses located in sparsely populated areas. With accession to the European Union, Sweden introduced the standard programmes from the Common Agriculture Fund (CAP) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). While this has supported rural programming, it has not resulted in a coherent national rural policy (Box 2.5). In an effort to address this, a government bill proposing a coherent policy for rural Sweden has made its way through the legislative process (Riksdag, 2018[16]). It sets the primary objective is to have "viable rural areas with equal opportunities for enterprise, work, housing and welfare that lead to long-term sustainable development throughout the country". There are four associated sub-objectives:

1. The ability of the rural areas to make use of the conditions for business and employment is long-term sustainable, while achieving the environmental goals. The rural areas contribute to a positive development of Sweden's economy;
2. The rural areas contribute to strengthening Sweden's competitiveness in a development towards a circular, bio based and fossil-free economy and for the sustainable use of natural resources as well as compliance with relevant environmental quality objectives;
3. Equal opportunities for people to work, reside and live in rural areas; and

4. The bill notes that a living Sami culture, built on sustainable environmental practices and traditional food contributes, to rural development and that is it therefore important that the Sami are consulted on issues concerning them (Riksdag, 2018, p. 16[16]) As previously noted, the Ministry of Culture is presently developing rules on consultation with Sami in order to improve their inclusion in decision making (Kulturdepartementet, 2017[17]). Beyond the issue of consultation, there are no special provisions or programmes that mention the Sami in the government's new bill for rural policy. As such, it is unclear how efforts to promote the collective assets of the Sami within rural development will be acted upon/implemented in practice.

Box 2.5. Tackling the rural and regional policy divide: Sweden's impetus for a new rural policy

Sweden's undertaking of a new framework for rural policy has been framed in part by debates since the 2014 national elections about whether rural Sweden is being left behind in the country's growth and development. A key issue is that rural policy issues are not sufficiently represented in Sweden's growth policy. Sweden's regional growth policy is a broad and integrated approach, and combines EU and state funding to invest in key enabling factors for growth at a regional level. A lot of the national funding within regional policy goes to rural or sparsely pop areas – e.g. for transportation, business development, programmes for commercial services in sparsely populated areas, funding to rural regions for regional growth work. Underlying this policy framework are different funding and governance arrangements for regional and rural policies, which are the consequence of EU funding rules. This results in different scales of investment, and different entities responsible for the rural development and regional growth policy at a regional level. More effective mechanisms and incentives are needed to link the rural programme with the regional growth policy, and other sector policies. Another issue is that sectoral policies such as education and health services, spatial planning, and transport do not have a clear and coherent "rural articulation".

Recent regional reforms in Sweden have sought to tackle the need for consistency, and enhanced democratic accountability for regional and rural policies. The CABs are responsible for the regional action plan for implementing the Rural Development Programme funded by EAFRD. There are currently three different models for implementing regional policy in Sweden, which include one County Administrative Board, 13 directly elected County Councils, one municipality (with the role of a County Council) and 6 indirectly elected county co-ordination bodies. Consistency in administrative structure is important in terms of the national government establishing clear governance, monitoring and accountability arrangements to deliver national priorities. However, specific regional and rural development policies should reflect the preferences and aspirations of the region. County Councils and county co-ordination bodies, which are led by political representatives in each region, provide the best opportunity to achieve this outcome. From 1st January, there will only be County Councils and one municipality responsible for regional growth in the counties.

Source: OECD (2017[10]), *OECD Territorial Reviews: Sweden 2017: Monitoring Progress in Multi-level Governance and Rural Policy*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264268883-en.

Sami affairs in the EU – focus on transnational co-operation across Sapmi

Sami affairs in the European Union are reflected across a number of dimensions and add another layer of governance to the implementation of regional and rural polices in northern Sweden. The Sami are the EU's only recognised Indigenous people. Within Sweden's agreement on EU membership there is a Sami protocol attached which outlines the country's obligations in relation to the Sami people in accordance with national and international laws. The protocol states that Sweden is committed to preserving and developing the Sami people's living conditions, language, culture and way of life and as part of this, both Sweden and the EU note the importance of reindeer herding in areas where the Sami traditionally live (Gower Lewis, 2003[18]). The position of the Swedish Sami in Sweden and Europe was thus strengthened following EU membership; Sapmi has been designated as a region in Europe with dedicated programmes attached and, in accordance with the EU's principle of subsidiarity, the Sami Parliament in Sweden bears responsibility for the use and prioritisation of relevant funds – such as the rural development fund which was described above. Furthermore, the Sami parliaments and other Sami organisations co-ordinated by the Saami Council – a pan-Sapmi non-governmental organisation established in 1956 – co-ordinate with the EU's northern development initiatives.

The main programmes directed to Sami affairs under the current EU programming period is for cross-border and transnational co-operation. The project priorities and share of EU funds directed to Sami activities have changed over each EU programming period. Over the 2000-06 programming period, there were four programmes that had some element directed towards Sami affairs within the regional development portfolio (Table 2.8). Under the current programming period, Sami affairs are primarily addressed through a programme for cross-border co-operation (Interreg V-A North) between Finland, Norway and Sweden. The programme's overarching goal is to strengthen the cross-border innovation system and increase the co-operation of SMEs. It also prioritises bio-diversity preservation and the unique cultural heritage in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions. Within this, the programme identifies the objective of preserving and developing the culture, language and economic activities of the Sami and notes that the traditionally ecological lifestyle of the Sami promotes broader objectives for environmental sustainability across the region. With a primary objective of strengthening SMEs, the programme thus navigates the dual challenge of "strengthening and preserving the Sami's traditional trades, at the same time as creating the conditions for developing new, vital businesses on the basis of culture and social life" (Samer, 2018[19]).

An example of one of the projects funded under the current programme (Interreg V-A) is the work of Slow Food Sapmi. Their project – "Our Common Food Heritage in Sapmi" – to strengthen and develop food culture, entrepreneurship and the supply of food-related industries in Sapmi. The project has been granted EUR 6 500 under the current funding period to undertake this work. Over the course of the 2007-13 Interreg programming period, there were a number of projects with young Sami entrepreneurs in such areas as marketing, music, event/entertainment, tourism, lawyers, interpretation, and traditional Sami business such *duodji*. One experience from that project was that participants felt more comfortable working with their business plans in a group with Sami colleagues, where they also could speak the Sami language and shared the experience of living in the Sami culture.

In recent years, there have been changes to the Interreg V-A programme in order to make it easier for organisations to access funding. The Sami Parliament has advocated for the programme to be better suited to small institutions that do not have funding of their own. Despite changes, Interreg continues to have heavy administrative requirements and projects require funding upfront.

Table 2.8. European Commission regional development funds for Sami affairs, by programming period

Name	Type of fund	Programming period	Sami affairs within project priorities	Countries
Operational programme Interreg V-A North	European Territorial Cooperation Objective, co-funded by ERDF	2014-20	To promote Sami culture and the use of Sami languages; to strengthen cross border collaboration and SMEs.	Finland, Sweden, Norway
Operational programme Northern Periphery and Arctic	European Territorial Cooperation Objective, co-funded by ERDF	2014-20	To promote co-operation with the Arctic Council Indigenous Peoples Secretariat and representative organisations of the main Indigenous peoples in the programme area, such as the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and the Sami Council.	Finland Sweden Norway Faroe Islands Greenland Island UK
Operational programme 'North'; Sapmi sub-programme	European Territorial Cooperation Objective, co-funded by ERDF	2007-13	To develop Sami cultural life and industry by making use of their resources in an ecological and sustainable way. Developing methods and structures that facilitate co-operation between the regions.	Finland, Norway, Sweden
Interreg III A "Nord"	ERDF	2000-06	Strengthening of the identity and social conditions of the Sami community by assisting their development in all 4 countries of the programme area.	Finland, Sweden, Norway, Russia
Objective 1 programme for Norra Norrland	ERDF, ESF, EAGGF, FIFG	2000-06	Aid to Sami agricultural holdings and the diversification of activities, basic population services, *sameby* renovation, infrastructure development, environmental protection and financial engineering.	Sweden
Objective 1 programme for Södra Skogslän	ERDF, ESF, EAGGF, FIFG	2000-06	Aid to Sami agricultural holdings and the diversification of activities, basic population services, *sameby* renovation, infrastructure development, environmental protection and financial engineering.	Sweden
INTERREG III A - Sweden/ Norway	ERDF	2000-06	Under the priority of economic growth and skills development, economic development will be adapted to the Sami population and enhance its culture.	Sweden, Norway

Note: FIFG: Financial instrument for fisheries guidance.
Sources: European Commission (2018[20]), *Interreg V-A - Sweden-Finland-Norway (Nord) - Regional Policy*, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/programmes/2014-2020/sweden/2014tc16rfcb032 (accessed on 26 March 2018); European Commission (2018[21]), *Operational Programme 'North' - Regional Policy*, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/programmes/2007-2013/crossborder/operational-programme-north (accessed on
26 March 2018); European Commission (2018[22]), *INTERREG III A - Finland/Sweden/Norway/Russia - Regional Policy*, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/programmes/2000-2006/european/interreg-iii-a-finland-sweden-norway-russia
(accessed on 26 March 2018); European Commission (2018[23]), *Objective 1 programme for Södra Skogslän - Regional Policy*, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/programmes/2000-2006/interregional/objective-1-programme-for-sodra-skogslan
(accessed on 26 March 2018); European Commission (2018[24]), *INTERREG III A - Sweden/Norway - Regional Policy*, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/programmes/2000-2006/european/interreg-iii-a-sweden-norway
(accessed on 26 March 2018).

In terms of broader regional development goals related to the European Union and the arctic, there can be a difference in perspectives between those living within the arctic area and how those outside of it view development. Those in the arctic want sustainable development while those outside can view it as an area of preservation. As illustrative of this debate, the EU's policy on large carnivores has been a divisive issue for the Sami. County Administrative Boards have been tasked by the government with two opposing goals. On the one hand they are responsible for the conservation of large carnivores which is related to the EU habitat policy directive and on the other hand, they are required, in co-operation with *samebyar* within the management system (*förvaltningsverktyg*) for large carnivores, to ensure that the reindeer herders lose a maximum of 10% of their winter herds from these large carnivores. However, the loss of reindeer from predators has been estimated in the range of 7%-40% by county.[10] The average loss of reindeer by predators for all *samebyar* is estimated at 24% in 2016 (Sametinget Kulturdepartementet, 2018[25]).

A strengthened role for regions brings new opportunities for Sami engagement

Recent reforms enhance the role of regions in Sweden – this presents an opportunity to strength relations with the Sami in the regions

The subnational government level in Sweden consists of two tiers – counties and municipalities. Each operates as a self-governing entity under the central government – municipalities are thus not subordinate to counties. Sweden's multi-level governance has been described as having an "hourglass" shape, with greater weight given to the national and municipal levels – top and bottom tiers – compared counties (OECD, 2017[10]). However, recent regional reforms have strengthen the status of counties and moreover, municipalities are increasingly co-operating with counties on regional development issues which in turn shifts the "hourglass" dynamic (OECD, 2017[10]).

At the regional level, there are two types of regional political bodies with decentralised responsibilities – Regional Co-operation Bodies (indirectly elected, co-operation of municipalities in a few counties) and County Councils (directly elected in all 21 counties). The main task of Swedish County Councils is healthcare provision but they are transitioning to take on greater responsibility for regional development (including regional growth policy, transport and infrastructure planning) and regional growth policy. When County Councils take on the responsibilities of regional development, they are allowed by law to rename themselves as a region.[11] Regional Co-operation Bodies have been created in some counties to be responsible for regional development. Among the three most

northern regions in Sweden, the Region of Västerbotten (a co-operation body) took on this broader role for regional development responsibilities in 2008; in Jämtland, a co-operation body was first formed in 2011 but a few years later in 2015 the responsibilities were transferred to the County Council and the Region of Jämtland-Härjedalen was formed; and most recently, Norrbotten County Council was transformed into a region in 2017 when they took over regional development from the County Administrative Board. [12] The parliament has however recently decided upon a bill from the government to transfer the responsibilities of regional growth from the remaining Regional Co-operation Bodies and the one remaining County Administrative Board with this responsibility to County Councils only (with the exception of the County of Gotland). This will come to effect the 1st January 2019.[13] This shift presents an opportunity to better link the Sami who live in this region with regional development efforts which had been previously centralised.

Counties are also home to County Administrative Boards (CABs) which are the face of the national government in the regions, regional state agencies; they are responsible for co-ordinating central government activities in the counties including Managing Authority for some Interreg programmes, Competent Authority for the EARDF and monitoring subnational governments in order to make sure they comply with laws and regulations in specific sectors (e.g. environmental regulations). The CABs also co-operate with County Councils and municipalities to promote important public investments and economic growth in the region. The CABs are responsible for implementing the Rural Development Programme at the regional level through regional action plans. Each action plan is prepared and implemented by a regional partnership composed of diverse stakeholders, including the organisations responsible for the regional development strategies (RUS). With the CABs in charge of rural programmes – and from 1 January 2018 20 County Councils and 1 municipality in charge of overall regional development, including its rural components – it is important that these two territorial policies are well aligned.

Regional development strategies at a county level (RUS) share a strong focus on innovation and entrepreneurship, transport and digital connectivity, and educational attainment – which generally aligns with national strategic priorities (OECD, 2017[10]). Within this general focus, each northern region has oriented its development strategy according to its specific assets. For example, Norrbotten has a focus on infrastructure for the mining and processing industries; Region Jämtland-Härjedalen on culture and creativity as an economic asset and; Västerbotten on renewable energy (OECD, 2017[7]). Across all three regions, there tends to be less of an emphasis on spatial planning, regional and cross-border co-operation (with the exception of Norrbotten), and export and trade promotion (OECD, 2017[10]).[14]

Table 2.9. Regional strategies: Norrbotten, Västerbotten, Jämtland

	Innovation and entrepreneurship	Infrastructure and accessibility	Demographic, labour markets and service delivery
Norrbotten	● Regional innovation strategy ● Entrepreneurship ● Cross-border collaboration	● Rail investment for the mining industry ● Extending broadband coverage	● Integration of migrants ● Young people finishing upper secondary school ● Co-ordination between business and training providers
Västerbotten	● Regional innovation system and venture capital ● Renewable energy ● Internationalising SMEs	● Transport and digital connectivity	● Leisure, culture and amenities ● Secondary school and tertiary attainment ● Workforce participation
Jämtland	● Entrepreneurship and venture capital ● Role of the university ● Renewable energy ● Culture and creativity	● Transport and digital connectivity	● Secondary school and tertiary attainment ● Social inclusion and healthcare ● Welcoming new inhabitants

Source: OECD (2017[7]), *OECD Territorial Reviews: Northern Sparsely Populated Areas*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264268234-en.

The cultural assets of the Sami are identified in all northern regional development strategies – but only Region Västerbotten concretely addresses the need for improved engagement with the Sami

All three regional development strategies in northern Sweden identify Sami culture and food traditions as key assets, with the tourism industry specifically singled out as an area of growth potential. The three strategies collectively recognise Sami businesses as having unique characteristics and, in the cases of Norrbotten and Västerbotten, describes a need for specific supports for support Sami entrepreneurship and innovation. However, it is Region Västerbotten's development strategy which is the standout among the three in terms of how Sami affairs are addressed in the manner that land use conflicts are acknowledged and solutions proposed.

Region Jämtland Härjedalen's regional development strategy (2014-30) focuses on innovation and attractiveness (Härjedalen, 2014[26]). On Sami issues, the strategy primarily addressed the role of the Gaaltije South Sami Cultural Center as a hub for south Sami culture, language, food and social development. Region Jämtland Härjedalen's regional development strategy identifies growth opportunities in Sami tourism and describes Sami culture and businesses an important part of the county's history and development and a necessary part of cross-border co-operation. It further notes that six out of eight municipalities in Jämtland/Härjedalen are Sami management municipalities; these are municipalities in which Sami is a relevant minority and have the right to communicate with authorities and receive services in their language. A municipality can have more than one minority (e.g. Jokkmokk is both a Sami and Finnish management municipality). The strategy states that recognition as a Sami management municipality generates opportunities – though these are not described.

