DOCTORAL THESIS

Strategies and Actions in Swedish Mining Resistance

Mapping Anti-Extraction Movements and Exploring How Their Interpretations of Socio-Political Context Shape Mobilization Against Mining Projects

Daniel Fjellborg

Political Science

LULEÅ UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

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To my wife Sarah,
who has not read a single word in this book,
yet has been part of writing all of them.

Abstract

Across the world, the demand for minerals is steadily increasing. In Europe, the push for mining coincides with rising public mobilization against extraction projects, and mining-related conflicts will likely be a feature of Europe's foreseeable future. To understand the trajectories of mining conflicts, and to find just ways of handling them, it is important to understand the strategies and actions of the networks of actors that oppose extraction projects, that is, anti-extraction movements.

While previous research has primarily explored mining resistance in the Global South, our knowledge about mining resistance in Europe is lacking. I contribute to filling this gap by investigating anti-extraction movements in Sweden, a long-term producer of minerals. The aim of the thesis is thus to explore what strategies and actions anti-extraction movements in Sweden use and how and why they choose them. I use social movement theory and emphasize how choices of strategies and actions are shaped by the socio-political context in which movements are embedded. With the help of frame analysis and an interpretive research approach, I explore how movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints shape their actions, thus contributing to the ongoing research debate about how surrounding societal actors and institutions influence movement agency.

In four papers, building on an extensive document analysis and interviews with movement actors, I systematically map and analyse anti-extraction movements in Sweden and provide in-depth studies of selected cases. I ask two research questions: 1. What anti-extraction movements are there in Sweden, in what socio-political contexts are they embedded, and what actions have they taken? 2. How do anti-extraction movements' goals and interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints shape their strategies and actions?

The thesis presents the first comprehensive mapping of anti-extraction movements in Sweden and shows that mining resistance has increased across

Sweden during the last two decades. My results reveal that movements use a wide range of actions, from civil disobedience and public demonstrations to litigation and political lobbying, and are composed of heterogeneous mixes of actors, including newly formed activist networks, organizations for farmers and Indigenous Sámi, and environmental organizations. Movements promote several visions for societal development, including environmental protection and sustainability, Sámi Indigenous rights and culture, and landowners' rights and agriculture. In international comparison, the Swedish anti-extraction movements to a larger extent aim to influence political and legal actors and place less emphasis on project owners and corporate investors.

Regarding how socio-political context shapes strategies and actions, my results indicate that movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities do not always align with researchers' understandings of what an opportunity is, thus producing unexpected actions. Movement actors' interpretations of opportunities and constraints are found to be influenced by their goals, their comparisons of available options, their previous experiences, and their role in relation to other actors in the movement.

My research shows that socio-political context often influences movement actors' strategies and actions via their interpretations of opportunities and constraints for achieving goals. My results also suggest that socio-political context shapes movement actors' strategies and actions by presenting them with appropriate ways to act in society. Lastly, my studies indicate that additional factors, including movement actors' action traditions and identities, resources, and the diffusion of strategies, can influence movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and strategies and actions.

Keywords: social movement strategy, tactics, structure and agency, opportunities and constraints, mining, frame analysis

List of Papers

Paper 1

Fjellborg, D., Beland Lindahl, K., & Zachrisson, A. (2022). What to do when the mining company comes to town? Mapping actions of anti-extraction movements in Sweden, 2009–2019. *Resources Policy*, 75. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2021.102514

Paper 2

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Paper 3

Fjellborg, D. Understanding diversification of strategies and actions in Swedish mining resistance – The fanning out effect of goals and contextual opportunities. *Submitted to journal for review.*

Paper 4

Fjellborg, D. & Beland Lindahl, K. Division of Labour in Swedish Mining Resistance: The Interplay between Legal Mobilization and Public Protests in Social Movements
Submitted to journal for review.

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Up until I was 24 years old, I had no idea where doctors of philosophy came from. For all I knew they could be popping up like mushrooms in the forest. Then the examiner of my bachelor's thesis asked if I had considered applying to the research education programme. Seeing my puzzled look, he was kind enough to explain to me what a doctoral student was and what the basics of an academic career entail. Without that roadmap, I would not be here today.

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Abbreviations

ASV – Action Save Vättern (Aktion Rädda Vättern)
BGG – Bedrock Group Grenna-Norra Kärr (Urbergsgruppen Grenna-Norra Kärr)
CAB – County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelse)
CRD – Civil Rights Defenders Sweden
ENGO – Environmental Non-Governmental Organization
FFF – Fridays for Future Sweden
FSF – Federation of Swedish Farmers (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund)
MI – Mining Inspectorate of Sweden (Bergsstaten)
MFJ – Mining-Free Jokkmokk (Gruvfritt Jokkmokk)
NASS – National Association of Swedish Sámi (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund)
RHC – Sámi Reindeer Herding Community (Sameby)
SSNC – Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (Naturskyddsföreningen)

1 Introduction

The global demand for minerals is increasing. By 2060 it is expected to have doubled compared to present-day levels due to economic growth and the implementation of new technologies (OECD, 2019). With rising demand comes calls for increasing mineral extraction around the world. In Europe, a continent currently largely dependent on mineral imports, the EU has launched initiatives for more domestic production to fill the demands created by technological transitions and to mitigate the risks of uncertain global supply chains for minerals (European Commission, 2023). However, the global push for extraction is meeting opposition, especially in the places where mining projects are planned. Increasing resistance has been reported globally (Conde, 2017; Özkaynak et al., 2021; Scheidel et al., 2020), including in Europe (Eerola, 2022; Kivinen et al., 2020; Velicu & Kaika, 2017), and, as I will show in this thesis, mining resistance is on the rise in Sweden.

Previous research addressing mining resistance has focused mainly on understanding the factors causing conflicts over mining projects. This research often explains conflict emergence with reference to the presence of competing visions for societal development, fundamental value differences, struggles for Indigenous rights and self-determination, and promotion of land uses and livelihoods alternative to mining (e.g. agriculture, Indigenous land use and cultural practices), or environmental protection (Arce, 2016; Bebbington et al., 2008; Beland Lindahl et al., 2018, Cuba et al., 2014; Eerola, 2022; MacPhail et al., 2023).

Building on this research, I focus on the less explored need to understand the strategies and actions of the networks of actors that mobilize against mineral extraction projects, networks I refer to as *anti-extraction movements*. It is important to understand the choices of strategies and actions in anti-extraction movements in order to understand the trajectories of the rising number of mining conflicts around the world as well as to find potential ways for society to handle such disputes in just and effective ways.

International research on mining resistance suggests that anti-extraction movements typically use a diverse range of strategies and actions. These include mobilization of local grassroots activists, public protests, litigation against extraction companies,

petitioning, protest art, public awareness raising via media and social media, and the occasional use of more disruptive methods, such as road blockades and civil disobedience (Scheidel et al., 2020; Walter & Wagner, 2021). Previous research has tended to focus on strategies and actions in the Global South, often exploring cases in Latin America (Abuya, 2016; Conde, 2017; Conde & Le Billon, 2017; Martinez-Alier et al., 2016). Yet, with the rising global demand for minerals, mining conflicts are becoming more pronounced also in countries in the Global North (Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Karidio & Talbot, 2020; MacPhail et al., 2023), increasing the need to understand the strategies and actions of anti-extraction movements in a European setting as well. I contribute to this endeavour by exploring anti-extraction movements in Sweden, which is currently one of Europe's largest producers of minerals (especially iron ore) and has a geological potential for expanding extraction of several innovation-critical minerals (Eilu et al., 2021).

In addition to exploring this, I also set out to advance understanding about *how* movement actors choose their strategies and actions. There is a need for more research in this area, particularly as it concerns social movements (Doherty & Hayes, 2019) and mining resistance (Conde, 2017).

Aim

My aim with this thesis is to explore what strategies and actions anti-extraction movements in Sweden use and how and why they choose them. To explore this, I use social movement theory and put emphasis on how choices of strategies and actions are shaped by the socio-political context in which anti-extraction movements are embedded. In particular, I focus on how movement actors themselves interpret opportunities and constraints in their context. By 'socio-political context' I refer to the societal institutions and actors surrounding a movement.[1] The socio-political context may, for example, include laws regulating the permit processes for the project, politicians making decisions about related state policies, people in the affected local communities, and the project owner promoting the extraction project.

[1] By 'institutions' I refer to formal and informal social rules, such as legislation or norms.

There are two main reasons for my choice to explore how socio-political context influences strategies and actions. First, research has shown that socio-political context often influences action choices (McAdam & Tarrow, 2019; Meyer, 2004). Since mining resistance worldwide has increased, it is vital to understand how anti-extraction movements' action choices are influenced by their societal settings. Exploring how socio-political context shapes the strategies and actions of Swedish anti-extraction movements makes it easier to understand how movements in Sweden are similar to or different from movements in other socio-political contexts around the globe.

Second, exploring the influence of socio-political context also opens possibilities to discuss how adjustments in societal institutions and surrounding actors' behaviour can influence the strategies and actions of anti-extraction movements and, by extension, the trajectories of mining conflicts. For example, how can changes to surrounding legal and political institutions influence anti-extraction movements' willingness to adopt more disruptive action forms, such as civil disobedience, or more conventional actions, such as lobbying within democratic political processes? The focus on how movements' contexts influence their strategies and actions thus facilitates the much-needed discussions about how anti-extraction movements and related mining conflicts may be handled by the surrounding society, including the state.

Understanding strategies and actions

I explore the strategies and actions of *movement actors*, meaning the organizations and sub-networks that comprise the studied anti-extraction movements. As I will show in this thesis, anti-extraction movement actors in the Swedish setting may include environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs), organizations for farmers or Indigenous Sámi, and newly started activist networks. *Strategies* in this thesis refers to movement actors' plans for future actions (Smithey, 2009), while *actions* refers to the actual activities taken by movement actors.

I explore four aspects of movements' strategies and actions. First, I examine the *arenas of actions,* that is, the observable settings where actions take place (Jasper, 2021). Examples of arenas mentioned in this thesis include legal permit processes, media and social media platforms, the streets of town and cities, policy-making

processes at different scales, and public meetings. Second, I examine the *targets of actions*, that is, whom an act aims to influence (Jasper & King, 2020). Targets may include decision-makers for mining projects, different publics, international actors, or the owners of extraction projects. Third, I examine the *types of actions*, that is, the technique of an act, such as letter or statement writing, public demonstrations, litigation, lobbying, or civil disobedience. Lastly, I examine which movement actors adopt what strategies and take what actions. In the upcoming theory section, I discuss my understanding of strategies and actions in relation to other ways of studying them, and I argue further for my conceptualization.

Doherty and Hayes (2019, p. 282) argue that, considering the centrality of strategy to many theoretical approaches in social movement studies, researchers' understandings of how movement actors make decisions about what actions to use is surprisingly underdeveloped and disputed within social movement research. Some approaches emphasize action choices as guided by movement actors' traditions of acting in certain ways, while others emphasize choices as driven mainly by ambitions to fulfil specific goals, such as creating change in state policies or mobilizing supporters (Buechler, 2011; Doherty & Hayes, 2019).

Literature in the former approach invites us to consider strategy choices as primarily shaped by movement actors' collective identities and traditions (e.g. Doherty & Hayes, 2012; Smithey, 2009). From this perspective, a movement's prioritizations (e.g. choosing public demonstrations ahead of political lobbying) may be due to its actors having built their collective identity around the use of certain actions and not others. In this way movements can develop a 'taste in tactics' (Jasper et al., 2015) that may influence choices of strategies and actions partly independent of their current societal surroundings.

Literature in the latter approach, focusing on goal-fulfilment, instead invites us to consider strategies and actions as primarily resulting from movement actors' assessments of the potential to achieve their goals based on the opportunities and constraints that exist in the surrounding society (Ancelovici, 2021b; Giugni, 2011). This literature includes much work within the influential political process approach (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). From this perspective, a choice of public demonstration

instead of political lobbying may be due to politicians being unreceptive to the movement's claims. With opportunities for productive political dialogue closed off, movement actors instead choose public demonstrations to advance their goal of changing state policies.

Both approaches to understanding movement actors' choices of strategies and actions may be explored within the same study, yet analytical emphasis is often put on one or the other. In this thesis I focus on exploring how movements' action choices are shaped by their embedding socio-political contexts, and I mainly do so with a specific focus on how socio-political context presents opportunities and constraints for goal-fulfilment. However, throughout the thesis, I also maintain an ambition to remain in dialogue with arguments and research concerning how other explanations, such as the action traditions and movement identities, may also shape movements' choices of strategies and actions.

Movement actors' interpretations of socio-political context

Previous studies of how contextual opportunities and constraints shape movements' choices of actions have produced ambiguous results, sometimes finding that the setup of socio-political contexts influences movements' actions in line with expectations, and sometimes not (Koopmans, 2005; Meyer, 2004; Opp, 2009). Scholars have pointed out the lack of investigations of movements' own *interpretations* of socio-political contexts as a likely reason for the diverging results (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008; Duyvendak & Fillieule, 2015; Gamson & Meyer, 1996). Researchers have called for more empirical studies on how movements interpret their socio-political context and how these interpretations shape their strategies and actions (Alimi, 2006; de Moor & Wahlström, 2019; Doherty & Hayes, 2019; Giugni, 2011; Jasper, 2017; Shriver & Adams, 2013).

In this thesis, I respond to these calls by exploring how actors in anti-extraction movements interpret opportunities and constraints in their socio-political context in relation to the goals they want to achieve, and how these interpretations shape their choices of strategies and actions. I contribute to the development of social movement theory by significantly advancing understanding of how the setup of socio-political context comes to matter for movements' choices of strategies and actions – a question

that has recently been revitalized in the scholarly discussions about social movements (Ancelovici, 2021a; McAdam & Tarrow, 2019).

A note on methods and materials

I use an interpretive approach and use frame analysis (Rein & Schön, 1996) to explore movement actors' strategies and their interpretations of opportunities and constraints. I understand frames as socially constructed and consisting of two interrelated functions. The first is a diagnostic function, capturing actors' sense-making of situations and their answer to the question 'What is going on here?' The second function is prescriptive and captures actors' preferences for action in response to the situation, that is, their strategies. The prescriptive function thus captures actors' answers to the question 'What should be done?' (Rein & Schön, 1996). The incorporation of both sense-making and strategies makes the frame a suitable analytical tool for exploring how movement actors' interpretations of socio-political contexts potentially shape their strategies and actions. It should be noted that, by drawing on Rein and Schön (1996), I diverge slightly from the typical focus on 'collective action frames' (Snow, Vliegenthart, & Ketelaars, 2019) in social movement studies. In the following theory section, I present the frame concept further and argue for my type of frame analysis.

Concerning methods, I mainly rely on qualitative research methods. My empirical material includes interviews with actors engaged in anti-extraction movements and analysis of a vast number of documents covering media reports, official documents from permit processes for mining projects, and documents created by movement actors themselves.

The thesis includes four appended research papers. The first study is an explorative mapping of anti-extraction movements in Sweden between 2009 and 2019. It explores the socio-political contexts, frames, strategies, and actions of the movements. The second study is a multiple-case study of 15 cases exploring anti-extraction movements' interpretations of opportunities and constraints in a segment of the legal permit processes for mining projects and their related strategies and actions. The third study is an in-depth paired study of two prominent anti-extraction movements in Sweden: Norra Kärr and Kallak/Gállok. It explores how movement actors' goals for societal

development and interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints shape strategies and actions within the movements. The final study is an in-depth single-case study of the largest anti-extraction movement in Sweden, Kallak/Gállok. It further explores how movement actors' different interpretations of opportunities and constraints in the legal permit processes shape both legal actions and public protests within the movement. In the methodology section I elaborate further on the research design and methods used.

The text proceeds as follows. First, in the theory section, I outline my theoretical framework and present the research questions for exploring anti-extraction movements' strategies and actions. Second, in the methodology section, I outline the thesis's epistemological approach and research design. Third, in the results section, I summarize the four appended studies in relation to the research questions. Finally, in the discussion section, I synthesize the thesis's main findings, contributions, and implications.

2 Review of research and theory

This section presents previous research and theory important for my exploration of the strategies and actions of anti-extraction movements and how they connect to socio-political context. I begin by presenting definitions of social movements and anti-extraction movements. I then turn to previous research on strategies and actions in mining resistance and social movement studies, continue with research on factors expected to shape movements' choices of strategies and actions, and end by presenting the theoretical framework and research questions guiding the thesis.

2.1 Social movements and anti-extraction movements

Social movements have played an important part in the development of Western societies since the mid-18th century (Tilly, 2004). Examples of social movements that have had significant impacts on modern societies are environmental movements (Rootes, 2004), movements for women's suffrage (McCammon et al., 2001), and the civil rights movement in the USA (McAdam, 1982). The social movement is, however,

an elusive concept, and its definition has been the topic of much scholarly work (Della Porta & Diani, 2020).

Tarrow (2011) defines social movements as 'collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities' (p. 9). Della Porta and Diani (2020, p. 21) argue that social movements must do three things: 1) Be involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents, such as states, companies, or counter-movements, 2) Be connected through dense informal networks, and 3) Share a distinct collective identity and goals. Movement actors do not need to agree on all goals but have to share some form of common purpose to count as a movement. Della Porta and Diani's (2020) definition does not further specify what types of actions movements are involved in.

Snow, Soule et al. (2019) add that actors in a network must, at least occasionally, take actions outside of 'institutional channels' to count as a social movement. Such institutional channels typically refer to the formal political and legal system, including, for example, policy-making arenas of states or legal processes in courts. Examples of actions inside institutional channels are democratic voting, lobbying of politicians, or participation in referral rounds. Actions outside of institutional channels typically refer to public actions such as street demonstrations, blockades, public protest meetings, and civil disobedience. Actions outside of institutional channels may also take less confrontational forms, such as public exhibitions of protest art or the use of logos and signs to show support for a movement (Alimi, 2015). The requirement that movements engage in actions outside of institutional channels does not prevent movement actors from simultaneously engaging in actions inside such channels by, for example, writing statements in policy processes or acting as claimants in court cases (Snow, Soule et al., 2019).

The requirement that movements engage in action outside of institutional channels helps to uphold a distinction between the concepts of social movement and interest group, since interest groups are commonly conceptualized as focused only on actions

inside institutional channels (Burstein, 1999).[2] Drawing on the work of Della Porta and Diani (2020) and Snow, Soule et al. (2019), I understand a social movement as an informal network of actors that share a distinct collective identity and goals and are involved in conflictual interactions with opponents, occasionally outside of formal political institutions.

Anti-extraction movements

In this thesis I explore anti-extraction movements – social movements mobilizing against place-specific projects for the extraction of natural resources – here with a focus on mining. I understand anti-extraction movements as forms of locally unwanted land-use (LULU) movements, which are movements anchored in resistance against specific projects, such as infrastructure or industry projects. LULU movements typically involve both local and extra-local actors and are often composed of heterogeneous networks of actors, ranging from formalized organizations, such as environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) or organizations for land users, to informal activist networks. Such movements typically use a diverse set of strategies and actions, ranging from litigation and formalized political advocacy to street demonstrations and civil disobedience (Della Porta et al., 2019).

In addition to having shared goals of project opposition, actors in LULU movements often articulate several parallel goals for societal development, such as environmental protection, implementation of new economic systems, or visions for social justice (Della Porta & Piazza, 2007; Della Porta et al., 2019). This tendency to promote multiple goals beyond opposition to specific projects is also often found in actor networks that oppose mining projects around the world (Conde, 2017), including in European countries (Eerola, 2022; Kivinen et al., 2020), and specifically in Sweden (Beland Lindahl et al., 2018). Simply put, research suggests that LULU and anti-extraction movements are often motivated both by stopping projects and by promoting other forms of local and/or general societal development (Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Della Porta et al., 2019).

[2] As Burstein also points out, the difference between interest groups and social movements is often unclear in actual research, and the existence of a clear distinction can be questioned.

2.2 Strategies and actions

Mining resistance worldwide

Research on mining resistance has in recent decades gravitated towards exploring cases in the Global South, particularly in Latin America (Bebbington et al., 2008; Conde, 2017; Conde & Le Billon, 2017; Scheidel et al., 2020; Walter & Wagner, 2021). In recent years, however, social science research on mining in the Global North has also increased. This burgeoning literature has particularly focused on conflicts, attitudes, and local acceptance, and to a lesser extent on mining resistance (Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Karidio & Talbot, 2020; Koivurova et al., 2015; MacPhail et al., 2023). In this review I gather insights from both social movement studies and studies focused on natural resource conflicts.

Recent international comparative research on the strategies and actions in mining resistance has often been based on empirical material from the Environmental Justice Atlas (https://ejatlas.org/). The EJAtlas is a global collaborative research project where reports on environmental conflicts are collected from researchers and non-governmental actors around the world and made available for analysis after the reports have been quality checked (Temper et al., 2015). Environmental conflicts can arise, for example, over oil extraction projects, waste dumps, construction of hydropower plants or wind power projects, and mining projects.

In their global review of environmental conflicts in the EJAtlas, Schiedel et al. (2020) found that 21 percent of the studied 2732 cases were related to the mining sector. Opposition to mining projects often occur in rural settings and involve local grassroots organizations and networks, farmers, non-governmental organizations, and Indigenous groups (see also Martinez-Alier et al., 2016).

Scheidel et al. (2020) found that, from a global perspective, mining opposition was more dangerous and deadly for activists compared to engagement against other forms of resource exploitation. However, opposition was mostly carried out in non-violent ways, with actions such as petitions, public campaigns, street demonstrations, and legal actions in courts to hinder extraction projects. More disruptive methods, such as road blockades or occupation of land, were less common and were typically used after

more peaceful persuasion had been attempted. Outright violent actions, such as sabotage or threats to use arms, were very rare in mining opposition in a global perspective (Scheidel et al., 2020; see also Martinez-Alier et al., 2016).

In their mapping of resistance against mining projects in Argentina, Walter and Wagner (2021) similarly found that non-violent forms of action clearly dominated the action repertoire of actors opposing projects. They found that mining resistance often involved a heterogeneous mix of actors, both local and extra-local, using a diverse set of actions. Mining opponents in Argentina typically engaged in public mobilization to make their opposition visible, using such actions as street demonstrations, engagement in media, public campaigns, and protest art. Public mobilization was often paired with more institutional actions such as lawsuits, objections to environmental impact assessments, and the creation of knowledge and distribution of information to counter the claims of those promoting the mining projects. Networking within mining resistance often occurred between locally affected actors, such as Indigenous groups and farmers, and national or international organizations, such as ENGOs. Networking typically also involved experts and scientists supporting mining opponents' alternative knowledge claims (Walter & Wagner, 2021).

In her global review of mining resistance, Conde (2017) found that three forms of action were becoming increasingly common: 1) Referendums involving locally affected residents, 2) Legal actions against mining companies, and 3) Engagement of external expertise and trans-local networking. The first form of action, local referendums (or consultas), has grown in popularity as a form of protest against mining projects in Latin America, where actors have felt left out of the decision-making processes (Walter & Martinez-Alier, 2010; Walter & Urkidi, 2017). The second form of action, legal action against companies, has increased in popularity globally as resistance groups have learned about their legal opportunities at national and international levels (Conde, 2017). This learning is partly connected to the third action trend of local actors networking with non-local experts, scientists, and non-governmental organizations. Such networking has led to project opposition occasionally extending beyond local communities (Urkidi, 2010). The mappings of actions in mining resistance both globally and in Latin America indicate that direct contact with politicians, for example through lobbying, is rarely part of the action repertoire.

Mining resistance in Europe and Sweden

With the rising global demand for minerals, reports on conflicts related to mineral extraction are also increasing in Europe (e.g. Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; MacPhail et al., 2023; Velicu & Kaika, 2017). In their EJAtlas-based review of mining resistance in Europe, Kivinen et al. (2020) show that resistance to mining projects occurs in many European countries and that an increasing number of projects face public resistance. The review covers resistance against 44 mining projects and shows that resistance is especially pronounced against new projects. As in other parts of the world, mining resistance in Europe typically involves heterogeneous networks of actors. Opposition often includes local actors negatively affected by mining projects, such as farmers, communities, or Indigenous groups, as well as local and international ENGOs.

Kivinen et al. (2020) show that strategies and actions in European mining resistance typically include public campaigns, legal actions against mining projects, collective complaint letters and petitioning, engagement in media and social media, creation of knowledge and distribution of information to counter mining proponents' arguments, and street demonstrations. As in other parts of the world, mining opposition in Europe mainly uses non-violent methods; however, more disruptive methods such as road blockades and civil disobedience have occasionally been attempted.

In this thesis, I present the first comprehensive mapping of public resistance against mining projects in Sweden. Studies of Swedish mining opposition have been performed on a case-by-case basis during the last two decades. They indicate an increase in opposition against projects and state policies promoting mining and describe a large variety of actions taken by mining opponents. These include street demonstrations in local communities and the capital (Stockholm), public protest meetings, civil disobedience at project sites, engagement in media and social media, construction of webpages, legal actions against specific projects, production of reports describing the negative impacts of mining, participation in formal state inquiries, lobbying of politicians and state authorities, and networking among mining-sceptical actors at the national level (Anshelm et al., 2018; Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Dahlberg-Grundberg & Örestig, 2017; Lawrence & Larsen, 2017; Raitio et al. 2020; Sehlin MacNeil & Lawrence, 2017; Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019).

The descriptions and categorizations of strategies and actions do, however, vary significantly in previous case research on mining resistance in Sweden and in Europe more generally. Some studies categorize actions based on overarching characteristics, such as violent/non-violent, while others describe each specific action without elaborating on how actions may share characteristics. This creates difficulties in comparing cases and studies. To structure my studies of anti-extraction movements, I developed a conceptualization of key aspects of strategies and actions, which is presented below.

Conceptualizing strategies and actions

Within social movement studies there is currently no consensus on how to conceptualize the strategies and actions of movements and movement actors. Drawing on Ganz (2000), Smithey (2009) argues that strategy 'involves planning oriented towards achieving objectives, which is not to say that it is fully rational, but that it exhibits intention or purpose' (pp. 660-661). Although I agree with Smithey that strategies are often oriented towards achieving objectives, I choose to keep my definition simpler and understand *strategy* as movement actors' plans for future actions. I thus study movement actors' plans for actions without assuming that such plans are always goal oriented. Goals are still part of my studies but are investigated as a separate aspect of the theoretical framework (see section 2.6).

By *actions* I refer to the actual activities taken by movement actors. Some scholars prefer to use the term 'tactics' instead of 'actions'. Doherty (2013) refers to movement actors' tactics as the 'forms of action that have been deliberately chosen with the aim of influencing or coercing one or more of opponents, the general public, and fellow movement activists' (p. 1). Although the terms 'tactics' and 'actions' have many similarities, in this thesis I have opted to use 'actions' as it leaves more leeway to empirically explore the range of movement actors' activities without presuming why they are chosen. My study of strategies and actions does, however, often relate, and add, to research on social movement tactics.

When it comes to characterizing traits of strategies and actions, scholars of social movements have used different conceptualizations depending on the purposes of their studies. Some have suggested that movements' actions should be categorized as either

instrumental, referring to actions taken to advance social change, or expressive, referring to actions taken to manifest and strengthen a movement's shared values and collective identity (Taylor & van Dyke, 2004). Researchers have pointed out, however, that most actions entail both instrumental and expressive characteristics (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008). A pride parade, for example, may be viewed as expressing a shared collective identity by celebrating free sexuality, yet at the same time the parade may be instrumental in putting pressure on political decision-makers. Due to this inherent difficulty of separating expressive and instrumental motivations, I have chosen not to explore strategies and actions in these terms.

Other researchers have instead suggested that actions should be separated into insider and outsider actions, reflecting the extent to which actions are taken inside or outside of formal institutional channels (Snow, Soule et al., 2019). Examples of insider actions are the lobbying of politicians, litigation in courts, and letter writing, while examples of outsider actions are demonstrations, marches, blockades, and physical sabotage. Many outsider actions are also referred to as confrontational or disruptive, while insider actions are sometimes referred to as non-confrontational or conventional (Taylor & van Dyke, 2004). I sympathize with the idea of characterizing actions based on where they take place in society, such as inside or outside of institutional channels. However, I argue that the categorization of actions as being either inside or outside of one unified institutional system is too simplistic to adequately describe the diverse actions typically seen in mining resistance.

I therefore develop a more fine-grained conceptualization of strategies and actions based on four aspects of actions, as outlined in the introduction. First, to capture where an action takes place, I draw on Jasper (2021) and explore the *arena of action*, the observable setting where an action takes place. This allows me to describe actions as taken inside more specific institutionalized arenas, such as judicial processes or policy-making processes, rather than lumping all insider actions together in one category. Apart from institutionalized arenas, actions may also be taken in such arenas as 'the streets', in media, or in social media.

Second, to capture whom an act aims to influence, I explore the *target of action*, that is, the actors external to the movement that an action aims to influence. This is a

characteristic often argued to be important in research exploring how social movements relate to their surrounding society (Jasper & King, 2020). For an anti-extraction movement, such targets may include segments of the public or decision-makers with leverage over mining projects.

Third, I explore the *types of actions* to capture the techniques used. This may, for example, involve the writing of collective complaint letters or knowledge reports, demonstrations, displays of protest art, or lobbying. Exploring types of actions allows me to see if movements use techniques that are often considered disruptive, such as civil disobedience, or action types that are more conventional, such as petitioning (Taylor & van Dyke, 2004).

Lastly, I explore the *actors in action*, meaning that I take note of which movement actors engage in what actions. By using these four aspects of actions in my empirical explorations I can categorize and group actions in a structured manner, enhance the comparability between anti-extraction movements and movement actors, and capture many of the action characteristics that previous research has argued to be important traits of movements' strategies and actions.

2.3 Factors shaping choices of strategies and actions

In addition to exploring what strategies and actions anti-extraction movements in Sweden use, I also set out to understand how and why they choose their strategies and actions. In this section I review research on the different factors expected to shape such choices. As explicated in the introduction, I place particular emphasis on understanding how socio-political context shapes action choices. But before turning to research on socio-political context, I begin by outlining some other factors potentially shaping action choices. These are traditions and identities, diffusion, and resources.

Traditions and collective identities, diffusion, and resources

First, several scholars have argued that movements' collective identities and connected action traditions are likely to impact action choices. Doherty and Hayes (2012) argue that 'movement tradition' is essential for choices of tactics. Traditions are forms of

action and thinking that movement actors bring with them from previous campaigns. 'Traditions' thus refers to how some action forms become 'routinised' in activist groups (Doherty & Hayes, 2012, p. 543). Jasper et al. (2015) similarly argue that a 'taste in tactics' can guide action choices as movement actors over time start to 'attach moral value to their means as well as their goals' (p. 407). Smithey (2009) argues that such preferences for ways to act often connect to the collective identities in movements. Action choices based on traditions may accordingly 'serve as valuable expressions of identity that recreate and sustain collective identity' (p. 665).

Second, scholars have argued that action choices may be shaped by diffusion between movement actors. Larson (2013) describes diffusion as 'the processes by which cultural forms, such as tactics, are channelled from one group to another' (p. 872). Tactical diffusion thus refers to the process by which a movement actor is inspired by another's actions and adopts the action for itself. Based on his review of research on tactical diffusion, Larson (2013) argues that diffusion is more likely if a movement actor perceives another's actions as effective, if both actors share some form of collective identity, and if the interactions between the actors increase.

Third, researchers have argued that action choices may be shaped by the resources available to movement actors, such as money, staff, or professional knowledge. Resources comprise a significant part of a movement's 'strategic capacity', that is, movement actors' capacity to act on favourable contextual conditions to achieve desired outcomes (Císař & Navrátil, 2022; Ganz, 2000). Studies have, for example, indicated that an increase in professional staff in organizations within a movement often leads to the use of more institutionalized actions, such as litigation or political lobbying (Taylor & van Dyke, 2004). An anti-extraction movement's choice of strategies and actions may thus be shaped by such factors as action traditions and collective identities, diffusion, and resources. These factors are important to keep in mind when exploring the potential impact of socio-political contexts on action choices, a literature I now turn to review.