Norrbotten's regional development strategy is in the process of being updated by Region Norrbotten for the years 2020-30 – the Sami parliament has been included in the consultation process. As a new region, the 2020-30 strategy presents an opportunity to

shape a new development vision and to strengthen relations with the Sami and other stakeholders – particularly in terms of land use issues. The current strategy (2014-20) was written when the responsibility for regional growth was still at the Norrbotten County Administrative Board. The strategy describes a desire to offer residents a versatile, permissive and innovative environment (Län Norrbotten, 2017[27]). It notes the importance of Sami businesses and cultural entrepreneurship, alongside the protection of national minorities' languages, nature and the environment. The strategy recognises that Sami companies face special development conditions and that they help to increase the diversification of the county's business community, including the importance of reindeer herding to tourism and entrepreneurship in the services and knowledge sectors. The strategy explicitly aims to support entrepreneurship and innovation among the Sami and notes the importance of cross-border development in cultural and creative industries for Sami culture and language.

Region Västerbotten's regional development strategy (2014-20) identifies natural resources as a key asset alongside resource-efficient technologies and the business potential of Sami culture. Strengthening Sami entrepreneurship in tourism is a noted priority (Region Västerbottens, 2014[28]). The strategy recognises that reindeer husbandry and Sami culture have the potential to enhance regional development, but that these activities are also associated with land use conflict and cultural and historical contradictions. The strategy makes it clear that positive relations between Sami and other stakeholders in all parts of the county are a prerequisite for effective development and outlines the following objectives:

- Develop synergies between reindeer husbandry, Sami culture and other entrepreneurs that use the land;
- Create forms of co-operation and consensus between the reindeer herding industry and other stakeholders;
- Promote research and education on reindeer husbandry as well as its impact on nature and cultural heritage, and with the biosphere parks within Sami areas;
- Promoting knowledge building on sustainable development and gender equality;
- Integrate reindeer husbandry into planning processes which impact the conditions for reindeer husbandry in Västerbotten;
- Strengthen the reindeer herding industry in the face of climate change; and
- Develop sustainable forestry methods in collaboration with research and forestry industry (Region Västerbottens, 2014[28]).

Region Västerbotten's development strategy provides an assessment of how reindeer herding could be better connected to regional development by specifying how the industry can better connect with other stakeholders and be respectful of Sami culture. In contrast to the development strategies of the other two regions, it explicitly mentions the importance of reindeer herding businesses and acknowledges the land use conflicts that have arisen with other forms of land use. It outlines an action plan for how the region can better structure relations between the multiple stakeholders in this regard and as such, is the only regional development strategy among the three to address these issues with any depth. However, it remains overly focused on just one Sami activity – reindeer herding – and as such offers a limited lens for interaction. Regional development policies should emphasise the importance of preserving Sami culture and ways of living more broadly.

This is a best practice among the three regions in the sense that it offers concrete practices to address a critical issue for the Sami and others in terms of land use. In order to truly be effective, these objectives should be described in a manner for which they can be monitored and reported on in order to help gauge if progress is being made and if relations are in fact improving. In the coming years, all three regions will be updating their plans – with region Norrbotten currently engaged in this process. This offers an opportunity to strengthen this element of the plans and to operationalise actions in a more concrete manner that can help to improve relations.

In general, the Sami economy and development vision needs to be more visible in regional priority setting in northern Sweden. For example, on economic policy, the *Sametinget* has articulated that they put sustainable development at the forefront of policy objectives, stating that "ecologically and economically viable industries are the best guarantee for preserving the high environmental and cultural values found in the mountain and forest areas" (Sametinget, 2018[29]). Within this, they express ecological long-term care, conservation of natural resources, conservation of environmental and cultural values alongside economic, social and gender equality as the foundation of Sami business development. However, they are just one Sami institution among many (albeit directly elected). As discussed in Chapter 3, more inclusive governance requires strong engagement methods combined with capacity building among Sami institutions.

Municipal policies and services – Focus on Sami culture and language

Engagement with Sami affairs at the municipal level tends to focus on support for Sami culture and language services

Under Sweden's minority rights policy, Swedish municipalities are obliged to provide some services in the Sami language. Municipalities also provide support for culture and in the case of the Sami, need to address access to grazing lands for reindeer herders in terms of physical planning. All of these functions matter for Sami economic development and well-being. Access to land is critical for the reindeer herding industry to perpetuate while cultural reproduction is no less important for Sami economic development and self-determination. Language training in schools and access to services in the Sami languages (of which there are six dialects across Sapmi, three of which are spoken in northern Sweden), reinforce Sami identity and culture. Sami languages are under threat; South and Lule Sami risk extinction and the North Sami language is in a precarious situation (Swedish Equality Ombudsman, 2008[30]).[15]

Under the current minority rights policy (implemented since 2010), public support to fulfil this mandate has increased and there have been joint efforts by County Administrative Boards and the Sami Parliament to enhance the implementation of and the awareness of national minority rights in municipalities. These are positive developments. Certain municipalities are designated as administrative areas for the Sami language and additional municipalities can apply for voluntary admission to be included as an administrative area. The municipalities that do so receive funding to address minority issues, largely as related to accessing services in the minority language. These funds are also used to fund a minority co-ordinator position; this person acts as a liaison between minorities and the municipality in order to ensure access to services. As one example, a group of Sami in Umeå municipality (Västerbotten County) have organised themselves as a delegation which meets with the minority co-ordinator and other municipal officials around 30 times a year in order to discuss issues regarding access to kindergarten and elderly care in the Sami language. Municipalities also support the promotion Sami culture. For example, there is an

active Sami organisation in Umeå-Såhkie – which organises Sami cultural week. Umeå municipality has allocated the organisation SEK 1 million to organise the Sami week for the past 19 years (Såhkie, 2018[31]).

The level of engagement by municipalities with the Sami can differ considerably – both across municipalities but also across departments within the municipality. This is related to a more general point about Sweden's model of service delivery; OECD analysis has found that nationally designed rules and funding arrangements are not always suited to sparsely populated areas, and there is a lack of incentives for social innovation and co-operation between municipalities at a functional scale (OECD, 2017[10]). Some municipalities are more aware of their responsibilities related to the Minority Act than others. For any department working on Sami issues, the minority co-ordinator tends to be included in engagement/discussions and as such, can provide both a consistent connection to the community and can help to co-ordinate on Sami issues across the organisation. This is important as Sami organisations and groups can experience engagement fatigue. Minority co-ordinators meet twice a year and there is co-operation and conferences among the municipalities on such issues as how to provide language services for the Sami in elder care and kindergarten. As knowledge has increased regarding the right of access by the Sami for these services, demand has grown. The minority co-ordinator also has a role in building cultural competence in the municipality – this is a critical function given the lack of visibility of the Sami.

The minority rights policy is not being realised in practice

A recent review by the Ministry of Culture of the application of Sweden's minority policy indicates there are serious flaws in terms of how these policies are being applied/realised in practice. The report states: "minorities policy has almost completely failed in terms of guaranteeing the fundamental rights that all five national minorities should enjoy in all municipalities in this country" (Kulturdepartementet, 2017[32]) (Box 2.6).

One of the elements contributing to this is a lack of teachers in the Sami languages (Swedish Equality Ombudsman, 2008[30]). In some municipalities, larger salaries for Sami speaking teachers are individually negotiated as an incentive to overcome the shortage of Sami speaking teachers; however, there is no standard policy about this. For schoolchildren up to the age of 12, there are 5 Sami schools in Sweden, in Karesuando, Kiruna, Gällivare, Jokkmokk and Tärnaby in southern Sapmi. For those who reside in areas where there is no Sami school, children are provided with Sami language training of an hour or two a week (often at the end of the school day).

The Ministry of Culture's recent report makes a number of important recommendations to strengthen minority rights. Specific to the role of municipalities, it is recommended that municipalities and County Councils:

- Adopt documented minority policy objectives and guidelines and report on them;
- Offer all or a substantial part of pre-school teaching in minority languages;
- Ensure that the rules about access to this service are clear to parents; and
- Ensure that the government should establish a centre for Sami health in order to address the major need for knowledge and training for caregivers serving Sami populations (Kulturdepartementet, 2017[32]).

These are all prudent recommendations that would help to build the capacity to deliver these services, increase awareness among the Sami of their rights to access and establish

accountability measures for reporting on the application of minorities policy. It is equally important that the Sami can meaningfully participate and have real influence in matters concerning them. As noted by the Swedish Equality Ombudsmen in 2008, increased support for those Sami organisations that work against discrimination and for human rights and improved information and education for County Administrative Boards and municipalities on the Sami situation would serve to enhance such meaningful engagement (Swedish Equality Ombudsman, 2008[30]).

Box 2.6. Sami minority and language rights – A case for reform

Language rights are an essential part of cultural reproduction for the Sami and other national minorities. Supports for language rights are all the more pressing since Sami – in its various dialects – has been identified as a marginalised and threatened language (Swedish Equality Ombudsman, 2008[30]). The rights stated in the conventions on minorities are primarily realised through decisions at national and local level. This applies for example to the possibility to receive education in the national minority languages at school, receive eldercare in one's native language in the administrative district and the possibility to use one's native language in contact with authorities in dealings with public authorities and courts in the specified administrative district in Norrbotten County (Swedish Equality Ombudsman, 2008[30]). The laws apply only to the exercise of authority in the named municipalities where Sami languages have been used for a long time. It is also prescribed that individuals in these municipalities have the right to pre-school education and eldercare upon request.

A recent review by the Ministry of Culture of the application of Sweden's minority policy indicates there are serious flaws in terms of how these policies are being applied/realised in practice, stating – "minorities policy has almost completely failed in terms of guaranteeing the fundamental rights that all five national minorities should enjoy in all municipalities in this country" (Kulturdepartementet, 2017[32]). The report recommends that:

- The minorities policy needs to focus more on the transfer of language and culture between the generations and minorities policy needs to be better integrated into other policy areas;
- The application of the act to public agencies should be expanded to cover the Swedish public employment service;
- Municipalities and County Councils must adopt documented minority policy objectives and guidelines and report on them;
- The obligation of administrative authorities to consult with Sami and other national minorities needs to be clarified in law since they do not have adequate conditions to be equal parties;
- Agencies must pay particular attention to the conditions for children and young concerning influence and consultation;
- Funding for national minorities organisations at the national level should be at least doubled to help them keep up with the growing workload since 2010, primarily due to consultation;
- The government should establish a special agency for the follow-up, co-ordination and promotion of minorities policy;

- Municipalities should be obliged to offer all or a substantial part of pre-school teaching in minority languages and the rules about access to this service should be made clearer to parents;
- The government should establish a centre for Sami health in order to address the major need for knowledge and training for caregivers serving Sami populations; and that
- There is a need for cultural awareness training related to national minorities in schools and adult education and curriculum to support this.

Sources: Kulturdepartementet (2017[32]), *Nästa Steg? Förslag för en Stärkt Minoritetspolitik*, http://www.regeringen.se/49d73d/contentassets/f869b8aae642474db1528c4da4d2b19a/nasta-steg-forslag-for-en-starkt-minoritetspolitik-sou-201760 (accessed on 15 March 2018); Swedish Equality Ombudsman (2008[30]), *Discrimination of the Sami – The Rights of the Sami from a Discrimation Perspective*, http://www2.ohchr.org/english/issues/indigenous/ExpertMechanism/3rd/docs/contributions/SwedishEqualityOmbudsman_2.pdf (accessed on 27 February 2018).

Beyond support for language and culture, another area of common engagement between the Sami and the municipality is with regards to reindeer herding and land management. Municipalities consult with reindeer herders where any land rights and access issues may arise. However, they at the same time have limited means to resolve some of the most pressing issues related to extractive industries and energy developments in their municipalities since these are largely the purview of the national government.[16] Land use policies are discussed in Chapter 3.

Creating an enabling environment for Sami businesses and livelihoods

The manner in which the Sami are included in regional and rural development efforts in northern Sweden – including how funds are structured to support Sami businesses and institutions – tends to focus on reindeer herding activities, culture, tourism and food production. There are a number of ways to improve current policy settings for Sami businesses and economic development.

Make regional and rural development programme design more inclusive of the Sami

Sami-owned businesses have a number of characteristics which distinguishes them from non-Sami businesses. This includes the connection between business activities and the reproduction of culture and Sami institutions, the use of traditional knowledge in the management of the landscape and the production of goods and services, balancing market participation with non-market values, and the unique property rights regime associated with reindeer husbandry. Sami society is also small and predominantly located in sparsely populated areas. This is reflected in the average size of grants allocated through the Sami Parliament's RDP funds relative to other funding streams.

Because of these unique characteristics, a number of challenges are generated in how the Sami economy is present in strategic planning and operational documents, and therefore their accessibility to programmes under the framework of the ERDF and EAFRD. These challenges can be summarised as the following: the minimum threshold size for grants and matching requirements is too high; the reproduction of traditional knowledge and culture are not recognised as legitimate economic development objectives; there is a mismatch between the needs of reindeer herders and what funding is available (e.g. lack of available

upfront investment and the emphasis on skills and job creation); and administrative burdens associated with grant applications on micro-enterprises. It bears noting that such issues as threshold size for grants, matching requirements for funds and administrative burdens are a challenge for many small businesses and NGOs within rural development more generally.

The manner in which the Sami are referenced within policies or have access to targeted funds tends to focus either on reindeer herding or on the cultural sector. While Sami businesses often have unique characteristics and are guided by an underlying ethos of sustainability, cultural reproduction and connections to traditional forms of knowledge and methods, there are other elements in which they are much like other businesses in the north which face constraints related to sparsity and distance. While there are targeted funding measures for Sami businesses and initiatives through the RDP, Sami firms can also operate like any other and have access to the range of supports, the same as any business in Sweden. There are concerns among some Sami businesses and initiatives that identification as a Sami business requires one to first apply for funding through the Sami Parliament, even where the project criteria are not a strong fit or where the available funds may be more limited. For example, the cultural funds administered by the Sami Parliament are open to all Sami institutions and organisations on a yearly basis; there is a lot of burden and competition in this one area of funding. Further, within project criteria, it may be important for Sami businesses to remain small and this notion can contradict criteria for projects and funding that are based on the need for growth which not the will of those participating in traditional livelihoods with the Sami.

There are a number of options available to address these challenges and make regional and rural development programmes more inclusive of the Sami, programmes which are the purview of the Swedish government but also at the EU-level:

- Ensure that Sami business and economic development objectives are better reflected in future revisions of Smart Specialisation Strategies, and ERDF allocations in Sapmi.
- Provide support for intermediary organisations that can support collaboration between Sami owned businesses so they can build scale to jointly apply for grants.
- Redesign rules/create opt-outs in the existing programme framework that create barriers to accessibility for Sami-owned businesses.
- Create a separate Sami economic development programme that would combine funding from the RDP and the ERDF, and give the Sami Parliament of Sweden the competency to managing it and promoting the Sami economy.
- Explore the potential of linking focus areas such as language and health within the European Social Fund with the Sami in regional and rural development efforts. In the past (2006), ESF funds were allocated for the Sami Parliament for Sami projects related to traditional knowledge, skills development/training and health.

Box 2.7. Programme design for Indigenous peoples: Experiences from Canada

Both the Government of Sweden and the EU do not currently offer many programmes and services specifically adapted to Sami needs. As a result, Sami must, in many cases, either use the same programmes and services as other Swedes or not at all. In contrast to Sweden, Canada's governments have been developing programmes targeted towards Indigenous peoples for decades. Here the problem historically has been that those programmes were poorly designed, developed without properly consulting with the

populations they were targeted towards. Since 2015, as part of a broad effort to achieve national reconciliation with Indigenous peoples through a renewed nation-to-nation relationship, the Government of Canada has made some significant changes to the way it goes about designing for and delivering programmes and services to its Indigenous peoples. Fundamental to that new approach is meaningful, ongoing consultation with Indigenous peoples through a distinctions-based approach that recognises the enormous diversity of Canada's Indigenous population.

In 2016, the Government of Canada announced the establishment of permanent bilateral mechanisms between the Government and Canada's Assembly of First Nations, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and the four Inuit Nunangat Regions, and the Métis National Council. Through these new bilateral mechanisms, the prime minister is meeting with these representatives of Indigenous peoples each year to develop policy on shared priorities and monitor progress, with similar meetings with key cabinet ministers taking place at least twice each year. This consultative approach adopted at the highest level of government is being replicated throughout the public service at many levels.

Address regulatory and financial barriers to Sami business development

The legislative framework is extremely important – it shapes Sami community identity and economic relations. In terms of identity, it has created a cleavage in Sami society between those who practice reindeer husbandry and have associated rights – especially land rights and rights to hunting and fishing – and between those who do not. Increasing pressures on reindeer herding – as an industry that is under stress and change – intensifies the need for members to broaden their livelihoods. *Samebyar* could take on an important role in this regard and help to strengthen Sami businesses which tend to be small, less visible and that can often struggle to access markets. They have the potential to act as a broader vehicle for economic development. While individual members are able to establish companies without restriction, *samebys* have a unique role and are important for collective community decision making. Enabling *samebyar* to take on a wider range of economic activities could enhance their resilience and broaden membership.

One of the reported impediments to Sami economic development are challenges in accessing capital for business development. There are various reasons for this impediment. In some cases, business activities are small (Sami livelihoods may entail combining several activities) and as such, the types of loans that are available may not be the right fit. Another identified impediment is that while reindeer herding Sami hold herding, hunting and fishing rights across large tracts of land, these are not ownership rights – meaning they cannot be used as collateral for financial purposes. In some northern municipalities in Sweden, local lending institutions are sensitive to these characteristics and have adapted strategies to effectively meet the needs of Sami businesses. However, these practices are variable. In the case of *duodji* businesses, a reported impediment is that there is no industry code to recognise Sami *duodji* (one code for all types of handicrafts); consequently, there are no statistics to understand this economy. Consequently, Sami contributions to this industry are invisible and moreover, it is difficult to measure whether supports for Sami cultural industries are in fact leading to growth in this sector.

These types of challenges in accessing financing are a common challenge for Indigenous entrepreneurs across the OECD. Sami handcrafters are disproportionately women and it is reported that they are often hesitant to approach financial institutions for loans (based on

research interviews). In North America, Indigenous financial institutions fill an important role in this regard (Box 2.8). These institutions are Indigenous-led and because of their community ownership have developed strong networks, linkages and trust with Indigenous peoples. In addition to financial intermediation, these institutions also provide capacity building and training for Indigenous entrepreneurs and business owners. A Sami-led financial institution could be capitalised in a number of ways, for example, through revenues from hunting and fishing licenses, benefit sharing agreements related to resource extraction, state funds, and the European Structural and Investment Funds. The applicability of this model to the Swedish Sami context should be explored. For example, it could be prudent for such an institution to have cross-border to reach (pan Sapmi) in order to access a more substantial number of benefactors and funding.

Box 2.8. Indigenous financial institutions

Businesses in remote rural areas can have difficulties in accessing capital and this problem is amplified for Indigenous entrepreneurs. In Canada, Indigenous peoples who live on reserves possess a right to live there but the land itself is owned by the Crown. To help address this and other problems experienced (such as discrimination) by Indigenous peoples in Canada the government supports an array of funding programmes and financial institutions dedicated to Indigenous needs. Examples include:

- Aboriginal Financial Institutions (AFIs). A national network of autonomous, Indigenous-controlled, community-based financial organisations, AFIs provide lending and business financing and support services to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit businesses and communities in all provinces and territories.
- BDC - Indigenous Entrepreneur Loan. The Business Development Bank of Canada is a national Crown Corporation dedicated to small businesses and entrepreneurs. The bank offers a loan whose eligibility and other conditions are tailored to the specific needs of Indigenous Canadian Entrepreneurs.
- Government of Ontario – Indigenous Economic Development Fund (IEDF). The IEDF provides grants and financing to Aboriginal businesses and Indigenous communities and organisations. IEDF is administered on behalf of the Ontario Government by the AFIs. In recent years, both the federal and some provincial governments have been leveraging AFIs as delivery agents for several Indigenous financial support programmes.

In the United States, Native Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) can include loan funds, credit unions, banks, thrifts and depository institution holding companies that share a mission to promote economic development for Indigenous communities (Hoffman et al., 2016[33]). Native CDFIs in North America provide a variety of different banking and financial services, together with programmes to build the skills, capabilities, and financial literacy of Indigenous entrepreneurs and community members.

Meanwhile, in Australia, the Indigenous Entrepreneurs Capital Scheme (IECS) are a new initiative which recognises that Indigenous businesses often are unable to receive finance from banks because of lower levels of collateral and limited access to personal wealth. The IECS – co-designed with banks, investors and Indigenous businesses – will target Indigenous businesses who are established and ready to grow, but are under-capitalised and unable to access mainstream bank financing outright. It is anticipated that businesses participating in the scheme will be able to transition to mainstream banking independently over the medium term.

Source: Hoffman et al. (2016[33]), *Access to Capital and Credit in Native Communities*, https://nni.arizona.edu/application/files/8914/6386/8578/Accessing_Capital_and_Credit_in_Native_Communities.pdf (accessed on 05 April 2018).

There are two key options to consider for removing legislative and financial barriers to Sami business development:

- Remove restrictions in the Reindeer Husbandry Act (1971) to *sameby* undertaking other economic activities; and
- Examine the viability of establishing a Sami-led Financial Institution that could provide financial intermediation and capacity building initiatives for Sami entrepreneurs and businesses.

Any review of laws and regulations related to reindeer herding should also consider the differences in rights and access to land between Sami who are members of Sami villages and Sami who are not. Removal of the restrictions in the Reindeer Husbandry Act (1971) to *sameby* undertaking other economic activities should be considered alongside ensuring that all Sami have the same opportunities and abilities to exercise their rights (e.g. rights to hunting and fishing).

Ensure regional and rural development programmes support clustering activities to support small businesses

The SWOT analysis undertaken by the Sami Parliament to inform the RDP highlights the importance of increased co-operation; the clustering of activities and the application of new service solutions (i.e. new technologies) to support Sami business development. Intermediary institutions play a critical role in this regard. Sami businesses tend to be small and, in many cases, offer high-end products. By clustering activities in certain sectors, these types of entrepreneurs can build capacity (e.g. pool marketing efforts) and have better access to markets. Many Sami make their livelihoods by combining a number of activities and business clusters can help such entrepreneurs manage these activities. For example, for reindeer herders who are also engaged in tourism activities, businesses owners can often be out of reception and require flexibility to deal with the demands of animal husbandry. There are clusters working together to cover for one another to fill in the demands of running a parallel tourism business.

The clustering of activities can take place through more formal or informal channels. There are examples for instance of hubs for the development of *duodji* that have played a critical role in the community. For example, the creative hub Vallje located in Gällivare (supported through the ERDF) provides a space for entrepreneurs to work on their craft and exchange practices and expertise. It also showcases these activities in the broader community. As many of the crafters are women, this hub is also specifically designed to help female

entrepreneurs balance the demands of family and work – it has created an inclusive space where children are also welcome. Thus, the hub serves multiple functions – as a business incubator, workspace, cultural and social centre, and space for female empowerment and mentorship. Public funding to support these types of hubs/spaces (e.g. initial project loans or grants) can thus boost both Sami business and cultural development.

Options to better support clustering activities by Sami entrepreneurs are:

- Include a specific reference in programme criteria for the ERDF and EARDF to support small-scale clusters for Sami businesses; and
- Recognise the role that Sami institutions (schools and cultural centres) can play as business incubators, and in business growth, and ensure they have the funding to provide this role.

Building capacity in the Sami business sector – Strengthening the role of intermediary institutions

Related to the notion of clustering, intermediary institutions – those that can act as a bridge between government and other funders and businesses – offer critical supports for Sami entrepreneurship. An effective example of this is the Economic Agency and Development Company in Gällivare (Ávki) which has a specialised competence in supporting the Sami business community. Ávki is a small organisation whose creation was born out of a project in 2009 which acquired three years of funding to develop Sami businesses; the project was funded by the EU, the municipalities, the region and a financial institution. Ávki's main role today is to support bookkeeping and accounting practices, but they also develop their own projects and work as project leaders. At present, the organisation is involved in five projects and also runs Gällivare's tourist information office. One of the most recent projects focuses on creating events that promote Sami entrepreneurship with a focus on Saami food. The aim is to strengthen Sami companies to create more jobs in Sapmi through information and development efforts. To accomplish this, relevant meeting places need to be created to provide the conditions for knowledge sharing, inspiration and visibility of Saami food culture and other products.

Because *samebyar* cannot be structured as companies (they are prohibited by law from running businesses), flexible companies like Ávki are able to take on a range of activities in support of local enterprise development. The vast majority of Ávki's work is with microenterprises that need access to only a very small amount of capital. These firms can access small grants for investments and marketing and consulting from the Sami Parliament or the region. Importantly, because, many Sami are grounded in Sami culture, Ávki can support the development and growth of these firms on the basis of a strong understanding of the Sami lifestyle. The company is governed by a board and presently employs around ten people on various projects and for core business activities such as bookkeeping services. The municipality in Gällivare has been proactive in working with *samebyar* and understand their potential and Ávki has been successful as a result. The organisation is also reported to be well-linked with regional development efforts – it has worked closely with the region for two years on culture and creative SMEs and on the development of strategic plans.

Organisations such as Ávki are often in a precarious funding position, relying disproportionally on short-term project funding. More stability in their operations would help them improve their services, develop new projects including mentorship for new and aspiring entrepreneurs, and enhance their ability to partner with regional and local development efforts. A lack of stable funding has also hampered Visit Sapmi (they are no

longer operational) and initiatives such as Slow Food Sapmi and Renlycka (quality label for fair trade and ecological reindeer products).

More stability in funding would also enable such organisations to collect more systematic information about their membership and the specific needs of the Sami business sector. At present Ávki does not survey its members for information. The Sami business community within the municipality (and even the broader region) is a small group and members tend to know one another; however, there is no structured information flow and co-operation among groups. Increased investment in intermediary institutions could help to address some of the threats identified by the Sami Parliament such as a lack of resources, low visibility of the Sami community and a lack of participation in local and regional development efforts.

Policy options to better support Sami-led development organisations are:

- Provide core funding to these institutions to support projects and support Sami development in society; and
- Consider extending the Ávki model to other municipalities in the Sami language administrative area (or alternatively investigate a shared services model between municipalities).

Expand skills and training opportunities for Sami business development

Growth opportunities for Sami businesses and for northern Sweden more generally in such areas as tourism, cultural industries and food production require training and business skills in order to reach new markets and development, and deliver high-quality products and experiences. One key institution which supports these efforts is the Sami educational centre (upper secondary school and vocational training) in Jokkmokk which provides two-year training in *duodji,* languages and Sami food. It also offers cross-border education for reindeer herders who have to navigate a complex regulatory environment (e.g. navigate different land and reindeer herding laws) and includes students from Finland and Norway (this is part of an Interreg-funded project). The Sami educational centre has around 150 students and is the only such Sami education centre in Sweden; students board during term time. The Sami education centre trains crafters; it is a culture-generating business. This is a unique institution in Sapmi – while individuals who participate in the programme develop businesses, the institution also supports Sami society and self-sufficiency in culture and *duodji*. Another notable example is the upper secondary school at Bokenskolan/Laplands gymnasium of Jokkmokk. It offers a social science programme with a Sami profile and includes Sami languages, *duodji*, culture, guide training, reindeer knowledge and entrepreneurship as subjects. Application is open nationwide, and upon programme completion, students are eligible for university studies.

National policies should create an enabling environment for Sami and non-Sami alike. In some case, national rules are restrictive of Sami activities – often this has to do with size. For example, the Sami educational centre is hindered from becoming a centre of higher education because national rules stipulate that such a designation would require a higher number of students. In a similar vein, there is no Sami daily newspaper and establishing one has been hindered by national funding rules, including the requirement that newspapers release one issue per week and have at least 1 500 paying subscribers. Promisingly, in 2014, changes were made in order to make it easier for Sami newspapers access a press subsidy by lowering the threshold for subscribers.[17]

Beyond the types of skills training offered by the Sami educational centre, entrepreneurs need the opportunity to build the necessary business skills in such areas as accounting, business planning, and marketing. Training opportunities in mainstream Swedish education institutions are often too far away from where Sami live, do not offer training in Sami language, or simply do not operate on a timetable sensitive to the annual migration of reindeer that shapes Sami life. In the Rural Development Programme, there are funds managed by the Sami Parliament to support training. However, the reach and specialisation of such training could be expanded and involve a broader array of actors and institutions. Some flexible and place-based solutions to training could help to overcome the aforementioned challenges. Practices from Canada highlight how community-driven, economic development initiatives can be tailored to the particular needs of their community and how Indigenous organisations are leveraged to support the delivery of national programming in support of Aboriginal business and entrepreneurship development (Box 2.9).

Policy options to expand skills and training opportunities for Sami business development are:

- Adapt rules related to the delivery of business training programmes to better match the needs of Sami entrepreneurs in rural areas; and
- Expand the availability of culturally sensitive business training opportunities (e.g. in Sami language and/or led by the Sami community and institutions).

Box 2.9. Indigenous business skills training in Canada

In Canada, Indigenous peoples also face a variety of challenges in developing the necessary skills and knowledge to be successful in business. The Government of Canada has created several programmes and institutions in an effort to help Indigenous peoples access skills training opportunities that meet their needs. Examples include:

- Indigenous Community Futures Development Corporations. The Community Futures programme is a community-driven, economic development initiative designed to assist communities in Canada's rural areas to develop and implement strategies for dealing with a changing economic environment (Community Futures Canada, 2018[34]). The Community Futures network consists of 268 non-profit Community Futures Development Corporations (CFDCs) across Canada. All CFDCs provide small business services such as loans, tools, training and information to people looking to start a business. Some CFDCs are located in Indigenous communities and are Indigenous-run, offering a package of CFDC services that is tailored to the particular needs of their community. Indigenous CFDCs are funded by the Regional Development Agencies; and
- Indigenous Services Canada - Aboriginal Business and Entrepreneurship Development (ABED). The ABED programme supports Indigenous entrepreneurs with activities such as: business planning, acquisitions and expansions; marketing initiatives that are local, domestic, or export-oriented; new product or process development; technology adoption; financial services; and business-related training and mentoring services (Indigenous Services Canada, 2018[35]). Like Ontario's Indigenous Economic Development Fund, the ABED programme is delivered on behalf of the Government of Canada by Aboriginal Financial Institutions and is an example of Canada's use of a third-party delivery mechanism

whereby autonomous Indigenous organisations are leveraged to support the delivery of national programming. Third-party delivery mechanisms may be something worth exploring for Sweden. Organisations like Ávki could serve as delivery agents for programmes to support Sami businesses, and giving them this role would both help those services better reach the target population and also would strengthen Ávki itself, providing them with more stable funding.

Sources: Community Futures Canada (2018[34]), *Community Futures Canada*, https://communityfuturescanada.ca/ (accessed on 10 April 2018); Indigenous Services Canada (2018[35]), *Aboriginal Business and Entrepreneurship Development*, https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1375201178602/1375202816581 (accessed on 10 April 2018).

Developing a sustainable Sami-led tourism industry

The tourism industry has been identified as a growth opportunity in northern Sweden. There is a great deal of potential to develop this industry further – particularly among Sami entrepreneurs. Tourism to the northern regions tends to be activity-based and there are efforts to increase year-round tourism. Being a large region, the transportation system, including infrastructure, needs to support tourism and priority areas for investment should be identified. Regional governments are taking a great interest in how they can support tourism efforts together with local governments and key stakeholders, the Sami among them. For example, the region of Norrbotten is investing in Swedish Lapland in tourism in order to strengthen work in this area with Sami entrepreneurs.