Socio-political context's influence on strategies and actions

Exploration of how surrounding societal actors and institutions may influence movements' actions is a large subfield within social movement studies, and research

has examined how movements' actions are shaped by a broad variety of surroundings (Ancelovici, 2021b). Hilson (2002), for example, explores how the setup of legal contexts, including legislation and judicial courts, influences movements' actions; Soule and King (2015) review studies of the influence of corporate contexts, including firms and industries; and Goodwin (2012) review how movements' actions are shaped by their political contexts, including political parties, state authorities, and the institutions governing political systems.

Although these examples of delimited contexts focus on different segments of a movement's societal surroundings, all of them are constituted by actors and institutions embedding a movement. In this thesis I use the term 'socio-political context' as an umbrella term to cover the political, legal, and corporate actors and institutions that surround anti-extraction movements.

The dominant way of understanding how socio-political contexts influence movements' strategies and actions has been to view context as presenting movement actors with opportunities and constraints (McAdam & Tarrow, 2019). Tarrow (1994), for example, offers a widely used definition of political opportunities as 'consistent – but not necessarily formal or permanent – dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure' (p. 85). Meyer (2004) argues that most definitions of contextual opportunities have in common a 'general orientation towards the costs, possibilities, and likely payoffs of collective action' (p. 134), created by the setup of movements' contexts. Drawing on these definitions, I understand contextual opportunities as the contextual conditions favouring a movement actor's prospects of fulfilling its goals, while I understand 'constraints' as the antonym of 'opportunities'.

What is noticeable about the understanding of context in terms of opportunities and constraints is that it assumes that choices of actions are primarily guided by actors' ambitions to fulfil goals. De Moor (2022) argues that a focus on movement actors as 'instrumental actors who pursue strategies that maximize success' (p. 933) has been predominant in much research on social movements (see also Della Porta & Diani, 2020). De Moor (2022) argues that this resonates with the 'logic of consequences' as outlined by March and Olsen (1998) in institutional theory. The logic of consequences

entails that 'actors choose among [action] alternatives by evaluating their likely consequences for personal or collective objectives' (March & Olsen, 1998, p. 949).

However, an alternative way in which context may shape actions is via the 'logic of appropriateness'. This logic argues that action choice 'involves evoking an identity or role and matching the obligations of that identity or role to a specific situation' (March & Olsen, 1998, p. 951). The logic of appropriateness thus views socio-political context as influencing actors' actions by presenting social roles entailing certain ways of acting. Taken together, these logics suggest that socio-political context can be expected to shape action choices both by actors' wish to fulfil their appropriate roles in society and by their ambitions to fulfil their goals.

To summarize, studies conceptualizing movements' contexts in terms of opportunities and constraints have been dominated by an understanding of movement actors as instrumental goal-fulfillers, an approach I also adopt in my studies in this thesis. However, I believe it is important to be open to the possibilities that movement actors may also be guided by the logic of appropriateness. What logics ultimately become relevant for movement actors remains an open empirical question.

Vicarious approaches to exploring opportunities and constraints

Much of the research on how contextual opportunities and constraints shape movements' action choices has used what Kriesi (2004) refers to as a vicarious approach. Such an approach implies that a movement's socio-political context is studied without investigating how movements themselves understand their contextual opportunities and constraints. Kriesi (2004, p. 68) argues that researchers instead attempt to 'vicariously' position themselves in the situation of the movement actor and, having 'a good idea of the goals' motivating the actor, the researchers then attempt to figure out what opportunities and constraints the actor would reasonably perceive in its socio-political context.

Researchers have applied vicarious approaches to several segments of movements' socio-political context to understand how context may influence action choices. For example, in his study of how movements' actions are shaped by legal processes, Hilson (2002) assumes that movements are motivated by goals of reaching legal success in

courts. He studies how differences in their prospects of reaching legal success (determined by the design of legislation and the receptiveness of courts) influence movements' tendencies to litigate. Hilson (2002) and others (Boutcher & McCammon, 2019) find that such an approach to exploring the *legal opportunity structure* (LOS) surrounding a movement partly explains movement actors' choices to use litigation or public protests.

The most researched context–action relationship in social movement studies is perhaps that between political processes and the action choices of movements. Here the *political process approach* has emerged as the dominant theoretical tradition, emphasizing the exploration of how the setup of political actors and institutions influences a movement's emergence and action choices (Goodwin, 2012; McAdam, 1982; Meyer, 2004; Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). As in the literature on LOS, much research within the political process approach has relied on researchers' use of vicarious understandings of contextual opportunities to help them explain movements' action choices (Duyvendak & Fillieule, 2015; McAdam & Tarrow, 2019).

The cornerstone of much research in the political process approach is the concept of *political opportunity structure* (POS), which captures the factors in the political surroundings expected to be essential for movements' action choices. As a synthesis of previous research, McAdam (1996) outlines four POS factors expected to influence movements' choices of actions: 1) Openness/closedness of the political system, that is, political actors' general receptiveness to the claims of the movement; 2) Stability/instability of alignments between political elites, such as political parties; 3) Presence/absence of potential allies to the movement among political elites; and 4) The state's capacity and propensity to use repression against public protests such as demonstrations. Increased receptiveness, instability among elites, and presence of potential political allies are expected to make movement actors more prone to act inside political systems, for example, via lobbying. In contrast, an increased propensity for repression is expected to make movement actors less prone to use public actions. After a test and review of McAdam's four POS factors, Goodwin (2012) argues that political elite allies are often difficult to define and instead suggests that studies should focus on how external societal allies, whether elites or not, influence the actions of movements.

Meyer and Minkoff (2004) argue that, to increase the utility of POS theory, researchers should focus on 'issue-specific' POS factors in their studies. This typically involves investigating the political institutions and actors relevant to the policy goals of the studied movements (Giugni, 2011). In her study of migrant inclusion movements, Schnyder (2015) argues that five policy areas (labour market inclusion, long-term residence, family reunification, naturalization, and anti-discrimination) form the relevant issue-specific POS affecting the actions of such movements.

In their study of the emergence of a national mining-sceptical movement in Sweden, Zachrisson and Beland Lindahl (2019) explore the issue-specific POS of the mining policy area, including, for example, policy-making processes related to Sweden's Mineral Strategy. They found that mining-sceptical actors' lack of influence in the mining policy area coincided with the growth of a national mining-sceptical movement in Sweden during the 2010s, thus supporting the expectation that the state's policy-making processes shape movements' actions to some extent.

However, despite efforts to specify and refine contextual factors, studies employing vicarious approaches have produced some ambiguous results in explaining how contextual opportunities and constraints influence the action choices of social movements. Most examples of ambiguous results originate from research in the popular political process approach. Studies have, for example, indicated that police repression may both increase and decrease movements' use of public protest actions, that stable political contexts sometimes coincide with increasing public mobilization, and that public mobilization sometimes emerges in situations which seem to lack contextual opportunity (Goodwin & Jasper, 2012; Koopmans, 2005; Kurzman, 1996; Meyer, 2004; Opp, 2009). Studies of legal opportunities have similarly shown that movements sometimes use litigation in situations where prospects for legal success are very limited (NeJaime, 2011; Vanhala, 2012). This unexpected use of litigation in unfavourable situations may be due to movement actors prioritizing other goals besides legal success, such as mobilization of supporters or the creation of publicity (Cummings, 2017).

Duyvendak and Fillieule (2015) criticize the dominant way of investing socio-political contexts and argue that researchers' 'superimposed categories', that is, their vicarious understandings of opportunities and constraints, often do not match the lived experiences of movement actors, something that, by extension, leads to perplexing results concerning the actions movements take. They argue that, to better understand movement actors' choices of actions, future research needs to pay more attention to movement actors' own interpretations of socio-political contexts, an argument I respond to and now turn to develop further.

2.4 Movement actors' interpretations of socio-political context

To make better sense of the ambiguous results produced by studies using vicarious approaches and to better understand how socio-political contexts shape movements' action choices, several scholars have argued for more investigations of how movement actors interpret contextual opportunities and constraints. Such calls have been voiced in research taking the political process approach (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008; de Moor & Wahlström, 2019; Hasnain, 2016; McAdam & Tarrow, 2019), in research on legal processes (Doherty & Hayes, 2015; NeJaime, 2011), and in research on corporate contexts (Soule & King, 2015). However, advancements in this research agenda have been slow, and much remains to be done (Giugni, 2011; De Moor & Wahlström, 2019).

Kurzman's (1996) study of movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities before the start of the Iranian Revolution was perhaps the first study within the political process approach to grapple with movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints. Kurzman's results indicate that the Iranian Revolution occurred even though movement actors faced a state that was not expected to be vulnerable to popular mobilization. However, while the power of the state remained stable, the revolutionary actors perceived their own strength as growing, thus shifting the relative 'balance of forces' between them and the state (Kurzman, 1996, p. 155). The revolutionary actors' shift in interpretation of opportunities thus did not depend on changes to the context but on changes in their own capacity to act.

Hasnain (2016), on the other hand, studied the lack of mobilization in the Indigenous Korku group in India, whose political context seemed favourable to public mobilization. Although their socio-political context offered favourable conditions to reach political influence and societal change, the Korku group chose not to mobilize. Hasnain (2016) explains this choice by observing that the Korku prioritized the fulfilment of goals other than political ones, such as acting piously and following religious norms. Hasnain's study again indicates that the characteristics of the interpreting actors, in this case their goals, have important implications for how contextual opportunities and constraints are understood and shape action choices. Similar calls for paying attention to movement actors' goals when trying to understand how actors interpret their socio-political context have been made by other scholars (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008).

Focusing on understanding movements actors' choices of strategies and actions, De Moor and Wahlström (2019) present a study of how actors in the international climate movement interpreted contextual opportunities and how this influenced their action choices. De Moor and Wahlström (2019) found that movement actors tended to rely mainly on retrospective reasoning when assessing current contextual opportunities. This meant that actors' experiences from previous, seemingly similar, campaigns led them to assess current contextual conditions divergently. Actors who perceived and narrated previous campaigns as leading to success interpreted the current context as favourable for continuing to act as they had previously. In contrast, actors who told the story of previous campaigns as leading to defeat interpreted the current context as constraining the impact of previously used methods. By extension, these different retrospective narrations of events led to a bifurcation of movement actors, with some actors opting for strategic continuity and others opting for changes of strategy.

In addition to the characteristics of the interpreting actors (i.e. their goals, capacity, and experiences), Gamson and Meyer (1996) argue that actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities likely occur as they compare the relative advantages of different societal arenas available to them. For example, the opportunity to stage a public demonstration in the streets of a city may be seen as advantageous if political decision-makers are perceived as unreceptive to a movement actor's claims. However, the same public demonstration may be perceived as less opportune if policy-makers

become more receptive. Gamson and Meyer (1996) refer to this as 'relative opportunities', and the core of their argument is that movement actors do not interpret the opportunities of societal arenas in isolation but via comparison. To adequately understand how a movement actor interprets opportunities in a specific arena, such as a policy-making process, the researcher must also explore the actor's assessment of opportunities and constraints in other arenas of their socio-political context.

Taken together, these studies suggest that actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints are linked to the characteristics of the interpreting actors as well as the setup of their socio-political contexts. Studies suggest that movement actors' interpretations of opportunities and constraints are shaped by their goals, their capacity to act, their previous experiences informing retrospective reasoning, and the opportunities they perceive in alternative societal arenas. In the following section I present frame analysis as a suitable analytical approach to explore movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints and the connection between interpretations and actions.

2.5 Frame analysis

I use frame analysis to study anti-extraction movements' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints and how such meaning-making shapes their strategies. In this section I present my understanding of frames and describe how I have operationalized the frame into three components which guide my empirical studies.

My understanding of frames

Frame analysis is one among several analytical approaches that can be used to explore actors' social construction of meaning. Other available approaches are, for example, narrative analysis (Polletta & Gardner, 2015) and discourse analysis (Lindekilde, 2014). In this thesis I use Rein and Schön's (1996) definition of frames as 'generic narratives that guide both analysis and action in practical situations. Such narratives are diagnostic/prescriptive stories that tell, within a given issue terrain, what needs fixing and how it might be fixed' (p. 89).

I study frames at the collective social level, that is, how 'diagnostic/prescriptive stories' are told in anti-extraction movements and the organizations and sub-networks constituting such movements. Frame analysis is especially suitable for exploring how movement actors' interpretations of context connect with their choices of actions, since frames typically perform two functions: they organize experience and establish bias for actions (Braun, 2015; Dewulf et al., 2009; Perri 6, 2005). The first function refers to the diagnostic work that frames perform in specific situations, assisting in answering the question 'What is going on here?' (Rein & Schön, 1996; van Hulst & Yanow, 2016). The second function refers to the prescriptive work of frames, assisting in answering the question 'What is to be done?' Prescription refers to the articulation of strategies for action in response to the diagnostic sense-making of the situation (Perri 6, 2005).

Frame analysis's bridging of diagnosis and prescription makes it suitable for my purpose of investigating how movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints (diagnosis) shape their choices of strategies (prescription) and subsequent actions. In addition to offering a bridge between interpretation and action, the use of the frame as an established concept within many social sciences offers a way to connect my studies to interpretive research and theory in social movement studies as well as in neighbouring fields, such as policy analysis (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014).

Other social movement researchers have argued for other approaches to explore movements' sense-making. De Moor and Wahlström (2019), for example, use narrative analysis to explore how actors in the international climate movement narrate previous experiences in the form of metonyms. However, compared to frame analysis, narrative analysis places more emphasis on exploring the construction of plots and the acts of storytelling within movements, and typically places less focus on exploring how meaning-making links to action choices (Polletta & Gardner, 2015). As my focus is on exploring how interpretations shape movements' strategies and actions, frame analysis is a more suitable approach.

Frames and their origins

There are different understandings of what frames are, what can be expected to shape them, and how they should be operationalized (for reviews of common understandings in the social sciences, see Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Dewulf et al., 2009; Perri 6, 2005). I have chosen to use Rein and Schön's (1996) conceptualization of frames as it best matches my ambition to explore how interpretations of socio-political contexts shape strategies and actions. Schön and Rein (1994; 1996) developed their frame analysis in the field of policy analysis to explore how actors involved in policy-making and policy implementation understand their situations and how this shapes their actions.

This form of frame analysis sets out to understand meaning-making at the group level and views the social construction of frames as potentially motivated by both communicative and instrumental purposes (Braun, 2015). 'Communicative purposes' refers to how groups construct frames to facilitate a shared sense-making of their situation, while 'instrumental purposes' refers to how sense-making of a situation may also be intentionally constructed by the group to promote certain objectives. For social movements, examples of such objectives could be the mobilization of supporters or the acquisition of funds. I thus view movement actors' construction of frames as potentially guided by both communicative and instrumental purposes. Which purposes influence the interpretation of a specific situation is an open empirical question.

It should be noted that my conceptualization of frames differs from the focus on 'collective action frames' that has dominated frame research in social movement studies (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014). Research on collective action frames has typically understood frame construction as a primarily intentional and strategic activity that movement actors engage in to mobilize supporters to their cause (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Lindekilde, 2014). According to Snow and Benford (1988), such frames are constructed by movement actors to 'mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists' (p. 198). The analysis of collective action frames thus typically presumes that movement actors' statements and texts are strategic acts taken for intentional purposes. As a result, studies following this approach have focused on analysing, for

example, movements' rallying slogans, written materials, and public speeches aimed to convince potential supporters to join the movements (Lindekilde, 2014). As my focus is not on understanding mobilization of supporters but on how movement actors interpret their socio-political contexts and how this shapes their action choices, I have opted to use Rein and Schön's (1996) understanding of frames.

A few further notes should be made about what can be expected to shape frames. In the study of collective action frames, the understanding of frames as constructed to mobilize potential supporters has led to a presumption that frames are shaped by frame alignment processes. Frame alignment occurs when movement actors intentionally adjust their understanding of an issue to fit the interests and issue understandings popular among the larger public from which they try to mobilize supporters (Snow, Vliegenthart, & Ketelaars, 2019). From this perspective, the content of movement actors' frames, especially their understanding of issues and problems, is expected to primarily be moulded to resonate with the larger public.

Schön and Rein (1994), on the other hand, emphasize that frames are 'grounded in the institutions that sponsor them' (p. 29), meaning that actors' frames are expected to be shaped by the societal rules and norms that support some ways of perceiving and acting on an issue and not others. In addition, Perri 6 (2005), writing from a similar institutional perspective as Schön and Rein, argues that actors' frames are likely to be shaped by the 'social solidarities' that actors are part of. This means that an actor's interpretation of a situation would likely be shaped by the actor's wish to resonate with the norms, interpretations, and goals of the social group it adheres to.

To summarize, in Perri 6's (2005) understanding, frames are expected to be shaped by actors' commitments to specific social groups, Schön and Rein (1994) argue that frames are shaped by actors' wish to resonate with societal institutions more broadly, and Snow, Vliegenthart, & Ketelaars (2019) argue that frames are largely shaped by actors' intentional alignment to the sentiments of the public. I return to this debate about the origins of frames in the discussion of my results.

Operationalization of frame components

Actors' understandings of all parts of social life can be reconstructed in frame analysis (Schön & Rein, 1994). To be able to perform empirical research, however, it is necessary to delimit what to study. Based on my aim and review of previous research, I investigate three components as part of movement actors' frames in this thesis: movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints, movement actors' goals, and movement actors' strategies. The first two frame components are part of the diagnostic function of frames (i.e. What is going on here?) while the third component, strategies, captures the prescriptive function (i.e. What should be done?). In my empirical studies, these frame components are explored together with investigations of the actions taken by movement actors. This enables exploration of the link between interpretations of socio-political context, strategies, and actions.

The first frame component, movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints, captures actors' ways of making sense of their socio-political context. The component captures movement actors' understandings of opportunities and constraints for fulfilling their goals in relation to different societal arenas and actors. It thus includes actors' interpretations of opportunities and constraints in, for example, policy-making processes, legal permit processes, and public protest arenas, and in relation to the owners and investors of extraction projects.

The second frame component, movement actors' goals, refers to the actors' motivations and their understanding of the problems they aim to solve. In conflict and policy analysis (Dewulf, 2009; Rein & Schön, 1996; van Hulst & Yanow, 2016), this component is often referred to as the interpretation of 'issue'. However, in studying social movement actors, who want to actively achieve something, I view it as more appropriate to use the term 'goals' for this component. This also facilitates communication with opportunity theories, such as theories on legal or political opportunity structures, where movements' goals are central for understanding contextual opportunities and constraints (e.g. Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008; Kriesi, 2004). My exploration of goals still allows the frame analysis to capture actors' understandings of problems and issues, as such understandings are central parts of

goals. Goals may be described on different levels depending on the purpose of the specific study. Some goals may concern movements' overarching visions for the future state of society, such as the creation of sustainable development or increased respect for Indigenous cultures. Other goals may be more operational objectives tied to specific actions, such as mobilization of supporters, awareness raising among political actors, or the strengthening of morale among movement participants.

The third frame component, strategies, refers to movement actors' plans for future actions (Smithey, 2009). I explore strategies in the same aspects as actions, that is, arenas, targets, types, and actors. Based on frame theory, the diagnostic components are expected to shape the prescriptive strategies which, by extension, are expected to shape actors' actions (Perri 6, 2005).

2.6 Theoretical framework

This section presents the theoretical framework I use to fulfil my aim to explore what strategies and actions anti-extraction movements in Sweden use and how and why they choose them. Drawing on the literature reviewed above, the theoretical framework is composed of three parts: the socio-political context of movements, movements' frames, and movements' actions (see Figure 1).

Socio-political context of movements

The anti-extraction movements studied are embedded in socio-political contexts that are expected to be of importance for their actions. I understand the socio-political context as the societal institutions and actors surrounding an anti-extraction movement. I use socio-political context as an umbrella concept to bring together investigations of different segments of a movement's surroundings, such as actors and institutions in legal permit processes and policy-making processes, the mining companies, or parts of the public. What segments of the socio-political context become relevant in my empirical studies depends on the aims of the appended papers. To describe the relevant socio-political context of anti-extraction movements in the appended papers, I mainly rely on conceptualizations from social movement research, such as factors from research on political opportunity structure (McAdam, 1996) or legal opportunity structure (Hilson, 2002). I include this type of description of socio-

political context in my studies to orient the reader in the specific settings of anti-extraction movements in Sweden and to connect my investigations to previous social movement research.

Movements' frames

I reconstruct movement actors' frames to explore the actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints, goals, and strategies (i.e. their plans for future actions). The frame concept facilitates a bridge between actors' interpretations of context and their action choices. In the appended studies, depending on the aim, I explore frames either at the movement level (Papers 1 and 2) or at the level of movement actors (Papers 3 and 4). Following frame theory, the diagnostic frame components (goals and interpretation of contextual opportunities and constraints) are expected to shape the prescriptive frame component (strategies), which, by extension, is expected to shape actions.

Movements' actions

Actions are movement actors' actual activities, and I explore four aspects of actions: arenas, targets, types, and actors. Conceptualizing actions in this way facilitates structured comparisons between cases of anti-extraction movements and movement actors. First, arenas of actions describe where actions take place, for example, in legal processes, policy-making processes on different scales, in media, or in the streets. Second, targets of actions describe whom an act aims to influence, for example, decision-makers with leverage over mining projects or segments of the public. Third, types of actions describe the techniques used, such as writing letters, lobbying, demonstrating, or doing civil disobedience. Fourth, actors in actions describe which movement actors participate in what actions.

Figure 1 summarizes the theoretical framework guiding my research questions and empirical studies of anti-extraction movements.

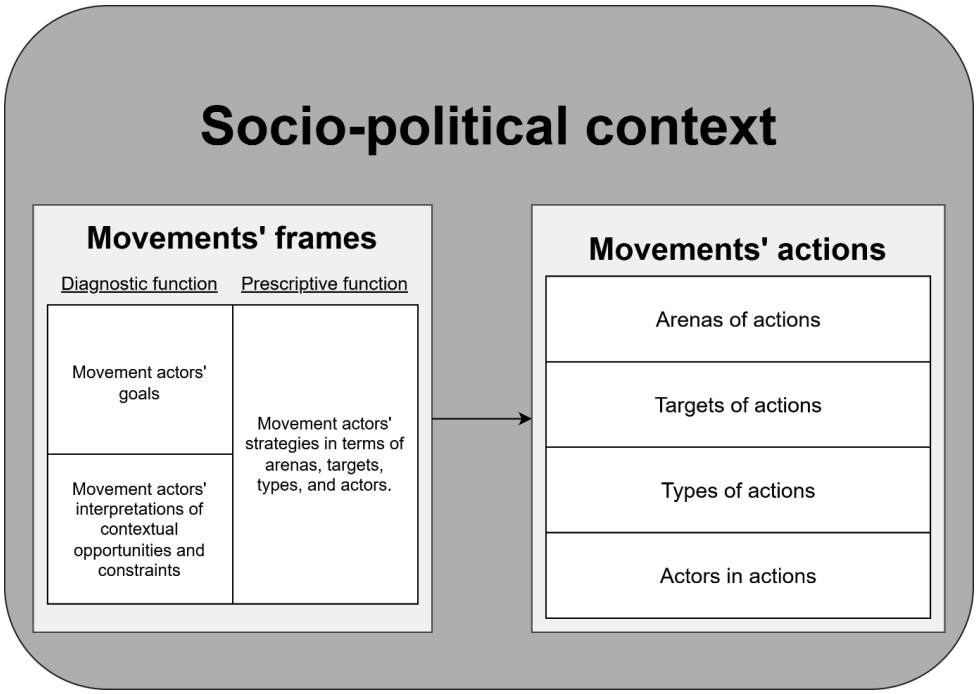

Figure 1 Theoretical framework used in the thesis

2.7 Research questions

Based on the theoretical framework, I formulate two research questions that guide my studies:

> Research question 1: What anti-extraction movements are there in Sweden, in what socio-political contexts are they embedded, and what actions have they taken?

This question relates to the larger shadowed box in the theoretical framework, as well as the right-hand box concerning the actions of movements. Because previous research on mining resistance in Sweden has primarily been based on case-by-case investigations, the research question addresses the need to systematically map and analyse the occurrences of anti-extraction movements. Research question 1 is mainly explored in Paper 1, and the results from that study informed the design and selection

of cases for more in-depth studies of socio-political contexts, frames, and actions in Papers 2-4.

> Research question 2: How do anti-extraction movements' goals and interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints shape their strategies and actions?

The second research question mainly focuses on the relationships between the larger shadowed box and the two smaller boxes in the theoretical framework, as well as the arrow between the boxes. The question addresses the gap in previous research concerning the lack of exploration of how movement actors interpret contextual opportunities and constraints and how this connects with their goals and subsequent choices of actions. Answering research question 2 also implies exploration of other factors that may influence strategies and actions, such as traditions and identities, diffusion of strategies, and resources. Research question 2 is addressed in all my appended studies. Paper 2 and Paper 3 place particular emphasis on understanding how movements' goals relate to their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints, strategies, and actions. Paper 4 focuses on understanding how movement actors' different standings in legal permit processes shape their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints, strategies, and actions.

3 Methods

In this section I present how I have investigated the research questions of the thesis. I begin by presenting my overarching epistemological standpoints and positionality as researcher. I then continue by outlining Sweden as the empirical setting and the thesis's research design. I describe my data collection and data analysis and discuss limitations of my methods. Ethical considerations are interwoven in several parts of the methods section. I round off my presentation of methods with an overview of the thesis's four appended studies.

3.1 An interpretive approach

I understand knowledge creation, including scientific exploration, as an act of interpretation. This argument implies that there can be no objective (i.e. theoretically neutral) knowledge of the world, neither for researchers nor for the actors being studied (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018, ch. 1). Knowledge of the world is shaped by both the theoretical concepts that a researcher uses, the researcher's interpretations and experiences, and the empirical world that the researcher explores. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2018) refer to this by arguing that empirical investigations are always 'theory-laden', meaning that the researcher's explorations are unavoidably influenced by the theoretical preconceptions and categories that the researcher brings to empirical investigations.

Acknowledging research as an act of interpretation shaped by both the researcher and the surroundings, an interpretive research approach entails an emphasis on continuous critical reflection about the role of the researcher as well as the importance of transparency and systematicity in how research and results are produced. Recognizing research as a complex act of meaning-making, an interpretive approach also entails recognizing the possibility of other valid interpretations of the phenomena studied (Yanow, 2014).

An interpretive approach encourages researchers to explore different understandings of the social world. This assumes that there is no single meaning inherent in phenomena in social life. Legislation or political actors' actions are not seen as having essential meanings or correct ways of being understood. The meanings of phenomena are instead constructed via actors' interpretations and can therefore vary between interpreters, over time, and across social situations (Lindekilde, 2014; Wagenaar, 2011). For example, some actors may interpret a law as oppressive and as a reason to migrate to another country, whereas others may see it as a reason to mobilize political resistance.

The understanding of phenomena as partly constituted by interpretation does not mean that actors are completely free to choose the interpretations they make. Interpretations are expected to be shared and negotiated among actors; that is, they

are *socially* constructed. This places social limitations on which interpretations are available, acceptable, and viable and which are not (Fischer, 2003; Perri 6, 2005; Rein & Schön, 1996). Interpretations are also expected to be shaped by the material world surrounding actors, as actions face responses from the material surroundings (Wagenaar, 2011). The social construction of meaning becomes important to explore as actors' interpretations are expected to influence the actions they take.

Following an interpretive approach, I argue that my interpretations of empirical situations and phenomena represent one among several possible ways of understanding them. I make no claim of producing objective truth. However, by using transparent and systematic methods, I claim to produce rigorous and useful knowledge that can be assessed, reproduced, and built upon by future research (Yanow, 2014). Such knowledge is valuable for advancing the theoretical understanding of the studied phenomena and may also inform societal actors' reasoning and actions concerning, for example, strategic choices or policy-making related to mineral extraction or social movements.

Credibility of the researcher's interpretations

To assess the quality of the researcher's interpretations, Fischer (2003) argues for the use of the term 'credibility'. Interpretive research often engages in interpretation of interpretations, such as the reconstruction of actors' frames. Concerning such research, Fischer (2003) argues that the researcher's analysis achieves credibility if the actors studied find that the reconstruction of their understandings 'rings true' to them (p. 154). In practice, this means that the researcher preferably should allow the studied actors to assess the researcher's analysis of their interpretations to increase the credibility of the study. Drawing on Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), I refer to this as 'actor validation'.

However, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) argue that interviewee assessments via actor validation may not always be suitable, for example, if the researcher's interpretations go beyond the interviewee's self-understanding by reconstructing interpretations with concepts that are unfamiliar to the interviewee. Kvale and Brinkmann argue that, in such circumstances, other scholars familiar with the theories and concepts used in the

research could perform important validation of the researcher's empirical interpretations. They refer to such assessment as 'peer validation'.

In this thesis I use a combination of peer and actor validation. All appended studies used peer validation to increase the credibility of my analyses of anti-extraction movements' socio-political contexts, frames, and actions. Peer validation was achieved by discussing the research and its results with co-authors and supervisors continuously throughout the research process, by presenting my analyses to other researchers familiar with the empirical field at international and Swedish seminars and conferences, and by subjecting manuscripts to anonymous review by peers as part of publication processes in academic journals. Peer validation was further facilitated by, as extensively as possible, providing peers with the source material on which my interpretations were based. Such source material included, for example, collections of documents and quotes by movement actors expressed in texts or interviews.

For Papers 3 and 4 I also used actor validation to increase the credibility of my interview-based reconstruction of movement actors' frames. This was done by presenting and discussing the reconstructed frames with a selection of interviewed movement actors from the frame groups in the studies. At least one movement actor from each frame group reviewed the reconstructed frame representing that actor, and frames were revised after these consultations. As interviewees generally agreed with the reconstructed frames, this actor validation process resulted in only minor alterations to the frames. Actor validation was also performed in the case of Kallak/Gállok by presenting the research and my analyses at two public seminars in the local community of Jokkmokk during 2023. These seminars were attended by several of the actors studied in the case.

Generalizability of knowledge

I view my studies as part of a collective abductive research process. This means that my empirical studies of cases are guided by theoretical categories and expectations developed by previous research and they result in empirically based knowledge that can be used to develop theoretical categories and expectations that guide future research (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2018). The goal of my research is thus to produce

knowledge about the cases studied as well as to generate theoretical understandings that may go beyond the studied cases.

Yin (2014) refers to this type of theoretical development from case studies as 'analytic generalization'. Such generalizations can 'take the form of a lesson learned, working hypothesis, or other principle that is believed to be applicable to other situations' (p. 68). Alvesson and Sköldberg (2018) similarly argue that generalization from case studies is both possible and desirable; in addition, they underline that theoretical generalization from case studies involves 'the successive expansion of the empirical arena' (p. 31). This means that research should continuously explore new cases for which theoretical arguments may apply. I argue that the knowledge produced in the empirical studies of this thesis may be applicable and useful for understanding other cases. I thus aim to produce analytic generalizations.

In the appended studies, I suggest some possible lessons learned from my results; however, the potential to generalize to cases beyond my selection must be critically assessed by researchers in their investigations of other cases. My extensive exploration and mapping of multiple cases in Sweden, further described in the upcoming research design section, does provide good grounding for generalizations, however.

3.2 Role of the researcher

Drawing on my interpretive research approach, it becomes important to actively reflect on the role of the researcher and how this may influence the research performed (Wagenaar, 2011). In this section I present an analysis of my positionality as a researcher, including the potential benefits and challenges my background presents for the research performed.

I grew up during the 1990s and 2000s in a small rural village outside of the town of Kiruna in the northernmost part of Sweden. The economy of Kiruna is dominated by mining, especially by the iron ore mines operated by the state-owned mining company LKAB. Many of my relatives and friends are employed in the mining industry, and before starting my work in academia I also worked as a mechanic and a communicator for LKAB in the Kiirunavaara mine. This mining industry background has made it

possible for me to experience both good and bad sides of modern mining. The good sides include such things as a strengthened local economy, increased job security for inhabitants, and the maintenance of functioning welfare services in a rural region that otherwise struggles with depopulation. The downsides of mining often include risks of adverse effects on the environment and other land uses, such as reindeer herding, forestry, and fishing.