There are relatively few Sami businesses in tourism at the moment, though there are efforts to build this industry and increase the visibility and engagement of the Sami within. For example, the organisation Visit Sapmi has provided a certification system called "Sapmi experience" where one can learn about establishing a sustainable tourism company. This certification system helps people to find a tourism complement that works with reindeer herding. Visit Sapmi is currently not active due to a lack of funding. Efforts such as these need greater permanence and should be connected to the work of the Swedish Tourism Board. Moreover, the Sami Parliament could take a stronger role in promoting Sami tourism activities. There is a need to better link Sami tourism with broader efforts.

There are debates within the Sami community about how to protect cultural heritage; some activities like tourism are perceived by some members as detracting from these efforts. There are barriers to community-based tourism including a lack of know-how about carrying out such activities. Mentorship support and acceptance from the older generation to get commercial Sami activities up and running like in tourism is needed. Stronger engagement between Sami organisations and national and regional tourism efforts is needed. Groups like Visit Sapmi serve a critical function in their regard – however, their funding is precarious and they are not structured as robust long-term organisations.

Part of building a sustainable tourism industry in northern Sweden requires addressing land use conflicts. The value of inclusive models is demonstrated by the experience in the Laponia United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage site – which includes 4 national parks and a number of nature reserves covering about 10 000 km². Within Laponia, tourist activities can take place in areas where reindeer graze and cause them stress. In other cases, tourism companies have fished without permits. Sami representatives are part of Laponia's board and there is strong awareness among the Laponia's management about the nature of Sami activities alongside efforts at ongoing meaningful engagement. The park has encouraged dialogue about land use issues

and Laponia is providing information to tourist companies on the rules of conduct; this will be provided each year in order to lessen conflicts. This is useful on a number of fronts. It helps tourism operators develop effective practices and also lessens the burden upon *samebyar* to work individually with tourism operators to develop common solutions to using the space.

The CABs should provide better guidance to tourism operators about regulatory compliance issues prior to their engagement with Sami. At present, there are no guidelines at the level of the county board for dog sledding activities and how they should work with reindeer herders to avoid conflicts. The CABs are aware of reindeer migration routes and could help to inform businesses of how best to operate. More generally, there is a need for awareness building and cultural training for tourism operations. The National Union of the Swedish Saami People (SSR) has developed a Sami sustainability management plan and conducted a pilot project which included mapping in order to promote sustainable tourism. This was further developed into an action plan for tourism including best practices for how reindeer herders can work with tourism operators.

Policy options to develop a more sustainable Sami-led tourism industry are:

- Provide a sustainable financing solution for Sami-led efforts related to certification, raising awareness and capacity building for tourism operators;
- The northern counties together with local destination companies collaborate with the Sami Parliament, regional tourism organisations, regional and local destination companies such as Swedish Lapland and Visit Sapmi to ensure visibility for Sami tourism assets in local and regional promotional material. It is noted that Visit Sapmi no longer operational due to a lack of funding; and
- For the CABs to develop and promote guidance regarding how tourism operators should engage with reindeer herders and monitor compliance in relation to it (including providing information about reindeer migration timing and routes).[18]

Investments in Sami culture and education are investments in Sami economic development

Sami economic development is linked to Sami culture. Organisations such as the Sami *Duodji* Foundation (*Sameslöjdstiftelsen Sámi Duodji*, est. 1994) – a Swedish foundation aimed at promoting Sami crafts works for the promotion of joint ventures and that manages the use of the "*Duodji* brand" in Sweden, a handmade jewellery brand, and products of Sami craftsmen such as clothing, gear, household goods and fishing gear. The brand may be used for both traditionally-made Sami and other craftsmanship developed in traditional materials and methods. The foundation handles the annual Asa Kitok scholarship and publishes the weekly Duodjiforum magazine, distributed as an attachment to the magazine Samefolk. It has been supported by the Swedish Parliament; it received state funds which are channelled via the Sami Parliament. Another example of how cultural institutions serve multiple roles is the Tráhppie cafe in Västerbottens, which was founded by the Såhkie Umeå Sami Association in 2012. The cafe and cultural centre provide a meeting space, celebrate and promote Sami food, act as a music venue for Sami artists and sell *duodji*.

Northern regional development strategies all mention the importance of Sami culture as a key asset. This culture requires protections. One of the ongoing issues to address is how to protect Indigenous methods, techniques and products – their intellectual and cultural capital. Sami handcrafters on the Swedish side hold the *duodji* brand (which is owned by the Sami cultural organisation). Individuals who wish to have their products included under

the Sami *duodji* brand need to submit them to the group to review in order to ensure that they are produced with authentic traditional techniques and materials in order to guarantee their quality and authenticity as a Sami *duodji* product. While consumers who are knowledgeable can seek out this brand in order to ensure that they have purchased an authentic product, this does not address the mass replication and use of Sami designs and technologies by non-Sami firms. There are ongoing efforts by groups such as Sami *Duodji* Foundation to secure intellectual copyrights and there is a growing need to address this. The Sami *Duodji* Foundation seeks to build the case for this and to potentially pursue litigation against cultural appropriation. These issues are common to many Indigenous peoples. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples (2007) provides a broad recognition of Indigenous intellectual property and stipulates that, in conjunction with Indigenous peoples, states should take effective measures to recognise and protect the exercise of these rights (Rimmer, 2015[36]). At present, Sami organisations are under-resourced to pursue these matters.

Box 2.10. Enhancing Indigenous Intellectual Property (IP) rights

Many Indigenous technologies are based on tacit knowledge that has been handed down orally across generations. Because they are not the result of scientific discovery or have not been scientifically tested, they may not be valued or recognised as legitimate in areas such as health or natural resource management. Traditional Indigenous technologies are also not the property of the individual inventor. As a result, Indigenous technologies can be appropriated by other actors (entrepreneurs and corporations).

Indigenous forms of technological innovation challenge our traditional rule frameworks and programmes that are designed to incentivise and support innovation. These frameworks can be problematic when valuing Indigenous innovations by: focusing only on formal innovation systems where science-based research and development activity is a prerequisite for support; focusing support only on innovations that have the potential for rapid growth (gazelles); requiring that an innovation be novel in a national or international context before it can be supported; establishing high minimum funding levels and complex application procedures that can be difficult for individuals or small firms to deal with; and concentrating efforts to promote innovation in urban areas.

Indigenous Intellectual Property (IP) rights have been increasing source of controversy, discussion and policy responses in recent years. This includes the need to develop legal instruments regarding the use and protection of traditional knowledge, traditional cultural expressions, and biological material. International negotiations on protection for traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions are currently taking place inter alia in the World Intellectual Property Organization's Committee on Intellectual Property, Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore. Beyond the need for improved legal acknowledgement and protections within international and national legal frameworks, nation states and non-government organisations can also institute programmes related to the certification of Indigenous products and services to better protect Indigenous entrepreneurs.

There are relevantly few institutions that promote Sami culture in Sweden in comparison to, for example, Norway. In Sweden there are 3 organisations in the cultural sector for Sami while in Norway there are at least 30; Norway provides NOK 150 million to the Sami

cultural sector whereas Sweden provides SEK 18 million. Swedish Sami working in the cultural sector note that there is a "brain drain" from Sweden to Norway of gifted and well-educated Sami. From a Sami and arctic point of view, the creative sector has great value (including intrinsic value) and there are successful Sami artists gaining international recognition. For example, the highly successful and award-winning 2016 film Sami Blood (*Sameblod*) – a Swedish coming-of-age drama about Sami identity and discrimination in Sweden – has raised awareness about Sami relations in Sweden and worldwide. This film was financed by the Swedish Film Institute, the Danish Film Institute, the International Sami Film Institute, Eurimages, Norwegian film funds, other smaller funds. It is also a co-production with Swedish Television.

Sami organisations that support the cultural sector are highly reliant on project funding and volunteer efforts. It is very difficult to build robust cultural institutions with these constraints. The precarious nature of funding in this sector means that employees of Sami cultural institutions often have limited job security and tend to supplement this income with *duodji*.

Policy options to develop stronger Sami cultural institutions to support economic development efforts are:

- Work with the Sami *Duodji* Foundation to develop a strategy to raise awareness about the *Duodji* mark in Sweden, particularly with the tourism sector.
- Undertake an audit of access to cultural institutions in northern Sweden for Sami people, and identify options for sustainable funding related to their community and economic development functions.

Notes

[1] The national rural policy is specified through three sub-targets. The first is sustainable growth: in other words, the ability of the rural areas to make use of the conditions for enterprise and employment is long-term sustainable, while achieving the environmental goals. The rural areas contribute to a positive development of Sweden's economy. The second is a circular, bio-based and fossil-free economy as well as sustainable use of natural resources; rural areas should contribute to strengthening Sweden's competitiveness in a development towards a circular, bio-based and fossil-free economy and to the sustainable use of natural resources as well as fulfilment of relevant environmental quality objectives. The third is to have attractive habitats in Sweden's rural areas and equal opportunities for people to work, reside and live in rural areas.

[2] In Canada the indigenous affairs portfolio is led by two dedicated ministers - the Minister of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs and the Minister of Indigenous Services.

[3] The Sami School Board is an administrative agency for public Sami schools (compulsory schools up until Grade 6) and their affiliated activities, which are governed by the Sami School Ordinance (Sameskolförordning, 1995:205). Sami pupils are entitled to be taught in their native language if the native language of one or both parents or guardians is not Swedish. However, a municipality is only obliged to arrange mother tongue teaching in Sami if a suitable teacher is available and the pupil has a basic knowledge of Sami. The rules in the Upper Secondary School Ordinance are the same as those in the rules as in the Compulsory School Ordinance. The only difference is that an upper secondary school pupil must have good knowledge rather than basic knowledge in Sami to be

entitled to teaching in the Sami languages. The Sami children are allowed to attend a Sami school for the six first grades. Teaching there must be in both Sami and Swedish and the Sami subject must be taught in all grades. There are five Sami schools which are run by the Sami School Board – an administrative agency for public Sami schools and their affiliated activities – which are governed by the Sami School Ordinance.

[4] Certain administrative tasks were transferred from County Administrative Boards and the Ministry of Agriculture to the Sami Parliament in 2007 (see Bill 2005/2006:86 on increasing Sami influence [*Ett ökat samiskt inflytande*]). Tasks transferred from the Agriculture Board and the CABs to the Sami Parliament for the co-ordination of reindeer administration include: funds, administrating and registering *renmärken* (reindeer marks) and keeping them on a register, responsibility for appeals of decisions made by the annual meeting in the *samebyar* and decisions concerning membership, borders of the *samebyar*, maintenance of reindeer fences along the Swedish/Norwegian border, decisions regarding funds from hydroelectric exploitation (Bygdemedel).

[5] There are exceptions to this (e.g. migrant integration services) but generally Sweden aims to deliver high-quality services to all citizens.

[6] The Board of Agriculture is the managing authority.

[7] The Sami partnership is composed of: The Sami National Association (SSR); Renägarförbundet; Sámi *Duodji*; the Sami Training Centre; Sáminuorra – Sami Riksungdomsorganisation; Visit Sapmi; Slow Food Sapmi; Umeå University – Cesam; SLU research department; Swedish Federation of Swedish Sami.

[8] Own calculations based on projects funded in the 2014-20 RDP programming period to date (to 2018). The average total project financing for all RDP programme measures excluding funds managed by the Sami Parliament was SEK 2 405 551, while for Sami projects this stood at SEK 571 363.

[9] *Renvallar* are pastured fields that traditionally have been used for milking or as a protection against predators during summertime. Due to the grazing intensity of the soil, the vegetation here consists of a specific beet-dependent flora worth conserving and maintaining.

[10] Loss of reindeer varies between years and counties. Estimated loss of reindeer varies between years, counties and *samebyar*. In their annual reports for 2017, the 5 counties concerned estimate loss of reindeer in the range of 7%-40 %, however some *samebyar* have not estimated their losses (source: Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation, Division for Fisheries, Game Management and Reindeer husbandry).

[11] In 6 counties, responsibilities for regional development falls to Regional Co-operation Bodies; in 13 counties the County Councils are in charge; in 1 municipality (with the responsibility of a county council), in 1 county the County Administrative Boards take care of these functions. Since the beginning of 2017, 4 more counties will assume responsibility for regional development, increasing the number of counties responsible for regional development to 14. A reform will result in all County Councils taking responsibility for regional development from 1st January 2019 with one exception of a municipality (with the responsibility of a county council).

[12] Region Jämtland-Härjedalen was formed 1 January 2015 and was formerly known as Jämtland County Council (and is still formally in the constitution a County Council despite the change of its official name, as all regions are). The region is responsible for healthcare and regional development. Norrbotten County Council was transformed into a region on 1 January 2017; it has four different areas of activity: healthcare and dental care, regional development, culture and education, and county engineering and services. Region Västerbotten is a Regional Co-operation Body with regional development responsibility in Västerbotten County. It was formed 1 January 2008 by the county's 15 municipalities and the county council of Västerbotten.

[13] There will be one exception—the Island of Gotland where there is only one municipality and no County Council. That municipality does also have the responsibility of the County Council (and does already have the responsibility of regional development).

[14] Spatial planning is not a competency of the regional level; however, it has direct impacts on the capacity for these regions to achieve their population growth and economic development objectives.

[15] There are political differences in terms of whether different Sámi languages are recognised as languages (as in Finland by law) or dialects (as in Sweden, with varying practice). There are, depending on the nature and terms of division, ten or more Sami languages; nine of the languages are at present living languages and the largest six of the languages have independent literary.

[16] Note that municipalities have an unconditional veto right in regard of new wind power plants.

[17] In 2014 changes were made to the regulation of newspapers subsidies, where newspapers published in national minority languages would need to have 750 paying subscribers instead of 1 500 (which is the case for all other newspapers). This regulation will be prolonged to 2023 pending approval by the European Commission (the regulation is now valid until the end of 2019). Apart from this, two new forms of subsidy will be in place by January 2019 (if approved by the European Commission): one is an innovation and development subsidy which supports technical innovations in the newspaper branch, the other is a subsidy for geographical areas with low or no journalistic presence. Both these new subsidy schemes could potentially have positive consequences for national minorities. The new schemes also have a lower threshold of 750 subscribers instead of the usual 1 500.

[18] At present, there is no authority that supervises or provides guidance on the prohibition to "scare and disturb" reindeers which is included in the Reindeer Husbandry Act (RNL 93-94). Presently the reindeer herder reports the matter to the police in the event of a disturbance. If the prosecutor decides to take the matter to court, the reindeer herder then has to witness.

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Chapter 3. Inclusive regional and rural development policies and governance

This chapter discusses the design and implementation of inclusive regional and rural development policies and governance for the Sami. It outlines the need to improve whole-of-government prioritisation and co ordination for Sami relations and engagement and the importance of developing more effective frameworks to manage land use issues (e.g. developing guidelines and cultural awareness to engage with Sami, and improving information about Sami land use for regulators).

Better linking the Sami with regional and rural development efforts fundamentally comes down to questions of governance – that is, how the Sami, their economy and their ambitions for development are visible and included in regional and rural development policies within a framework for multi-level governance relations. Improving these linkages requires navigating a complex institutional environment involving multiple actors; improving the understanding of the Sami economy and its potential; and creating a stronger platform for their own development ambitions to be heard, realised and connected to regional development policies and programmes.

Chapter 1 of this report has focused policy recommendations on the need for improved quality of data and information about the Sami economy to inform decision-making (this includes establishing better systems to collect data, investing in competencies, and clarifying responsibilities for data collection). Chapter 2 outlined the frameworks for regional and rural development in Sweden and discussed the need to consolidate and strengthen responsibilities for Sami economic development and to address issues that result in programme mismatches (e.g. incorporating specific Sami objectives and criteria, and reducing barriers to entry for micro-enterprises). Building on these two previous chapters, this chapter on governance focuses on two issues. First, the need to improve whole-of-government prioritisation and co-ordination for Sami relations and engagement. Second, the need to develop more effective frameworks to manage land use issues (e.g. developing guidelines and cultural awareness to engage with Sami, and improving information about Sami land use for regulators).

Better linking the Sami with regional and rural development efforts

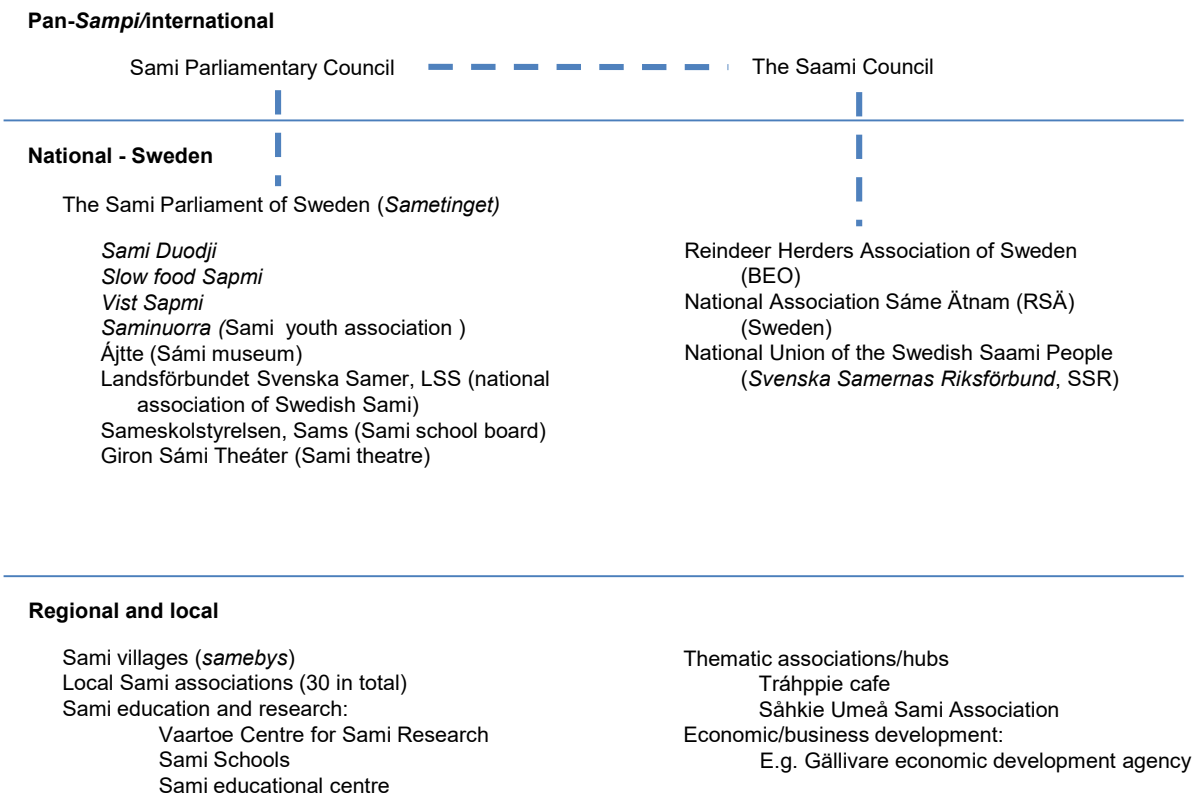
A diversity of Sami voices and institutions – Implications for engagement

Better linking the Sami with regional and rural development efforts in northern Sweden requires an acknowledgement of the assets and opportunities of the Sami alongside recognition of their own development ambitions and business needs and how these fit – or not – within regional and rural development strategies and programmes. However, doing so is complicated by the fact that the Sami have a lack of visibility; there is often a low cultural awareness of the group within Swedish society (with some differences between the north and south of Sweden). Moreover, Sami society is very diverse. The Sami do not speak with one voice and hence, improving relations and including the Sami in regional economic development requires sensitivity to the capacity of Sami communities and organisations to effectively engage while navigating inherent power asymmetries in interactions with government and industry. One cannot say that there is one view of regional and economic development that encompasses the Sami perspective. There are various organisations and interests that each may have their own perspective on these issues and they are not always compatible. This complicates the governance process.

Sami identity is unique in that it is at once pan-Sapmi, extending across borders and different governance and policy contexts, and also very local – as illustrated by the multiple dialects of the Sami language and the institution of *samebyar*. Pan-Sapmi institutions include the Saami Council (est. 1956, formerly the Nordic Sami Council), which is an umbrella organisation for the Sami living in the Nordic countries. The Saami Council makes statements and suggestions on issues affecting Sami industries, rights, languages and culture. At the political level, there is the Sami Parliamentary Council (est. 1998) which comprises 21 members, appointed by the respective Sami parliaments from among the representatives elected to each of them.[1] These pan-Sapmi organisations provide an

important venue to discuss self-determination and through which to tackle issues of cross-border co-ordination which are important for the reindeer herding industry and hence, for regional development. These organisations engage with national governments and through the Nordic Council of Ministers and not generally at the level of regional governments.

Figure 3.1. Sami organisations, Sapmi and Sweden



Within Sweden, the Sami Parliament of Sweden (*Sametinget*) – as an elected political body – has a particularly important perspective on regional and rural development. It represents a diversity of voices and is at present composed of eight political parties. The *Sametinget* notes that it sees the Sami as largely governed by conditions outside the Sami community and wherein the business policy is a result of priorities and efforts decided by the state (including County Administrative Boards) and municipalities, with minimal Sami influence. Moreover, they remark that strategies for the inclusion of the Sami in regional development policy are not uniform – they differ considerably from region to region including across municipalities within a region. Where the Sami are included in discussions regarding regional development, the *Sametinget* argues that this is often done in an indirect manner as a way of enhancing the attractiveness of the tourism industry (Sametinget, 2018[1]). OECD analysis of how the Sami are included in the northern region's strategic plans reinforces this point.

The Sami Parliament has regular contact with several central government authorities, five County Administrative Boards and a large number of northern municipalities. With the current workload and resource allocation, the Sami Parliament argues that it cannot fully fulfil its statutory role, neither at the official level nor at the political level and as such, has requested increased administrative appropriation. The Sami Parliament estimates that it will require another three full-time employees to better manage its affairs including its responsibility for international issues and business development, and to expand its influence in areas where there is currently no responsible manager such as education, Sami social care, cultural heritage and Sami health (Sametinget, 2018, p. 7[2]). In 2018, funds for the Sami Parliament were increased for cultural activities. It is important to note that there are ongoing debates about whether the Sami Parliament's role as both a political body and agency of government undermine its efforts at self-determination – in contrast to the independence of these bodies in Finland and Norway.

Box 3.1. Sami political institutions and legal frameworks: Comparing Finland, Norway and Sweden

Sami rights to self-determination have been gradually recognised across the Nordic states with the creation of Sami parliaments – democratically elected Sami institutions that can represent Sami political interests both nationally and internationally – have been fundamental to realising this imperative. While Sami leaders seek recognition of the unqualified right of the Sami people to self-determination, in practical terms, the aim is to ensure Sami autonomy and self-government in matters relating to their internal affairs, including their own economic, social and cultural development (Henriksen, 2008[3]). This includes the right to exercise control over traditional Sami lands and natural resources. The constitutions and laws of Finland, Norway and Sweden recognise Sami rights in different ways and while Sami parliaments exist in all three states, their roles and responsibilities differ.

An umbrella organisation – the Sami Parliamentary Council – comprises 21 members appointed by the respective Sami parliaments from among the representatives elected to each of them. The Sami in Russia only have observer status in the Sami Parliamentary Council as they do not have their own parliament (Henriksen, 2008[3]).

Finland

Sami rights in Finland are defined around geographic parameters; they apply only to the three northernmost municipalities in Finland (Enontekiö, Inari and Utsjoki) and to the Sami reindeer-herding district Lapin Paliskunta in the municipality of Sodankylä. Under the Finish Sami Act, the relevant authorities are required to provide the Sami Parliament with the opportunity to be heard and to negotiate on any specific questions falling within the scope of Section 9 of the Sami Act. However, this is in practice treated as a duty to consult the Sami Parliament; negotiations seldom take place. In practical terms, the Sami Parliament in Finland remains an advisory body with limited authority and decision-making power. Its political activities are also restricted by budgetary constraints.

Norway

Norway has constitutional guarantees for Sami rights and the state is obliged to create the conditions necessary for the Sami to protect and develop their language, their culture and their society. The Sami Parliament (est. 1989) is regarded as an important part of the

implementation of these rights and its mandate includes all questions that the Parliament considers to relate to the Sami and has the authority to make decisions when this follows from legislative or administrative provisions. However, the Sami Parliament is formally still an advisory body, with limited decision-making powers.

Norway has an administrative area for the Sami language (applies to seven municipalities) where Sami and Norwegian languages have equal status as national languages. The 2005 Finnmark Act recognises that the Sami have ownership and usufruct rights to lands in Finnmark County. Around 95% of the land in Finnmark County (about 46 000 km^2, an area approximately the size of Denmark) was transferred from state ownership to a new entity called the Finnmark Estate – a joint body of the Sami Parliament and the County Council of Finnmark. The act contributes to the implementation of the natural resource dimension of Sami self-determination. The status of Sami rights to land in other counties remains unresolved.

Sweden

Like Finland and Norway, the Swedish national parliament has adopted a Sami Parliament Act that provides for the establishment of the Sami Parliament. The Sami Parliament is tasked by the act to promote a dynamic Sami culture and is mandated to make decisions about the distribution of state funds from the Sami Fund for Sami culture and organisations, and to other state funds that are placed at the collective disposal of the Sami. The Sami Parliament is also mandated to appoint a board for the state agency the Sami School Boards, direct Sami linguistic work, participate in social planning and ensure Sami interests and needs are taken into consideration, including reindeer husbandry interests in the use of land and water. As such, unlike in Finland and Norway, the Sami Parliament in Sweden is both an elected body and state authority focused on administrative tasks. Sweden's Sami Parliament describes itself as "an advisory board and expert on Sami issues" (Sami Parliament of Sweden, 2018[4]). The Swedish Parliament recognised the Sami as an Indigenous people in 1977 and in 1999, further recognised the Sami as one of Sweden's five national minorities. The instrument of government also stipulates that restrictions in the right to practice business activities or pursue a profession can only be made to protect important public interests and never for the sole purpose of financially benefiting certain persons or companies. In 2011, the Swedish Constitution was amended to give explicit recognition to the Sami people, the instrument of government stipulates that the opportunities for the Sami people to preserve and develop a cultural and social life of their own shall be promoted. Interpretation of Indigenous rights in Sweden largely relates to the right to reindeer herding and hunting and fishing if a member of a *sameby* and, regarding national minority rights, access to some services and education in the Sami language.

Elections to the Sami Parliament in Sweden are held every fourth year. There are 31 Members of Parliament in the Sami Parliament's highest decision-making body, the Plenary Assembly. In addition, around 50 agency officials carry out daily agency tasks.

Table 3.1. Sami legal frameworks and political institutions

Finland, Norway and Sweden

	Constitutional rights of Sami	Obligations to Sami under national law	Sami Parliament, membership and budget
Finland	Constitutional guarantees for cultural and linguistic autonomy for the Sami within a defined geographical area	State authorities obliged to negotiate on all extensive and important questions that can directly or distinctly influence the position of the Sami as an Indigenous people: (1) society planning; (2) conservation, use, rental and transfer of land in state ownership; (3) protected areas and wilderness; (4) licence applications regarding mineral prospecting and exploration; (5) changes in legislation or administrative policies that may affect traditional Sami livelihoods; (6) education and Sami language; and (7) social and health services. (Section 9 of Sami Act)	● Established 1996 (predecessor est. 1973); composed of 21 representatives and 4 deputy representatives who are elected every 4 years. ● State budget funding approximately EUR 1.6 million (2017, ordinary activities).
Norway	Constitutional guarantees for Sami language, culture and society	The state is obliged to create the conditions necessary for the Sami to protect and develop their language, their culture and their society. Norway has an administrative area for the Sami language (applies to 7 municipalities) where Sami and Norwegian languages have equal status as national languages. Under the Finnmark Act, land and natural resources are managed by the Finnmark Estate – a joint body of the Sami Parliament and the County Council of Finnmark.	● Established 1989; comprised of 39 representatives who are elected every 4 years. ● State budget funding approx. EUR 50.3 million (2016). Budgetary independence.
Sweden	The Swedish Constitution recognises the possibilities for the Sami people and for ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities to maintain and develop their own culture and ways of living	Swede's Sami Parliament Act of 1992 establishes the Sami Parliament and stipulates that it shall promote a dynamic Sami culture and take initiatives to propose measures that promote the Sami culture. The Swedish Parliament recognised the Sami as an Indigenous people in 1977 and in 1999, further recognised the Sami as one of Sweden's five national minorities. Interpretation of Indigenous rights in Sweden largely relate to the right to reindeer herding and hunting and fishing if a member of a sameby and access to some services and education in the Sami language.	● Established 1993; 31 representatives, who are elected every 4 years. ● Budget SEK 52 401 000 (2018); approximately EUR 5.15 million.

Sources: Adapted from Henriksen (2008[3]), "The continuous process of recognition and implementation of the Sami people's right to self-determination", http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09557570701828402; Sami Parliament of Sweden (2018[4]), *The Sami Parliament Focuses on the Sami as an Indigenous People Administrates Sami Values*, https://www.sametinget.se/101727 (accessed on 19 March 2018).

Within Sweden, other than the Sametinget, there are four stakeholder organisations at the national level: the National Union of the Swedish Saami People which is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) focused on the reindeer husbandry area and Sami business-community issues (*Svenska Samernas Riksförbund/Sámiid Riikkasearvi*, SSR); the Reindeer Herders Association of Sweden which is a federation of Sami reindeer owners (*Renägarförbundet/ Boazoeaiggádiid oktavuohta* RÄF/BEO), the National Association

Same Ätnam which was founded to strengthen Sami culture and a national youth organisation, *Saminuorra.* Each lobby for their respective interests. These are relatively small organisations and have limited resources and staff. Youth (especially young women) are leaving the Sami traditional occupations. When discussing measures to strengthen Sami economic development, it is hence crucial to involve this group through, for example, engagement with youth organisations such as Sáminuorra.

While the Sami Parliament reports finding it challenging to interact with all of various funds/programmes and to co-ordinate these resources, this is even more so the case for groups such as *sameby*, which are small and which are asked to engage on complex land use issues, often directly with large firms (Box 3.2). In effect, Sami organisations often face a capacity issue which impacts their ability to take part in the policy process at the national down to the local levels. Also, as a relatively small community across a large geographic area, efforts at inclusion in regional and rural development come up against some specific obstacles. Sami can have large distances to travel in order to meet up and discuss issues that are impacting them and their interests extend across a large geography and multiple issues.

Box 3.2. Profile of community and economic development in Idre Sami Village (*sameby*)

Vision of community development – Sustainable, ecological and culturally-led

A Sami village or community (*sameby* in Swedish) is an economic and administrative association created to organise reindeer husbandry within its geographic area. As such, it is not a community in the sense that all members live in proximity to one another. In the Swedish part of Sapmi there are 51 Sami communities covering half of the surface of Sweden – which corresponds to the area where reindeer herding is permitted by law and to where land use rights correspond. Idre *Sameby* in the County of Dalarna is the most southern *sameby* and one of Sweden's smaller co-operatives with 4 operating units and a total of 13 reindeer herders. In the southern reindeer herding areas, more Sami tend to have livelihoods exclusively focused in herding than in the North because larger herds can be supported.