Having grown up in a village with its roots in a pre-industrial culture based on a mix of small-scale peasant farming, forestry, fishing, hunting, foraging, and reindeer herding has also acquainted me with rural life in the north. Aside from having experiences of living in a 'mining town', much of my upbringing revolved around activities such as fishing, planting trees, hunting, caring for animals, and foraging. Growing up in a village that mixed Sámi and Tornedalian or Finnish cultures also meant that I got a basic understanding of the workings of reindeer herding. My background in this type of northern rural environment has thus given me good insights into many rural land uses and cultures that are sometimes adversely affected by mining projects. These insights were helpful in my analysis as they made it easier for me to understand the situations and motivations of many of the studied actors.

As a young adult I left Kiruna to study political science at Uppsala University, where I completed my bachelor's and master's degrees. I am part of the first generation in my family to attend university. My move to 'the South' and into academic life helped me to gain a critical distance from my home area and its practices. This developed my abilities to see mining and other societal issues familiar to me from both an academic perspective and an 'on the ground' perspective based on my own experiences.

My familiarity with issues and expected ways of acting in rural environments likely helped create a rapport with interviewees in my in-depth studies of Kallak/Gállok and Norra Kärr, although I have no previous personal connections to these two cases. Interviewees therefore likely had no knowledge about me as a researcher before being asked to participate in the study. Although this created a situation where interviewees had to converse with an unfamiliar person, I found that they were eager to share their experiences and thoughts about opposing the two mining projects.

As mentioned, my familiarity with the researched issues presented several benefits in the research process. However, there are also potential risks with being familiar with issues and settings. The researcher's preconceptions and experiences risk creating unconscious biases and blind spots in the design of the research and the interpretation of data, especially if these potential influences are not actively reflected upon and mitigated (Spencer et al., 2014).

In my research process I have therefore used several techniques to facilitate critical reflections about my research design and interpretation of data. For example, I have continuously discussed the design, implementation, and results of my research with my supervisors. This was for the purposes of explicating the reasoning underlying my design choices, identifying potential blind spots or unconscious biases, and getting input on potential redesigns or alternative interpretations of the empirical material. With the same purposes I have routinely presented my plans for empirical studies and research results at internal academic seminars at the political science unit of Luleå University of Technology as well as at external academic conferences both in Sweden and abroad. In addition to this exchange with other academics, the above-mentioned use of actor validation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) created opportunities to reflect upon my interpretations of results. My continuous use of these techniques has encouraged critical reflection throughout the research process, thereby also enhancing the trustworthiness and credibility of the results (Fischer, 2003).

3.3 Sweden as empirical setting

In this section I introduce Sweden as the setting of the cases I investigate, I describe how Sweden is similar to and different from other settings, and I argue for why it is a good setting for my studies.

Swedish mining politics and history

Papers 1 and 2 study the years 2009-2019, while Papers 3 and 4 study 2009-2022. Research suggests that Sweden and other European countries have experienced increasing resistance and conflicts in relation to mining policies and projects during this period (Haikola & Anshelm, 2016; Kivinen et al., 2020; Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019). This coincides with political initiatives to promote domestic mineral

extraction in the EU (European Commission, 2023) and in Sweden (Government of Sweden, 2013). The combination of political initiatives for mining and the rise of opposition has led to the re-emergence of mining as a prominent issue on the political agenda in Sweden and Europe (Anshelm & Haikola, 2018; Kivinen et al., 2020).

This increases the importance of understanding anti-extraction movements in these settings, where mining is likely to remain a political issue for the foreseeable future as the global demand for minerals is expected to nearly double by 2060 (OECD, 2019). Research on mining resistance in Sweden and other Nordic countries has been limited, although a burgeoning literature on mining conflicts has emerged in recent years (e.g. Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Eerola, 2022; Raitio et al., 2020).

Sweden presents some special characteristics that are important to understand when considering anti-extraction movements in this setting. Compared to most other European countries, Sweden has a relatively large mining industry (ICMM, 2022). Mining has a centuries-long history in Sweden, especially in northern regions. This history has influenced the political discussion about mining among dominant political parties. The Social Democratic Party, which has dominated much of Swedish politics during the last century, has typically taken a positive stance on mining, seeing it as a potential creator of jobs and economic growth. A similar stance has been taken by the second-largest party, the conservative Moderates, and smaller right-wing parties (Anshelm & Haikola, 2018; Beland Lindahl, 2023).

Around 2010, this previous more or less hegemonic discourse was challenged by two smaller parties in the Swedish parliament, the Left Party and the Green Party, which started to voice opinions more critical to mining. These opinions largely aligned with the national mining-sceptical movement that started to form during this period. The mining-sceptical movement advanced claims such as prioritization of other, more sustainable, land uses ahead of mining, for example, agriculture, eco-tourism, and reindeer herding. It also argued for an increased emphasis on recycling and effective use of minerals in society, and the protection of drinking water and nature values in relation to mining projects (Anshelm & Haikola, 2018; Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019). Despite these emerging mining-sceptical opinions, it is fair to say that a

majority in the Swedish parliament and the industrial sector have been positive to mining in general during the last century.

An additional aspect to note about northern Sweden is that, besides being host to a relatively large mining industry, the region is part of Sápmi, the traditional territory of the Indigenous Sámi people. The involvement of groups organizing Indigenous Sámi thus makes anti-extraction movements in northern Sweden different from anti-extraction movements in most of Europe. In this respect, anti-extraction movements in northern Sweden have similarities with mining resistance in Latin America, where Indigenous groups often make up a significant part of mobilizations against mining projects (Cuba et al., 2014). For example, the engagement of Indigenous groups opens possibilities to raise mining resistance to international arenas, such as UN bodies, by arguing that mining projects violate international conventions on Indigenous rights.

It is also worth noting that Sweden is an established liberal democracy, where the state has historically taken a cooperative approach to many social movements. Established movement organizations, such as the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC) in the environmental movement and the National Association of Swedish Sámi (NASS) in the Sámi rights movement, are thus relatively institutionalized. For example, they receive funding from the state and are routinely consulted in policy-making processes that concern them (Harnesk, 2023; Peterson et al., 2017).

Swedish mining legislation

Sweden has a civil law system, and I limit my studies to mobilizations against extraction projects governed by the Swedish Minerals Act (SFS 1991:45). This legislation governs the extraction of so-called 'concession minerals', which the Swedish state has deemed of special interest for the development of society. Most metals are currently categorized as concession minerals, together with oil and gas. Movements resisting extraction of oil and gas are therefore included in my mapping together with cases resisting mining projects. I do not explore resistance against quarries and uranium extraction, as extraction of such minerals is governed by other legislation. This delimitation is made to keep the variation in socio-political context manageable for data collection and analysis. Most accounts of mobilization against mineral extraction in previous research have also been related to minerals governed

by the Minerals Act (e.g. Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Haikola & Anshelm, 2016; Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019).

The Swedish Minerals Act is designed to, in general, give preferential treatment to mining ahead of other interests and land uses. This promotes mining as an industry in Sweden and facilitates extraction where minerals are found (Pettersson et al., 2017). To open a new mine in Sweden, the project owner must obtain several permits from state authorities before operations begin. The legal permit process typically includes five distinct steps: 1) exploration permit, 2) mining concession, 3) environmental permit, 4) expropriation of land, and 5) permits for associated infrastructure (Raitio et al., 2020). As the cases I explore in this thesis turned out to relate only to new mineral extraction projects (see Paper 1), only steps 1 to 3 in the permit process had been initiated in the studied projects. I therefore briefly introduce these three steps in the overarching legal permit process.

The first two permit process steps, application for exploration permit and mining concession, are governed by the Minerals Act. Decision-making about these permits is centralized to state authorities and the Swedish government, with affected municipalities being consulted but lacking veto power. Legal standing in these processes, which entails the right to be consulted and appeal decisions, is granted to a relatively narrow set of actors that may be negatively affected by exploration work or future mining operations, such as landowners and Sámi reindeer herding communities (RHCs) with land-use rights (Pettersson et al., 2017).

The Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, a national state agency, assesses exploration permit applications. Exploration permits may be appealed to the administrative courts, but appeals are typically dismissed as legislation is designed to allow exploration work in general (see Paper 2 in this thesis). The project owner must submit a work plan to be allowed to perform exploration drilling. These plans are also assessed by the Mining Inspectorate and may be appealed to the Land and Environment Courts (Minerals Act, Ch. 2-3).

The second step of the permit process, application for mining concession, is also assessed by the Mining Inspectorate; however, this is done in dialogue with the County

Administrative Board (CAB) in the region where the project is located. CABs are state agencies governed by the Swedish government. In cases where the CAB and the Mining Inspectorate cannot agree on a decision, the application is elevated to the government for decision-making (Minerals Act, Ch. 8, § 2). The government's decision about a mining concession can be appealed for judicial review to the Supreme Administrative Court by actors with legal standing. At this stage, the right to appeal is granted to formal environmental organizations (ENGOs) as well as landowners and actors with land-use rights, such as Sámi RHCs (Minerals Act, Ch. 16). The project owner typically applies for an environmental permit after securing a mining concession.

The Swedish Environmental Code (SFS 1998:808) governs the environmental permit process, which includes a more comprehensive environmental impact assessment process that opens for more process participation from the public, ENGOs, and other affected interests. However, once a mining project reaches the environmental permit process, several central decisions about the project's design and permissibility have already been taken in the preceding steps (Raitio et al., 2020). Applications for environmental permits are assessed by the Land and Environment Courts and may be appealed to higher courts by ENGOs and actors with legal standing (Environmental Code, Ch. 16, §§ 12-14).

To summarize, a majority of Swedish parliament and government have been generally supportive of mining as an industry in Sweden. New mining projects have simultaneously faced increasing resistance from actors negatively affected by projects, such as ENGOs, Sámi reindeer herders, and farmers. Sweden thus represents the global tendency of rising tension between increasing demands for mineral production and the opposition to extraction projects. Like many countries in the Global North, Sweden has a well-established democracy and rule of law; however, the relatively high institutionalization of social movement organizations and the engagement of Indigenous Sámi actors in northern anti-extraction movements partly distinguishes Sweden from most other European countries. Concerning legislation, the relevant laws, particularly the Swedish Minerals Act, are designed to promote mining over other interests in general. Decision-making in the legal permit processes is centralized to state authorities, government, and courts, with limited influence for locally elected bodies such as municipalities. Legal standing to appeal permits is granted to a

relatively narrow set of actors affected negatively by mining projects. These legal characteristics are important to have in mind when considering potential international comparisons or generalizations from my studies.

3.4 Operationalization of anti-extraction movements

A case in this thesis is a place-specific anti-extraction movement that opposes one or more extraction projects. Drawing on the theoretical definition of a social movement I use three criteria to identify anti-extraction movements:

1. Actors must have as a goal to oppose a mineral extraction project. For an actor (i.e. an organization or sub-network) to be counted as part of a movement, the actor must have communicated that it takes a stance against a mineral extraction project. This criterion fulfils the theoretical definition's demand for shared goals and conflictual interaction with opponents.

2. Actors must communicate a shared identity. This is expressed by actors communicating an understanding of themselves as part of the movement, for example, by voicing solidarity with other movement actors. This criterion fulfils the theoretical definition's demand for a shared collective identity in the network of actors.

3. Some movement actors must have engaged in actions outside of the formal institutions of the political system as part of their opposition to the mineral extraction project. Actions outside of the political system include public demonstrations, civil disobedience, or the arrangement of public meetings. This criterion fulfils the theoretical definition's demand for extra-institutional actions.

In my studies, all three criteria need to be fulfilled for a network of actors to count as an anti-extraction movement. Criteria one and two need to be fulfilled for a specific actor to count as part of an anti-extraction movement.

A note is needed here about the role of political parties in the anti-extraction movements I study. In Papers 1 and 2, I followed the rule of thumb developed within the political process approach and conceptualize political parties as part of the socio-political context, that is, as actors outside the movement (Hutter et al., 2019). However, from the in-depth interviews used for Papers 3 and 4 I learned that the Green Party in Jokkmokk municipality understood itself as part of the anti-extraction movement mobilizing against the mining project in Kallak/Gállok. Other movement actors in the Kallak/Gállok case similarly viewed them as part of the movement. The Green Party in Jokkmokk thus fulfilled the criteria needed to be counted as a movement actor and was treated as such in Papers 3 and 4. Although this inclusion of the Green Party in Jokkmokk in the movement created some inconsistency between my studies, I found it most logical to change my approach and follow the movement actor's self-understanding, that is, to treat it as part of the movement in Papers 3 and 4. A similar involvement of political parties was not observed in the other anti-extraction movement chosen for in-depth study.

3.5 Research design

I here present my use of case study methods and outline the thesis's relation to a research project.

Case studies

I investigate my research questions using qualitative case study methods (Yin, 2014). This approach was chosen for two reasons. First, according to Yin (2014), the case study method is suited for studies where the researcher investigates a phenomenon (i.e. 'the case') without being able to manipulate the real-world context surrounding it. Such is clearly the case with anti-extraction movements, which take place in an empirical setting beyond the researcher's control, and whose strategies and actions may be shaped by several factors.

Second, case study methods are especially suited for research posing 'how' or 'why' questions, such as my second research question, which sets out to explore how actors' goals and interpretations shape strategies and actions. When I use words such as 'shape' or 'influence' to signify explanations I mainly refer to what Della Porta (2008)

calls 'internal explanation'. That is, how strategies and actions are explained with reference to actors' internal reasoning and motivations. For investigation of such explanations, it was important to choose an approach that facilitated analysis of actors' interpretations. Qualitative case studies make this possible by allowing for the use of methods such as document analysis and interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

My investigation of anti-extraction movements in Sweden begins with an explorative mapping of cases before turning to further studies of sub-selections of the mapped cases. Paper 1 presents my multi-case mapping of all anti-extraction movements in Sweden, focusing on their socio-political contexts, frames, and actions. Paper 2 is a multi-case study focusing on the anti-extraction movements' strategies and actions in relation to the legal permit processes for mining. Paper 3 is a paired case study of strategies and actions in the two most significant cases identified in my mapping (Kallak/Gállok and Norra Kärr), and Paper 4 is a single-case study of strategies and actions in the largest and most active anti-extraction movement in Sweden (Kallak/Gállok).

I chose to start with mapping cases for two reasons. First, previous research on mining conflicts and mobilization against mineral extraction projects in Sweden has been performed on a case-by-case basis (Anshelm et al., 2018; Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Lawrence & Larsen, 2017; MacPhail et al., 2023; Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2023). Therefore, a systematic mapping of cases was needed to advance knowledge of the research field and to situate the previously performed studies in an exhaustive account of cases.

Second, the mapping served a crucial function in informing my sub-selection of cases for subsequent studies. My sub-selection of cases to study in Papers 2-4 was primarily driven by differences in anti-extraction movements' socio-political contexts and their actions. For specific arguments on the sub-selection of cases, please see Papers 2-4. By basing my selection of cases and research focus in Papers 2-4 on the exhaustive mapping (Paper 1), I was able to make better-informed decisions about cases to study and was better positioned to argue for generalizations from my studies that could apply to other cases.

Relation to a larger research project

My studies in this thesis were partially funded by the research project 'Pathways to Sustainability in Mining: Coping with Conflicts' from the Swedish research council Formas (Grant number 2017-01599, managed by project leader Anna Zachrisson at Umeå University). The project covered travel expenses related to collection of interview data for Papers 3 and 4, and expenses for proofreading of manuscripts. Collaboration with the project facilitated co-authorship of Papers 1 and 4 and presentation of findings for movement actors in the Kallak/Gállok case at two public seminars in the community of Jokkmokk in 2023. Since the aim of my thesis and the larger research project were closely aligned, collaboration did not significantly alter my initial research design.

3.6 Data collection and analysis

In this segment I briefly describe my data collection and analysis and discuss potential limitations of my methods. Further details on these topics are presented in the appended papers.

Data collection

This thesis is based on analysis of publicly available documents and interviews with movement actors. Documents originate from three sources: media reports and articles, documentation from permit processes for extraction projects, and texts produced by movement actors. The collected documents varied considerably in length and type. Examples of media reports included texts such as longer reportages about the mining conflicts, editorial commentaries, and opinion pieces written by movement actors. Examples of texts from the permit processes included environmental impact assessments, permit applications, protocols from meetings between project owners and affected stakeholders, formal reports and statements written by movement actors, decisions by state authorities and courts, and appeals filed by movement actors. Documents produced by movement actors included, for example, public petitions, webpages, timelines of events in conflicts, blogposts, social media postings, policy documents, and minutes from meetings. Documents were collected digitally, and due to ethical considerations, the collection of documents was limited to texts made publicly available by movement actors, media, or authorities.

I began by collecting publicly available documents to map anti-extraction movements across Sweden. I chose document analysis as a method as it presented an efficient way to collect comprehensive data on occurrences, socio-political contexts, and actions of anti-extraction movements, as well as insights into movement actors' frames. Media reports were collected from Swedish print press and public service media to identify anti-extraction movements; this was done through the database Retriever.se (see Paper 1 for details).

Document collection for the identified cases was then completed by performing additional media searches in Retriever.se, collecting documentation from the permit processes for the extraction projects opposed, and collecting publicly available documentation produced by engaged movement actors. The collected documents covered the period 2009-2022. In total, 7570 documents relating to 16 identified cases were collected, systematized, and analysed. Almost 60 percent of the documents related to the two largest anti-extraction movements, Kallak/Gállok and Norra Kärr.

I complemented the collected documents with interviews for my in-depth studies of Kallak/Gállok and Norra Kärr. I performed semi-structured interviews with movement actors as that method allowed for detailed explorations of the frames and actions. The selection of actors to interview was based on the analysis of collected documents, and the interview manuals were guided by the theoretical framework of the thesis (see Papers 3 and 4 for interview manuals and details on interviews).

In total, I performed 21 interviews during 2022, 15 related to the Kallak/Gállok case and 8 related to the Norra Kärr case. Two of the interviews related to both cases. Interviewees were approached and interviewed as representatives of the organizations or networks they engaged in. For more loosely organized networks, where a clear spokesperson could not be identified, I interviewed two prominent network members to increase the interviewees' representativeness for the networks. Before the interviews, I informed interviewees about the purpose of the research project, the ways in which data would be handled and stored, and their rights to their data in accordance with legislation. Interviewees also signed a written consent form stating that they were participating in the study voluntarily and had been adequately informed about it. To

safeguard the integrity of interviewees I personally transcribed the interviews from audio recordings and anonymized the transcriptions. After finalization of the thesis project the anonymized transcriptions were handed over for curation in the research archives of Luleå University of Technology to facilitate potential future quality checking of the research.

Data analysis

As outlined above, all appended papers involved document analysis, and interview analysis was part of investigations in Papers 3 and 4. Documents were analysed via qualitative thematic analysis (Spencer et al., 2014), with themes constructed based on the theoretical framework of the thesis (for details on themes used, see the appended papers). The qualitative data analysis software NVivo was used to perform the thematic analysis. The results of the analysis in NVivo were then summarized in case reports, one for each case studied, to facilitate comparisons. Case reports ranged from 8 to 65 pages in length depending on the activity and size of the anti-extraction movements. To facilitate systematic comparison in the mapping of cases, more condensed case reports were produced concerning the main traits of socio-political contexts, frames, and actions. These condensed reports ranged from 1 to 8 pages in length.

In all appended studies, I used analysis of media reports, permit process documents, and texts produced by movement actors to explore the socio-political contexts and actions of anti-extraction movements. In Papers 1 and 2, document analysis was also used to reconstruct movements' frames; this entailed reading quotes from movement actors in media and documents produced by movement actors. Document analysis also allowed some triangulation of frame reconstructions in Papers 3 and 4. After reconstructing frames from interviews, I cross-referenced them with texts produced by movement actors.

The analysis of interviews was also guided by qualitative thematic analysis (Spencer et al., 2014) and performed in NVivo. After a process of familiarization and open test coding of transcriptions (Spencer et al., 2014), frames were reconstructed using meaning condensation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). My familiarity with the data and ability to perform meaning-condensing analysis was enhanced by performing all steps

of the data collection and analysis myself, from interviewing and transcribing to writing up the frames.

The quality of the reconstructed frames was assessed via peer and actor validation (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009), meaning that a selection of interviewees and scholars familiar with the theoretical and empirical field commented on the reconstructed frames, and the reconstructions were subsequently revised considering the comments. Peer validation was also strengthened via discussions with my co-authors in Papers 1 and 4. Based on similarities in frames, movement actors were systematically categorized into 'frame groups' in Papers 3 and 4 (see appended studies for more details on groupings), and at least one interviewee from each frame group commented on the reconstructed frames. In addition to strengthening the credibility of the frame reconstruction, this actor validation also served an important ethical function by allowing interviewees to see, assess, and react to the analysis of the studies before publication of results.

Limitations of my methods

I here outline three challenges of my chosen methods and describe the actions I have taken in response. First, my identification of anti-extraction movements through media reports in Paper 1 presented a challenge common to most studies that map protests, namely, that media may miss some public mobilizations (Hutter, 2014). Although larger public protests and those that reoccur more frequently are usually picked up by media, it is possible that smaller and more short-lived protests may have gone unreported in media. To mitigate the risk of missing cases, I searched a broad selection of media sources in Sweden, including both print press and public service media.

Second, my use of document analysis to explore the actions of anti-extraction movements risked resulting in under-reporting of certain actions. Some actions, such as demonstrations and public meetings, are more likely to be documented either by media or by movement actors themselves, while other actions, such as informal meetings with politicians or companies, may be less documented. This limitation should especially be considered when reading the results of Papers 1 and 2, which rely solely on analysis of collected documents. For Papers 3 and 4, I complemented the

documented reports with movement actors' interview accounts of actions. My experience from Papers 3 and 4 indeed confirmed that some informal meetings with politicians and project owners had gone undetected in the document analysis. However, the differences between interviews and documents concerning the reports on actions mostly concerned the frequency with which different actions were used. My comparisons of reports from interviews and documents indicate that the document analysis captured most of the actions of movement actors as well as the main forms used, yet the interviews offered some fine tuning of the accounts of actions.

Third, my use of interviews in the in-depth studies offered a way to get closer to movement actors' reasoning but also presented some methodological challenges. As interviews included questions about previous actions, there is a risk that interviewees may have forgotten some actions or aspects important to action choices. There is also a risk of hindsight rationalization. This means that interviewees, consciously or unconsciously, may report different motivations for action choices than those that were present in the situation. Another risk of using interviews with representatives of organizations and networks is that the interviewees' accounts may not completely align with those of the group they represent.

I have attempted to mediate these risks by comparing interviewees' accounts to those found in the collected documents and by interviewing two representatives of the informal networks that lacked a clear spokesperson. My analysis of documents, which preceded the interviews, also made it possible for me to ask informed follow-up questions concerning actors' actions and reasoning during interviews. On comparing interview and document analysis, I found that interviewees' accounts of movement actors' goals, interpretations, strategies, and actions most often aligned with the accounts given in documents produced by the movement actors.

3.7 Overview of appended papers

This section presents the research design and methods used in the four appended papers of the thesis. Table 1 provides an overview of the four studies.

Paper	Research Questions	Type of study	Cases	Time period studied	Data	Authors
1	1 and 2	Exhaustive explorative mapping and multi-case study	16 cases	2009-2019	Publicly available documents (from media, authorities, and movement actors)	Fjellborg, D., Beland Lindahl, K., and Zachrisso n, A.
2	Primarily 2	Exhaustive multi-case study	15 cases (sub-selection from Paper 1)	2009-2019	Documents (see Paper 1)	Fjellborg, D.
3	Primarily 2	Paired case study	Norra Kärr and Kallak/Gállok (sub-selection from Paper 1)	2009-2022	Documents (see Paper 1) and interviews with movement actors	Fjellborg, D.
4	Primarily 2	Single-case study	Kallak/Gállok (sub-selection from Paper 1)	2009-2022	Documents (see Paper 1) and interviews with movement actors	Fjellborg, D. and Beland Lindahl, K.

Table 1 Overview of appended papers

Paper 1: What to do when the mining company comes to town? Mapping actions of anti-extraction movements in Sweden, 2009–2019 (Authors: Fjellborg, D., Beland Lindahl, K., and Zachrisson, A.) Published in Resources Policy, 2022

The aim of Paper 1 was to systematically investigate the occurrences and actions of anti-extraction movements in Sweden during the last decade. More specifically, it set out to map and explore the potential relations between the socio-political context, movements' interpretations of their context, and movements' actions. The study set out to answer both research questions 1 and 2 in the thesis.

The study contributes to answering research question 2 by mapping movements' interpretations of their broad socio-political context, while leaving more specific explorations of such arenas as permit and policy processes to subsequent papers. With its explorative approach, Paper 1 used all parts of the thesis's theoretical framework to produce a qualitative description and comparison of cases in Sweden between 2009 and 2019. Paper 1 relied on a collection of publicly available documents from three sources: media reports from Swedish print press and public service; documents from

the legal permit processes for extraction projects available at Swedish state authorities; and documents produced by movement actors and published on digital platforms, such as webpages, blogs, and social media.

After data collection, documents were thematically analysed in the qualitative data analysis software NVivo, guided by a code book based on the thesis's theoretical framework. For peer validation, working drafts of Paper 1 were presented at a research seminar for political science at Luleå University of Technology and at the ECPR-ESA Social Movements Midterm Conference in 2020. Paper 1 was anonymously reviewed and published in the scientific journal *Resources Policy* in 2022 and was co-authored with Karin Beland Lindahl (Luleå University of Technology) and Anna Zachrisson (Umeå University). The mapping of cases was later used to work out research puzzles and case selections for the subsequent papers in this thesis. Data collected for Paper 1 was also reused for Papers 2-4.

Paper 2: Banging on Closed Doors or Beating the Drum? Social Movements' Interpretations of Opportunities in Legal Appeal Processes (Author: Fjellborg, D.) Published in Social Movement Studies, 2023

The aim of Paper 2 was to investigate how anti-extraction movements' interpretations of the arena constituted by the exploration permit process related to their use of legal mobilization, that is, legal strategies and actions. Based on observations from Paper 1, Paper 2 started in litigation practices among anti-extraction movements that were puzzling compared to theoretical expectations in research on legal opportunity structures (e.g. Hilson, 2002). Paper 2 proceeded to explore how the puzzling strategies and actions of anti-extraction movements could be understood by exploring movement actors' own interpretations of opportunities and constraints in the arena.

Paper 2 primarily set out to answer research question 2 of the thesis, although it also answers aspects of research question 1. Paper 2 was designed as a multi-case study and comprised 15 of the 16 cases identified in Paper 1. One case (Billinge) was omitted as it did not have an active exploration permit process during the studied period. Paper 2 was thus an exhaustive study of anti-extraction movements facing active exploration permit processes in Sweden between 2009 and 2019. Paper 2 relied on the same

documents collected for Paper 1 and used the same type of qualitative thematic analysis.

To facilitate peer validation, working drafts of Paper 2 were presented at a research seminar for political science at Luleå University of Technology, at the PhD student workshop 'Interpretive Methods in Political Science' at Uppsala University in 2020, and at the annual conference of Swedish political scientists (SWEPSA) in 2021. Paper 2 was anonymously reviewed and published in the scientific journal *Social Movement Studies* in 2023 and was single authored.

Paper 3: Understanding Diversification of Strategies and Actions in Swedish Mining Resistance – The Fanning-Out Effect of Goals and Contextual Opportunities (Author: Fjellborg, D.) Previously unpublished article

The aim of Paper 3 was to explore how and why actors in anti-extraction movements choose diverse strategies and actions, with particular focus on how the actors' choices are shaped by their goals and their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints. Paper 3 started with the observation that previous research on social movements had argued that goals were important for movements' choices of actions but had not explicated how the content of goals was expected to shape action choices. Paper 3 thus elaborates *how* the content of movement actors' goals shapes their interpretations of issue-specific opportunities and constraints and subsequent choices of strategies and actions.

The paper explored two anti-extraction movements in Sweden – Norra Kärr and Kallak/Gállok. These cases were selected because results from Paper 1 indicated that these movements represented the different goals typically present in anti-extraction movements in Sweden. Paper 3 was designed as a paired case study and set out to answer research question 2 of the thesis, although it also contributes to answering research question 1. As for Papers 1 and 2, cases were explored with the help of document analysis; however, documents in Paper 3 covered a longer period (2009-2022). In addition, I conducted 21 semi-structured interviews with central and active movement actors during 2022 to gather in-depth qualitative data on movement actors' frames and actions. Paper 3 is a previously unpublished article and was single authored.

Paper 4: Division of Labour in Swedish Mining Resistance: The Interplay between Legal Mobilization and Public Protests in Social Movements (Authors: Fjellborg, D. and Beland Lindahl, K.) Previously unpublished article.

The aim of Paper 4 was to explore how movement actors interpret opportunities and constraints within legal processes and how this shapes their choices of strategies and actions. We explored how movement actors' interpretations related to their positions as insiders or outsiders in the legal processes, and to their understandings of opportunities and constraints in alternative societal arenas, such as policy-making processes and public protests. Paper 4 started with the observation that previous research had argued that movement actors' access to legal processes (i.e. legal standing) could be expected to influence their choices of strategies and actions. However, it was less known *how* movement actors' access to legal processes came to shape their action choices.

Paper 4 was designed as a single-case study to facilitate comprehensive exploration of movement actors' interpretations and actions. It was mainly designed to answer research question 2 of the thesis, while also contributing to answering research question 1. The study explored the frames and actions of actors with legal standing as well as those without it. Kallak/Gállok was chosen for the study as results from Papers 1 and 3 indicated that the case presented a good spread concerning movement actors' access to the legal permit processes.

The case was studied via documents and interviews as in Paper 3. For Kallak/Gállok, 14 semi-structured interviews were performed and analysed. A working draft of Paper 4 was presented at the political science research seminar at Luleå University of Technology in 2023. Paper 4 is a previously unpublished article and was co-authored with Karin Beland Lindahl at Luleå University of Technology.

4 Results

In this section I present the results of the four appended papers in relation to the thesis's research questions.

4.1 Research question 1

What anti-extraction movements are there in Sweden, in what socio-political contexts are they embedded, and what actions have they taken? The mapping in Paper 1 found 16 cases of anti-extraction movements active in Sweden between 2009 and 2019. Cases were geographically spread over Sweden, and all movements mobilized in relation to new extraction projects.

Thirteen anti-extraction movements opposed mining projects, two opposed planned gas wells, and one movement opposed plans for both a mining project and a neighbouring gas project. Based on differences in socio-political context factors drawn from previous research on political opportunity structure (POS) and mining conflicts, Paper 1 categorized the mapped cases into three groups. Group A, 'Movements in extraction-positive municipalities, on traditional Sámi lands, facing active project owners', included four cases. Group B, 'Movements supported by municipalities and national non-governmental organizations against extraction of alum shales', included six cases. Group C, 'Movements in extraction-negative municipalities facing passive project owners', included seven cases. The movement opposing both a mining project and a gas project was categorized as part of both Groups B and C.

In Paper 1 we found that actors in anti-extraction movements used a broad range of actions regarding arenas, targets, and types. Actions in legal permit processes, such as writing formal statements or appealing decisions, and actions targeting political decision-makers at various scales, from municipal to national and international levels, occurred in all cases. Movement actors in all cases also performed public protest actions, such as organizing public meetings or street demonstrations, and engaged in local and/or national media, for example, by writing opinion pieces. Petitioning was often used as a technique to mobilize and inform the public about the risks of projects. Webpages and social media pages were often constructed for the same purposes. Actors from several anti-extraction movements sporadically participated in joint

demonstrations in the capital (Stockholm) throughout the studied period. Civil disobedience was rare and only occurred twice, in two different cases (Kallak/Gállok in 2013 and Norra Kärr in 2014), with the same actor (the Colonies) involved on both occasions. Violence was not used by any of the mapped movements.