The community's vision for development is based on delivering high-quality products which are grounded in sustainable ecological practices and that have a minimal impact on nature. The *samebyar* business development is focused on reindeer herding and meat processing (through the *sameby*-owned slaughterhouse); Sami crafts; the management of landmarks and cultural sites; and hunting and fishing activities and tourism. Idre *sameby* is unique in that, while few *samebyar* have their own meat processing facilities, Idre has invested in own slaughterhouse since 1984. The slaughterhouse today is EU approved for both industrial and traditional processing and holds training courses in traditional methods. The facility also holds courses for crafts (*duodji*). Regulatory changes in the past three years have presented an obstacle for the facility. As of 2016, animal handling regulatory inspections are now carried out by a national inspector (formally they could be carried out by the local Swedish Food Security Agency) and the costs of training have increased. The *sameby* aims to develop the slaughterhouse as an educational centre for traditional food and slaughtering methods – one that can be used by both Sami, as well as non-Sami hunters.

Business development by *sameby* members

Sameby members are able to run businesses as individuals; however, the *sameby* itself is prohibited from taking on other economic activities beyond reindeer herding (as outlined in the Sami village 1971 Act). There are growing constraints on the reindeer herding industry that are making it more difficult to operate; this includes predators to reindeer, climate change impacts and competing land uses which limit pasture land. As such, *sameby* members – as individuals – may have additional businesses. For Idre *sameby* members this includes tourism companies which sell cured meat, crafts and offer cultural activities and nature-based tourism. Business owners in the *sameby* report struggling to reach a broader market. Some members acting as individual entrepreneurs have formed a partnership with the Idre Sapmi Lodge Economic Association which is an entity separated from the *sameby*. The *sameby* is a partner and has 3 seats on the board of this Association.

Sameby members have been involved in creating an organisation and event to promote Sami food – part of the Slow Food movement. They report difficulty acing loans in support of these activities. While this work is partly funded through the Sami Parliament and European Union (EU) funding (mostly rural development programmes), programmes such as InterReg Nord have been deemed to administratively onerous and complex to access with stringent reporting requirements. Members are also involved in Visit Sapmi – a programme to educate Sami entrepreneurs about the tourism industry.

Main development and business challenges

The main development and business challenges reported by *sameby* members echo many of those identified in the Sami Parliament's SWOT (strength, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) analysis of the Rural Development Programme. Idre *sameby* members report multiple challenges to their reindeer herding businesses including land encroachment and predators. They express an interest in having information from the national environmental protection agency and to be involved in nature conservation in order to channel tourism activities in a way that respects grazing and to engage in such issues as predators, grazing, and the types of pine in forests. They further report that it is often difficult to access financing for their businesses due to a lack of collateral and that EU funded projects are challenged by a lack of expertise in some areas and a lack of paid staff. While business partnerships are identified as a key way to develop and grow Sami businesses, it is unclear how these can be usefully developed given that the *sameby* itself cannot pursue economic activities beyond reindeer herding. There is a need for education and training on traditional slaughtering, food preparation, etc. including a need for flexibility from national food inspection and continuous support from Sami Parliament.

Source: Idre Sameby (2018[5]), *Samisk Förvaltning*, http://www.idresameby.se/index.php?p=f&c=a (accessed on 01 April 2018).

Towards more effective engagement

The multi-level governance framework and policies for both regional and rural development in Sweden shape outcomes for Sami businesses and livelihoods. Within this, the national government plays a major role in structuring policies and programmes at the

regional and local levels. Most fundamentally, the way in which the rights framework related to Sami indigeneity are defined and instrumentalised shapes policies and programmes at all levels of government. As has been discussed, it, for example, creates a cleavage between those Sami who are members of *samebyar* and who practice reindeer herding and those who do not, and for *samebyar*, places limits on their economic activities outside of reindeer herding as a collective. This is a complex policy landscape and the manner in which the diverse Sami community is included and represented in regional development efforts is not consistent or clear. There are different practices across various sectoral policy areas – particularly as related to land use and access to grazing lands.

Regional reforms in Sweden have changed the landscape of regional economic development. While this offers new opportunities for engagement and inclusion of the Sami in decision making in northern Sweden, at the same time, many of the issues that impact the Sami have not been regionalised and remain the purview of the national government. Sectoral policies – particularly those that relate to how land is used – often have a major impact on the Sami reindeer herding industry; and yet, the manner in which they are connected at the regional and local levels is not always clear. Moreover, while the unique assets of the Sami for northern development are recognised at a general level, regional strategies for development do not have clear mechanisms (policies/programmes) through which to support these assets and promote their development and there are limited incentives for the regional level to engage with the Sami.

A greater understanding and awareness about Sami society and livelihoods is needed. Sami society is characterised by many local and small-scale institutions (*samebyar,* community associations, educational, arts and cultural institutions) that provide an important function in the reproduction of Sami language and culture, kinship relations, and identity. However, these institutions tend to lack capacity and scale to meaningfully engage in (and influence) decision-making and attract and organise resources to promote cultural activities and exchange, and economic development. The Sami Parliament and other national organisations do play an important role at a national level; however, this tends to be framed in terms of culture and language (and not economic development), and connections with the municipal and regional levels are weak.

More inclusive regional and local governance practices also require the strengthening of Sami institutions and better engagement mechanisms. International bodies have joined the call for reform; the United Nations Committee on Human Rights has recommended Sweden do more closely involve Sami in decision making on issues that impact them as has the Council of Europe (Hagsgård, 2016[6]). The nature of how the Sami are included in decision making in many cases requires stronger guidance and greater formalisation to connect it to regional and local development efforts in a meaningful way. Those Sami groups who do engage need to see that their efforts have an impact.

Engagement takes many forms – from information to consultation and at the most involved level, co-decision making. More structured engagement processes where there is a real impact on outcomes for those involved will help to build trust among actors. Where differences occur, an open and transparent way to manage conflict is needed. In general, the need for more rigour around how engagement with the Sami in Sweden has been acknowledged and there are ongoing efforts to develop more robust guidelines (for example, the Ministry of Culture). This is very promising and should be supported by capacity building efforts with Sami communities, and in relation to cross-cultural sensitivity within public sector organisations (see Box 3.3 for an example).

Box 3.3. Capacity building and cross-cultural awareness: Examples from Australia and Canada

Sami representatives may lack, for example, the time, money and knowledge of legal and regulatory processes to be best able to voice Sami interests and needs. Public sector agencies may lack the cultural understanding to effectively engage with Indigenous communities. This is an area of concern shared in Australia and Canada. Australia and Canada have made substantial investments to improve the quality of engagement through initiatives to build capacity and cross-cultural understanding. This could be as simple as providing a stipend to help Indigenous peoples with the cost of attending consultation meetings. Other examples include:

- **Indigenous Services Canada – Professional and Institutional Development Program**. Funds projects that develop the capacity of communities to perform ten core functions of governance, such as: leadership; membership; law-making; community involvement; external relations; planning and risk management; financial management; human resources management; information management/information technology; and basic administration;
- **Justice Canada – Capacity Building Fund**. Designed to support capacity-building efforts in Indigenous communities, particularly as they relate to building increased knowledge and skills for the establishment and management of community-based justice programmes; and
- **Indigenous Cultural Awareness Training – Victorian Aboriginal Community Services Ltd.** This provides training for public, private and non-profit organisations in regards to cultural awareness perspectives, Indigenous history, Indigenous culture and value systems, and racism and stereotypes.

The counties or municipalities often call for consultations with Sami representatives for which the Sami community can be represented as private persons or organisations often in what are one-off consultations. There is an opportunity to make these discussions more strategic by having annual dialogues and agreements on issues of mutual importance. This could be conducted between the Sami Parliament and other Sami organisations, and involve all northern counties or be conducted separately with each of them. This would help provide a focus point for Sami affairs and representation and perhaps enable discussions about broader development issues as opposed to individual projects and initiatives. Another possibility is for there to be a secretariat close to Sami communities – with *samebyar* joining together to form a board with a chief executive officer that could provide a collective voice for multiple *samebyar* and build expertise in different areas to address common issues.

Policy options to improve engagement with Sami society in the context of regional and rural development are:

- Establish an annual dialogue and agreement between the Sami Parliament and the northern counties (County Administrative Boards [CABs] and regions) to govern strategic co-operation in areas such as economic development, culture and language, land management, and health and education services;

- Implement a framework and tools for the duty of public bodies (CABs, regions, municipalities) to consult with the Sami, and complement this with initiatives to build governance capacity and cross-cultural understanding;
- Assess the resourcing implications of the duty to consult on the administrative capacities of the Sami Parliament to ensure it is effectively implemented; and
- Growing competencies for regional planning offer a unique opportunity for regions to adopt a strong spatial vision for development. This spatial vision should include the Sami. The Sami Parliament in Sweden has expressed an interest in a regional co-operation agreement of the type that is used in Norway which could be used to consider land use issues from this integrated perspective.

Land management and regional development

The question of how land is used, how land rights and consultations on new developments are structured and who is and should be involved in this process are among the most challenging issues to address in terms of how the Sami are included in regional and rural development. An analysis by the Sami Parliament of the threats faced by Sami in relation to their traditional lands and Sami society more generally puts the issue of rights to land and natural resources front and centre (Sametinget, 2015[7]). The Sami Parliament has expressed the view that a lack of self-determination over land rights including the application of the principle of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) is hindering their development. Other top threats identified all also related to land use and the environment: these include the commercial use of land for resource exploitation and extractive industries is seen as a threat to traditional livelihoods; the impact of increased recreational activities and tourism; the management of nature reserves and national parks which can restrict reindeer movement; a growth in the large carnivore population and; climate change. This is one of the most visible issues involving the Sami in the north. In media reporting in Sweden, the Sami are most often reported on in relation to reindeer herding activities and within this, related to land use conflicts (Tyler et al., 2007[8]). Sweden does not provide the means for Sami communities to meaningfully engage and influence early-on in planning and impact assessment, e.g. via community-led studies or co-management (Larsen, 2017[9]).

For the reindeer herding industry to continue and to thrive, access to grazing lands that are appropriate for the reindeer and that can sustain them (e.g. that support lichen) is critical. However, land use issues extend much beyond this; they are connected to broader visions of the region's development including how the tourism industry should be pursued; whether land is meant for protection and preservation or use, and if so, of what kind; and the extent to which the region should pursue mining, forestry and other natural resources-based industries as a path to development. There are also ongoing debates as to the extent to which local communities adequately see the benefits of extractive industries and natural resources development.

These debates are fundamentally about the future of Sweden's northern regions. The northern economies have long been driven by its abundant natural resources, including its rivers which have been harnessed for hydroelectricity and which have spurred Sweden's industrial development. Forestry and mineral extraction have been developed which have also driven investments in infrastructure. Value-adding has evolved in relation to scientific research and technical services linked to these activities. But this development model has also brought limited direct employment to rural areas, and costs in terms of environmental damage and loss of biodiversity. These are important debates within society and among the

Sami, and as will be discussed in Chapter 3, current models of governance and consultation are largely not adequate in addressing them. The remainder of this section discusses land use policies and regional development.

Sami land rights and the regulation of reindeer herding

As discussed in Chapter 1, reindeer husbandry is an industry under stress. Industrialisation and the cumulative effects of forestry, wind and hydropower, mining, and infrastructure development have, among other management problems, resulted in an extensive reduction of the availability of winter grazing land (lichen-abundant forest) and access to migratory paths (Buchanan, Reed and Lidestav, 2016[10]). Beyond this, chronic wasting disease among reindeer has placed limits on their transport between different areas – e.g. from Sweden to Norway.[2] Due to the implementation of the EU habitat policy directives, the hunting of large carnivores has been limited and their numbers have increased as a result (European Commission, 2018[11]). This has had led to declines in herd size, for which compensation is provided. Taken together, these various impacts have required reindeer herders to be adaptable to changing conditions. From an economic point of view, the demand for land allocated to reindeer husbandry is greater than supply and production can only be expanded within ecological limits.

While Sami land rights were recognised from the 1600s (tax land), Sweden's 1971 Reindeer Husbandry Act does not specifically address land rights issues. The Swedish system is based on the notion that different land uses can coexist and that conflicts can be solved locally. Natural resources development and Sami reindeer husbandry co-exist as activities of national interest. However, in practice, there is competition for the same resources and the tools with which to resolve such conflicts are inadequate. Today, the legislative framework recognises Sami land rights as a right to use and only for those who are practising reindeer husbandry. In terms of competing uses for land, they are treated as one of many stakeholders. There is no right of refusal for developments by the Sami on the lands that they use for reindeer husbandry. Sami are typically consulted when large development projects are being proposed on *sameby* lands; however, the methods of this consultation differ. In several cases, policy changes related to Sami land rights are being realised through court cases, such as the legal case of the *sameby* of Girjas over its right to determine hunting and fishing in its territory.[3] The 1971 Reindeer Husbandry Act also formalised that reindeer herding is an industry which has created some tensions as it is also seen by the Sami as a form of cultural expression.

Box 3.4. A typology of Indigenous land use management

Ideal types are simplified models. They express pure typologies, which rarely exist in the world. That is, within countries more than one type can co-exist and there may be alternatives to them. There is nonetheless conceptual relevance in such simplification. The possible arrangements for Indigenous land use management can be divided into three ideal types, according to the degree of autonomy granted to the Indigenous community.

- ***Self-governance of Indigenous land***: The Indigenous group has been empowered by the state to have a level of autonomy over the management of Indigenous lands and natural resources located within it. This conditional autonomy may derive from the self-government capacity of the group,

attributed by a treaty or agreement that addresses nation-to-nation relations. Alternatively, it may arise from specific agreements that hand over regulatory authority over environmental issues from the government to the Indigenous group.

- ***Joint land management model***: In this model of joint, shared or co-operative management, also referred to as co-management, the Indigenous group shares the responsibility and the authority over land issues with government authorities. It may arise from the creation of specific institutions, such as natural resources boards and land councils, which are equally composed of Indigenous and non-Indigenous representatives. It may also come from the creation of protected areas, such as parks or natural reserves, with a management model defined as shared. It can eventually be that the government has the authority over natural resources but the Indigenous group participates in the decision-making process of issuing licenses and permits.
- ***Co-existence***: In this model, Indigenous groups are considered an interested party in land management issues that affect their designated lands. Their lands may be affected directly, or indirectly, for instance, if a project does not occur in their lands but its impacts extend over them. Without autonomy to decide over such issues, they can nonetheless be part of decision-making processes. They may be consulted in administrative procedures, such as environmental licensing, and influence the elaboration of laws, plans and other policy documents. Sami reindeer herders operate under a co-existence model, with the exception of joint land management in such cases as the Laponia World Heritage Site.

Sweden's County Administrative Boards (CAB) regulate reindeer herding. The CAB is responsible for protecting reindeer herding as a public interest; ensuring correspondence with the planning act and environmental act, and managing fishing and hunting land use issues and the enumeration of reindeer. The CAB has a wildlife delegation focused on predators and on moose and a delegation on reindeer herding where there are representatives of *samebyar* and three representatives from the public. In instances where there is a conflict between land users (e.g. between mining activities and reindeer herding), the CAB adjudicates.

*Sameby*ar have annual meetings and decisions can be appealed; the Sami Parliament is the first instance where opinions are tried before going to court. However, in contrast to experiences in Norway, there are fewer resources and there is more limited capacity to co-ordinate interests between Sami communities and the Sami Parliament.

In terms of forestry practices, there is more of a direct relationship between forestry companies and the Sami involving different types of certification. Some certification aims to protect the ecology as much as possible to be compatible with reindeer herding. In 2012, half of all productive forestlands in Sweden were privately owned; the distribution of private forest ownership differs across northern Sweden. It is highest in Jämtlands. The property rights of forest owners and reindeer herding rights are parallel to one another. All large forest owners (more than 500 hectares) are required to consult with the relevant *sameby* prior to forest felling and in mountainous areas, forestry firms are required to apply for a permit to fell.

There is no impact assessment requirement and no possibility to appeal forestry plans. Given this, within the forestry industry, relations with the Sami depend to a large extent on goodwill and there are many positive examples of this. *Samebyar* have worked with the forestry industry to develop good practices. They have developed guidelines on how to handle notifications in reindeer herding area. There is also a joint project between the Swedish forestry industry and the National Association of the Swedish Sami (*Svenska Samernas Riksförbund*, SSR) called Forest and Reindeers Training which was developed in order to increase knowledge and mutual understanding between the groups. While the role that forestry has played in causing a significant decline in the area of lichen-abundant forests is debated, the industry's practices do play an important role in reversing the trend and improving ground lichen conditions (Sandström et al., 2016[12]). While there are many examples of good relations, there are also cases of conflict and, where conflict does occur, there are limited means to resolve them since the process is left to informality. The process works well until it does not.

Box 3.5. The forestry industry in Sweden

In 2012, half of all productive forestlands in Sweden were owned by individuals; a quarter by private-sector companies/corporations; 15% by state-owned companies and others (Skogsstyrelsen, 2014[13]).[4] Of the three northern counties where reindeer herding activities are most common (Jämtlands, Västerbottens and Norrbotten), forest ownership differs considerably. In Jämtlands County, the majority of productive forest land is held by private sector companies and individual owners in almost equal share. Meanwhile, in Västerbottens County, individual companies are the largest forestry owners followed by "other" owners such as State agencies, the Church of Sweden or local and county councils. In Norrbotten County, ownership by these governmental and non-profit authorities (i.e. other owners) dominates.

Table 3.2. Forest ownership by county, Sweden, 2013

Productive forest land ownership, percentage of land ownership by class out of total productive forest lands

	Private sector companies (%)	Individual owners (%)	Other owners (%)
Jämtlands	43	45	12
Västerbottens	22	44	34
Norrbottens	11	37	52

Note: Productive forest land excludes protected lands such as national parks. Latest date available 2013; the Swedish Statistical Yearbook of Forestry is discontinued.
Source: Skogsstyrelsen (2014[13]), *Skogsstatistisk årsbok 2014*, https://www.skogsstyrelsen.se/globalassets/statistik/historisk-statistik/skogsstatistisk-arsbok-2010-2014/skogsstatistisk-arsbok-2014.pdf (accessed on 26 February 2018), p. 31.

The need for clarity on rights to consultation and increased capacity for the Sami to be effective partners in engagement

Stronger and more consistent parameters around how and when consultation should occur and with whom are needed. This is important not just for the Sami but for the industries pursuing development in the north for whom it is unclear who they should consult with and

how. Long delays in the permitting processes are reported. Within the environmental impact assessment permitting processes for mine exploration and development, the responsibility for dialogue with local communities, including the Sami, is placed upon the companies and the principles of free, prior and informed consent are not always well respected (Lawrence and Moritz, 2018[14]).[5] The CAB has also a responsibility to survey the general interest of reindeer herding. There is no official national government policy, guidance or tools on how mining firms should engage with the Sami as yet in terms of practices of engagement. From an international law perspective, reindeer herders are also rights holders as well as being stakeholders; however, free, prior and informed consent is not required in Sweden at the moment for mining companies. As such, practices can differ considerably.

During the mining exploration phase, working plans are developed which present an opportunity for first dialogue. If a project proceeds and is granted a permit, some firms may sign an agreement with the relevant *sameby* regarding how land will be used (these are not typically very detailed agreements).[6] There are different working practices within the industry on how to engage with the *sameby*. In recognition of the amount of time and effort that such engagement takes, some companies offer compensation for costs incurred (e.g. paying for peoples' time to properly engage with them). Some mining communities work on reindeer herding studies in order to understand the impacts on reindeer herding. Prevention and compensatory frameworks are a working practice in the industry. Land use plans can help to facilitate dialogue with government and industry – for example, the sustainability land use plan for Maskaure Sameby which is used in talks with government officials and industry.

Those Sami who are not part of the Sami parliament and/or a *sameby* member have no rights in these procedures. The Sami Parliament gets to present a statement. In addition, *samebyar* are recognised as stakeholders according to legislation and preparatory works. Other Sami outside the *samebyar* are only considered parties/stakeholders if they can show (through property register or similar) that they own property or hold special rights to property within the exploration area (that is on the same conditions as other non-Sami rights holders). The Swedish model is largely based on the idea of reindeer husbandry as a business consulting with another business (e.g. mining and forestry). However, mining companies and Sami communities can have diametrically opposed views of their values and interests (Lawrence and Larsen, 2017[15]).

A recent report by the County Board of Norrbotten has found that after extensive consultations with Sami communities and mining companies, mounting conflicts observed in recent years cannot be resolved through micro-scale dialogue between these parties and that the key task is for the government to legislate on unresolved questions regarding Sami land rights. Only with greater legal certainty and a more level playing field can the parties engage in constructive negotiations (Länsstyrelsen i Norrbottens län och Sweco, 2016[16]).

Box 3.6. Mining exploration and environmental permits in Sweden

The number of valid exploration permits for mining has declined over the past decade

The largest mining companies in Sweden are LKAB and Boliden, which together account for approximately 70% of exploration expenditure in Sweden. Most of the exploration carried out in 2016 was brown field exploration, i.e. exploration in, or close to, existing mining sites. At present, the number of approved exploration permits is roughly the same as the number of exploration permits that are expiring. A rule of thumb is that around 1:1000 exploration permits leads to the opening of a mine. The number of valid exploration permits in Sweden over the past 10 years has gone from approximately 1 300 in 2008 to approximately 600 today. The majority of these exploration permits can be found in the counties of Norrbotten- and Västerbotten and an area in mid-Sweden called Bergslagen. Statistics for reindeer herding areas specifically are not available.

Out of all valid exploration permits in Sweden over the past 10 years, just 42 have been granted approval as exploitation concessions. During the same period, the Mining Inspectorate rejected seven applications for exploitation concessions. Most of the applications for exploitation concessions are extensions of older existing mines.

The environmental permitting process can take between 2-10 years

The length of time that it takes to obtain an environmental permit for mining activities can differ significantly depending on the nature of the operations anywhere from two to ten years. The vast majority of permits in the past decade have been extensions of existing operations or restarts of previously abandoned mines. Environmental permits for temporary or time-limited increases in production in existing operations tend to have shorter lead times while cases concerning new mines tend to have longer lead times.

Source: Ministry of Enterprise and Innovation, Sweden, 17 April 2018; Bergverksstatistik 2017. Statistics of the Swedish Mining Industry 2017; Geological Survey of Sweden. Periodiska publikationer 2018:1.

Box 3.7. Sami rights within the extraction of natural resources in Sweden

Mineral and metals extraction is regulated by the Minerals Act under which there are three main permitting processes before a mining operation can start.

1. An **exploration permit** (*undersökningstillstånd*) gives access to the land and an exclusive right to explore within the permit area. It does not entitle the holder to undertake exploration work in contravention of any environmental regulations that apply to the area. Thus, no actual exploration work can be carried out without a valid plan for operations. The plan for operations is presented by the permit holder to the landowner or holder of special rights. The *sameby* are considered holders of such special rights in the Minerals Act. Landowners or

reindeer husbandry have the possibility to object to the plan of operations. If the permit holder does not change the plan of operations according to the objections, the landowners or the *sameby* can request that the Chief Mining Inspector settles the plan. The Chief Mining Inspector then has the possibility to add restrictions to the plan of operation to safeguard e.g. ongoing actives in the area.

2. An **exploitation concession** gives the holder of the permit right to the mineral covered by the permit for up to 25 years. However, the permit does not allow any mining operations to commence. During this process consultation with the *sameby* is the same as for landowners. In the Environmental Code, some areas have been declared as national interests for reindeer husbandry. In those areas, the protection from exploitation is even stronger according to the Environmental Code. However, the same area may be of national interest due to its deposits of minerals. In case of a conflict between inconsistent national interests, preference shall be given to the purpose that in the most appropriate way promotes a long-term use of land, water and the physical environment in general, when an exploitation concession is being considered. The assessment shall include ecological, social, cultural and socio-economic considerations. When an application for an exploitation permit is examined, the full scale of the mining operation is not yet known. The design of the mining plant is not final at this stage and it is thus not possible to correctly assess the full impact of the planned operations on the activities and the environment outside the area covered by the exploitation permit. This is considered in the next stage, the process of environmental permit.
3. In the **application for an environmental permit,** the same procedures and regulations apply for mining operations as for all other industrial operations that may affect the environment. This is the most substantial and time-consuming part of the process. This process sets the conditions under which the mine may operate. At this stage, the final design of the mining operation is decided and the full impact on activities and environment outside the mining plant is evaluated and regulated. A permit will define the conditions for the design, building, operation and closure of a mining installation. Such an application shall be supported by a comprehensive Environmental Impact Assessment, in which formal consultations with stakeholders will be practised.

During all of these three steps, consultation with Sami *sameby* is the same as with landowners and with owners of other special rights than reindeer husbandry. During the consultations, *sameby* have the possibility to raise objections to the planned operations and request that the permits are subjected to special conditions to limit the impact on the reindeer herding in the area. As of 1 August 2014, the Minerals Act has been modified so that, if requested, the plan of operations (which is necessary before any exploration can start) must be provided in Sami language. In addition, a valid plan of operations must be sent to the Sami Parliament. The Environmental Code contains regulations for the protection of areas of national interest for reindeer herding and for mineral extraction. When there are competing

claims for a particular area, regulations in the Code specify how to give preference for one use over the other.

An exploration does not automatically lead to a significant impact on the natural environment. Exploration can be something as simple as flying over the ground to carry out airborne geophysical surveys. When a right to exploration is issued by the Chief Mining Inspector, there is an opportunity to condition the permit in order to minimise the impact on reindeer herding. Only some exploration permits will result in new mines. The number of active metal mines in Sweden has since the year 2000 remained relatively constant at around fifteen.

Samebyar receive intrusion compensations according to the Mineral Act for mining activities carried out within their areas. This compensation aims to cover losses and damages suffered due to these activities. In discussions with reindeer communities and husbandry companies, surveying agencies put a value on land and land used for reindeer herding a pasture is not as high as the value of land that can be taken out when starting a mine or business. Correspondingly, compensations lower for pastureland. For *samebyar*, this framing is focused on development in economic terms only and does not place intrinsic value on reindeer herding as central to cultural reproduction for the Sami.

Source: Questionnaire for *Linking Indigenous People with Regional Development in Sweden*.

Sweden is presently conducting an ongoing examination into whether environmentally hazardous activities within the environmental permitting process are designed in a way that promotes investments that drive technology and method development against reduced negative environmental impact. However, a broader review of the environmental permitting process is warranted. One of the major issues that needs to be addressed is the timeframe for receiving permits related to mining (exploration and development). The Saami Council has expressed concerns that the revisions to how environmentally hazardous activities are treated within the environmental permitting process it will make it easier to get a permit and that it will diminish the environmental assessment process. They have also raised concerns about the costs *sameby*ar bear when they are asked to consult on a wide range of issues. Similar issues have been raised in Finland regarding mining developments and guidelines on reindeer herding have outlined modes of consultation.

Countries such as Canada have early engagement, upstream planning, and regional planning as part of their environmental permitting processes, while in Sweden the stakeholders often meet in regards to individual projects, as required by law. The Environmental Assessment process in Canada is often used as a channel to express rights-based claims, in the absence of other channels to express grievances, and to discuss development plans and strategies, in the absence of Indigenous participation in broader strategic planning processes. That is, instead of discussing the specific project, it provides an opportunity to discuss broader issues related to development. One potential best practice in this regard is The Norwegian Minerals Act (2009) which has established a formalised mechanism for the Sami Parliament to participate in environmental review processes, including those linked to the government's strategic plans and policies, strengthening the efficacy of the Sami's involvement in Environmental Assessments (EA) and promoting the legitimacy of EA processes (Noble et al., 2015[17]).

The absence of Sami rights to the ownership of land coupled with co-existence of Sami rights related to reindeer herding along with minerals extraction as issues of national interest generates uncertainty and conflict for all parties in northern Sweden. In the absence of legislation that clarifies unresolved questions regarding Sami land rights, there are several actions can help to better structure the engagement process with the Sami for natural resources exploration and development:

- Develop clear and consistent guidelines for the mining, forestry and energy industries together with the Sami Parliament and other Sami stakeholders on how the engagement process should proceed and who should be involved in the process, including parameters around what type of information is provided to communities at each step of the process.
- Ensure upstream engagement and rules around how and when notifications should proceed and the nature of the engagement (format, etc.) within the framework of the Minerals Act and Environmental Code.
- Strengthen the capacity of *samebyar* to be effective partners for engagement; this may entail financial resources alongside some greater overall institutional and analytical capacity to manage demands for consultation.

Box 3.8. Legal instruments to enable negotiation between Indigenous communities and mining proponents

Specific legal instruments have been developed in Australia and Canada that enable negotiation about benefits from resource extraction for Indigenous communities. In the case of Canada, a number of shortcomings have been identified in their Impact and Benefit Agreements (IBAs), which include: lack of transparency that limits sharing of best practices and evaluation of outcomes, unequal distribution of benefits to community elites, and how some elements can be realised if they are dependent on public investment in infrastructure and services (e.g. access to education and training).

Australia – Indigenous Land Use Agreements

Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUA), entered between people who hold "native" title over a particular area and a mining developer. ILUAs can cover topics such as native title holders agreeing to a future development; how native title rights coexist with the rights of other people; access to an area; extinguishment of native title; compensation; employment and economic opportunities for native title groups; and cultural heritage. This instrument was created to give a transparent and flexible way to address the potential conflict between people who hold native title and resource development. These agreements are usually processed, notified and registered in a period of less than six months, and are an alternative to making a native title determination through a judicial process.

One example of ILUA is the agreement signed in 2001 between the Weipa bauxite mine (Rio Tinto Alcan), the Aboriginal community, four Shire Councils, the Queensland state government and the Cape York Land Council. The Agreement led to the creation of the Western Cape Communities Trust (WCCT), which lays emphasis on local capacity building and business development. The mining firm has

also committed to undertake various employment, training and infrastructure initiatives.

Canada – Impact and Benefit Agreements

In Canada, the Crown has a legal duty to negotiate with Indigenous peoples on traditional lands who are affected by development. IBAs have evolved as a contractual instrument to negotiate benefits for Indigenous peoples related to resource developments. Prior to 2005, IBAs focused primarily on benefits relating to jobs, training and procurement opportunities. Since 2005, IBAs have increasingly emphasised economic benefits and financial issues such as royalties and direct payments. They can now contain provisions related to labour (e.g. agreed targets for Indigenous employment and training), economic development (e.g. procurement opportunities), community (e.g. social programmes and community infrastructure), environmental protection, financial (monetary compensation and monitoring arrangements), and commercial (e.g. dispute resolution). These contracts are usually confidential.

Source: OECD (2017[18]), Local Content Policies in Mineral-Exporting Countries, Working Party of the OECD Trade Committee.

Learning from the Laponia governance model

Municipalities and regions in northern Sweden have shown interest in the Laponia governance model and how it could be applied outside of the context of a World Heritage site. Laponia is a large mountainous area in northern Sweden which was recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1996. The World Heritage comprises an area of 9 400 km² in northernmost Sweden, including some of the largest national parks and protected areas in the country, and the most important cornerstones are nature, the Sami culture and reindeer industry and the historical heritage. Prior to being a World Heritage site, Laponia was a national park and nature reserve wherein Sami reindeer herders work with the County Administrative Board on land use issues including predatory inventory.[7]

Today Laponia is managed through a decentralised governance model at the local level and is often noted as a best practice in terms of how to meaningfully include Sami in land management practices in order to tackle such issues as land conservation and managing tourism alongside reindeer husbandry. The Laponia regulation provides a framework for the management of the UNESCO World Heritage site, Laponia. Management of the site is governed by the *Laponiatjuottjudus*, a locally based organisation with its headquarters in Jåhkåmåhkke/Jokkmokk. *Laponiatjuottjudus* includes representatives from eight Sami communities, the municipalities of Jokkmokk and Gällivare, the County Administrative Board in Norrbotten County and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency. In the Board, the Sami representatives are in majority and all decisions are taken by consensus.