Actions differed in some respects between the three context groups. Group A, involving Sámi actors, tended to act in international arenas to a larger extent to pursue the protection of Sámi Indigenous rights and leverage national Swedish politicians. Actors in Group A also attempted to lobby international mining company investors to a larger extent than actors in other groups. In contrast, actors in Groups B and C placed comparatively heavier emphasis on acting in municipal politics to influence the national political level. They tended to take more actions to mobilize the local community, for example, by organizing public meetings or petitions. Variation in actions thus often coincided with differences in socio-political context factors in ways expected by POS theory. Hence, when surrounding political actors were receptive to the movements' claims to stop projects or change policies, the movements targeted such actors. In contrast, when political actors were unreceptive to claims, movements found alternative targets and arenas for actions.

Concerning which movement actors engaged in actions, Paper 1 shows that all cases involved established environmental organizations, such as the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC) or the River Savers, and most movements also included new resistance networks mobilizing against specific projects, such as VetoNow in the case Skåne-Scandivanadium or Mining-Free Jokkmokk in Kallak/Gállok. Group A, covering cases in northern Sweden, also involved Sámi organizations, particularly Sámi RHCs. In contrast, Groups B and C mainly covered cases in southern Sweden and typically involved organizations for landowners and farmers, such as the Federation of Swedish Farmers (FSF) and local village councils.

To summarize, anti-extraction movements were found in most parts of Sweden and always mobilized against new extraction projects. The 16 movements identified could be divided into three groups depending on differences in socio-political context factors. Movements involved a diverse mix of actors and used a broad range of actions.

Differences in actions often coincided with differences in socio-political context factors.

4.2 Research question 2

How do anti-extraction movements' goals and interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints shape their strategies and actions? In answering this question, I begin by presenting the goals that motivated actors in anti-extraction movements. I then present my results concerning movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints to achieve these goals and end by reporting results about how goals and interpretations are related to actors' choices of strategies and actions. Figure 2 graphically outlines the main empirical findings in relation to research question 2.

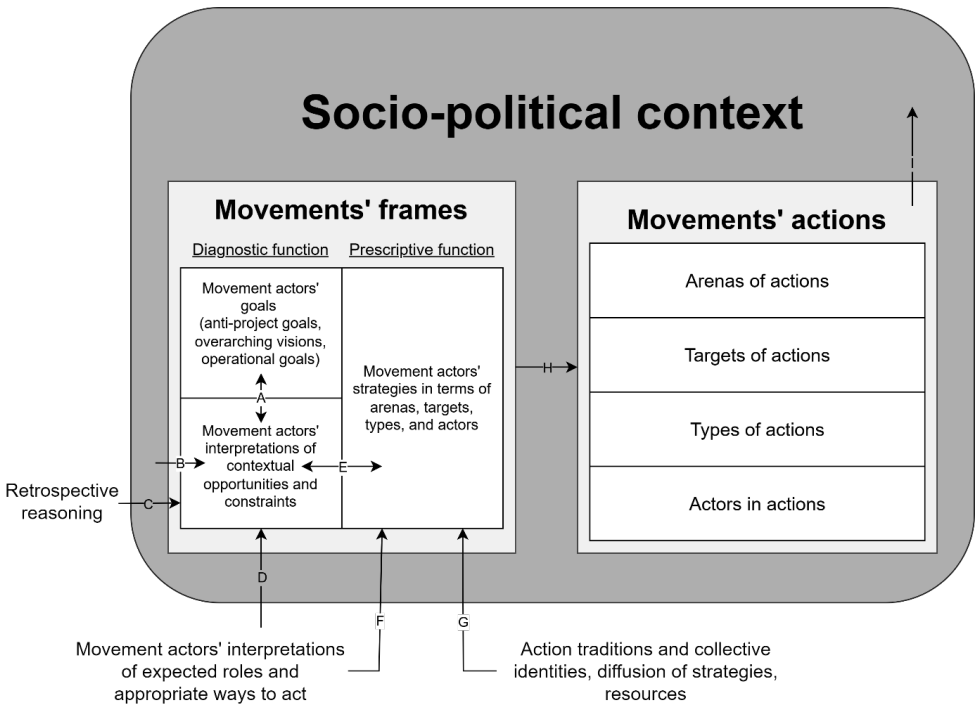

Figure 2 Graphical summary of results for research question 2

The goals of anti-extraction movements

I found three types of goals among movement actors in my studies – anti-project goals, overarching visions, and operational goals. The first type, anti-project goals, involved stopping an extraction project. These goals were shared by all actors engaging in an anti-extraction movement and functioned as a social glue holding actors together, even though the studied anti-extraction movements were often constituted by heterogeneous mixes of actors. Some movements, for example, included both the farmers' organization FSF and the environmental organization SSNC, two actors that disagreed on other issues but could coexist and sometimes collaborate in the studied anti-extraction movements (see Paper 3). Joint anti-project goals also facilitated coexistence between actors that preferred highly diverging action forms, such as civil disobedience or formal legal actions.

The second type of goal, overarching visions, concerned the societal development and land-use movement actors wished to promote instead of mining or gas projects. These goals are mainly described and analysed in Papers 1 and 3. The studied anti-extraction movements typically involved actors supporting different overarching visions. All anti-extraction movements included actors promoting environmental protection and local sustainable development. These actors typically promoted the protection of drinking water and land uses seen as more in tune with nature than mining, such as reindeer herding or eco-tourism. Actors supporting such goals included established ENGOs and newly formed resistance networks. Movements in Group A (i.e. on traditional Sámi lands) also involved actors primarily motivated by promoting Indigenous Sámi rights, Sámi culture, and reindeer herding. Such actors included Sámi RHCs and human rights organizations. In contrast, movements in Groups B and C typically involved actors with goals of promoting landowners' rights to property, rural development, and agriculture. Examples of actors supporting such goals included farmers' organizations and local village councils. Some actors promoted more than one overarching vision. For example, ENGOs emphasized both environmental protection and promotion of Sámi Indigenous rights in some cases.

The third type of goal, operational goals, concerns motivations to produce more immediate outcomes, such as achieving mobilization of supporters or winning legal success in court processes. The results of Paper 2 indicate that movement actors

promoted different operational goals when engaging in legal permit processes. Some actors engaged in permit processes with the motivation of winning legal success by having courts rule in their favour. Other actors engaged in permit processes to mobilize supporters and communicate the presence of popular resistance to project owners and decision-makers. The motivation to win legal success was more prevalent among established organizations that had developed legal know-how and expertise over time, while the motivation to mobilize and communicate resistance was more often seen among newly started resistance networks. However, some movement actors promoted both goals.

Findings from Paper 4 corroborated these findings from Paper 2. The in-depth study of the Kallak/Gállok case showed that the newly founded resistance network Mining-Free Jokkmokk's engagement in the legal permit process was partly motivated by the operational goal of mobilizing supporters. In contrast, more established organizations, such as the National Association of Swedish Sámi (NASS) and SSNC, engaged in permit processes to win legal successes that could hinder the mining project and advance the implementation of Sámi rights or environmental protection in general.

To summarize, my studies found that movement actors supported three types of goals: anti-project goals, overarching visions, and operational goals. Anti-project goals held actors together in movements. In contrast, movement actors' overarching visions and operational goals differed within the movements and shaped movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints, thus leading to an indirect influence on strategies and actions. I elaborate on this indirect influence in the next section.

Anti-extraction movements' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints

I here present results on how movement actors interpreted contextual opportunities and constraints and how this was shaped by their goals, the setup of societal arenas, their past experiences, and their roles in the movements.

My results show that movement actors' goals, both operational goals and overarching visions, played a central role in shaping their sense-making of opportunities and

constraints. However, some results suggest that movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints sometimes shaped their goals (as indicated by the double-ended Arrow A in Figure 2).

First, results from Paper 2 indicate that operational goals shaped movement actors' interpretations of opportunities and constraints in legal permit processes. Actors promoting operational goals to mobilize supporters and communicate resistance tended to interpret the legal permit process as a democratic arena offering favourable opportunities for public mobilization. In contrast, movement actors promoting the operational goal of winning legal success interpreted the permit processes as a legal-bureaucratic arena, often perceiving it as constraining the prospects of achieving judicial victories. By extension, these different understandings of the permit process coincided with different uses of litigation in courts. A democratic arena interpretation resulted in large numbers of popular appeals, while a legal-bureaucratic interpretation resulted in either abstention from litigation due to a perceived lack of opportunities or carefully crafted appeals based in legal argumentation to maximize chances of legal victory.

Second, results from Paper 3 indicate that movement actors' overarching visions for societal development and land use also shaped their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints. Movement actors in the same movement could have different visions and therefore interpret their opportunities and constraints differently. For example, those motivated by promoting environmental protection and sustainability in the case of Norra Kärr often interpreted national politicians as unreceptive to their claims. However, they saw the legal permit processes as offering comparatively favourable opportunities for promoting such goals since Swedish and EU laws for environmental protection offered ways to potentially influence mining projects and national policy implementation via legal actions. In contrast, movement actors motivated by promoting agriculture and landowners' rights tended to interpret national politicians as more receptive to their claims and thus perceived some of their best opportunities in directly targeting national politicians.

Moreover, the results of Paper 3 also suggest that movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities sometimes influenced which goals they emphasized. For

example, environmental organizations in the Kallak/Gállok case, perceiving that the public were more receptive to Sámi Indigenous rights claims, increasingly emphasized those goals in parallel with environmental protection goals. Results thus indicated that movement actors' goals and interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints influenced each other, although in most instances actors' goals shaped interpretations of opportunities.

The results of the appended papers indicate that actors in the anti-extraction movements tended to share some general interpretations of the socio-political context in which they were embedded, especially concerning Swedish mining legislation and related policy processes. Paper 3 suggests that most movement actors viewed dominant political actors at the national level (e.g. the Social Democratic and Moderate parties) as generally supportive of mining for job creation and economic growth. This was perceived as constraining the movement actors' ability to influence parliamentary policies concerning mining in a direction of increased consideration of other land uses and societal developments. Similar interpretations of the national political arena were found in other cases mapped in Paper 1.

Concerning opportunities to influence the legal permit processes, the results of Papers 1, 2, and 4 indicated that actors in all anti-extraction movements tended to view the Swedish Minerals Act and judicial practices connected to its implementation as promoting new extraction projects at the expense of other interests. The Minerals Act was thereby seen as constraining anti-extraction movements' prospects of stopping extraction projects via legal action. For some movement actors (such as NASS and SSNC), this perceived constraint on legal action was partly counteracted by other legislation, such as environmental laws or international Indigenous rights laws, offering a foothold for counterarguments.

Concerning project owners and private investors, most movement actors agreed that lobbying or otherwise contacting them would not likely persuade them to stop or adjust their projects. However, some Sámi organizations in the cases of Kallak/Gállok and Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni attempted to influence projects by attending meetings of corporate shareholders in the early stages of the conflicts. However, as these actions were perceived as ineffective, they diminished over time.

The results of Papers 3 and 4 indicate that movement actors tended to make sense of their opportunities and constraints in societal arenas by comparing the setup of the arenas available to them (Arrow B in Figure 2). For example, the perceived unreceptiveness of the majority in the national parliament tended to influence movement actors' sense-making of other arenas. Many movement actors partly redirected their focus when facing a firmly unreceptive national parliament. Some started to view municipal political arenas as comparatively opportune, while others started to focus on opportunities in legal or international arenas. Action options that, in isolation, did not seem particularly opportune, such as lobbying municipal politicians that lack veto power or engaging in a legal permit process governed by legislation perceived as mining-positive, thus came to be seen as relatively opportune by many movement actors. It turned out that these societal arenas offered the best available options when the national parliament was unreceptive to movement actors' claims. The results indicate that interpretations of opportunities and constraints were acts of comparison. Most movement actors explicitly compared opportunities and constraints in various arenas to those in the Swedish parliament. This suggests that many movement actors saw parliament and national politics as important targets to influence.

Another finding from Papers 3 and 4 was that movement actors' previous experiences informed their assessments of current contextual opportunities and constraints via retrospective reasoning (Arrow C in Figure 2). This meant that movement actors tended to make sense of their current situation by comparing it with previous events that they saw as relating to similar issues. For example, FSF interpreted their opposition to the Norra Kärr mine as another case in their ongoing work to strengthen landowners' rights. Their assessment of contextual opportunities was thus partly shaped by their previous experiences of working for landowners' rights in relation to issues other than mining. Similar tendencies were observed among some environmental and Sámi organizations, where assessments of current opportunities were informed by previous experiences of working for environmental protection or Sámi rights in other political and legal processes.

The experiences that guided actors' understandings of the current situation often related to the actors' overarching visions. As movement actors supported different overarching visions and related to different experiences, their assessments of current contextual opportunities and constraints diverged. The tendency to assess current opportunities and constraints based on retrospective reasoning was more prominent among established organizations. Newly formed resistance networks did not explicitly draw on previous experience to the same extent.

Finally, the results of the single-case study of the Kallak/Gállok movement in Paper 4 indicate that movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints were shaped by their understanding of their role in relation to other actors in the movement (Arrow D in Figure 2). For example, although movement actors with standing in the legal permit processes often focused on such arenas as they offered relatively advantageous opportunities, they also viewed sense-making of, and acting in, the legal permit processes as their expected role in the movement. On the other hand, many movement actors who lacked legal standing saw it as their expected role to focus on assessing opportunities and constraints in the arenas they had unique access to, such as public arenas or municipal politics. Through mutual awareness about expected roles in the movement, a division of labour emerged, with movement actors specializing in assessing and acting on opportunities and constraints in different societal arenas.

Results from Paper 4 further suggested that movement actors experienced having expected roles not only in relation to other movement actors but also in relation to the socio-political context surrounding the movement. In addition to interpreting their socio-political context in terms of opportunities and constraints, movement actors also perceived it as presenting expected roles and appropriate ways to act. The legal permit process, for example, was understood as presenting opportunities for goal-fulfilment to actors with legal standing and as presenting movement actors with obligations to participate.

To summarize, the results indicate that movement actors tended to make sense of their contextual opportunities and constraints by comparing currently available arenas. Interpretations of opportunities and constraints were also affected by movement

actors' goals, by their previous experiences, and by their understanding of expected roles in the anti-extraction movement. Lastly, the socio-political context was perceived in terms of both opportunities and constraints and as presenting appropriate ways to act.

The shaping of anti-extraction movements' strategies and actions

The results of my studies indicate that movement actors' choices of strategies and actions were shaped by three things: their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints, their interpretations of expected roles and appropriate ways to act, and their traditions and resources and the diffusions of strategies.

First, guided by their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints, actors did, on numerous occasions, choose strategies based on ambitions of maximizing their goal-fulfilment (Arrow E in Figure 2). The results from all appended papers indicate this. For example, movement actors in mining-negative municipalities often chose to mobilize the local public, guided by an assessment of local communities as receptive to the movements' goals (see Papers 1 and 3). Results from Paper 2 also showed that movement actors chose to engage, or not engage, in the legal permit process based on their assessment of opportunities to reach different operational goals. Moreover, results from Papers 3 and 4 indicate that movement actors often chose which societal arenas to engage in and what actors to target based on their assessment of what opportunities and constraints their context offered.

Second, the results from Paper 4 indicate that movement actors' choices of strategies and actions were also guided by their understanding of what actions were appropriate given their access to societal arenas and their role in relation to other movement actors (Arrow F in Figure 2). For example, some actors chose to engage in legal permit processes or lobby national politicians partly because they interpreted such actions as obligations. Paper 4 also indicated that movement actors' mutual awareness of the expected roles of others in the movement facilitated the emergence of a division of labour. That is, movement actors adapted to others' expected roles and specialized in different strategies and actions. The results from Paper 4 suggest that movement actors often interpreted their socio-political contexts both in terms of opportunities and constraints and as presenting appropriate ways of acting.

Third, results from Papers 3 and 4 suggest that movement actors' choices of strategies and actions were also shaped by their action traditions and collective identities, by the diffusion of strategies between movement actors, and by the resources available to them (Arrow G in Figure 2). By extension, the influence of these factors meant that movement actors sometimes preferred certain strategies regardless of perceiving the socio-political context as constraining. There were also indications that established preferences for certain strategies sometimes shaped movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints (Arrow E in Figure 2).

For example, the Artist Network in Kallak/Gállok promoted artwork as their strategy since it aligned with their action tradition and group identity. This coincided with the Artist Network interpreting the public and politicians as receptive to artwork as a form of protest. Some movement actors' established preferences for legal actions also appeared to shape their interpretations of opportunities for legal success in permit processes. NASS and SSNC stated that they had developed traditions of using legal actions via their engagement in other struggles. As they carried this strategic preference to their engagement in the anti-extraction movements, it appears to have informed their assessments of contextual opportunities and constraints. Results also suggest that the rare use of civil disobedience was primarily driven by some movement actors having traditions of using such actions in struggles they engaged in. Interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints did not appear to shape their choices of such actions in the studied cases. However, some actors' use of civil disobedience inspired other movement actors to adopt similar actions, spreading this strategy via diffusion.

My results suggest that movement actors' actions most often aligned with the strategies they expressed in interviews and documents (Arrow H in Figure 2). However, some differences between current strategies and actions taken earlier in the mobilizations were noticed in Papers 3 and 4. This suggests that movement actors' frames may have changed somewhat over the studied period. Results also indicated that movements' actions sometimes created contextual changes; for example, mobilization of supporters appeared to change the local public's attitude towards some mining projects (Arrow I in Figure 2). By extension, movement actors' impact on

socio-political contexts created a potential feedback loop on their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints (indicated by Arrows I and B in Figure 2).

To summarize, movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints for goal-fulfilment shaped their choices of strategies and actions. However, socio-political context also shaped movement actors' strategies and actions by presenting actors with expected roles and appropriate ways of acting. In addition, movement actors' strategies and actions were shaped by other factors, including traditions, diffusion, and resources. These factors sometimes shaped movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints in reverse.

5 Discussion

In this section, I discuss the results and contributions of the thesis and how they relate to previous research. I also outline potential policy implications before ending with some concluding remarks. My aim with this thesis was to explore what strategies and actions anti-extraction movements in Sweden use and how and why they choose them.

5.1 Main findings of the thesis

My contributions relate to my two research questions: 1. What anti-extraction movements are there in Sweden, in what socio-political contexts are they embedded, and what actions have they taken? 2. How do anti-extraction movements' goals and interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints shape their strategies and actions? I begin by discussing the overarching mapping and analysis of anti-extraction movements in Sweden and then discuss my analysis of how movement actors interpret their socio-political context and how this shapes their strategies and actions.

Anti-extraction movements in Sweden (Research question 1)

During the last two decades there have been increasing reports about resistance to mining projects in Europe (Eerola, 2022; Kivinen et al., 2020), in Latin America (Walter & Wagner, 2021), and globally (Conde, 2017; Özkaynak et al., 2021; Scheidel et al., 2020). The mapping of anti-extraction movements performed by me and my co-authors in Paper 1 is the first systematic investigation of the extent and nature of

mining resistance in Sweden. It shows that the occurrence of mining resistance has increased and provides a comprehensive account of the characteristics of anti-extraction movements across Sweden. In contrast to the results of previous research, which has largely focused on mining conflicts in northern Sweden (e.g. Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Lawrence & Larsen, 2017; Raitio et al., 2020; Sehlin MacNeil & Lawrence, 2017), our research shows that mining resistance exists in most parts of the country.

Our country-wide focus facilitated an analysis of similarities and differences between cases concerning involved actors, goals, socio-political contexts, and actions. The results show that the involvement of ENGOs and the promotion of environmental protection and sustainability constituted important elements of all identified anti-extraction movements. In contrast, the involvement of actors promoting Sámi Indigenous rights or the rights of farmers and landowners was a marked difference between movements in the northern and southern parts of the country. The mapping thus contributes to the field by showing how mining resistance across the country was motivated by partly similar, and partly different, visions for societal development and land use.

Our mapping further suggests that differences in socio-political contexts coincide with different strategies and actions in anti-extraction movements. For example, anti-extraction movements in Sámi traditional territory more often acted in international arenas based on international laws and norms recognizing Indigenous rights (e.g. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966; UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007). These movements were also typically embedded in municipalities with mining-positive political leadership, something that coincided with a tendency to turn to legal and international arenas.

In contrast, movements in municipalities with mining-negative political leadership tended to focus more on mobilizing locals and targeting municipal political actors. These findings support the usefulness of political opportunity structure factors for exploring some of the overall tendencies in movement actors' choices of actions (Goodwin, 2012; McAdam, 1996). The differences in anti-extraction movements' socio-political contexts also highlight the importance of future research investigating

case-specific variations when wishing to understand the strategies and actions in resistance against extraction projects.

When comparing the strategies and actions of anti-extraction movements in Sweden with research findings in other parts of the world, I find four important similarities and differences. First, in line with the global trend (Scheidel et al., 2020), Swedish mining resistance is most often performed in non-violent ways. Also, the use of civil disobedience was rare in the Swedish cases and was only documented on two occasions during the studied period. My studies also found few clear reports of movement actors being victims of violence. This deviates from international reports which indicate that anti-mining activists are relatively prone to being targeted by violence globally (Scheidel et al., 2020).

Second, like other studies of mining resistance around the world (Conde, 2017; Kivinen et al., 2020; Scheidel et al., 2020; Walter & Wagner, 2021), my research found that anti-extraction movements used a diverse range of actions. In Sweden, actions typically included the parallel use of legal actions, public protests, lobbying of politicians, and informing and mobilizing the public. The identified anti-extraction movements also displayed many similarities with locally unwanted land-use (LULU) movements (Della Porta et al., 2019). LULU movements are networks of actors mobilizing against specific projects, such as industry or infrastructure projects (Della Porta & Piazza, 2007). Both types of movements include diverse actions and heterogeneous mixes of actors coming together around shared anti-project goals.

By combining the literatures on mining resistance and LULU movements, I achieved fruitful cross-fertilization. LULU movement studies have, for example, described the occurrence of division of labour between movement actors, with actors specializing in different strategies and actions. In Paper 4, we drew on this research and further developed the analysis of division of labour in mining resistance. Global research on mining resistance (e.g. Özkaynak et al., 2021; Walter & Wagner, 2021), on the other hand, offers a vast number of empirical cases that can help advance the research and theorization of LULU movements. I contribute to this in Paper 3 by showing how the presence of diverse overarching visions in anti-extraction movements can help

researchers understand the diversification of actions typically found in both anti-extraction movements and other LULU movements.

Third, my results suggest that anti-extraction movements in Sweden were more prone to target political actors, such as municipal and national politicians or parties, compared to mining resistance globally (Conde 2017; Scheidel et al. 2020; Walter & Wagener, 2021) and in other parts of Europe (Kivinen et al., 2020). This may partly be due to other studies not explicitly registering who was the target of actions such as lawsuits, public campaigns, petitions, or street protests. However, reports on lobbying or direct contact with politicians are also relatively rare in studies of mining resistance in other parts of the world (Kivinen et al., 2020; Scheidel et al., 2020). In Sweden, however, my results show that contacting politicians at different societal scales was a common form of action in most anti-extraction movements. This tendency may partly be due to the historical practices in Swedish democracy, where the state and its elected officials have a tradition of maintaining consultations with many social movements and interest groups in policy-making (Peterson et al., 2017).

Movement actors' tendencies to continue to lobby and contact politicians is particularly interesting as my studies also show that the same actors typically viewed politicians as unreceptive to their claims. This speaks against POS theory (McAdam, 1996; Meyer, 2004), which would expect movement actors to turn to more receptive targets. In contrast, my findings from Papers 3 and 4 indicate that many actors in Swedish anti-extraction movements continued to contact national politicians, even if unreceptive, as this was seen as the appropriate thing to do and part of several movement actors' action traditions. This finding points towards a need to understand how action choices are influenced by both traditions (Doherty & Hayes, 2012) and the expected roles offered by movements' socio-political contexts. I return to this in more detail when discussing the next section.

Fourth, compared to mining resistance actors elsewhere (e.g., Latin America), Swedish anti-extraction movement actors put less emphasis on actions in private corporate arenas, such as bargaining with mining companies (Gustafsson, 2018; Haslam, 2021). Some Sámi actors attempted to lobby mining companies and investors in the early 2010s, but that largely disappeared as a strategy later. The limited actions in corporate

arenas were partly due to the movement actors' lack of expectation regarding project owners' ability and willingness to change, but also due to their perception that other societal arenas, such as legal and political processes, offered better opportunities to achieve their goals.

Higher trust in legal and political systems may thus be one reason for movement actors' tendency to focus less on directly interacting with project owners. The literature on 'social license to operate', which explores the possibilities to create social acceptance for mining, includes similar observations of how higher trust in governance systems leads to less emphasis on the community-company relationship in the European setting (Lesser et al., 2021). It may be that I found so few instances of bargaining with project owners due to my choice to focus only on cases involving public mobilization and protests. Negotiations between project owners and actors sceptical of projects appear to be more common in Swedish cases where conflicts did not escalate to public protest (Poelzer, 2023; Sehlin MacNeil, 2019). Future research could further explore the impacts corporate actions have on the strategies and actions of mobilized anti-extraction movements in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe.

In this thesis, I have developed and applied a framework of strategies and actions based on four aspects – arenas, targets, types, and actors. This facilitated systematic description and comparison of actions. Compared to other ways of conceptualizing actions, such as understanding actions as either expressive or instrumental (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008), or as disruptive or conventional (Taylor & van Dyke, 2004), my four aspects offered a more fine-grained account. My conceptualization was more apt to describe where in society actions took place (e.g. in legal or political processes or in public spaces) and who was the target (e.g. specific decision-makers or the public).

The framework's ability to capture diverse actions in a multifaceted way turned out to be particularly useful in the study of anti-extraction movements, as these movements tended to involve a heterogeneous mix of movement actors that used a broad range of actions in different societal arenas, targeted different external actors, and used diverse techniques when doing so. The ability to capture diversity in strategies and actions was also crucial to enable investigations of how movement actors specialized in different

actions and engaged in active division of labour (see Papers 3 and 4). I hope that this framework can inspire other researchers and contribute to the development of analytical approaches in future studies.

How interpretations of socio-political context shape strategies and actions (Research question 2)

Many social movement researchers have argued that movements' interpretations of socio-political context are important for action choices, yet few have explicitly engaged in understanding how this happens and how such interpretations come about (de Moor & Wahlström, 2019; Giugni, 2011; McAdam & Tarrow, 2019). I contributed to filling this gap by answering my second research question: How do anti-extraction movements' goals and interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints shape their strategies and actions? My contributions concern four themes: how movement actors' goals interplay with their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints in shaping their strategies and actions; how movement actors make sense of contextual opportunities and constraints by acts of comparison; how movement actors' interpretations of expected roles shape their strategies and actions; and how action traditions, resources, and diffusion of strategies also play a part in shaping choices of strategies and actions.

First, my studies contribute to the research field by showing how goals shape movement actors' choices of strategies and actions through actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints. I advanced beyond the often-cited argument that goals are expected to influence movement actors' action choices (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008; Leitzinger & Waeger, 2023) and presented a more detailed account of how this happens. The link between goals and actions was primarily studied in Paper 3 (exploring overarching visions) and Paper 2 (exploring operational goals).

Paper 3 shows that differences in overarching visions (including promotion of environmental protection and sustainability, promotion of Sámi rights and culture, or promotion of landowners' rights and agriculture) can influence movement actors' perceptions of contextual opportunities and constraints and, by extension, which strategies and actions they choose. For example, NASS perception of national parliament as largely unreceptive to Sámi rights claims made them prioritize actions

elsewhere, such as legal actions. In contrast, because FSF perceived parliament as relatively receptive to their claims for landowners' rights, they prioritized lobbying of parliamentarians. Understanding this fanning-out effect that goals have on strategies and actions is an important step towards making sense of the diverse actions that previous research on mining resistance and LULU movements has reported but not explained (Della Porta et al., 2019; Kivinen et al., 2020; Walter & Wagner, 2021).

In addition, Paper 2 showed how movement actors' more operational goals also shape action choices. For example, an operational goal of mobilizing supporters created a different understanding of the opportunities and constraints in the legal permit process compared to an operational goal of winning legal success, and this led to different strategies and actions. Paper 2 showed how the LOS and POS literatures' (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008; Hilson, 2002; Kriesi, 2004; Meyer, 2004) assumption that movement actors engage in policy-making or judicial processes primarily to change policy or win legal success could potentially obscure the real reasons for some of the actions chosen.

My research thus suggests that goals vary between movement actors and situations and that goals play a crucial role for movement actors' interpretations of opportunities and constraints and subsequent strategies and actions. Reliance on assumptions about what general goals motivate movement actors, an approach that has been popular in social movement studies (Cross & Snow, 2012; Leitzinger & Waeger, 2023) thus comes with analytical risks. A way forward would be to prioritize empirical investigations of movement actors' goals to better understand how actors relate to their surrounding society and choose strategies and actions.

Concerning what shapes goals, frame literature has suggested several possible ways to understand the emergence of problem formulations and goals. In social movement literature, the most common approach is to understand frames as primarily constructed to mobilize adherents or gather resources (Snow, Vliegenthart, & Ketelaars, 2019). In Paper 3, I found some evidence that this happened in anti-extraction movements, as ENGOs intentionally emphasized goals of Sámi rights partly because such goals resonated well with the public. However, Paper 3 also indicated that movement actors' construction of goals is shaped by their social organization and

internal social commitments, as suggested by Perri 6 (2005). Moreover, Paper 2 discussed how goals and frames are constructed by movement actors in resonance with institutional logics in the embedding society (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008; Schön & Rein, 1994). How movement actors see the world and formulate their goals and visions appears to be influenced both by their commitments to their social organization and embedding institutions (Perri 6, 2005; Schön & Rein, 1994) and by their considerations of what resonates with the public (Snow, Vliegenthart, & Ketelaars, 2019). Researchers thus need to be aware of several potential influences when exploring actors' goal construction.

My second contribution relating to my second research question concerns the findings about how movement actors make sense of opportunities and constraints by acts of comparison. In their theoretical paper, Gamson and Meyer (1996) argue that opportunities are always relative, meaning that movement actors can be expected to make sense of the degree of opportunity in one societal arena by comparing it to opportunities available in other arenas. My empirical findings largely support this argument. On several occasions I observed how movement actors interpreted opportunities in one societal arena, such as the legal permit process, by comparing it to other available options. Consequently, movement actors sometimes acted in an arena, not necessarily because it presented good opportunities to reach their goals but because it presented the best option available in the situation.

This understanding of opportunities as relative makes it possible to understand many situations where movement actors have acted on contextual opportunities that appeared meagre, something that has been puzzling in previous research on contextual opportunities (Giugni, 2011; Kurzman, 1996). Movement actors may simply be acting on the best opportunity available, even if it may not appear good to an onlooker.

In addition to interpreting opportunities and constraints by comparing available arenas, my results from Papers 3 and 4 indicate that movement actors make sense of opportunities by comparing current situations with their past experiences. In this way, my research supports de Moor and Wahlström's (2019) findings that movement actors use retrospective reasoning to interpret current opportunities and constraints.

My findings add to de Moor and Wahlström's (2019) argument by pointing out that researchers need to ask 'retrospection of what?' when studying anti-extraction and LULU movements as actors in such movements typically view their opposition to extraction projects as promoting different overarching visions and policy areas. When making sense of their current opportunities and constraints, some actors in Swedish anti-extraction movements drew on previous experiences working for Sámi Indigenous rights, while others drew on their experiences promoting environmental protection or landowners' rights and agriculture. Because of these experiences, actors could see contexts differently and pursue different strategies and actions. Strategies and actions are thus shaped in a dialogue between visions for the future and retrospective experiences of working for those visions.

The accumulation of experience could also be observed in some of my studies as movement actors learned from their interactions with their socio-political context. For example, some Sámi actors attempted to lobby project owners early in their mobilization but later abandoned the strategy as they found it fruitless. Similarly, other actors changed their emphasis on public protest over time (see Paper 3). This indicates that experience is dynamic and that interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints can change over time as movements develop and learn. Given the above, a suggestion for future research would be to explore contextual opportunities and constraints as relative, that is, as shaped by situational comparisons with other available options and experiences.