In developing Laponia as a protected area and World Heritage site, a key issue that needed to be addressed was how to integrate the reindeer husbandry act in the Laponia area. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, there were many discussions and conflicts between Sami reindeer herders and the Swedish state regarding this issue and out of these, it became clear that a different type of governance model for the area was needed for this unique site. Over the duration of five years (2006-11), a co-management model was developed. During the process, the parties could agree on a new regulatory framework, wherein the rights according to the reindeer husbandry act were applied in full. Municipalities accepted this

arrangement pending consensus on the board; on issues where board consensus has not been possible, working groups are drawn on to help overcome conflicts. The management of Laponia has been open to traditional knowledge and Sami elders are invited to discuss how they use the land with the Laponia. There are efforts to develop a common view of how to manage the area.

However, even within this co-management model, some issues related to the capacity of the Sami to actively participate in decision-making remain. For example, Laponia is able to access funds for protected areas; however, the financing of work on reindeer herding is not permitted in the grants that are now provided from the national government. A landscape map has not been conducted because the office does not have the competence. Such mapping could be used to work with *samebyar* in order to identify strategic places and provide permission to tourist agencies. In parts of Laponia, rights for reindeer herding are deemed well applied, while in other areas, conflicts remain. There are for instance tensions between the intrinsic value of Sami influence and the instrumental value of Sami reindeer-herding communities (Reimerson, 2016[19]).

The Laponia model is a best practice for co-management in Sweden. The Laponia model has been described "as a victory for Sami political struggle for land rights and influence, and as an important step in the Sami people's decolonisation process" (Reimerson, 2016[19]; Samer, 2010[20]). This model is currently being reviewed and some parties have expressed the unwillingness to continue it with such a strong Sami mandate in the future. This would be a mistake. Laponia's co-management model has meaningfully included Sami in decision making and while operational issues remain (such as the need of enhancing capacity for Sami to engage), it is a model that should be strengthened and emulated in other areas

The need for enhanced regional spatial planning and an integrated perspective

Reindeer husbandry activities are part of the national framework for land use planning but aspects of land use management practices which are important for reindeer herding are embedded in sectoral policies which can be siloed (e.g. across tourism, large predators, transportation and energy investments). While there are certain rules regarding planning and reindeer herding in the Environmental Code, there is no integrated planning perspective that relates to the goals of reindeer husbandry – regional or *sameby* land use planning. This results in an "absence of cumulative effects assessment, lack of defined threshold values for significance determination, absence of effective landscape/regional planning tools, independence in impact analyses, and unrealistic administrative work-loads on Sami communities" (Larsen et al., 2017[21]).

Sweden's planning system is characterised by a "municipal planning monopoly" (Pettersson and Frisk, 2016[22]). Municipalities prepare Comprehensive Plans and Detailed Plans and issue building permits based on those plans and other relevant regulations. In order to make their comprehensive plans more strategic, municipalities are supposed to consider a regional perspective. In support of this, County Administrative Boards represent the national government's interests in the planning process; provide municipalities with data and advice; and co-ordinate in the case of conflicts between municipalities. Municipal land use planning is not the most relevant unit through which to consider the interactions with reindeer husbandry. There are demarcated areas for reindeer husbandry identified in the zoning law and where there is an encroachment on these lands, compensation is granted.

Currently, there are no rules or incentives to facilitate the development of strategic spatial plans at a regional scale and mechanisms to link infrastructure and land-use planning are

also weak (OECD, 2017[23]).[8] Each state agency has their own sectoral plans and the CABs have responsibility for understanding their application in the region. County Councils are also required to consider sectoral elements in their own plans. The CAB tries to uphold a dialogue with relevant stakeholders to balance national and local interests during the permitting process for new development. The local municipality does not have the opportunity to review or state an opinion in relation to what is defined as national interest. In general, new developments are addressed on a case-by-case basis through the administrative permitting process is an administrative process. This is not a venue through which to discuss the strategic vision for the region.

There is clearly a need for an integrated perspective across spatial and land use planning and sectoral dimensions – transportation, infrastructure, and critically, natural resources and extractive industries (energy, mining, forestry). The land use needs of Sami communities should be considered within land use and management impact analysis and this should be done in all sectoral permitting processes. The weight of Sami perspectives within the permit decision making processes is often weak and/or treated in an inconsistent manner. It can be a struggle for people to see the connection between land use issues and reindeer husbandry – issues of succession and so on all impact economic outcomes. These laws have a concrete consequence in communities. There is no compensation for forestry encroachment or for encroachment of rights; however, compensation is paid when reindeer herding rights are suspended. In the mountainous area, landowners are required to apply for a permit to fell. If a permit is given, the Swedish forest agency decide upon considerations to be taken to the reindeer husbandry if the forest operations have a large impact on the reindeer husbandry. There is some compensation for environmental damage (50% to Sami funds and 50% to the Sami village).[9] The regional level has a very limited impact on these issues and it is hard to build co-operation between regional and Sami interested because they rarely meet on these levels.

There have been growing calls for enhanced regional planning in Sweden and several recent reforms have sought to improve the co-ordination between different levels. In 2011, changes to the Planning and Building Act introduced new requirements for comprehensive plans to incorporate national and regional objectives. In 2013, the government established a committee to further investigate the need for regional spatial planning and to improve the co-ordination of planning at the regional level. Furthermore, Sweden's national strategy for sustainable regional growth and attractiveness 2015-20 emphasises the need to better co-ordinate local comprehensive planning and regional development efforts. The strategy states that by 2020 each county should have integrated a spatial perspective in its regional development policies.

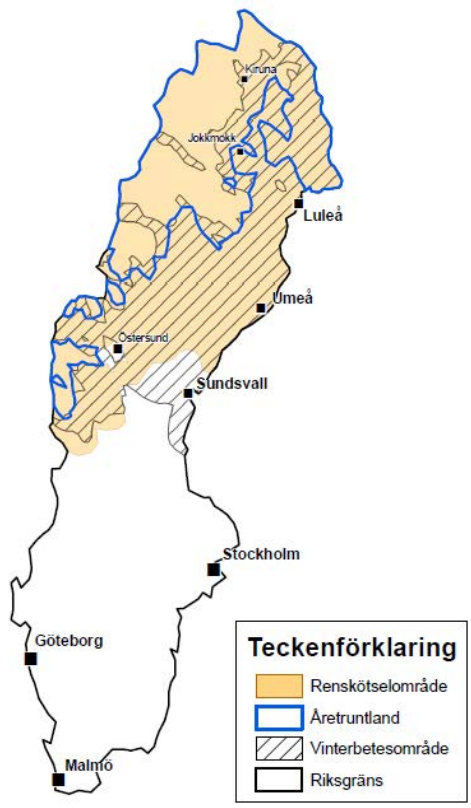
One important resource to help develop an integrated perspective on land use which incorporates the Sami perspective is reindeer management plans. Figure 3.2 depicts the reindeer herding area in general (not detailed). *Samebyar* began establishing reindeer management plans in the 2000s. Reindeer management plans describe how the Sami use land for reindeer herding and are used to inform others of these activities in order to co-ordinate multiple land uses and manage any conflicts. The maps depict grazing grounds, migration routes, rest area grazing, difficult passages and installations and describe of external factors on how the lands can be used in future reindeer husbandry (Sametinget, 2018[24]). This is often combined with GPS data on reindeer migratory movements. This mapping work is carried out by reindeer herding districts and is used in consultation on such matters as:

- Forestry, mining, and energy developments (e.g. wind power and hydropower).

- The protection of cultural environments;
- Mountain use issues (e.g. snowmobile and hunting) and the impacts of outdoor recreation (tourism);
- Predator issues;
- Road planning, infrastructure development;
- Municipal comprehensive plans, environmental impact assessments, nuclear fuel and waste management, and other planning; and
- Rights to reindeer husbandry disputes (Sametinget, 2018[24]).

Reindeer management plans are produced by *samebyar* and the data contained therein is owned by them. They are provided to state authorities on a voluntary basis. The Government of Sweden provides financial support to the Sami Parliament to update Reindeer Management Plans. The development of these plans is quite complex and work intensively for the herding communities. As such, smaller *samebyar* may find it more difficult to develop them.

Figure 3.2. Reindeer herding area map



Note: This map outlines the reindeer herding area; actual reindeer herding maps produced by *samebyar* have a high level of detail and track use over time/by season.
Source: Samitinget.

Samebyar can be hesitant to share their detailed data on how land is used by their herders because it can be misconstrued; reindeer herding needs to be extremely adaptable to changing conditions and data from one or even several years does not necessarily represent future use. Furthermore, while this data captures the movement of reindeer herds, it does not capture the depth of traditional knowledge which is not mapped and yet equally

important to understanding the industry and how land is used. If land use is viewed as static by industry or governments, this could lead to a loss of rights related to its use. It is thus important to consider from the perspective of the Sami how data can be interpreted and what restrictions and possibilities there should be in terms of access and use. A Sami lens on how data is constructed, collected and used is thus critical see discussion in Box 1.9 on Indigenous data sovereignty).

Regional spatial planning that is better integrated, and more inclusive of the Sami, can be achieved by:

- Incorporating Reindeer Management Plans into strategic spatial and land use planning, and permitting decision-making; and
- Allocating a competency to the body responsible for regional development to produce a regional spatial plan and ensure it is integrated with planning for future natural resource use, and Sami land use.

Towards a comprehensive national Sami policy

The preceding discussion has outlined the policy environment for Sami affairs and the manner in which the Sami are connected to regional development. Throughout, it has been stressed that policies directed to the Sami are limited to a subset of issues related to the manner in which rights frameworks are structured. There are policy siloes that make it difficult to have a comprehensive understanding of the manner in which the Sami are engaged and how policies are directed to them. Moreover, the absence of a comprehensive framework for many issues – notably, how the Sami should participate in decision making regarding land use issues – has led to these decisions being pushed to the local level in an inconsistent manner where there are clear power asymmetries in terms of how any conflicts of interest are resolved. Amidst this policy environment, *samebyar* and the Sami Parliament are identified as the main partners for policy engagement, albeit they may speak with diverse voices. These actors feel under an increasing amount of pressure to engage with different levels of government and industry on a wide range of issues. However, they have limited capacity to meaningfully participate in the host of engagement activities and the informality of how they are often included in decision making leads not only to engagement fatigue but to scepticism as to the value of these endeavours.

This situation is not sustainable. In recognition of this, the national government is working on developing guidelines for consultation with Sami on culture-related issues, but this is not enough. A comprehensive national Sami policy is also needed. As noted in Chapter 1, there is no collection of Sami legislation in one place which makes it hard to provide an overview of Sami rights and to understand how the Sami should participate in decision making. It also means that there is no single point in the ministries accountable for all decisions about Sami affairs or for monitoring a cohesive Sami perspective on different decisions in other sectoral policies affecting Sami affairs. A first step to evolving a comprehensive framework for Sami affairs is to take stock of the range of policies that impact the Sami in order to gauge their impact, how they could be better co-ordinated and how Sami individuals and communities could be more effectively engaged in decisions that impact them. Such policy assessment requires improved data on Sami economic activities and well-being (see Chapter 1 for discussion) and should directly address the manner in which regional and municipal governments should support Sami social and economic development.

A corrigendum has been issued for this page. See: https://www.oecd.org/about/publishing/Corrigendum-Linking-the-Indigenous-Sami-Peoplw-with-Regional-Development-in-Sweden.pdf

The current policy environment is fundamentally a reflection of how Sami rights are identified and the distinction made between those who are members of a reindeer herding community and the broader Sami community which are recognised in law as a national minority. This rights framework has on the one hand frozen the activities of *samebyar* by placing limits on their economic activities while at the same time creating a division within Sami identity in terms of those who are members in *samebyar* and those who are not. Thus, in the medium to longer term, Sweden should consider how this rights framework could evolve to meet the contemporary needs of Sami people and to better support their unique cultural identity and self-determination. Opening up rights frameworks to reform is extremely political and undoubtedly a long and challenging process. However, there is growing recognition in many countries that their evolution is critical in order to improve relations and support Indigenous development.

Policy options to improve the policy framework for the Sami in Sweden are:

- The Government of Sweden, in partnership with the Sami Parliament and Sami institutions, move toward the development of a National Sami Policy that can:
  1. Identify future priorities for the development of Sami society;
  2. Assess the current policy framework in an integrated way and identify actions to improve it;
  3. Clarify responsibilities for Sami society between different agencies and levels of government;
  4. Establish mechanisms to build the capacity of the Sami Parliament (such as MOUs to govern data, information and resource sharing); and
  5. Establish agreed mechanisms for co-ordination and dialogue between different levels of government.
- Establish an annual strategic dialogue between the Swedish Government and the Sami Parliament to assess progress in the implementation of this policy, and to identify priorities for future action.

Notes

[1] The Sami in Russia only have observer status in the Sami Parliamentary Council, as they do not have their own parliament.

[2] A solution is smaller reindeer herds and better control over them to focus more on tourism.

[3] In January 2018, the Appeals Court for Upper Norrland County ruled that Girjas *sameby* has a "better right" to fishing and hunting rights in its reindeer-grazing area than the Swedish State. However, the court also ruled that this right was not exclusive and that the continued licensing of hunting and fishing there by the Swedish State does not violate the Swedish Constitution. This ruling partially overturns an earlier lower court ruling that asserted that Girjas *sameby* does not control its own fishing rights and does not have the right to transfer or assign those rights to others. Girjas *sameby* has articulated that it interprets this ruling as meaning that the Swedish authorities must consult with the *sameby* before issuing fishing and hunting permits (Library of Congress, 2018[25]).

[4] The category of "other" is used to refer to the sum of the remaining categories that have not been specified. This includes land owned by other private owners (6%), the state (3%) and other public owners (2%) in 2012 (Skogsstyrelsen, 2014[13]). Other private owners refer to religious associations including the Swedish Church, privately owned foundations and funds, profit and non-profit associations, profit driven community groups. Other public owners refer to Swedish local and county councils including limited companies, foundations and funds owned to 50% or more by local and county councils. The category of the State refers to Swedish state-owned institutions funds,

foundation etc., for example the National Property Board, National Fortifications Administration, Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, Swedish Forest Agency.

[5] It should be noted that even though the responsibility of the consultation before the permit process rests upon the developer, this consultation must be carried out according to what is laid down in Chapter 6 of the Environmental Code.

[6] A *sameby* cannot agree to let go of the rights of reindeer herding as stipulated in the Reindeer Husbandry Act. These kinds of agreements are at risk of lacking legal support.

[7] Prior to 1996, the area that as a World Heritage site came to be called Laponia consisted of four national parks and two nature reserves. The model of the predatory inventory where the CAB and the reindeer herders work together came about after an investigation in 1995. The herders' participation is voluntary.

[8] It is noted that there is presently a government bill (2017/18: 266) on New Regional Planning for Stockholm County and Skåne County (https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/proposition/en-ny-regional-planering_H503266).

[9] Compensation for licensing goes 50% to the Sami fund and 50% to the *sameby*. But for predators the compensation goes to the community. The Sami Fund is managed by a board within the Sami Parliament which decides how to use the fund, to strengthen reindeer herding and Sami culture and for court procedures. The board consists of six members that the government appoints for three years. Three of the members are appointed by proposal of the Sami Parliament. The government appoints the chairman and vice chairman.

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Linking the Indigenous Sami People with Regional Development in Sweden

The Sami have lived for time immemorial in an area that today extends across the Kola Peninsula in Russia, northern Finland, northern Norway's coast and inland, and the northern half of Sweden. The Sami play an important role in these northern economies thanks to their use of land, their involvement in reindeer husbandry, agriculture/farming and food production, and connection with the region's tourism industry. However, in Sweden, as in the other states where the Sami live, the connections with regional development are often inconsistent and weak, and could do more to support the preservation and promotion of Sami culture and create new employment and business opportunities. This study, together with the OECD's broader thematic work on this topic, provides actionable recommendations on how to better include the Sami and other Indigenous Peoples in regional development strategies, learning from and incorporating their own perspectives on sustainable development in the process.

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