My third contribution relating to my second research question concerns my findings about how movement actors' strategies and actions were shaped by their interpretations of expected roles in the anti-extraction movement and society. Paper 4 showed that actors take account of other movement actors' expected actions and roles when carving out their own roles and opportunities and deciding about actions. In the Kallak/Gállok case, this led to a division of labour within the movement. Some movement actors specialized in public protests and mobilization while others specialized in legal and political actions. Although movement actors' specialization into different strategic branches has been observed in other social movements, particularly in LULU movements (Della Porta et al., 2019; Gamson & Meyer, 1996;

Piazza & Frazzetta, 2019), our study is the first to describe the process of how division of labour emerges and is maintained via movement actors' mutual awareness of each other.

The understanding of division of labour is important as it has implications for how movement actors relate to their surrounding society. Instead of all movement actors acting similarly in response to a contextual opportunity, we can, in situations of active division of labour, expect movement actors to complement each other's actions, something that encourages diversification of strategies and actions in the movement. For example, in Kallak/Gállok, the Sámi RHCs abstained from strategizing public protests, not because they saw public arenas as void of opportunity but because other movement actors were already organizing public protests. Conversely, the Sámi RHCs' engagement in legal permit processes made it possible for other actors to look away from legal arenas and instead specialize in public protests and mobilization.

As discussed in Paper 4, state efforts to open the legal arena for movement actor participation may not necessarily mitigate public protests. Instead, it may motivate movement actors outside of the legal arena to specialize further in public mobilization and protests. These findings imply that future research should consider internal movement relations when exploring how movement actors interpret socio-political context and choose strategies and actions.

Results from Papers 3 and 4 also indicate that movement actors' action choices are influenced by how the actors perceive their expected roles in the larger society. For example, several movement actors continuously lobbied and contacted national politicians, not necessarily because they saw national politicians as receptive targets but because they saw such actions as appropriate in a democratic society.

These findings suggest that movement actors' socio-political context influences their strategies and actions not only by presenting opportunities and constraints for achieving goals but also by presenting expected roles and appropriate ways to act. This aligns with March and Olsen's (1998) argument that the institutional environment influences actors through both the logic of consequences (i.e. opportunities and constraints) and the logic of appropriateness (i.e. expected roles and appropriate ways

to act). Previous research in social movement studies has, however, mainly focused on exploring how socio-political context influences actions through the logic of consequences (de Moor, 2022). Based on my findings from Paper 4, I believe that the field of social movement research should pay more attention to how socio-political context shapes actions through both logics.

My fourth contribution relating to research question 2 concerns how strategies and actions, in addition to the findings discussed above, are shaped by additional factors, including movement actors' action traditions and identities, resources, and the diffusion of strategies. Papers 3 and 4 suggest that some forms of action are mainly driven by movement actors' traditions of using them. For example, this was relevant in the use of civil disobedience, where the same actor (the Colonies) partook in civil disobedience on both occasions documented in my material and stated that they used such actions because it was part of their group identity.

It is notable that traditions have some similarities with the logic of appropriateness discussed above, as both concepts capture how routines shape strategies and actions (Doherty & Hayes, 2012; March & Olsen, 1998). However, I treat them separately here as I view the logic of appropriateness as concerning routines and roles presented by the surrounding society whereas traditions concern routines that are internal to movement actors. Action traditions and the logic of appropriateness partly overlap, of course, and may interact in the shaping of movement actors' strategies and actions.

My results also suggest that diffusion was important for some actors' use of civil disobedience and public demonstration (Larson, 2013). The Colonies, for example, were not alone in using civil disobedience in the Kallak/Gállok case. Their use of civil disobedience spread the strategy through diffusion to other movement actors, such as members of the new network Mining-Free Jokkmokk.

Furthermore, my results indicate that resources played a part in movement actors' choices of actions (Císař & Navrátil, 2022), primarily due to limited resources narrowing the range of actions that an actor could uphold in parallel. By forcing actors to focus on the actions they perceived as most opportune and appropriate, limited resources had a role in generating the internal division of labour discussed above.

Interestingly, my research shows that some movement actors' traditions of using specific strategies can lead them to interpret their socio-political context as opportune for those strategies. This was observed, for example, in the Artist network in Kallak/Gállok, which perceived politicians and the public as receptive to protest art, partly due to their tradition of using such actions. Such observations of how strategic preferences influence actors' sense-making of socio-political context go against the expectations of frame theory, which typically expects the diagnosis to shape prescriptive strategies (Perri 6, 2005; Rein & Schön, 1996). The observation that a 'taste in tactics' (Jasper et al., 2015) can influence the sense-making of situations in reverse is thus something to consider in future studies using frame analysis.

Action traditions, resources, and diffusion are part of shaping movements' action choices, either influencing movement actors' preferences for strategies or shaping how they interpret their socio-political contexts. Future research should continue to keep in mind how movement actors' choices of strategies and actions relate to traditions, resources, and diffusion.

5.2 Policy implications of the thesis

My research has policy implications in the sense that it helps us to understand the trajectories of mining conflicts and society's potential for handling such conflicts. To begin with, my findings show that many factors shape anti-extraction movements' action choices. My results suggest that movement actors' socio-political context and their interpretations of it as well as goals, action traditions, resources, and diffusion of strategies can potentially influence specific action choices. This means that adjustment of movements' socio-political context, such as laws and policies, may not always influence movement actors' choices of strategies and actions, or it may do so in ways that are unexpected and difficult to predict. However, based on my results, I would like to highlight two things to remember about how socio-political context shapes action choices.

First, movement actors make sense of their contextual opportunities and constraints by comparing available options. This is important to consider as the behaviour of one

contextual actor, such as a mining company, or the setup of one societal arena, such as national policy-making, will have consequences for how movement actors perceive and act in relation to other societal actors and arenas.

This insight is vital to understand the increasing juridification of mining resistance, where some Sámi organizations and ENGOs have turned to actions in legal permit processes partly because policy-making arenas are perceived as closed and unreceptive to their claims. Similar trends related to public protests and mobilization could be seen, where some actors turned to protests partly because political arenas were perceived as unreceptive. If policy-makers wish to limit these trends of juridification and public protests, an increased consideration of such actors' claims in policy-making may be adequate.

Second, a recurring observation in my studies is that mining resistance is about many things other than mining. Anti-extraction movements are typically not only against mining projects but also for other societal developments and visions, such as environmental protection and sustainability, Sámi Indigenous rights and cultures, and landowners' rights and agriculture. To adequately understand anti-extraction movements' choices of strategies and actions and the trajectories of mining conflicts, it is crucial to understand the different goals and issues at stake in a specific mining conflict. Actors' promotion of different overarching visions for society can bring a mining conflict into several policy areas, such as environmental policy, Indigenous rights, and rural development and food production.

Handling anti-extraction movements and mining conflicts in just and efficient ways thus likely demands that societal actors engage in several overlapping issues and policy areas. Such engagement includes understanding and addressing the histories of different societal struggles related to Indigenous rights, environmental protection, and rural development, as these histories influence the current conflicts and mobilizations related to mineral extraction projects.

Lastly, during my work with this thesis several movement actors asked what strategies and actions are effective for achieving their goals. As this question was outside of the scope of my investigations, I cannot offer any systematic analysis of what strategies

'work' in this sense in the Swedish setting. However, previous international research on mining resistance suggests that action diversification (i.e. the parallel use of several action forms) and public mobilization and opposition in early stages of extraction projects are comparatively effective ways to influence specific projects (Özkaynak et al., 2021; Scheidel et al., 2020; Walter & Wagner, 2021).

My findings can be read as partly supporting these observations. All 16 of the investigated cases involved project opposition at an early project stage, with movement actors using a range of actions in legal, public, and political arenas, and none of the opposed projects has yet come into operation. However, more studies are needed to further understand what influence anti-extraction movements can have on projects and policies in order to disentangle the impacts of movements from the impacts of other factors and to determine what strategies and actions are particularly effective.

5.3 Conclusions

The global demand for minerals is increasing and will likely continue to do so for the foreseeable future. This rising demand for minerals currently coincides with rising numbers of mining conflicts and resistance against extraction projects. In this thesis I have shown that this is also the case in Sweden.

The initial mapping found anti-extraction movements mobilizing against new mining and gas projects across Sweden, showing that mining conflicts and resistance are not restricted to the northern part of the country. In addition, anti-extraction movements often promoted several visions for land use and societal development, such as the promotion of environmental protection and sustainability, Sámi Indigenous rights, and landowners' rights and agriculture. Mining resistance is thus never just about mining.

The anti-extraction movements studied involved a diverse mix of actors such as ENGOs, new activist networks, Sámi organizations, and farmers' organizations. Together, these actors used a broad range of strategies and actions, from civil disobedience and demonstrations to legal actions and political lobbying.

Anti-extraction movements in Sweden are similar to mining resistance in other parts of the world in the sense that movements typically use non-violent methods and deploy a wide range of actions in parallel. Mining resistance in Sweden is different from other cases in that Swedish movements to a larger extent directly communicate with political actors and to a lesser extent prioritize communication and bargaining with project owners and corporate investors. My research thus contributes to understanding how mining resistance plays out in Europe as compared to other parts of the world.

My thesis also advances understanding of *how* the embedding socio-political context (i.e. the societal actors and institutions surrounding a movement) shapes movement actors' strategies and actions. The mapping of anti-extraction movements in Sweden showed that differences in socio-political context coincided with some overall differences in movements' actions. My subsequent explorations of how movement actors interpret contextual opportunities and constraints then enabled a deeper understanding of how socio-political context shapes movement actors' choices of strategies and actions.

My studies show that movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints are significantly influenced by their overarching visions and operational goals. This suggests that researchers need to pay closer attention to exploring movement actors' varying motivations if we are to advance our understanding of how context shapes actions.

Results also suggest that movement actors make sense of contextual opportunities and constraints via comparison with available options and previous experiences. Movement actors thereby understand opportunities as relative. This highlights the importance of exploring the socio-political context of a movement in a holistic manner to properly comprehend how specific opportunities are perceived and what they mean for action choices.

My research further shows how interpretations of opportunities and constraints are shaped by actors' assessment of their role in the movement that, by extension, can lead to an active division of labour between movement actors. This points towards a need

to consider internal movement relations when exploring the connection between context and actions.

Moreover, my results indicate that socio-political context can shape movement actors' strategies and actions, not only by presenting opportunities and constraints for achieving goals but also by presenting movement actors with appropriate and expected ways to act in relation to their surrounding society. These findings suggest that social movement researchers need to engage more with both the logic of consequences and the logic of appropriateness if we are to adequately grasp how socio-political context shapes strategies and actions.

Lastly, my research showed that other factors besides socio-political context shape action choices. I found that movement actors' action traditions and connected identities, their available resources, and the diffusion of strategies within movements are influential. Future research on how socio-political context shapes strategies and actions thus needs to continue to take these potential explanations into account.

I have argued that advancing our understanding of the strategies and actions of anti-extraction movements is crucial for grasping what drives the trajectories of the rising number of mining conflicts around the world. Better understanding of mining resistance is important for finding just, legitimate, and efficient ways of handling such conflicts. I hope that my studies may contribute to this end as well as inspire future research on strategies and actions in mining resistance and other settings.

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What to do when the mining company comes to town? Mapping actions of anti-extraction movements in Sweden, 2009–2019

Daniel Fjellborg [a,*], Karin Beland Lindahl [a], Anna Zachrisson [b,c]

[a] Unit of Political Science, Luleå University of Technology, 971 87, Luleå, Sweden
[b] Department of Political Science, Umeå University, 901 87, Umeå, Sweden
[c] Arctic Research Centre at Umeå University, 901 87, Umeå, Sweden

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ABSTRACT

Research on the actions of anti-extraction movements has primarily comprised single-case studies in developing countries. Despite increasing mobilization and policy objectives to increase mineral extraction in the EU, we have little systematic knowledge of forms of resistance in a European setting. This paper exhaustively and comparatively maps anti-extraction movements in Sweden and investigates how movements' actions relate to their socio-political contexts. Sixteen place-specific movements are identified and studied using frame analysis and political process theory. The results suggest that anti-extraction movements occur across Sweden and that their socio-political contexts differ in access to indigenous rights institutions, project owner engagement, and support/opposition from host municipalities and national interest groups. The frame analysis indicates that movements share several goals, sometimes interpret similar contexts differently, and that differences in actions reflect differences in interpretations of contextual opportunities. Our results show that anti-extraction movements in Sweden involve diverse actors, including environmental interest groups, new networks mobilizing against extraction projects, indigenous Sami organizations, farmers' organizations, and landowners. Broad repertoires of actions, including civil disobedience, are used to influence the public, permitting processes, political actors at various scales, and project owners. Differences in socio-political contexts often align with movements' interpretations of opportunities and relate with differences in action choices.

1. Introduction

Demand for minerals is expected to increase, not least due to the energy transition needed to meet climate targets. According to some projections, resource use could double between 2010 and 2030 (European Innovation Program on Raw Materials, 2016). As the extraction industry develops and moves into new areas, resistance and anti-extraction movements follow (Kivinen et al., 2020). A recent comprehensive global review of mining resistance shows that the phenomenon occurs worldwide, particularly in South America (Conde and Le Billon, 2017) and the Global South (Conde, 2017). However, mineral-related conflicts are increasingly reported from developed countries in North America (Auyero et al., 2019; Karidio and Talbot, 2020), Australia (Wawryk, 2014), and the Nordic countries (Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Sairinen et al., 2017). Most existing research is based on single-case studies (Conde and Le Billon, 2017), while comparative and large-*n* studies are rare (e.g. Kivinen et al., 2020; Martinez-Alier et al., 2016). A systematic overview of the occurrence of mineral-related anti-extraction movements and their actions in varying contexts is missing, but is needed to understand and handle mineral-related conflicts.

The actions of anti-extraction movements vary. While classic protest methods with letters of complaint, public campaigns, and street demonstrations are most common, more confrontational activism, including lobbying shareholders and litigating against companies, is on the rise. Campaigns also increasingly involve non-governmental organizations (NGOs) across different scales (Martinez-Alier et al., 2016). Previous research suggests that action choices depend on the socio-political context of resistance. For example, lack of access to institutionalized formal channels has arguably pushed affected actors to use public

* Corresponding author.
E-mail address: daniel.fjellborg@ltu.se (D. Fjellborg).

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protests (Bebbington et al., 2010). Access to international indigenous rights institutions, in contrast, has reportedly spurred various legal actions (Conde, 2017).

We use political process theory (e.g. Goodwin, 2012; McAdam, 1996; Meyer and Minkoff, 2004), a well-established approach in social movement studies, to explore the role of socio-political context in anti-extraction movements' action choices. However, the approach has difficulties explaining why similar contexts do not always constrain and facilitate movements in the same way and to the same degree (Prause and Le Billon, 2020). To advance our understanding of how socio-political contexts connect with anti-extraction movements' actions, we also investigate movements' *interpretations* of socio-political context. Research on movements' interpretations of contexts is lacking in political process literature (McAdam and Tarrow, 2019) and more studies have been called for to understand movements' action choices (e.g. Doherty and Hayes, 2012; De Moor and Wahlström, 2019; Hasnain, 2016).

We chose Sweden as the geographical focus for systematically mapping and comparing anti-extraction movements, actions, and contexts. Sweden is a developed, consolidated democracy with a relatively large mining sector. On average, mining represented 0,5 percent of Sweden's GDP between 2009 and 2019, with most production located in the less densely populated northern part of the country (Statistics Sweden, 2021). Sweden has witnessed a relatively high mobilization against mineral extraction in the last decade (Zachrisson and Beland Lindahl, 2019). Earlier research suggests that movements' action choices matter for the outcomes of controversial mining permitting processes (see e.g. Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Zachrisson and Beland Lindahl, 2019) and for political and public debate (Anshelm and Haikola, 2018). However, reflecting the international trend, research on Swedish mining resistance has primarily applied a case-by-case approach (e.g. Anshelm et al., 2018; Beland Lindahl et al., 2016; Haikola and Anshelm, 2016; Lawrence and Kløcker Larsen, 2017; Sehlin MacNeil, 2015). The aim of this study is to systematically investigate the occurrence and actions of anti-extraction movements in Sweden during the last decade. More specifically, we want to map the relationship between socio-political context, movements' interpretations of context, and movements' actions. Reflecting this aim, we ask four questions:

1. What anti-extraction movements existed in Sweden between 2009 and 2019?
2. In what socio-political contexts were these movements embedded?
3. What were these movements' goals and how did they interpret their opportunities and constraints regarding action?
4. What actions did the movements take in terms of arenas, targets, types, and actors?

The analytical results concern the relationships between context, interpretation, and actions, and the paper ends with a synthesizing discussion. This study expands empirical knowledge of mineral extraction resistance, a field that has emphasized developing countries but is critical to social justice and the energy and climate transition worldwide. The study is particularly relevant to countries similar to Sweden, i.e. with significant and potentially expanding mining industries that depend on social acceptance and legitimacy to operate (Poelzer et al., 2020; Tarras-Wahlberg, 2014). Our theoretical contribution lies in addressing the importance of movements' interpretations of socio-political context when investigating the connection between context and action (McAdam and Tarrow, 2019).

2. Analytical framework

Here, anti-extraction movement refers to a social movement mobilizing and acting against the extraction of minerals. We define a social movement as an informal network of actors, sharing a distinct collective identity and goals, involved in conflictual interactions with opponents, occasionally outside the formal institutions of the political system (Della Porta and Diani, 2006; Snow et al., 2019).

Our mapping of anti-extraction movements was guided by the theoretical framework shown in Fig. 1. The large box represents the

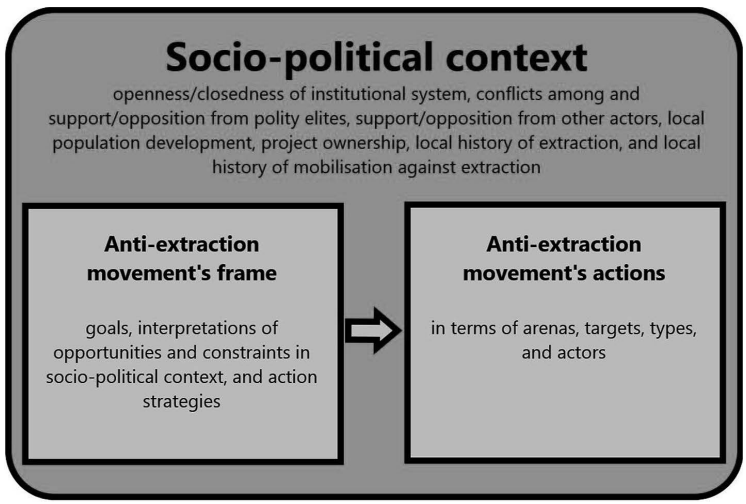

Fig. 1. Analytical framework guiding the analysis.

socio-political context in which an anti-extraction movement is embedded. From political process theory (see McAdam, 1996; Goodwin, 2012), we identify three aspects of the socio-political context as particularly relevant to movement actions. The first aspect is the openness/closedness of the institutionalized political system, here the issue-specific system governing mineral extraction (Meyer and Minkoff, 2004). The second aspect is conflict among polity elites and support/opposition from them. Polity elites here refer to state agencies, municipalities, and political parties supporting or opposing movement claims. According to political process theory, conflicts among polity elites are expected to influence movement actions. In this category, we also include state agencies' use of repression, for example, police intervention against movement action. The third aspect is support of and opposition to movements from other actors and organizations. This includes actions by, for example, business actors or interest groups as well as actions towards movements by extraction project owners – particularly important actors in mineral conflicts (Tarras-Wahlberg, 2014). Reflecting findings of previous studies of mining conflicts (Beland Lindahl et al., 2016, 2018; Kivinen et al., 2020; Poelzer and Ejdemo, 2018), four additional socio-political contextual factors are studied: population development in the host municipality, foreign/domestic ownership of the extraction project, history of mineral extraction in the host community, and previous anti-extraction mobilization. We also study the type of mineral to be extracted.

The next component of the framework, the left-hand box, includes the movement's *interpretations* of its socio-political context. We use frame analysis to investigate the movement's action rationales, particularly their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints. Following Rein and Schön (1996, p. 89), frames are defined as "strong and generic narratives that guide both analysis and action in practical situations. Such narratives are diagnostic/prescriptive stories that tell, within a given issue terrain, what needs fixing and how it might be fixed". While many conceptualizations of frames exist, most understand frames as having two functions: organizing experience and biasing for action (Perri 6, 2005). Frames first help actors diagnose situations and make sense of what merits attention. The sense-making aspect of frames informs the second, prescriptive, function, which serves as a precursor to action. Hence, frame theory connects diagnosis, prescription, and action (Rein and Schön, 1996) and is suited for studying the relationships between movements' contexts and actions. The diagnostic function of frames is assessed by exploring movements' overarching goals (e.g. stopping mining projects and saving lakes) and interpretations of action-related contextual opportunities and constraints. The prescriptive function focuses on movements' action strategies, i.e. what should be done. Our conceptualization of frames differs somewhat from *collective action frames*, a concept commonly used in social movement studies (e.g. Snow and Benford, 1988). While the latter often delimits analysis to movements' *intentional* and *strategic* framing of issues (aimed at mobilizing support), our conceptualization also allows exploration of actors' *non-strategic* understandings of the world.

The final component of the framework outlined in Fig. 1, the right-hand box, addresses the actions of the anti-extraction movements. Four aspects of actions are investigated: arenas, targets, types, and actors. *Arenas* of action refer to where the actions occur, for example, in formal permit processes, in public spaces, or at different political scales (Jasper et al., 2015). *Targets* of action refer to those whom movements aim to influence (Opp, 2009). In the case of anti-extraction movements, possible targets include state agencies, politicians, and mining companies. *Types* of action refer to the specific actions used by movements, such as petitions, demonstrations, and debate articles (see e.g. Martinez-Alier et al., 2016). Lastly, *actors* refer to the actors performing the movement's actions, actors such as formalized organizations or individuals.

3. Design and methods

This study maps and compares cases. We use three criteria to identify anti-extraction movements: 1) a network of actors communicating a shared "we"; 2) a goal of opposing at least one mineral extraction project; and 3) documented actions by network participants outside the institutionalized political system. Such actions include, for example, public demonstrations, protest meetings, and blockades. Social movements may also act inside political systems, for example, by appealing exploration permits or lobbying politicians (Snow et al., 2019). The collected data cover 16 August 2009 to 16 August 2019, a period that, according to the literature, has witnessed increasing anti-extraction mobilization in Sweden (Zachrisson and Beland Lindahl, 2019). Cases are delimited to movements opposing projects governed by standard procedures in the Swedish Minerals Act (SFS, 1991:45), so resistance to quarries and uranium extraction is excluded. This delimitation is intended to keep the number of cases and variations in socio-political contexts manageable. We triangulate qualitative data to increase validity (Yin, 2014). Three data sources are employed: media reports, public documentation of permit processes, and documents produced by movement participants (e.g. websites and blogs). Together, these sources provide an overview of movements' contexts and actions, and sufficient insight into movements' frames.

The data were collected in two steps. To address research question 1, the occurrence of anti-extraction movements was mapped. First, cases were identified by searching media in the Retriever Media Database. We found 26,406 news articles from the print press and public service media (i.e. Radio Sweden and Sweden's Television) using an extensive search string (see Appendix 1). Of these articles, 4088 were selected as relevant to the study after reading titles and preambles, searching for reports of conflicts, resistance, or mobilization concerning mineral extraction. Based on the selected articles, 16 anti-extraction movements were identified and a second step of in-depth data collection was conducted to address research questions 2–4. Hence, the initial media search was supplemented by: case-specific media searches; collecting relevant public documentation from the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, municipalities, and other state agencies; and collecting documents produced by the movements published as, for example, websites, newsletters, and social media postings. Three cases, i.e. Kallak/Gállok, Rönnbäck, and Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni, were also covered by an extensive research report (Beland Lindahl et al., 2016, 2018). Information about the socio-political contexts of the movements was collected from the media, public documents, and public statistics. Movements' frames were reconstructed and analysed based on direct quotations and texts produced by movement actors. The authors translated all quotations in the results section. Movements' actions were identified and categorized using media sources, public documents, and movement-produced documents. While differences between the prescriptive function of movements' frames (i.e. action strategies) and the actions conducted may exist, they proved difficult to detect using document analysis only. These two categories were therefore merged in presenting results (Table 3), as no substantial differences were identified in the empirical material. Data analysis was guided by the operationalized research questions in Table 1 and the results were thematically coded (Braun and Clarke, 2006) using NVivo qualitative data analysis software and summarized in 16 case reports. Finally, the cases were summarized in an aggregated table and analysed comparatively. For a comprehensive summary of results and sources, see Appendix 1.

Table 1
The operationalized questions guiding case descriptions.

	Case X
Socio-political context (research question 2)	
A) **Openness/closedness of institutional system**	
1. How far has the extraction project proceeded and how has the permit process evolved?	
2. Are any other institutions (e.g. related to nature conservation, cultural heritage, and Sami reindeer husbandry) interlinked with the permit process?	
B) **Polity elites**	
1. Were there any conflicts among polity elites (e.g. state agencies, municipalities, and politicians)?	
2. Have polity elites (e.g. state agencies, municipalities, and politicians) expressed support for/opposition to movement actors (including repression)?	
C) **Other actors**	
1. Have other actors, including project owners, expressed support for/opposition to movement actors?	
D) **Other socio-political factors from mining research**	
1. Is the population of the affected municipality decreasing, stable, or increasing?	
2. What is the nationality of the project owner?	
3. Is there a history of extraction in the area?	
4. Is there a history of anti-extraction movements in the area?	
E) **Other contextual factors from mining research**	
1. What minerals are to be extracted?	
Anti-extraction movement's frame (research question 3)	
F) **What were the expressed goals of the movement?** (beyond stopping the extraction project)	
G) **Movement's interpretations of opportunities and constraints in the socio-political context**	
1. How did the movement interpret opportunities and constraints in their institutional context?	
2. How did the movement interpret opportunities and constraints among polity elites and other actors?	
H) **Movement's action strategies**	
1. Movement's considerations regarding action arenas to use?	
2. Movement's considerations regarding primary action targets?	
3. Movement's considerations regarding types of actions to use?	
4. Movement's considerations regarding actors that should take action?	
Anti-extraction movement's actions (research question 4)	
I) **Arenas, targets, types, and actors in actions taken by movement.**	

4. Results

4.1. Anti-extraction movements in Sweden

The first research question is: What anti-extraction movements existed in Sweden between 2009 and 2019? As shown in Fig. 2 and Table 2, mobilization predominantly happened in response to extraction projects in specific places (e.g. Kallak/Gállok or Dalsland), and altogether 16 cases of such place-specific anti-extraction movements were identified. Some extraction-sceptical actors with a more general policy focus were also found, for example, the national Bedrock Group and national mining networks within the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC), and they are covered by the mapping to the extent that they participated in the place-specific movements. All identified cases concerned planned, not yet operational extraction projects and most cases concerned single projects, except the Oviken and Norra Kärr-Motala Bay movements. Both these movements opposed two separate, yet concurrent, extraction projects with different project owners. The two Oviken projects were similar as they both concerned extraction from alum shales. In Norra Kärr-Motala Bay, both projects were opposed by the same movement with the goal of protecting Lake Vättern (e.g. Kjellander et al., 2014). However, these projects differed as the Motala

Fig. 2. Place-specific movements opposing mineral extraction (governed by the Minerals Act) in Sweden, 2009–2019. Original map by Koyos (Wikimedia Commons), released into the public domain.

Bay project concerned gas extraction from alum shales, while the Norra Kärr project focused on rare earth element extraction.

Fig. 2 further shows that anti-extraction movements exist across the country in areas where mineral exploration and exploitation occur, but not in all areas and not to the same extent. For example, no movements

Table 2
Identified cases; movement intensity and size.

Cases, named after place names used by movement actors (# same as Fig. 2); north (N), mid (M), and south (S) Sweden	Number of unique activities per movement	Active years	Estimated intensity of movement (activities/year)	Estimated movement size (no. Organized actors involved)
Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni (1) (N)	49	7	Medium (7)	Medium (10)
Kallak/Gállok (2) (N)	156	9	High (17)	Large (42)
Laver (3) (N)	50	6	Medium (8)	Small (8)
Rönnbäck (4) (N)	106	10	Medium (11)	Large (31)
Oviken (5) (M)	27	3	Medium (10)	Medium (21)
Bricka (6) (M)	38	10	Low (4)	Medium (21)
Gävle-Storsjön (7) (M)	19	7	Low (3)	Small (7)
Kvarntorp-Latorp (8) (S)	24	11	Low (2)	Small (4)
Dalsland (9) (S)	19	2	Medium (10)	Small (8)
Unden (10) (S)	23	3	Medium (8)	Medium (13)
Norra Kärr-Motala Bay (11) (S)	193	9	High (21)	Large (30)
Taberg (12) (S)	18	7	Low (3)	Small (4)
Öland (13) (S)	44	6	Medium (7)	Small (9)
Billinge (14) (S)	30	11	Low (3)	Medium (10)
Skåne-Shell (15) (S)	63	6	Medium (10)	Medium (12)
Skåne-Scandivanadium (16) (S)	80	2	High (40)	Medium (25)

were identified in the Skellefteå fields and the Bergslagen area, where exploration and mining activity is high (Sveriges Geologiska Undersökning (SGU), 2020). The prevalence of anti-extraction movements is high in southern Sweden relative to the relatively limited mining and exploration activity there.

As shown in Table 2, movements vary in size and intensity. Size is assessed based on the number of unique organizations involved in a movement and intensity refers to the number of unique movement activities divided by active years. Some movements manage to maintain high activity for several years, while others maintain lower activity for extended periods. Large cases with high intensity were found in both the north, i.e. Kallak/Gállok, and south, i.e. Norra Kärr-Motala Bay, and they were the only cases in which civil disobedience were reported.

4.2. Socio-political contexts

The second research question is: In what socio-political contexts were these movements embedded? All cases are situated within permitting processes governed by the Swedish Minerals Act. This process is divided into four successive steps: exploration permit, exploitation concession, environmental permit, and land designation. Generally, this process opens up to involve a broader range of right- and stakeholders as it progresses through these steps. At the exploration permit stage, legal standing is only granted to a narrow set of affected actors, including landowners and indigenous Sami reindeer herding communities (RHCs). At this stage, these rights holders have limited legal possibilities to hinder exploration projects. If the project proceeds to the exploitation concession and environmental permitting stages, there are possibilities for Environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs) and the public to comment on applications. Decisions on permits are typically made on the national level by either the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden or the Land and Environment Courts after consultation with County Administrative Boards (CABs) and municipalities. Permits may be appealed by rights holders to the administrative courts, Land and Environment Courts, or the government, depending on the stage of the process (for a detailed description of the processes, see Raitio et al., 2020; Zachrisson and Beland Lindahl, 2019).

However, even though the formal permitting process is the same in all cases, significant differences in socio-political contexts become discernible as cases are compared across categories A–E in Table 1. As shown in Table 3, we divide the cases into three groups reflecting these differences. Our grouping of cases is guided by the socio-political contextual factors from political process theory, i.e. differences in openness/closedness of the institutional system as well as support/opposition from polity elites and other actors.

Group A includes four cases located in northern Sweden on traditional and actively used Sami reindeer husbandry territories, i.e. in Sápmi. Affected RHCs are rights holders in the permit processes, but all Sami are recognized by the Swedish state and can invoke Indigenous rights stated in international conventions. The participation of RHCs and other Sami actors in the anti-extraction movements of Group A provides these cases with a particular socio-political context. The relationships between RHCs and extraction companies are embedded in a long colonial history related to natural resource exploitation in Sápmi (Ojala and Nordin, 2015). An additional institutional characteristic distinguishing this group is that all cases are located in, or adjacent to, areas that the state has designated National Interests for both reindeer husbandry and valuable minerals, a situation warranting trade-offs at the exploitation concession stage. All projects in Group A are located in the vicinity of areas that are identified, or protected, for their nature conservation or cultural heritage values. In Laver and Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni, the planned projects were located in areas protected by the EU Habitats Directive (European Council, 1992) and the Kallak/Gállok site is located near the Laponia UNESCO World Heritage Site (UNESCO, 1972).

Cases in Group A are also distinguishable from other cases as they are typically located in municipalities with negative population development where the political majorities tend to support mining for employment opportunities. Parts of the local political oppositions – i.e. Green and Left parties – typically oppose the projects, albeit to different degrees. On the national level, the Green and Left parties have stated a desire to strengthen Sami rights and reindeer husbandry in relation to the Minerals Act, supporting movement claims. The Sami Parliament has supported all movements in Group A, particularly their demands regarding indigenous rights. All movements in Group A faced project owners who actively promoted their projects and interacted with movement actors and the local community, beyond minimum legal requirements. Project owners, for example, engaged in discussions with movements in the media and located staff in the local communities.

However, the cases in Group A also display some differences: foreign and Swedish project owners; different commodities (i.e. iron, gold, copper, and nickel); and the case histories differ. Kiruna Municipality (Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni) has a long history of mining without open resistance; Storuman Municipality (Rönnbäck) and Älvsbyn Municipality (Laver) have experienced mining in the past; whereas Jokkmokk Municipality (Kallak/Gállok) has no experiences of modern mining. In two cases (Kallak/Gállok and Rönnbäck) the movements faced local counter-actors in civil society and the Kallak/Gállok movement experienced police repression of their civil disobedience in 2013.

Group B includes movements opposing alum shale extraction. Alum shales exist in many places in Sweden and contain several minerals, such as vanadium and uranium (Andersson et al., 1985). Cases in Group B differ from those in the other groups, as all affected municipalities opposed the proposed extraction projects, and no local political party expressed support for any project. Most political majorities in the Group B municipalities networked with one another and were already lobbying in 2013 to change the Minerals Act so that municipalities could veto the exploration and exploitation of alum shales. Most Group B movements are located in places with a history of previous mobilization against uranium extraction. Group B movements also received support from NGOs on the national level; for example, SSNC and the Federation of Swedish Farmers (FSF) jointly campaigned for legal changes regarding alum shales since 2013. All Group B movements are located in municipalities with no recent or ongoing mineral extraction, and all except one

(Berg in the Oviken case) have increasing or stable population development. Moreover, all Group B projects were located in areas protected by the EU Habitats Directive, but none was designated a National Interest for valuable minerals and only one permit process, in Oviken, had passed the exploration permit stage. The Oviken case is notable as it shares some characteristics with the Group A cases: it is located on Sami traditional lands and in a municipality struggling with depopulation. However, the similarities with the other Group B cases, i.e. support from municipalities and national NGOs in the campaign against alum shales and a previous history of opposing uranium extraction, are more prominent. Additional differences between Group B cases concern the level of project owner activity, and, similarly to Group A, the presence of local counter-actors and both foreign and Swedish project owners.

The socio-political context of Group C movements is more heterogeneous, although the movements still share several important characteristics. Like Group B cases, all movements in Group C are located in municipalities that display increasing or stable population development, have no ongoing or recent experience of mineral extraction, and have political majorities clearly opposing the extraction projects. However, compared with Group B, the Group C cases lack active networking of municipalities, systematic support from national NGOs, and histories of anti-uranium mobilization. The project owners of Group C cases typically took a passive stance towards the movements. Differences between Group C cases include the presence of local counter-actors, histories of previous mobilization, and the presence of National Interests for valuable minerals and nature conservation. Group C cases have reached different stages in the permit process and involve companies of Swedish and foreign origins. The large movement in Norra Kärr-Motala Bay received support from national polity elites, i.e. from the Green and Left parties, in ways that other cases in Group C did not.

4.3. Movements' frames

The third research question is: What were these movements' goals and how did they interpret their opportunities and constraints regarding action? The socio-political context groups identified above were used to structure our answer to this question. Table 3 shows a summary of the movements' frames, i.e. their goals and interpretations of opportunities/constraints. The prescriptive parts of the identified frames, i.e. action strategies, were largely found to correspond with movements' implemented actions, so these two categories are reported together in Table 3. Action strategies are presented separately in Appendix 1.

4.3.1. Similarities of frames across context-groups

We found three similarities in movements' frames across contextual groups. First, all movements shared some general goals. All agreed to "protect rivers/lakes, groundwater and other nature values" and to "protect healthy environments for the benefit of local residents". In a statement, a central organization in the Laver case (Group A) wrote: "It is we [locals], our children, and grandchildren who will have to live with the [negative] effects of a mine, for all time to come." (Environmental Group Pite River Valley, 2015). Goals of protecting different aspects of "nature" were expressed by several movements in calls to abolish the Minerals Act and to strengthen the Environmental Code (e.g. Action Save Vättern, 2019). Most movements also stressed that society should prioritize sustainable businesses, including increased recycling of minerals (e.g. Stop the Mine in Rönnbäck, 2013).

Second, regarding opportunities and constraints, all movements tended to interpret the permit process under the Minerals Act (i.e. the exploration permit and exploitation concession processes) as closed. It was seen as unlikely that processes could be stopped or influenced significantly, regardless of whether or not movement actors had legal standing. For example, representatives of RHCs and Sami organizations involved in the Kallak/Gállok case (Group A) wrote: "The Minerals Act makes reindeer herding communities powerless in relation to mining developments" (Länta et al., 2013). Also environmental organizations involved in the Norra Kärr-Motala Bay case (Groups B and C) assessed their influence as slim:

Since the Minerals Act has been given such a strong precedence in relation to the Environmental Code, we can't await rulings from the Courts, we must make sure that this important issue is put on the political agenda (Thernsjö and Eriksson, 2014).

However, despite the overall assessment of the early stages of the permit process as closed, some actors still saw opportunities to influence formal permitting. An environmental lawyer representing organizations in several cases interpreted the EU Directives about nature conservation as offering opportunities to leverage issues in relation to the Minerals Act: "[SSNC] should work to get these directives implemented and spread the information that nature-protecting legislation exists, but is not being used" (cited in SSNC Tranås, 2016). Some movements in Groups B and C saw additional opportunities. In Dalsland, appealing exploration permits, for example, was interpreted as an opportunity to increase costs for project owners, mobilize participants, and make resistance visible to state authorities (e.g. Andersson, 2018). In contrast, the environmental permit stage, governed by the Environmental Code (SFS, 1998:808), was interpreted as offering favourable opportunities to stop projects in the two cases (Bricka and Billinge) that had reached this later stage.

Third, movements across the context-groups typically interpreted revisions of the Minerals Act as windows of opportunity for further legislative change. This was the case when uranium extraction was banned in 2018 (SFS, 2018:642) and when the government, as part of the "January Deal" (Social Democratic Party, 2019), announced a planned revision regarding alum shales. At this time, FSF for example stated that the prospects of further changing the Minerals Act had increased (Federation of Swedish Farmers, 2019).

4.3.2. Differences in frames between context-groups

We identify five main differences in movement frames between the context-groups A–C. First, although movements across the context-groups shared the goal of increasing local influence over extraction projects, they differed in how such influence should be organized. Movements in Groups B and C wanted to include municipal veto power in the legislation (e.g. VetoNow, 2018). This was often paired with demands to strengthen landowners' rights and protect local cultural heritage and agricultural lands, as expressed for example by local, and sometimes regional, FSF sections (e.g. Hyltbäck, 2018). Movements in Group A instead stressed the need to strengthen Indigenous influence over extraction projects in Sápmi, paired with goals of securing intact lands for Sami reindeer husbandry and cultural heritage. Two central Sami organizations wrote: "The government should strengthen the Sami people's rights. This is best done by legal changes that prohibit mining developments without the reindeer herding communities' explicit consent" (Jonsson et al., 2013).

The second difference concerns the extent to which municipal politicians were seen as opportunities for the movements. Consistent with the observation that the municipalities in Groups B and C unanimously opposed the extraction projects, the movements in these groups generally assessed municipal politicians as possible allies in their quest to access national politics, strengthen local opinion against the projects, and raise the bar of the permitting processes. Although municipalities have limited decision-making power in permit processes, they have a formal right to be heard by the decision-making authorities, offering opportunities for movements to influence agendas and decision making via municipalities. A leader of the organization Heaven or Shell summarized their relationship with municipalities thus: "I think civil society can only push an issue to a certain extent. We are therefore grateful to both the Social Democratic and right-wing municipalities that have supported us" (cited in Wester, 2014, p. 7). Consistent with a context in which municipal leaderships generally supported mining, movements in Group A, in contrast, tended to interpret the municipalities as constraints on mobilization (e.g. Stop the Mine in Rönnbäck, 2014).

A third frame difference between the context-groups concerns the movements' interpretations of public opinion in the local community. Movements in Groups B and C assessed the local public as generally supportive and saw them as an opportunity to strengthen movement claims: "Our petition is one of several expressions that point to the massive resistance Shell faces from locals in Skåne" (Heaven or Shell, 2011). Movements in Group A, in contrast, tended to view local communities as divided, with many local residents as supporting mine developments (e.g. Jacobsson, 2013; Flood and L'Estrade, 2013).

Fourth, while across context-groups movements acknowledged opportunities presented by international legislation, they differed in their interpretations of the specific opportunities in supranational legal arenas. Some movements in Group C assessed EU environmental legislation as offering opportunities, while Group A movements, particularly Sami actors, saw opportunities to strengthen their positions by demanding respect for Indigenous rights using UN conventions (e.g. Heikki, 2013).

Fifth, targeting project owners was typically viewed as a good opportunity by movements in Group A: "[If company policies] say that human rights should be respected, then it should also be possible to hold companies accountable for the projects they invest in" (chairperson of Sami Council, in SVT Nyheter, 2019). Movements in Group A, especially Sami actors, simultaneously expressed a historically contingent lack of means to influence the decision making of the Swedish state and its permit authorities (e.g. Tuorda et al., 2019).

4.3.3. Differences in frames within context-groups

There are three interesting frame differences between movements operating in seemingly similar contexts. First, two different interpretations associated with national politicians were expressed in Group A. The first portrayed politicians as ignorant, implying that they would change if informed. A non-Sami movement leader in Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni said: "They [i.e. national politicians] sit here in Stockholm and talk about our waters, but they have only seen them on postcards. I am confident that they would change their opinions if they visited us up north" (cited in Baas, 2012). Another interpretation among Group A movements was that national politicians knew what they were doing and were wilfully ignoring movements' claims, so simply informing politicians would not help. A Sami leader in Rönnbäck said: "With the current government it looks gloomy. I think that we need international pressure. I don't think Sweden will start to resolve this on their own" (cited in Kuhmunen and Wajstedt, 2013).

Second, in Group B, movements differed in their interpretation of opportunities for joint action with other place-specific movements. A leader in Kvarntorp-Latorp viewed joint action as an opportunity: "It is wonderful, because we have felt rather alone in Närke [the home region]" (cited in Kejonen, 2013). A central organization on Öland instead viewed participation in joint demonstrations as a constraint, as the broad inclusion of Indigenous rights and anti-mining claims would harm the prospects of local cooperation on Öland:

> [We] work in close collaboration with the two municipalities on Öland and their leadership. This means that we don't want or have the opportunity to make broad political statements outside our main issue relating to fossil gas extraction that jeopardize our goal as an organization here on Öland (Action Group Against Fossil Gas Extraction on Öland, 2013).

Finally, civil disobedience was used in two cases, situated in different context groups: Kallak/Gállok (Group A) and Norra Kärr (Group C). A leader in Kallak/Gállok stated: "[Civil disobedience] must be used when the law is incompetent" (cited in Vikström, 2013b). Civil disobedience in both cases involved the anarchist network the Colonies (Kolonierna, 2013, 2014a), which generally interpreted the state as illegitimate and used civil disobedience as a preferred strategy (Kolonierna, 2014b). In comparison, the movement in Gävle-Storsjön (Group C) interpreted the existing democratic procedures as the legitimate route to gain influence. The leader of one organization stated: "We've agreed that we want to use democratic means … We want to play by the rules" (cited in Eklind, 2014).

To summarize the findings regarding movements' frames, we observe that regardless of context-groups, movements share many overarching goals, the perception of the early permit processes as generally closed for legal interventions, and the interpretation that processes to revise legislation open windows of opportunity. We can also conclude that parts of movements' frames tend to differ between contexts. Movements in different context-groups vary in their goals concerning whose influence to strengthen in permitting processes, as well as in their interpretations of opportunities in relation to municipal politics, local public opinion, international and corporate arenas. However, there are also frame differences between movements situated in similar contexts, for example regarding interpretations of opportunities associated with informing national politicians, networking with other place-specific movements, and civil disobedience.

4.4. Movements' actions

The fourth research question is: What actions did the movements take in terms of arenas, targets, types, and actors? This section outlines similarities and differences in movements' actions across and within the socio-political context-groups identified in Table 3.

4.4.1. Similarities in actions across context-groups

As for arenas, all movements included actors who took action in the formal permit processes by writing appeals and statements to state authorities or by participating in consultations. Most movements made formal interventions in which they already objected to projects at the exploration stage. Formal interventions then continued at the exploitation concession stage and in environmental permit processes. Movements also tended to take action in the media, the local public arena, and public arenas elsewhere (e.g. in Stockholm or on Internet platforms). Concerning targets, all movements aimed to influence the public and state authorities, and most targeted national politicians. Several movements targeted parliamentary members from their own regions, across party lines. All movements in Group A established contacts with national politicians of the Green party – a party supportive of indigenous rights (Miljöpartiet de Gröna, 2018). Meetings with national Green Party representatives also occurred in some cases in Groups B and C (i.e. Kvarntorp-Latorp, Skåne-Shell, Skåne-Scandivanadium, Bricka, and Norra Kärr-Motala Bay).

Concerning types of action, all movements wrote appeals, statements, and/or letters to state agencies, politicians, and the media, as well as lobbied politicians. Most movements arranged public mobilizing meetings and demonstrations. Most also set up public websites and participated in joint demonstrations and debate articles with the other anti-extraction movements.

Finally, movements across context-groups also exhibited similarities concerning the types of actors involved. Central movement actors in all cases (except Taberg) were newly formed organizations/networks mobilizing in response to specific extraction projects (e.g. Veto Now in Skåne-Scandivanadium, Stop the Mine in Rönnbäck, and Mining Struggle Dalsland). All movements also included local, and sometimes national, ENGOs (e.g. SSNC, River Savers, and Bedrock Group). When SSNC participated in movements, actions were often taken to elevate the issue and involve the national level of SSNC.

4.4.2. Differences in actions between context-groups

While most movements targeted national politicians, the preferred arena differed. Direct contact with politicians on the national level was more common in Groups A and B. Only one case in Group C, the large case of Norra Kärr-Motala Bay, involved direct contact with national politicians as part of their campaign. Another difference concerned

Table 3
Cases grouped by socio-political context. Abbreviations: SSNC=Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, FSF=Federation of Swedish Farmers, RHC = Reindeer Herding Community. ENGO = environmental non-governmental organization.

	A. Movements in extraction-positive municipalities, on traditional Sami lands, facing active project owners	B. Movements supported by municipalities' and national NGOs' campaigns against extraction of alum shales	C. Movements in extraction-negative municipalities facing passive project owners
Minerals	Mixed minerals to be extracted via mining.	Minerals in alum shales extracted via mining or gas wells.	Mixed minerals to be extracted via mining.
Cases (# as in Fig. 2)	Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni (1), Laver (2), Kallak/Gállok (3), and Rönnbäck (4)	Oviken (5), Kvarntorp-Latorp (8), Norra Kärr-Motala Bay (11), Öland (13), Skåne-Shell (15), Skåne-Scandivanadium (16)	Bricka (6), Gävle-Storsjön (7), Dalsland (9), Unden (10), Norra Kärr-Motala Bay (11), Taberg (12), Billinge (14)
Movements' socio-political contexts	Institutional system: Projects at exploitation concession stage in permitting process. Projects in areas of National Interest for both valuable minerals and reindeer husbandry. Projects overlap indigenous rights. Projects overlap nature conservation and/or cultural heritage. Population development, extractive industry, previous mobilization: Typically municipalities with decreasing populations. Several active mines in the region. No previous mobilization against mineral extraction. Polity elites: Municipalities with mining-positive political majorities. Sami Parliament and Green and Left parties typically supported movements' claims. Project owners and other actors: Extraction companies actively engaged with movements.	Institutional system: Projects typically at exploration permit stage. Projects overlap nature conservation. No project in area of National Interest for valuable minerals. Population development, extractive industry, previous mobilization: Typically increasing or stable populations. No active extractive industry in municipalities. Previous mobilization against uranium extraction in most cases. Polity elites: Municipalities with extraction-negative political consensus. Municipalities actively networked with each other and supported movements' claims. Project owners and other actors: National NGOs campaigned for movements' claims. Extraction company actively engaged with movements in some cases.	Institutional system: Projects at different stages in permitting processes. Some projects overlap nature conservation and National Interest for valuable minerals. Population development, extractive industry, previous mobilization: Increasing or stable populations. No active extractive industry in municipalities. Previous mobilization against mineral extraction in some cases. Polity elites: Municipalities with extraction-negative majorities. Project owners and other actors: Extraction company typically passive towards movements.
Frame component: Goals in movements	Similarities in goals across context-groups All cases expressed a wish to 'Protect rivers, groundwater, and nature values', 'Protect healthy environments for the benefit of local residents' and 'Strengthen local influence over extraction projects'. Most agreed that 'Society should aim for sustainable businesses, for example, agriculture and tourism, and for increased recycling and waste mining of minerals'.		
	Similarities in goals in Group A All cases expressed wishes to 'Strengthen Sami indigenous rights and influence over natural resource exploitation' and to 'Keep lands intact for reindeer husbandry and Sami culture'.	Similarities in goals in Group B All cases expressed wishes to: 'Strengthen local influence over extraction projects by means of municipal veto power', 'Protect landowners' rights to property', 'Protect agriculture and cultural heritage'.	Similarities in goals in Group C Most cases expressed wishes to: 'Strengthen local influence over extraction projects by means of municipal veto power', 'Protect landowners' rights to property', 'Protect agriculture and cultural heritage'.
Frame component: Movements' interpretations of opportunities and constraints in the socio-political context.	Similarities in interpretations of opportunities and constraints across context-groups All movements interpret permit processes under the Minerals Act as largely closed to movements. There are limited chances that actions in processes will stop the project. Revisions of legislation was seen as windows of opportunity for further legal change.		
	Similarities in interpretations of opportunities and constraints in Group A International law for indigenous rights was seen as opportunity to influence politicians, permit process, and company. Municipal politicians were typically seen as opponents to movements. Local public opinion was seen as split or in favour of mining. Project owners were seen as potential targets as company policy states that indigenous rights should be respected. Differences in interpretations of opportunities and constraints in Group A Information campaigns aimed at national politicians was by some seen as a good opportunity. National politicians were by others seen as ignoring claims for indigenous rights, informing politicians will not help.	Similarities in interpretations of opportunities and constraints in Group B Municipal politicians were typically seen as potential allies of movements. Local public opinion was seen as pro-movement, creating opportunities for broad mobilisation of locals. Project owners were seen as less attractive targets, compared to movements in Group A. Differences in interpretations of opportunities and constraints in Group B Cooperation with other place-specific movements were by some seen as opportunity to strengthen local mobilization. Cooperation with other place-specific movements were by some seen as constraint and threat for local mobilization.	Similarities in interpretations of opportunities and constraints in Group C Municipal politicians were typically seen as potential allies of movements. Local public opinion was seen as pro-movement, creating opportunities for broad mobilisation of locals. Project owners were seen as less attractive targets, compared to movements in Group A. EU's nature protection legislation was typically seen as opportunity to influence permit process. Differences in interpretations of opportunities and constraints in Group C State institutions were by some seen as illegitimate, creating opportunity for civil disobedience.

(*continued on next page*)

Table 3 (*continued*)

	A. Movements in extraction-positive municipalities, on traditional Sami lands, facing active project owners	B. Movements supported by municipalities' and national NGOs' campaigns against extraction of alum shales	C. Movements in extraction-negative municipalities facing passive project owners
	State institutions were by some seen as illegitimate, creating opportunity for civil disobedience.		
Movements' action strategies and actions in terms of arenas, targets, types, and actors	Similarities in actions across context groups Arenas: All cases took actions in permit processes and public arenas. Most also took action in media. Targets: All cases targeted the public, as well as state authorities and national politicians, often via direct contact. Types: All cases wrote appeals, statements and letters, lobbied politicians. Most arranged public meetings and demonstrations, set up websites and participated in joint actions with other place-specific movements. When possible most cases scale-shifted the issue within national NGOs to reach the national level. Actors: All cases involved local or national ENGOs. Most cases also involved newly formed anti-extraction networks.		
	Similarities in actions in Group A Arenas: More actions in international arenas compared to Groups B–C. Targets: More actions aimed at project owners compared to Groups B–C. Actors: All cases involved Sami RHCs and Sami organisations. Differences in actions in Group A Targets: Different degree of actions aimed at Sami Parliament. Types: Differences in actions towards national politicians. Information campaigns vs. pressure via international institutions. Types: Differences in use of civil disobedience and art.	Similarities in actions in Group B Targets: More actions aimed at municipal politicians compared to Group A. Types: More mobilisation of local public via petitioning and writing of letters and statements, compared to Group A. Actors: All cases involved FSF, landowners and village councils. Differences in actions in Group B Types: Differences in participation in joint actions with other place-specific movements. Some cases participated and some abstained.	Similarities in actions in Group C Targets: More actions aimed at municipal politicians compared to Group A. Less actions aimed at national politicians compared to Groups A-B. Types: More mobilisation of local public via petitioning and writing of letters and statements, compared to Group A. Actors: Most cases involved FSF, landowners and village councils. Differences in actions in Group C Types: Differences in use of civil disobedience.

actions targeting municipal politicians. Movements in Groups B and C tended to target municipal politicians to a greater extent than did movements in Group A. Actions targeting project owners and investors were more prominent in Group A. Such actions were primarily taken by Sami organizations and RHCs, which wrote to investors and arranged trips to investor conferences, requesting them to respect Indigenous rights (e.g. Labba, 2019; Sjöberg, 2011). Sami actors also turned to the supranational arena to address Indigenous rights. For example, an RHC, together with the Sami Council, reported Sweden's approval of the exploitation concessions in Rönnbäck to the UN's Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (e.g. P4 Västerbotten, 2013).

Another difference in the type of action pursued by the movements in different context-groups concerns the use of petitions. Local petitions were used in all cases in Groups B and C, but in only one case (Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni) in Group A, in which movements generally interpreted the communities as split or pro-mining. Another type of action common in Groups B and C, but not in A, was mobilizing the local public to write letters and statements to politicians or state authorities.

Concerning differences in movement actors, all movements in Group A included Sami RHCs and Sami NGOs. Groups B and C typically engaged landowners, village councils and local or regional FSF chapters. The inclusion of local FSF chapters often corresponded to movements attempting scale-shifting actions within FSF, i.e. raising the issue from the local to the national level.

4.4.3. Differences in actions within context-groups

Differences in movements' actions also exist among movements in similar socio-political contexts. In Group A, the movements in Kallak/Gállok and Rönnbäck used the Sami Parliament as an arena to expose the projects and mobilize support, while we find no evidence of similar actions in Laver or Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni. The different views within Group A of opportunities associated with national politicians also resulted in different choices of arenas. While those perceiving politicians as informed yet ignoring Sami rights pushed for indigenous rights via international arenas (e.g. P4 Västerbotten, 2013), actors interpreting national politicians as unknowledgeable engaged in information seminars trying to educate politicians (e.g. Vikström, 2013a).

In Group B, varying interpretations of the prospects of joint action with other movements – as either opportunities to support local mobilization (Kvarntorp-Latorp) or as constraints making local mobilization more difficult (Öland) – were reflected by different actions. The former movement participated in joint public demonstrations in 2013, while the latter did not.

As already described, the use of civil disobedience also varied within context-groups. Both Kallak/Gállok (Group A) and Norra Kärr (Group C) involved activists from the anarchist network the Colonies, but local residents reindeer herders were also on the barricades in Kallak/Gállok (e.g. Blume, 2013; Hedman, 2013). The movement in Kallak/Gállok also stood out by using art as a form of resistance (e.g. Gustafsson, 2015).

To summarize the findings regarding movements' actions, the cases display many similarities regardless of context. All movements took actions in the permit processes, media and public arenas. Most targeted the public, state agencies, and national politicians. Concerning types of action, most movements wrote appeals, letters, and statements, and communicated their positions through lobbying, websites, public demonstrations, public meetings, and joint actions with other place-specific movements. Most cases included newly formed organizations/networks and ENGOs. We also observe some important differences in action between context-groups. The use of supranational arenas and the strategy of targeting project owners were more common in Group A, while municipal politicians were more common targets in Groups B and C. Petitioning and mobilizing the local public were more frequent actions in Groups B and C. Sami organizations were engaged in cases in Group A, while village councils and the FSF were central players in Groups B and C movements. Finally, some differences in

actions were found between cases in the same context-groups. Movements in Group A approached the Sami Parliament and national politicians somewhat differently, and movements in Group B participated in joint actions to varying extents. The use of civil disobedience and art also differed within context-groups.

5. Discussion

In response to the first research question (What anti-extraction movements existed in Sweden between 2009 and 2019?), we identified 16 anti-extraction movements, confirming anti-extraction mobilization as an issue not only in developing countries (Conde, 2017). Mobilization in Sweden seems to primarily occur in relation to place-specific extraction projects, although there is cross-case networking on the national level (e.g. Zachrisson and Beland Lindahl, 2019). Similar to Kivinen et al.'s (2020) mapping of mineral conflicts in the EU, we find that new extraction projects in particular attract mobilization – in fact, all studied cases concern not yet operational projects. Kivinen et al.'s (2020) research was based on the "Environmental Justice Atlas", an open collaborative database to which researchers and others can add case observations. Our mapping using primary sources identifies many more cases in Sweden. Hence, more systematic approaches seem to be needed to produce exhaustive mappings of mobilization.

A main finding in relation to the second research question (In what socio-political contexts were these movements embedded?) is that anti-extraction movements in Sweden can be divided into three distinct groups based on different socio-political contextual factors identified in political process theory. Notable differences in movements' contexts also pair with underlying socio-economic characteristics of local communities. Movements in mid and south Sweden (Groups B and C) are typically located in communities with growing or stable populations with limited histories of mineral extraction. These municipalities, in turn, exhibited negative attitudes towards extraction due to expected impacts on the environment and other land uses. Movements in northern Sweden (Group A), in contrast, typically operate in contexts with depopulation and regional histories of mineral extraction, with municipalities supporting mining as a way of creating jobs and reversing population decline. While the presence of Sami actors in Group A movements opens up access to institutions related to Indigenous rights and the Sami Parliament, the anti-uranium history of Group B movements helps mobilize national NGOs and affected municipalities. Consequently, our study highlights that place-specific movements should not be assumed to be part of the same socio-political context, despite being located in the same country. Political process factors can serve as useful analytical tools to discern place specific contextual differences important to action.

The answer to the third question (What were these movements' goals and how did they interpret their opportunities and constraints regarding action?) suggests that the studied movements share many goals. Movements advocate more local influence over extraction projects and land use in the form of either stronger Sami rights (Group A) or more influence for municipalities and landowners (Groups B and C). Movements typically support protection of nature, healthy environments and thriving cultures, and emphasise recycling of minerals and sustainable businesses. These findings are consistent with previous studies of Swedish mining conflicts (Beland Lindahl et al., 2018), suggesting that resistance is driven by shared values going beyond pure opposition to extraction projects. These broader goals can be expected to shape interactions as politicians, authorities, and industry are pushed to respond to movements' claims. The projects thereby become sites for fundamental value conflicts, which are amplified in the media, public debate, and permit processes and contribute to further polarization (cf. Anshelm and Haikola, 2018; Anshelm et al., 2018).

Concerning movements' interpretations of contexts, we observe that movements' different understandings of opportunities and constraints often reflect differences in the socio-political contextual factors identified in political process theory. Access to institutions addressing Indigenous rights, for example, is interpreted as an opportunity by movements in Group A, and extraction-negative municipal leaderships are understood as potential allies by movements in Groups B and C. The importance of empirically studying interpretations of context is demonstrated by the cases in which seemingly similar contexts are interpreted in different ways. In Group A, we observe different actions informed by different understandings of national politicians as either consciously ignoring Sami demands or politicians as ignorant of the problems. The first understanding links with actions in international arenas to pressure politicians, while the second relates with education of politicians. In Group B, movements differed in their interpretations of opportunities associated with networking with other place-specific movements. Here, different interpretations resulted in diverging action strategies for participation in joint action. In Group C, we found different understandings of the legitimacy of state institutions, either paving the way for more non-confrontational actions or justifying the use of civil disobedience. Hence, our study supports existing literature suggesting that interpretation of opportunities and constraints play an important role in connecting context and action (De Moor and Wahlström, 2019), and that investigations of movements' interpretations are crucial to understand differences in action choices (e.g. Doherty and Hayes, 2012; Hasnain, 2016). Our study shows that the combination of political process theory and frame theory is useful, and that the diagnostic and prescriptive functions of the frame offer possibilities to analyse in greater depth the linkages between socio-political context, context interpretation, action strategies, and actions.

Regarding the fourth question (What actions did the movements take in terms of arenas, targets, types, and actors?), we observe that movements in Sweden used a broad action repertoire. This is in line with international research on mineral conflicts (Martinez-Alier et al., 2016). Our mapping indicates that differences in movements' actions often reflect contextual differences. Movements in Groups B and C, typically supported by local publics, use petitions, municipal politics, and mobilization of local publics in the formal permit processes to a larger extent than movements in Group A. The latter movements typically face more actively engaged project owners and accordingly target them to a greater degree – a form of "private politics" also observed in extraction conflicts in Peru (Gustafsson, 2018). Also, in Group A, Sami actors' access to the international level (see e.g. Tennberg, 2010) is mirrored by actions in international arenas. These observations are in line with central arguments of political process theory stressing the importance of contextual differences for understanding movements' diverging actions (e.g. Goodwin, 2012; Meyer and Minkoff, 2004; McAdam, 1996). However, our mapping also shows that all movements, regardless of context, pursued some of the same actions, such as raising awareness in public arenas, arranging public mobilizing meetings, and targeting national politicians. In addition, as evident in all investigated cases, interpretations of the formal permitting processes, as generally unreceptive to movement claims did *not* prevent movements from engaging in permitting processes. This differs from findings regarding mineral extraction in South America suggesting that movements *turn away* from institutional and political arenas when these are understood as unreceptive (e.g. Bebbington et al., 2010; Conde, 2017). These results suggest that the relationship between political opportunity and action is not as straightforward as is sometimes suggested.

Regarding actors, in line with previous Swedish research (Anshelm et al., 2018), we find that movements typically consist of heterogeneous networks of organizations and individuals. In line with international research on mining conflicts (Conde, 2017), some of our cases include marginalized groups lacking access to information and the capacity to organize, for example, residents near projects and local organizations lacking legal standing. However, anti-extraction movements in Sweden also include well-organized and relatively resourceful actors, including large landowners, lawyers, and established ENGOs. The composition of

actors typically reflected the local land use, Group A for example involved Sami actors, while cases in Groups B and C involved FSF in representing private landowners and farmers.

Finally, regarding actions, the unreceptive institutional and political arenas experienced by most movements did not seem to be sufficient to cause confrontational actions. Civil disobedience occurred in only two of the studied cases, and these cases are in different context-groups. This suggests that the relationship between a closed socio-political context and civil disobedience is not straightforward but involves additional factors, for example, movement actors' identities and historical action strategies. An anarchist network participated in both cases involving civil disobedience and expressed civil disobedience as a preferred strategy. Such action preferences are in line with what Jasper et al. (2015) calls a "taste in tactics", meaning that movement actors value certain ways of acting, partly independent of their expected efficacy in different contexts.

6. Conclusions and future research

This study aimed to systematically investigate the occurrence and actions of anti-extraction movements in Sweden during the last decade. The results suggest that we need to investigate extraction-related resistance around the world, not only in the global South, particularly in light of policy objectives of substantially increasing mineral extraction in the EU (Haikola and Anshelm, 2016; Kivinen et al., 2020). The study further demonstrates the value of a systematic and holistic approach capturing *all cases* of organized resistance to mineral extraction in a country. This analysis revealed that place-specific movements do not share the same socio-political contexts despite arising in the same country. National mineral policy influences the actions of anti-extraction movements, but different *place-* and *project-specific* factors were shown to be equally important. Our approach demonstrates the benefits of analysing anti-extraction movements, not only case-by-case, but comparatively and on an aggregated level, where more general patterns can be revealed.

The results contribute to political process scholarship by confirming that meaning constructions – movements' frames – matter for understanding the connection between context and actions. The findings show that interpretation is not a straightforward mediating step that occurs in predictable and similar ways in all cases. Future investigations should explore movements' frames in greater depth by investigating not only *how* frames are constituted, but also *why* they take particular shapes. Triangulating different written sources (e.g. media coverage, public documents, and movement documents) provided an overview of the contexts, frames, and actions of several movements. However, in-depth qualitative methods are needed for more exhaustive examination of perceived opportunities, alliance-building, and 'scale shifts' (e.g. Conde, 2017; Dahlberg-Grundberg and Örestig, 2017). More knowledge of the relationship between the actions of anti-extraction movements and their contexts helps policy and decision makers, industry, and movement actors to make better-informed decisions.

Author contributions

Daniel Fjellborg: Conceptualization, Methodology, Software, Validation, Investigation, Resources, Data Curation, Writing - Original Draft, Writing - Review & Editing, Visualization Karin Beland Lindahl: Methodology, Validation, Resources, Writing - Review & Editing, Project administration, Funding acquisition Anna Zachrisson: Validation, Resources, Writing - Review & Editing, Project administration, Funding acquisition.

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Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

Data availability

Data will be made available on request.

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2021.102514.

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Appendix 1: Supplementary material (Paper 1)

Case	Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni (2009-2015) (1)
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Exploitation concession applied for twice in Rakkuri, company withdrew both. Courts dismissed RHC's appeals of exploration permits and work plans. 2. Habitats Dir. areas. Concession adjacent to national interest for reindeer husbandry, overlap with all-year land for reindeer herding community. National interest for valuable minerals.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. None found. 2. Kiruna municipality positive to new mines, but hesitant to specific extraction project. Sami Parliament supportive of movement claims at late stage in mobilisation. Parliamentary members of (Mp) support reindeer husbandry in case.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Kiruna Iron arranged several meetings with movement actors and cooperated with RHC to develop impact assessment. Support from other anti-extraction movements in 2012 via joint manifestation.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Kiruna municipality: Stable. 2. Kiruna Iron AB & Avalon Mineral Adak AB – owned by foreign mother companies (Australian). 3. Ongoing large scale mineral extraction in municipality. 4. No reports of previous movements against mineral extraction.
E) Type of minerals.	Iron, copper, gold.
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Lands intact for reindeer husbandry and Sami culture. Long-term sustainable livelihoods should be promoted before mining, e.g. tourism and reindeer husbandry. Preserve waters and nature in Kalix and Kaitum rivers (WG Preserve the Fells). Preserve local living environment and recreation (WG Preserve the Fells & Miners Trade Union)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Permit processes closed for movement. Sami values, reindeer husbandry and nature values are not listened to. Fighting in the permitting process is a less good opportunity, it is very expensive (WG Preserve the Fells). 2. National level politicians is most relevant to target as parliament can change legislation. National politicians do not understand the problems, but can be influenced by creating a broad public opinion on local and national levels (WG Preserve the Fells). Supranational actor (UN) is a second option if the state continuous to ignores indigenous rights by allowing mining. (LRHC, GRHC & Sami council) The extraction company and investors can be scared off if profit is threatened by resource consuming resistance (WG Preserve the Fells & Sami Council). No data on opportunities among municipal, regional, indigenous political actors (WG Preserve the Fells).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. In public arenas (unclear which), national political arena and private politics (WG Preserve the Fells). 2. National politicians and the public (WG Preserve the Fells). The extraction company and investors (WG Preserve the Fells & Sami Council). The UN committee against racial discrimination as second option (LRHC, GRHC & Sami council) 3. Public mobilisation to change public opinion and influence politicians. Activism should become more confrontational if the project proceeds (WG Preserve the Fells). 4. Nation wide anti-extraction movement to reach broad public and parliament (WG Preserve the Fells).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Public arena (local and elsewhere), private politics, national politics, media and permit process most prominent. **Targets:** The public, extraction company & investors, national politicians most prominent. State agencies and courts in permit process also targeted. **Types:** Lobbying/Meeting, write to media, write statements, arrange public meetings, network with anti-extraction movements most prominent. Also appeal, public manifestation, petitioning, start webpage and art exhibition. **Actors:** "Working Group Preserve the Fells" (incl. Laveas RHC, Girjas RHC, the River Savers and cottage owners in Rakkuri) most prominent. *Also* Sami Council; Miners Trade Union; Swedish Tourist Association; Greenpeace Sweden; Fishing tourism entrepreneurs.

Case	Kallak/Gállok (2011-2019) (2)
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Applied for exploitation concession in 2013 – MI pro concession in 2015, CAB against concession – prioritized reindeer husbandry. Concession application sent to Government – pending decision. Three exploration permits currently active. Courts dismissed all appeals of exploration permits, work plans and pilot exploitation (provbrytning). 2. Concession area is all-year land for RHC, national interest for reindeer husbandry and valuable minerals. Reindeer husbandry is part of world heritage site Laponia.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. CAB and MI disagreed on how to assess impacts on Laponia – issue referred to government. 2. Jokkmokk municipality, led by (S), support mining plans – due to jobs. Police arrested activists for civil disobedience, 2013, fined by courts. Sami parliament against mine- demanded FPIC. (MP) on all levels against mine. (Sami well-being) in Jokkmokk against mine. (Socialist Justice Party) regionally supported movement. (V) nationally against mine.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Local countermovement pro mine – brings jobs. Mining company described resistance as non-existent in 2012 and "insane" during civil disobedience in 2013. Columnist of local newspaper against civil disobedience by movement. Support from other anti-extraction movements via several joint manifestations/media opinions 2012-2019. Norwegian TV nominated leading resistance actors to "Sami of the year", 2013.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Jokkmokk municipality: Decreasing. 2. Jokkmokk Iron Mines AB – Swedish, foreign mother (Beowulf Mining Plc. – British) 3. No modern history of or ongoing mineral extraction in municipality – but ongoing on several sites in other parts of region. 4. No reports about previous social movements against extraction.
E) Type of minerals.	Iron ore (magnetite)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Keep lands intact for reindeer husbandry and Sami culture. Strengthen Sami influence over exploitations, as indigenous' right. Protect world heritage site Laponia (RHCs & SamCo & NASS & Sáminuorra & MFJ & BG Swe & What local people & Colonies & UN Association Sweden & SSNC organisations & Friends of the Earth Sweden & Artists & Academics). Society should aim for increased recycling of mineral. Society should aim for sustainable livelihoods, e.g. tourism, food production and reindeer husbandry (MFJ & BG Jokkmokk & BG Swe & RHCs & SamCo & Sáminuorra & SSNC organisations & Swedish Tourist Association & Friends of the Earth Sweden & Academics) Protect groundwater, the Lule river and nature values in the planned mining area. Protect living environment and health for current and future generations locally and along Lule river (MFJ & BG Jokkmokk & BG Swe & SSNC Organisations & Colonies & Academics). Replace the state with anarchic organisation (Colonies)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Processes under Mineral Law are closed for movement. Mineral Law violates indigenous rights. Pushing to supranational level is opportunity to show illegitimacy of Mineral Law (JåRHC & SamCo & MFJ & BG Swe). Illegitimacy of legal system gives opportunities to use civil disobedience (MFJ & Colonies) 2. People in Sweden are unaware of Sami culture – opportunity is to inform them and create a broad grass-root movement (MFJ & JåRHC & Suohpanterror & Artists). Civil disobedience by activists create opportunities for RHCs to inform in national media (SiRHC). Jokkmokk Winter Market is opportunity to reach public (MFJ & BG Jokkmokk & SSNC Jokkmokk). History of ignoring Sami claims constrains mobilisation of Sami resistance aimed at state, many doubt the state will listen (MFJ & RHCs & SSNC Jokkmokk). As minority Sami have few votes, politicians are unwilling to respect Sami rights (MFJ). High conflict level constrains mobilisation of locals – need to maintain relations in Jokkmokk (MFJ & JåRHC & Artist). Activists from "outside" lack relations locally – have greater opportunities to use confrontation (Colonies). Growing Swedish anti-extraction movement is opportunity for mutual support and national level mobilisation (MFJ & SiRHC & SSNC Youth). Dialogue with mining industry is bad opportunity under current legislation (JåRHCs & NASS & SamCo). Municipality have no power over law or permit process – better opportunity to aim at national politicians (MFJ & SiRHC). (MP)'s in government from 2014 create hope that government will listen to resistance (SiRHC). Trails against activists strengthen movement – create opportunities to protest (BG Jokkmokk).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. National and local public arena (MFJ & BG Jokkmokk & SSNC organisations & RHCs) Permit processes (RHCs & NASS). Private politics to scare off investors and Sami parliament to draw attention to project (RHCs). 2. National politicians to change laws and policies (MFJ & BG Swe & SSNC Youth & RHCs & SamCo). Extraction company to stop mining project (RHCs & What local people & Colonies). State agencies in permit process to stop project (RHCs & NASS). Public opinion nationally (RHCs & MFJ). Sami parliament (MFJ & SMR). Jokkmokk municipality (Artists). 3. Writing statements and appeals (RHCs & NASS). Lobbying (RHCs). Public action for information spreading (MFJ & BG Jokkmokk & SSNC organisations & What local people & RHCs & Colonies). Art to create understanding and raise emotions (Artists). 4. Movement should be loose network (MFJ & BG Jokkmokk & Colonies & Suohpanterror). RHCs and ENGOs should cooperate locally but push different issues – reindeer husbandry and nature (RHCs & MFJ). RHCs should cooperate with Sami organisations (RHCs). Movement should cooperate with other anti-extraction movements in Sweden (MFJ).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Public arenas locally and elsewhere, permit processes and media most prominent. *Also* national politics, supranational politics, indigenous politics, private politics and in SSNC. **Targets:** Courts, state agencies and government in permit processes, public, national politicians, extraction company & investors most prominent. *Also* UN-bodies, Sami parliament, municipality and municipal politicians. **Types:** Write statements/letters, appeal, write to media, public manifestations, art/photo exhibitions, direct action/blockade, movie screenings, art/music production, lobbying/meeting, network other anti-extraction movements most prominent. *Also* arrange excursions, network foreign movements, arrange public meetings, participate in seminars, start webpages, refuse co-operation with government and extraction company. **Actors:**Mining-free Jokkmokk (MFJ, previously "No mines in Jokkmokk"); Bedrock Group Jokkmokk (BG Jokkmokk); Jåhkågasska RHC; Sirges RHC; National Association for Swedish Sami (NASS); the Colonies- anarchist network; Suohpanterror – artist collective and Sáminuorra- Sami youth organisation most prominent. *Also* Bedrock Group Sweden (BG Swe); What local people (WLP); SSNC Youth; SSNC Jokkmokk; SSNC Norrbotten; SSNC Sweden; Sami Council (SamCo); Tuorpon RHC; Udtja RHC; Unna RHC; Slakka RHC; Stop the Mine in Rönnbäck (SMR); Firm-Ground-Clean-Water-Living-Culture Stockholm; Gállok/Stockholm manifestation group; Norwegian Society for Nature Conservation; Friends of the Earth Sweden; WWF Sweden; Swedish UNESCO Council; UN-Association Sweden; RUSA- Sami rights organisation; World Reindeer Herding Congress; Equmenia Church; Africa Groups Sweden; Latin America Groups Sweden; Fourth World association; Swedish Tourist Association; Swedish Eco-Tourism Association; Visit Sápmi tourism association; Rainbow Family; Artists; Academics; Individuals

Case	**Laver (2014-2019) (3)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Exploitation concession applied for in 2014, rejected by MI and CAB – appealed by mining company, now pending decision by Government. 3 exploration permits granted by MI. 2. Habitats area, national interest for reindeer husbandry, winter pastures for reindeer herding community, national interest for valuable minerals.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Municipality critiqued CAB and MI for rejecting concession. 2. Municipality pro mine- brings jobs. Sami parliament against mine- disables reindeer husbandry and indigenous rights, demand FPIC. (V) Älvsbyn against mine. (MP) in neighbour municipality pro movement.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Boliden argued reindeer husbandry and mining could coexist, participated in movement excursion, answered media opinions. Support from other anti-extraction movements 2019, joint manifestation/media opinion.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Älvsbyn municipality: Decreasing. 2. Boliden AB – Swedish 3. Laver is old mining site, closed in 1940's. No ongoing extraction in municipality – but on several sites in other parts of region. 4. No reports of previous movements against extraction.
E) Type of minerals.	Copper, gold, molybdenum (sulfidic ore)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Lands intact for reindeer husbandry and Sami culture. Strengthen Sami influence over exploitations, as indigenous' right (NASS & SamCo & SNRHC & EGP) Strengthen local and minority influence over extraction projects. Society should aim for increased recycling of mineral (SSNC Norrbotten & SSNC Sweden) Society should aim for sustainable livelihoods, such as tourism, forestry and reindeer husbandry (NASS & SNRHC & EGP & SSNC Norrbotten & SSNC Sweden) Protect drinking water, streams and nature from pollution for current and future generations (EGP & SSNC Norrbotten & SSNC Sweden). Preserve living environment for locals (EGP).
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Current legal practices cannot be trusted to protect Sami rights, reindeer husbandry and nature in relation to mining (SNRHC & SamCo & SSNC Älvsbyn, Norrbotten, Sweden). Resistance must find other ways than permit processes to resist Laver-project (SNRHC & SamCo). 2. Local opinion and politicians in Älvsbyn are positive to Laver-project, mobilisation locally is difficult (SNRHC & EGP). Investors' ethical guidelines to not support indigenous rights violations create opportunity to stop Laver-project (SNRHC & SamCo)
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. Local public arena to spread awareness and permit process to inform government (EGP). International arena and private politics (SNRHC & SamCo) 2. Public along Pite river, municipality and government in permit process (EGP). Investors and supranational actors e.g. UN and OECD (SNRHC & SamCo). 3. Information spreading (EGP). International legal action, lobbying of investors and international networking (SNRHC & SamCo). 4. Other indigenous groups (SNRHC & SamCo).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process, private politics, media, local public arena most prominent. *Also* public arena elsewhere, national-, supranational politics, in SSNC. **Targets:** Government/state agencies in permit process, extraction company & investors, public, municipality and municipal politicians most prominent. *Also* supranational actors (UN, OECD), national politicians. **Types:** Write to media, write statements/letters, actions with academics, arrange public meetings and excursions, lobbying/meeting most prominent. *Also* public manifestation, start webpage, participate in seminars and network with anti-extraction movements, foreign ENGOs and indigenous people. **Actors:** Semisjaur-Njarg RHC (SNRHC); Sami Council (SamCo); Environmental Group Pite river valley (EGP); SSNC Älvsbyn most prominent. *Also* National Association of Swedish Sami (NASS); Sáminuorra, youth organisation; SSNC Norrbotten; SSNC Sweden; environmental lawyer (GBH)

Case	**Rönnbäck (2010-2019) (4)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. 8 exploration permits granted – last expired in 2016. Courts dismissed all movement's appeals of permits. CAB and MI pro concessions, three exploitation concessions granted in 2013 - Government dismissed all movement's appeals of concessions. No application for environmental permit yet. 2. Concessions overlap national interests for reindeer husbandry, recreation and valuable minerals. Area is all-year land for reindeer herding community.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. MI appealed one verdict by Adm. Court concerning who to consider an interested party in exploration permit processes. Court of Appeals ruled in favour of MI and narrowed delimitation of interested parties to landowners and RHCs. 2. Municipality pro mine – brings jobs. (Mp) national and (V) local and national supported movement. Sami parliament stated against mine – would disable reindeer husbandry and indigenous rights, demand FPIC. UN body supported movement claims about indigenous rights violations.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Local countermovement pro mine – brings jobs. Mining company engaged movement via media. Regional chamber of commerce supported mine. Leader in movement awarded "Regional profile of the year" by local newspaper 2013. Support from other anti-extraction movements via several joint manifestations/media opinions 2012-2019.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Storuman municipality: Decreasing. 2. Nickel Mountain AB – Swedish. 3. Active mines in municipality and region. 4. No reports of previous social movements against extraction.
E) Type of minerals.	Primarily nickel.
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Lands intact for reindeer husbandry and Sami culture. Strengthen Sami influence over exploitations, as indigenous' right (SMR & VRHC & SamCo & NASS & CSS & Local Sami organisations & Sáminuorra & BG Swe & SSNC Youth & IOSDE & River Savers & UN Association Sweden) Society should aim for increased recycling of mineral (SMR & Local Sami organisations & VRHC & SSNC Youth & River Savers & BG Swe) Society should aim for sustainable livelihoods, such as tourism, food production, culture and reindeer husbandry. Increase local environmental protection. Protect groundwater, the Ume river and nature values in the planned mining area (SMR & Protect the Forest & Friends of the Earth & SSNC Youth & River Savers & BG Swe). Protect living environment and health for current and future generations locally and along Ume river (SMR & BG Swe)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Processes under Mineral Law are closed for movement. Mineral Law violates indigenous rights. Pushing to supranational level for indigenous rights is opportunity to show illegitimacy of Mineral Law (SMR & VRHC & SamCo & NASS & CSS & Local Sami Organisations). Increasing env. protection of area is opportunity to influence permit process (SMR & Protect the Forest). 2. National politicians don't listen – may change if shamed internationally. Dialogue with mining industry is bad opportunity under current legislation (SMR & VRHC & SamCo & NASS & CSS & Local Sami Organisations). Municipality support mine, ignore Sami rights and culture – no opportunity (VRHC & SMR). Local support for mining and historic conflicts in Sami community constrains local mobilisation (SMR & VRHC & Local Sami organisations). Mobilisation on other sites in Sweden presents opportunities for mutual support and national level mobilisation (SMR & BG Swe). Networking with other indigenous people is opportunity (SMR). Influencing Sami parliament is opportunity to counter government's pro mining policies (SMR).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. International arenas to process for indigenous rights – after depleting permit process nationally (VRHC & SamCo & CSS & SMR & BG Swe & River Savers). Public arena to create public opinion against Mineral Law and extraction project. National politics - make mining election issue on national levels (SMR & BG Swe). Sami parliament to counter government's pro-mining policies (SMR) 2. Public and national politicians (SMR & BG Swe & SSNC Youth). Sami parliament (SMR). State agencies and courts in permit process (SMR & VRHC & SamCo). Supranational actors – UN bodies (SMR & VRHC & SamCo & CSS & SMR & BG Swe & River Savers). 3. Write statements and appeals (VRHC & SamCo & SMR & BG Swe & River Savers) Information spreading, networking, public appearances, manifestations (SMR). 4. Other anti-extraction groups in Sweden and indigenous groups internationally (SMR).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process, supranational arena, public arena elsewhere and media most prominent. *Also* national political arena, indigenous political arena and private politics. **Targets:** State agencies, courts and Government in permit processes, public, national politicians, UN bodies and extraction company & investors most prominent. *Also* Sami Parliament. **Types:** Writing statements/letters, appeals, write to media, report to UN, public manifestations, participate in seminars/conferences, lobbying/meeting, network other anti-extraction movements most prominent. *Also* do nature inventory, network other indigenous peoples, arrange public meetings, start webpage, photo exhibition, arrange festival, refuse co-operation with government. **Actors:** Stop the Mine in Rönnbäck (SMR) – member of Bedrock Group Sweden (BG Swe); Vaapsten Sijte – local Sami organisation; Vadtejen Saemiej Sijte – local Sami organisation; Vapsten RHC; Sami Council (SamCo); SSNC Youth organisation; most prominent. *Also* Sáminuorra – Sami youth organisation; Ubmeje Tjeälddie RHC; National Association for Swedish Sami (NASS); Country-organisation for Swedish Sami (CSS); Mining-free Jokkmokk; What local people; Firm-Ground-Pure-Water-Living-Culture Stockholm; Africa Groups Sweden; Latin America Groups Sweden; UN Association Sweden; River Savers; Save the Baltic Salmon; Protect the Forest; Friends for the Earth Sweden; WWF Sweden; SSNC Sweden; Greenpeace Sweden; Norwegian Society for Nature Conservation – National, Norland & Rana; International Organisation for Self-Determination and Equality (IOSDE); Trustfund for Human Rights; Equmenia Church; Joesjö Landowners Association; environmental lawyer (GBH); Academics; Journalists; Individuals

Case	**Oviken (2017-2019) (5)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Preparing application for exploitation concession. 42 exploration permits, 8 currently active. Courts dismissed all appeals of exploration permits. 2. Planned concession is national interest for cultural heritage and recreation, adjacent to national interest for reindeer husbandry. Area is winter pastures for reindeer herding community.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Both municipalities appealed exploration permits – courts dismissed appeals. 2. Berg and neighbour municipalities support movement and demand municipal veto via petition. Region against mine. General consensus among local and regional political parties against extraction projects. "January deal" in parliament 2019, supported stricter rules on extraction from alum shales. Sami parliament support FPIC on Sami lands.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. SSNC & FSF Sweden demanded stricter rules on extraction in alum shales since 2014. Support from anti-extraction movements in 2019, joint manifestation/media opinion. Local countermovement pro mine- bring jobs. Project owners passive towards movement.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Berg municipality: Decreasing. Åre municipality: Increasing. 2. EU Energy Corp. – foreign (Canadian) Vanadis Battery Metals AB – foreign mother (Aus.) 3. No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipality. 4. Previous local movement against planned uranium extraction in 2009-2015- included several participants of current movement.
E) Type of minerals.	Vanadium, molybdenum etc. (in alum shales)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Preserve drinking water, lake Storsjön and its nature for current and future generations Preserve cultural heritage, community and traditional agriculture in the Storsjö area (OAM & FSF Jämtland & SSNC Youth & SSNC JH & Local history societies & Fishing associations & Village Councils & Ornithologist society) Protect landowners' rights to property (FSF Jämtland & Individuals) Protect the health and living environment of locals (OAM & SSNC Youth & Local history societies) Strengthen local influence over extraction projects via veto for municipalities (OAM & FSF Jämtland)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Processes under the Mineral Law are closed for movement actors. Mineral Law is pro mining. Locals, municipalities are excluded from influence (OAM). Municipality may have veto power if uranium is by-product (OAM & FSF Jämtland & SSNC JH). Mobilising people to write statements is opportunity to show resistance and spread awareness (OAM). 2. Best opportunity to influence society is via issue specific campaign that mobilise and inform a broad public opinion (OAM). Long-term and broad letter campaigns aimed at parliament is an opportunity to speed up legal changes (OAM). FSF's national level helps locals find opportunities for action against extraction projects (FSF Jämtland & FSF Myssjö-Oviken). Sweden's ban of uranium exploitation in 2018 opened opportunity to push for a ban of all exploration/exploitation of alum shales (FSF Jämtland).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. Public arenas locally and nationally, permit process and national politics (OAM) 2. National politicians to change legislation (OAM & FSF Jämtland & FSF Sweden & SSNC JH). Public opinion (OAM). 3. Broad mobilisation and information spreading via loosely networked campaign. Mobilisation on social media, petitioning, mobilising meetings, manifestations and letter writing (OAM). Arrange information meetings (FSF Myssjö-Oviken). 4. Network with other anti-extraction movements in Sweden (OAM). Network inside FSF and landowners (FSF Jämtland & FSF Myssjö-Oviken).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process most prominent. *Also* media, municipal politics, local public, public elsewhere and inside FSF-organisation. **Targets:** State agencies in permit process and extraction company most prominent. *Also* public, municipal, regional and national politicians. **Types:** Statement/letters, appeal, mobilising others to write statements and petitioning most prominent. *Also* write to media, start webpage, arrange public meeting, public manifestation, network other anti-extraction movements, network in FSF-organisation. **Actors: "**Oviken Against Mining" (OAM); FSF Myssjö-Oviken; FSF Jämtland most prominent. *Also* FSF Sweden; SSNC Jämtland Härjedalen (SSNC JH); SSNC Youth organisation; Local History Societies; Local Fishing associations; Village councils; Landowners association; Water association; Local ornithologist society; columnists in local media.

Case	**Bricka (2010-2019) (6)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Env. permit applied for twice. First in 2011 – dismissed by court 2015. Second application in 2017, pending decision. One exploitation concession granted, second applied for. Gov. and courts dismissed appeals of first concession and exploration permits. 2. None. Dellen Lakes downstream are national interests for nature conservation, recreation. Mine site is national interest for valuable minerals.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Municipality appealed first exploitation concession – Government dismissed appeal 2. All pol. Parties in municipality and CAB stated against environmental permit in 2018. Parliamentary member (Mp) supported movement for municipal veto. (Mp) stated against environmental permit. Municipality rejected citizen initiative by movement in 2019 – suggesting municipality should champion inclusion of municipal veto in Mineral Law.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Individuals supported mining in media due to jobs. Support from other anti-extraction movements in 2019 via joint media opinion. Project owner passive towards movement.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Hudiksvall municipality: Stable. 2. Svenska Vanadin AB – Swedish 3. No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipality. 4. No reports of previous social movements against mineral extraction.
E) Type of minerals.	Vanadium and iron ore
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	The Dellen Lakes, the water basin and drinking water should be preserved from threats (Bjuråker Mining Group – BMG & Village councils & Dellen Area's Future & Bjuråker-Norrbo Fishing Association & Bjuråker local history society & SSNC Dellenbygden) Local influence over extraction projects should be strengthened via veto for municipalities. Local community should aim for "green jobs", e.g. tourism. Society should aim for increased recycling of mineral (Delsbo- & Friggesund- & Norrbo village councils & Dellen Area's Future) The living environment of locals should be protected (Individuals & Bjuråker Mining Group)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Processes under the Mineral Law are closed for movement actors. Locals and municipality are excluded from influence. There's however a good chance that the court will reject the application for environmental permit (BMG & Delsbo- & Friggesund village councils & Dellen Areas' Future & Individuals) 2. The mining company's deliberations (samråd) are closed, not all stakeholders are invited and critiques of mining are not listened to (the River Savers & Associations from Norrbo & Individuals). The municipality present an opportunity to influence the extraction project and to change the Mineral Law (BMG).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. In permit processes, local public arena and municipal politics (BMG & Friggesund village council & Individuals) 2. Courts and agencies in permit processes, municipal politicians and local public (BMG & Individuals). 3. Writing statements and appeals, information spreading to raise awareness of extraction project and mobilise voters (BMG). Civil disobedience may be used if environmental permit is granted (Individuals). 4. No data.
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process, local public arena and municipal politics most prominent. *Also* media. **Targets:** Courts & state agencies in permit process, public, municipality and municipal politicians most prominent. Also extraction company and national politicians. **Types:** Write statements, appeal, mobilise others to write statements, participate in hearings, arrange public meetings. *Also* petitioning, public manifestation, start webpage, lobbying/meeting and network with other anti-extraction movements **Actors:** Individuals; Bjuråker Mining Group (BMG); Delsbo- & Friggesund & Norrbo village councils; Dellen Area's Future most prominent. *Also* local history associations; local fishing association; local water associations; SSNC Dellenbygden; SSNC Gävleborg; FSF Gävleborg; FSF Forest owners; the River Savers; Mellanskog Forest owner association; local forest company.

Case	**Gävle-Storsjön (2013-2019) (7)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. One exploitation concession granted and a second pending decision by MI. CAB against second concession due to risk for drinking water. Government rejected movement's appeals of first concession. Courts dismissed all appeals of exploration permits. 2. No direct overlaps with concessions. A national interest for drinking water located east of concessions.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Gävle municipality and CAB against new exploration permits – Mining Inspectorate approved permits. 2. (V) in Gävle supported the movement early. All political parties in Gävle later against the mining project (2018). Gävle municipality and neighbouring Sandviken municipality against a second concession due to risks for drinking water.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Support from other anti-extraction movements in 2013 and 2019 via joint manifestation/media opinion. Project owner passive towards movement.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Gävle municipality: Increasing. 2. Initially: Wiking minerals AB/Svenska Bergsbruk AB, Later: Lovisagruvan Utveckling AB – both Swedish. 3. No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipality. 4. No reports of previous social movements against mineral extraction.
E) Type of minerals.	Lead, Copper, Silver, Zinc (sulfidic ore)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Drinking water downstream, lake Storsjön and its nature should be preserved for current and future generations (Bedrock Group Gävleborg – BGG & Save Storsjön Mining a Threat – SSMT & SSNC Gävleborg) Living environment and recreation for locals should be protected (BGG & SSMT) Society should aim for sustainable livelihoods, such as tourism, agriculture and forestry. Society should increased recycling of mineral (BGG). Local influence over extraction projects should be strengthened via veto for municipalities (SSMT)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Processes under the Mineral Law are closed for movement actors. Mineral Law is pro mining. Locals and municipality are excluded from real influence, but municipalities' statement can increase demands on the EIAs (SSMT & SSNC Gävleborg). 2. Locals and local organisations around Storsjön support the movement and present opportunity to grow the movement (BGG & SSMT). But the long permit process and wait for mining company to act create difficulties in keeping up mobilisation of locals (SSMT). (Mp)'s inclusion in Government presented a better opportunity that appeals of the first exploitation concession would work (SSMT).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. Permit processes and municipal politics (SSMT & BGG & SSNC Gävleborg). Also local and national public arenas (BGG). 2. CAB, municipal politicians and officials (SSMT & BGG & SSNC Gävleborg). Also local public and national politicians (BGG). 3. Information spreading, statements and appeals, mobilise others to write statements (SSMT & BGG & SSNC Gävleborg). Participate in demonstrations in Sthlm (BGG). 4. Cooperation with locals, landowners and local organisations (SSMT & SSNC Gävleborg). Cooperation with anti-extraction network nationally (BGG).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit processes, municipal politics and local public arena most prominent. *Also* media and public arena elsewhere. **Targets:** Municipalities, municipal politics, public and state agencies in permit processes most prominent. *Also* national politicians and extraction company. **Types:** Write statements & letters, appeal, lobbying/meeting, arrange public meetings, write to media. *Also* arrange excursions, network with anti-extraction movements, participate in public manifestations, start webpages, report violations, fund raising. **Actors:** "Save Storsjön Mining a Threat" (SSMT – including fishing associations and landowner associations); the Bedrock Group Gävleborg (BGG); SSNC Gävleborg; SSNC Sweden; the River Savers; Gästrikland Water Council (GWC); environmental lawyer (GBH); Individuals.

Case	**Kvarntorp-Latorp (2009-2018) (8)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Nine exploration permits granted, last expired 2020. Courts dismissed all appeals of exploration permits by municipalities and individuals. 2. One exploration permit overlapped with a Habitats directive area. Another with a number of smaller nature reserves.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. All three municipalities appealed exploration permits. Once to Supreme Adm. Court. 2. All affected municipalities were against the exploration permits. Region stated against mining alum shales due to uranium. General consensus among local and regional political parties against extraction project. (Mp) spokesperson stated against uranium extraction from alum shales. "January deal" in parliament 2019, supported stricter rules on mineral extraction from alum shales.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. SSNC Sweden, FSF Sweden demanded stricter rules on extraction in alum shales since 2014. Support from other anti-extraction movements via joint manifestation 2013. Project owner passive towards movement.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Municipalities Kumla, Hallsberg, Örebro: All increasing. 2. Svenska Skifferoljeaktiebolaget – Swedish, with foreign mother company (Canadian) 3. Extraction of uranium and oil in Kvarntorp until 1960's. No ongoing mineral extraction. 4. Previous local movement against uranium extraction in 2000's- included several participants of current movement.
E) Type of minerals.	Nickel and other minerals (in alum shales)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Local culture and living environment ("bygd") should be preserved for current and future generations Lands for agriculture in the area should be preserved. Groundwater and nature values in lakes and streams should be protected from pollution. Protect landowners' rights to property. Local influence over extraction projects should be strengthened via veto for municipalities against exploitation of alum shales (Protect the Shales – PS & Latorp village council & FSF Örebro region)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Processes for exploration permits are closed for movement actors. Mineral Law is pro mining. Locals and landowners are excluded, waters and nature is not considered (PS & Latorp village council & FSF Örebro region). Appealing is opportunity to show resistance (PS). 2. Broad public opinion is best opportunity to change society (PS). Networking with other anti-extraction movements is an opportunity to strengthen local mobilisation (PS). Election years increase opportunity to influence national politicians (PS & Latorp village council). Sweden's ban of uranium exploitation in 2018 opened opportunity to push for a ban of all exploration and exploitation of alum shales (FSF Örebro region).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. National politics and public arenas on all levels should be prioritised to change legislation (PS & FSF Örebro region). Permit process should be used to show resistance (PS). 2. National politicians and public (PS & FSF Örebro region). 3. Information spreading (PS & FSF Örebro region). Mobilise landowners to appeal (PS). Networking in FSF (FSF Örebro region). 4. Higher levels of FSF (FSF Örebro region). Locals and landowners (PS & FSF Örebro region)
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process, media and local public arena most prominent. *Also* inside FSF-organisation, public arena elsewhere and national politics. **Targets:** Courts, public and national politicians most prominent. *Also* regional politicians. **Types:** Mobilise others to appeal, appeal and write to media most prominent. *Also* network in FSF, network with anti-uranium movement, network with anti-extraction movements, public demonstration, arrange public meeting, start webpage, lobbying/meeting, start sustainability project (solar power). **Actors: "**Protect the Shales" (PS); Latorp village council; FSF Örebro region most prominent. *Also* Individuals; FSF Asker.

Case	**Dalsland (2018-2019) (9)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. One large exploration permit granted. Later withdrawn by company. Courts dismissed all appeals of exploration permits by movement and municipalities. 2. Habitats directive areas, water protection and national interests for cultural heritage and recreation.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Municipalities appealed exploration permits – courts dismissed appeals. 2. All three affected municipalities oppose extraction and support movement. General consensus among municipal political parties against extraction project. Only (SD) in one municipality supported mining.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Regional industry trade union (IF Metall) opposed movement. Support from other anti-extraction movements in 2019 via joint manifestation/media opinion. Project owner passive towards movement.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Municipalities Bengtsfors, Dals-Ed, Mellerud, Åmål: all stable. 2. Odin Metals Ltd. – foreign (Australian) 3. No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipality. 4. Mobilisation against planned copper project in 1990's- included several participants of current movement.
E) Type of minerals.	Primarily copper and silver (also cobalt, zinc, nickel, gold, lead).
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Landowners rights to property should be protected Society should aim for sustainable livelihoods, such as tourism, agriculture and forestry (FSF & Mining Struggle Dalsland - MSD) Water, nature and cultural heritage should be preserved in Dalsland. Local influence over extraction projects should be strengthened via veto for municipalities. Society should aim for increased recycling of mineral. The living environment of locals should be protected (Mining Struggle Dalsland - MSD).
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Permit processes closed for movement. Locals are "run over" and rightless. But appeals can delay. Municipality can write statements - present opportunity to affect permit processes (FSF & MSD). 2. Politicians on municipal, regional and national levels are relevant to influence to change legislation (FSF & MSD). National politicians have not been willing to change the Mineral Law, but the "January deal" in parliament opened opportunity to change the Mineral Law (FSF). People and politicians are unaware of negative effects of mining, but angered when made aware. Municipalities' opposition of explorations hampered local mobilisation – people feel safe. The extraction company can be scared of if profit is threatened by resource consuming resistance (MSD). No mention of opportunities in relation to supranational arena or polity.
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. In local public arena, raise awareness and stop extraction project. Permit process to delay (MSD). Act on all political levels to change law (FSF & MSD). 2. Politicians on all levels in Sweden (FSF & MSD). Local public and landowners should be mobilised to stop/delay the extraction project (MSD). 3. Information spreading, lobbying politicians and delaying the project in permit processes (FSF & MSD). 4. Other anti-extraction groups in Sweden, locals and landowners (MSD). Higher levels of FSF (FSF Bengtsfors)
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process, local public arena and inside FSF-organisation most prominent. Also public arena elsewhere, media and municipal politics. **Targets**: Courts and state agencies in permit process, higher FSF-levels and the public most prominent. Also counter actors, municipality and national politicians. **Types:** Appeal and mobilise others to appeal, arrange public meetings, petitioning and write motions in FSF most prominent. Also public manifestation and start webpage. **Actors:** "Mining Struggle Dalsland" (MSD); Federation of Swedish Farmers Bengtsfors, Åmål, Västra Götaland, National (FSF) most prominent. *Also* Swedish Society for Nature Conservation Norra Älvsborg; Stenebynäs AB tourism company; Steneby parish; the association "Animals in the Forest"; environmental lawyer (GBH); Individuals.

Case	**Unden (2017-2019) (10)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. One exploration permit granted and currently active. Courts dismissed appeals of exploration permit. 2. Lake Unden is national interest for nature conservation and recreation. Exploration permit overlap with one water protection area.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Karlsborg municipality and four neighbouring municipalities appealed exploration permit. Adm. Court dismissed all appeals. 2. Karlsborg municipality and four neighbouring municipalities against mining project due to nature values. General consensus among municipal political parties against extraction project. Karlsborg municipality and three neighbouring municipalities supported movement's citizen initiative that the municipalities should champion inclusion of municipal veto in Mineral Law.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Support from other anti-extraction movements 2019, joint manifestation/media opinion. Project owner passive towards movement.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Karlsborg municipality: Stable. 2. First: European Cobalt Ltd – Foreign (Aus.), Later: EUCO Resources Sweden AB – Swedish 3. No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipality. 4. Previous mobilisation inside FSF during 1980's against exploration in same site.
E) Type of minerals.	Primarily cobalt. Also nickel, zinc, copper, gold
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Protect nature values around Unden and Tiveden area – make Unden a Habitats area. Protect drinking water, lake Unden and lake Vättern downstream. Local cultural heritage and living environment should be preserved for current and future generations Local influence over extraction projects should be strengthened via veto for municipalities (WBFU). Protect landowners' rights to property. Society should aim for sustainable livelihoods, such as tourism and forestry (FSF Karlsborg & WBFU).
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Permitting processes closed for movement. Locals, municipalities and landowners have little influence. Resistance in permit processes can't stop exploration – but appeals is opportunity to delay project, awaiting technological development and legal changes (WBFU). 2. Seeking support from municipalities is opportunity to strengthen local public opinion against mining project. Existing networks among local people create good opportunity to mobilise local public. Tiveden area has history as "lawless land", this create opportunities to escalate resistance if needed. Public opinion for electric cars is strong, this constrains mobilisation as cobalt is used in batteries (WBFU).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. Permit processes to delay, municipal politics to affect legislation and public opinion, local public arena (WBFU). 2. Local public, state agencies in permit processes, municipal politicians and extraction company (WBFU). 3. Information spreading to public and politicians e.g. via public meetings, appealing, using local customs to signal identity (lighting beacons), contact exploration company, escalate to civil disobedience if needed (WBFU). 4. Other anti-extraction movements around lake Vättern (WBFU). Higher levels of FSF (FSF Karlsborg). Locals and landowners (WBFU & FSF Karlsborg)
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process, local public arena and municipal politics most prominent. *Also* media, public arena elsewhere and inside FSF-network. **Targets:** Courts and state agencies in permit process, municipalities, municipal politicians and public most prominent. *Also* national politicians. **Types:** Appeal, mobilise other to appeal, petitioning, lobbying, public manifestations, public meetings most prominent. *Also* network other anti-extraction movements, write to media, start webpages. **Actors:** "We Burn For lake Unden" (WBFU) and individuals most prominent. *Also* FSF Karlsborg; Högsåsen Nature and Culture Association; Undenäs Village Council; Tiveden Development Group; Tiveden Local History Society; Tiveden Horsebackriding Group; Unden Fishing Association; Action Save Vättern; SSNC Örebro region; SSNC Askersund; SSNC Skaraborg region; SSNC Karlsborg; environmental lawyer (GBH)

Case	**Norra Kärr-Motala Bay (2011-2019) (11)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Norra Kärr: 4 exploration permits granted, last expired 2019. Courts dismissed all appeals of permits. Applied for exploitation concession in 2012. In 2016 Supreme Adm. Court overruled Government's granting of concession – application restarted, now pending decision by CAB and MI. Motala Bay: 17 exploration permits, most expired 2016. Courts dismissed all appeals. 2. Norra Kärr adjacent lake Vättern, Motala Bay permit in lake. Vättern is Habitats area, water protection area and national interest for recreation and fishing. Norra Kärr area is national interest for valuable mineral.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Municipalities appealed exploration permits. (M), (KD), (L) against Jönköping municipality's opposition to Norra Kärr concession, argued project should be allowed in legal demand were fulfilled. 2. Norra Kärr: Jönköping, Ödeshög, Tranås, Aneby municipalities stated against Norra Kärr concession, 2018. SEPA stated against concession in 2019, due to flaws in application. Police passive during civil disobedience, 2014. (M), (KD) and (L) in Jönköping pro mine if legal requirements were met. (V) and (MP) on national level against project. Motala Bay: Vadstena and Motala municipalities against project. Both: (C) in Vadstena and (MP) and (V) around Vättern supported movement's campaign for Vättern and against extraction projects.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Tasman Metals participated in the movement's public meetings and argued in media that movement spread false information. Support from other anti-extraction movements via joint manifestations/media opinions 2012-2019. SSNC Sweden supported local movement since 2014, e.g. via funding. SSNC Sweden, FSF Sweden demanded stricter rules on extraction in alum shales since 2014. NGO Lions gave movement actors "Environmental Award", 2014 & 2019.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Municipalities Vadstena, Ödeshög: Both stable. Municipalities Jönköping, Motala: Both increasing. 2. Norra Kärr: Tasman Metals AB – Swe., Canadian mother. Motala Bay: Gripen Gas AB – Swe. 3. No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipality – one active mine in neighbouring municipality Askersund. 4. No reports of previous social movements against mineral extraction.
E) Type of minerals.	Norra Kärr: Rare Earth Elements. Motala Bay: Gas (in alum shales)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Protect lake Vättern, lake Sommen, streams and ground water for drinking water and nature values, for current and future generations (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & FSF Orgs. & BG Grenna & Colonies & Visingsö Council & Green Cross Sweden & Elgen & Gränna Forest Group). Society should aim for sustainable development around lake Vättern, such as tourism, fishery, agriculture and forestry. Society should aim for increased recycling of mineral (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & FSF Orgs. & BG Grenna & Elgen). Strengthen local influence and nature protection in relation to mineral extraction (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & FSF Östergötland & BG Grenna). Include veto for municipalities in Mineral Law (SSNC Östergötland & FSF Östergötland). Protect landowners rights to property (FSF Orgs.) Replace the state with anarchic organisation (Colonies)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Processes under Mineral Law are closed for movement. Locals, landowners, nature values and drinking water are not listened to. Pro extraction law force state agencies/courts to dismiss appeals (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & FSF Orgs. & BG Grenna). But, appealing is opportunity to make politicians and state agencies aware of resistance (ASV). Appealing is opportunity to delay process to mobilise resistance (SSNC Jönköping Region). Supreme Adm. Court's overruling of government decision in 2016 show that real opportunities to influence in permit processes exist. Arguing EU-laws and international conventions (e.g. Århus convention) is opportunity in permit processes (SSNC Orgs. & BG Grenna & Elgen). 2. Municipal politicians is good opportunity as local politicians are influenced by mobilisation of locals. Municipal politicians then influence parties on national level. If movement targets only some political parties it risks alienating potential participants – better for mobilisation to target all parties. Politicians listen to public opinion – opinion raising is therefore good opportunity to change laws. Cooperation opportunities exist with FSF, Swedish House-owners association, eco-tourist actors, local history societies and Sami organisations (ASV & SSNC Orgs.). External events (such as Supreme Adm. Court's ruling 2016, ban of uranium extraction 2018, "January Deal" for Government 2019) create windows of opportunity to mobilise movement and push for further legal changes (ASV, SSNC Orgs., FSF Orgs. Low activity by extraction companies constrains the mobilisation of locals (SSNC Tranås).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. Public arena around Vättern and water ways (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & BG Grenna & Colonies). Permit processes, municipal, regional and national politics (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & FSF orgs). 2. Public around Vättern and water ways (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & BG Grenna). Municipal, regional and national politicians (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & FSF Orgs. & BG Grenna & Gränna Forest Group). State agencies and courts in permit processes (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & BG Grenna). 3. Information spreading to politicians, state agencies and public (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & BG Grenna). Public manifestations (ASV & SSNC Youth). Civil disobedience (Colonies). Appeal and write statements in permit processes (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & BG Grenna). Campaign for increased nature protection (ASV & SSNC Orgs.). 4. Cooperate with anti-extraction movements and NGOs in Sweden to change legislation (ASV & SSNC Orgs. & BG Grenna & FSF ÖG). Activate SSNC-networks around Vättern and water ways (SSNC Tranås). Start group of researchers to gather information (ASV & SSNC Orgs.). Support locals closest to extraction site (BG Grenna).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit processes, local public arena (around Vättern) and media most prominent. *Also* national politics, municipal politics, public arena elsewhere and inside SSNC & FSF network. **Targets:** State agencies, courts and Government in permit processes, national politicians, municipalities, municipal politicians and public most prominent. *Also* higher levels of SSNC & FSF network (in both projects). Extraction company & Investors (in Norra Kärr). **Types:** Appeal, write statements/letters, mobilise others to appeal/write statements/letters, arrange public meetings, public manifestations, petitioning, write to media and lobbying/meeting most prominent. *Also* coordinate local NGOs, network other anti-extraction movements, network in SSNC & FSF, direct action, start webpages, arrange excursions, festivals, prayers and produce movie. **Actors:** Action group Save Vättern (ASV); network of SSNC organisations (including SSNC Sweden, Youth, Jönköping region, Östergötland region, Skaraborg region, Örebro region, Tranås-Aneby, Ödeshög, Askersund, Mjölby/Boxholm, Linköping, Motala, Vadstena, Bankeryd); Bedrock Group Grenna-Norra Kärr (BG Grenna); FSF-organisations (FSF Östergötland region, Jönköping region, Holaveden); environmental lawyer (GBH); academics and individuals most prominent. *Also* FSF Sweden; Bedrock Group Sweden; Visingsö Council – archipelago association; Gränna Forest group – local ENGO; Elgen – local ENGO; the Colonies – anarchist network; Green Cross Sweden; WWF Sweden; Lodyn – ENGO; Friends of Norra Kärr – village council; Swedish Tourist Association Höglandet; Art Association Tranås; Aneby congregation; Congregations in the Swedish Church around Vättern; Wisingsö Hotel and conference; Columnist in local media.

Case	**Taberg (2013-2019) (12)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. One exploration permit granted. Expired in 2019. Courts dismissed appeals of exploration permit. CAB stopped work plan for drilling as it violated directives of nature reserve. Courts approved CAB's decision. 2. Taberg is Habitats area and national interest for cultural heritage and nature conservation.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Jönköping municipality appealed exploration permit and work plans – courts dismissed appeals of exploration permits. 2. Jönköping municipality against mine. General consensus among municipal political parties against extraction project. Members of parliament from (S) and (KD) opposed mining project.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. No data found.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Jönköping municipality: Increasing. 2. Asera Mining AB – Swedish, partly foreign ownership (Indian) 3. No ongoing mineral extraction in municipality. Taberg was mined until 1960's for iron ore. 4. Previous movement, including SSNC, to protect Taberg as nature reserve during 1980's.
E) Type of minerals.	Vanadium and iron ore (magnetite)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Protect Taberg's unique nature and cultural heritage (Taberg Local History Society & SSNC Taberg Mining Guides & SSNC Jönköping Region) Protect water and groundwater. Protect local living environment for current and future generations. Society should aim for recycling of minerals and sustainable livelihoods (SSNC Jönköping Region). Strengthen local influence over extraction projects (Taberg Local History Society)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Permit processes for exploration permits are closed for movement, but state agencies will likely stop the work plans for exploration drilling due to nature protection (SSNC orgs.). There are good opportunities to affect mining project via permitting processes, this is shown by our positive experiences from resisting the Norra Kärr project (SSNC Jönköping Region). 2. Local history societies in other parts of Sweden is protesting other mining projects, networking with them is opportunity to affect legislation (Taberg Local History Society)
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. Permit process and local public (SSNC Jönköping Region). 2. State agencies in permit process and state agencies (SSNC Jönköping Region). National politicians to change legislation (Taberg Local History Society). 3. Information spreading (SSNC Jönköping Region). 4. Other organisations in SSNC in Sweden (SSNC Jönköping Region)
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process, local public arena, media and inside SSNC organisation most prominent. *Also* permit process, inside Swedish Federation of Local History Societies. **Targets:** Courts and state agencies in permit process, public, national politicians and higher levels in own federations most prominent. **Types:** Appeal, write to media, participate in seminars and policy creation in own federations. *Also* arrange public meetings, petitioning and network other anti-extraction movements. **Actors:** Taberg Local History Society; SSNC Jönköping Region; SSNC Jönköping; SSNC Taberg Mining Guides (member org. of SSNC Jönköping Region) most prominent. *Also* individuals.

Case	**Öland (2011-2016) (13)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Five exploration permits granted in 2011. Expired in 2017. Courts dismissed all appeals of permits by municipalities and movement. 2. Habitats directive areas, water protection and national interests for cultural heritage and recreation.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Municipalities appealed exploration permits – courts dismissed appeals. 2. Both affected municipalities opposed extraction and supported movement, signed petition of municipalities demanding municipal veto in 2013. General consensus against extraction projects among local and regional political parties. Parliamentary members of (S) and (C) oppose extraction project.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Gripen Gas met once with movement on Öland to persuade. Movement got support from other anti-extraction movements in 2012 via joint manifestation. SSNC Sweden and FSF Sweden demanded stricter rules for exploration/exploitation of alum shales since 2014.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Mörbylånga municipality: Increasing. Borgholm municipality: Stable. 2. Gripen Gas AB – Swedish 3. No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipality. 4. No reports of previous social movements against mineral extraction.
E) Type of minerals.	Gas (in alum shales)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Local influence over extraction projects should be strengthened via veto for municipalities against exploitation of alum shales (FSF Sydost) Local influence over extraction projects should be strengthened via vetos for municipalities and landowners (FSF Sydost & Action group Against Fossil gas extraction on Öland - AAFÖ) Water, nature and cultural heritage should be preserved for future generations on Öland. Society should aim for sustainable livelihoods, such as tourism and agriculture (FSF Sydost & AAFÖ & Swedish Society for Nature Conservation Kalmar region – SSNC Kalmar region)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1.Permit processes closed for movement. Locals, ENGOs and municipalities are not listened to. Landowners can appeal work plans (FSF Sydost & AAFÖ & SSNC Kalmar Region) Closed permit process forces mobilization in public instead (AAFÖ). 2. Public resistance affects all decision makers. The more people we mobilise, the more influence. Politicians on municipal, regional and national levels are relevant to target to stop the extraction project. Local cooperation on Öland is the best to stop the extraction project. Networking with other anti-extraction movements is not an opportunity if focus is put on issues irrelevant for Öland, such as indigenous rights and mining. The lack of an active threat of drilling constrains the efforts to mobilise (AAFÖ).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. In the local public arena to mobilise more people. Appeals should also be made in the permit process by mobilising landowners to appeal, even if appeals are unlikely to succeed (AAFÖ). 2. National politicians to change the legislation on extraction and stop the Öland-project. Politicians on all political levels should be informed. Local public on Öland should be mobilised (AAFÖ). 3. Information spreading actions should be prioritized (AAFÖ). 4. Cooperation with other local actors and landowners on Öland prioritized. National cooperation only if it doesn't harm local cooperation and is relevant (AAFÖ).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process, local public arena and media most prominent. *Also* municipal politics, national politics, inside FSF-organisation and public arena elsewhere. **Targets:** Public and courts most prominent. *Also* municipal and national politicians. **Types:** Appeal and mobilising others to appeal, writing to media, start webpage, petitioning, arranging public meetings, festivals and manifestations, network with anti-extraction movements. **Actors:** "Action group against fossil gas extraction on Öland" (AAFÖ); Federation of Swedish Farmers Sydost and Öland; Swedish Society for Nature Conservation Kalmar and Öland; Öland Water Council most prominent. *Also* Öland Ornithologist Society; Bedrock Group Kalmar/Öland; Greby village council; Columnist in Ölandsbladet; Individuals.

Case	**Billinge (2009-2019) (14)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Environmental permit applied for twice. Latest process started in 2007, application was rejected in 2019 by Supreme Court. Exploitation concession granted in 1998. 2. Adjacent with Habitats directive area and nature reserve. Area is national interest for valuable minerals.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. One advisor (rådman) in the court wished to approve the second application for environmental permit. The Court rejected the application. 2. All three affected municipalities opposed the extraction project. No political party voices support for project.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. None found.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Municipalities Eslöv, Klippan, Svalöv: all increasing. 2. Svenska Kaolin AB – Swedish 3. No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipality. 4. Previous mobilisation against same extraction project by same movement in 1990's.
E) Type of minerals.	Kaolin clay
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Nature values and waters of the local area should be preserved (BiStRö Community Council - BiStRö & Rönne River Water Council & Fishing associations) The living environment and recreational life in the area should be preserved (BiStRö Community Council & Federation of Swedish Farmers - FSF Eslöv & FSF Klippan) Agriculture in the area should be protected from negative impacts of a mine (FSF Eslöv & FSF Klippan)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. There are good chances that the Courts will rule against an environmental permit, the nature conservation values present a stronger argument then the national interest for valuable minerals (BiStRö). 2. The Land and Environment Courts can be influenced by mobilising many people to the courts' hearings. There is a good opportunity to mobilise locals as many get outraged over the mining plans when they become informed (BiStRö).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. In "democratic and legal system", action should be taken in the permit process and in the local public arena (BiStRö). 2. The courts deciding on the environmental permit (BiStRö). 3. Appeal, write statements to the courts, mobilise people to court hearings and petitioning to influence courts. 4. Movement knows of other place specific resistance groups, including Heaven or Shell, but do not cooperate with them.
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process and local public arena most prominent. *Also* private politics. **Targets:** Courts, state agencies in permit process and public. *Also* extraction company (No national politicians to change laws). **Types:** Write statements, mobilise participants to hearings, mobilise others to write statements, petitioning most prominent. *Also* arrange public meetings, hand out flyers, start webpage, arrange excursion and network with anti-extraction movements **Actors:** BiStRö Community Council (BiStRö) most prominent. *Also* Federation of Swedish Farmers Klippan (FSF Klippan); FSF Eslöv; Rönne River Water Council; Fishing Associations from Klippan, Helgingborg, Ängelholm and Sweden; Billinge village council; Individuals.

Case	**Skåne-Shell (2009-2014) (15)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. Two exploration permits granted – expired 2011. Drilling in three municipalities. Courts & CAB dismissed appeals of exploration permits and work plans. 2. Several Habitats areas and national interests for nature conservation and cultural heritage. Drill sites did not overlap with nature protection.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. Two municipalities appealed the permits for drilling, all appeals were dismissed by CAB and Courts. 2. Tomelilla and Hörby municipalities against explorations with general consensus among political parties against extraction project. Political majority in Sjöbo neutral to project. (C) in Tomelilla supported movement. Individual members of all parties in parliament against extraction project. Opposition in parliament (S, V, Mp) against fossil gas extraction in Skåne. Government (right-wing) against movement's demand for municipal veto in Mineral Law.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Shell argued against movement's claims in media. Academics from Lund university questioned movement's claims about risks. Support from other anti-extraction movements 2012 – joint manifestation.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Municipalities Tomelilla, Sjöbo, Hörby: All increasing. 2. Shell exploration and production AB – Swedish with foreign mother (Dutch) 3 No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipalities. 4. Mobilisation against uranium and mining project in 70's and 90's- included several participants of current movement.
E) Type of minerals.	Gas (in alum shales)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Local influence over extraction of fossil fuels should be strengthened – e.g. via veto for municipalities (HoS & SSNC Sweden & WWF Sweden & FSF Skåne & HOAS) Landowners rights to property should be protected (HoS & FSF Skåne & HOAS) Protect traditional land-use, landscape and cultural heritage in Skåne (HoS & FSF Skåne) Protect groundwater and nature in Skåne (HoS & FSF Skåne & HOAS) Protect climate from emissions from fossil fuels (HoS & SSNC Sweden & WWF Sweden & Greenpeace Sweden) Protect health and living environment of locals (HoS)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Processes under the Mineral Law are closed for movement. Landowners, locals and municipalities are deprived of influence over exploration permits (HoS & SSNC Tomelilla). 2. Best opportunity for lasting change is to change the Mineral Law via parliament. National politicians' general unawareness of problems with Mineral Law constrains legal change. Support to movement from several member of parliament from Skåne and local politicians create opportunity to make legal change election issue. Election years increase opportunity to influence national politicians. Support from locals is opportunity to strengthen movement's claims – politicians will adjust if public opinion is strong enough. Municipalities can influence national politicians and is opportunity to reach legal change (HoS).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. Local public arena in Skåne, media, permit processes, municipal and national politics (HoS). 2. National politicians, public in Skåne, municipalities and municipal politicians, state agencies in permit processes (HoS). 3. Spreading information to public and politicians about risks and public opinion, public manifestations for mobilisation and media coverage, appeal, lobby politicians (HoS). 4. Resistance should be structured association. Build local alliances in Skåne, e.g. with landowners, FSF, SNCC, HOA. Build national alliances with ENGOs. Do not cooperate with national anti-extraction movement if campaign only focus on mining and not on gas (HoS).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit process, local public arena, national politics and media most prominent. *Also* municipal politics, EU-politics, public arena elsewhere and inside FSF- and SSNC-networks. **Targets:** State agencies in permit process, national politicians, public and extraction company most prominent. *Also* EU-politicians, municipality and municipal politics. **Types:** Appeal, mobilise others to appeal/write letters, write to media, petitioning, arrange public meetings and manifestations, lobbying and surveying politicians most prominent. *Also* network other anti-extraction movements, anti-uranium movements and European anti-fracking movements, start webpages, hand out flyers, arrange festival and movie screenings. **Actors:** Heaven or sHell (HoS) and individuals most prominent. *Also* FSF Skåne; SSNC Tomelilla; SSNC Skåne; SSNC Sweden; Greenpeace Sweden; WWF Sweden; Houseowners Association South (HOAS); Hedeberga village council; Spjutstorp village council.

Case	**Skåne-Scandivanadium (2018-2019) (16)**
A) Openness/Closure of institutional system 1. Permit process stage and evolvement. 2. Interlinking institutions.	1. 11 exploration permits active. Courts dismissed all appeals of permits by movement, municipalities and CAB. Drilling have occurred on one site. 2. Several Habitats areas and national interests for nature conservation and cultural heritage.
B) Polity elites and other actors 1. Conflicts polity elites 2. Support/Opposition from polity elites (incl. repression).	1. CAB and four municipalities appealed exploration permits. Courts dismissed all appeals. 2. Municipalities & Region against extraction – demand veto. General consensus among local and regional political parties against extraction project. Parliament members of (MP), (KD), (M), (S) and (V) support movement. "January deal" for Gov. in 2019, supported stricter rules on extraction from alum shales.
C) Other actors 1. Support/Opposition from other actors, incl. project owners.	1. Support from other anti-extraction movements 2019, joint manifestation/media opinion. SSNC Sweden and FSF Sweden demanded stricter rules for exploration/ exploitation of alum shales since 2014. Scandivanadium, academics, mining industry organisation and Southern Chamber of Commerce argued against movement in media. Scandivanadium met with movement actors.
D) Soc-Pol factors mining 1. Population development. 2. Ownership of project. 3. History of extraction. 4. History of mobilisation.	1. Municipalities Tomelilla, Ystad, Eslöv, Hörby: All increasing. Simrishamn municipality: Stable. 2. Scandivanadium Ltd. – foreign (Australian) 3. No reports of historic or ongoing mineral extraction in municipalities. 4. Included several central participants from previous case Skåne-Shell
E) Type of minerals.	Vanadium (in alum shales)
F) Goals of movement (Frame component)	Strengthened locals via veto for municipalities, landowners, regions and indigenous people (VN & LAM) Protect landowners' rights to property via veto for property owners (FSF Skåne & HOAS). Protect agriculture and food production in Skåne – for Sweden's national interest. Protect landscape, groundwater, nature and cultural heritage in Skåne. Protect health and living environment for current and future locals. Society should aim for "green businesses", such as tourism, agriculture and forestry. Society should aim for increased recycling of mineral. (VN & LAM & FSF Skåne)
G) Interpretations of opportunities/constraints in soc-pol context (Frame component) 1. Interpretations of opp./cons. in institutional context. 2. Interpretations of opportunities/constraints among polity elites and other actors.	1. Processes for exploration permits are closed for movement. Locals are deprived of influence (VN & FSF Skåne). Appeals are opportunity to mobilise and fuel anger in resistance. Resistance must find other ways beyond closed permit process (VN). 2. Municipalities support movement – important to strengthen movement (VN & LAM & FSF Skåne). Public opinion raising is opportunity to stop the mining project – easier now due to previous local mobilisations against explorations. Best opportunity for lasting change is to change the Mineral Law. Dialogue with unscrupulous mining companies is no opportunity. A national network between SSNC, FSF and geologists is opportunity for movement to learn (VN). Sweden's ban of uranium exploitation in 2018 opened opportunity to push for a ban of all exploration and exploitation of alum shales (VN & FSF Skåne).
H) Movement's action strategies (Frame component) 1 .Considerations regarding action arena. 2. Considerations regarding targets. 3. Considerations regarding types of actions. 4.Considerations regarding actors to ally with.	1. National politics, local public arena in Skåne, permit processes, municipal politics (VN & LAM & FSF Skåne). 2. National and municipal politicians, state agencies in permit processes, public in Skåne (VN & LAM & FSF Skåne). 3. Lobby politicians, appeal, information spreading of opinions, risks and rights via e.g. public meetings (VN & FSF Skåne). Public manifestations and disruption of exploration via e.g. physical obstacles (VN). 4. Movement should seek cooperation with SSNC and FSF nationally (VN). Support landowners in permit processes (VN & FSF Skåne).
I) Arenas, Targets, Types and Actors in actions most prominent taken by movement (Aspects of actions)	**Arenas:** Permit processes, national politics, local public arena and media most prominent. *Also* private politics, municipal politics, regional politics, inside FSF-organisation and public arena elsewhere. **Targets:** Courts and state agencies in permit processes, national politicians, public and extraction company & investors most prominent. *Also* municipal and regional politicians and countermovement. **Types:** Appeals, mobilise others to appeal and write letters, writing statements/letters, lobbying/meeting, petitioning, arrange public meetings, public manifestations, write to media and start webpage most prominent. *Also* religious acts, network FSF/other anti-extraction movements/national ENGOs/academics. **Actors:** The network "Veto Now" (VN); FSF Skåne and Individuals most prominent. *Also* Mariavall Nunnery, FSF Sweden; local FSF-associations; Bollerup Agricultural Institute; Lyby Against Mines (LAM); Swedish Houseowners' Ass. South (HOAS); local village councils; local companies; Swedish Church congregations; Local History and Culture Societies; Columnists in local media; environmental lawyer (GBH); Academics.

List of abbreviations:

RHC = Reindeer Herding Community (Collective Sami actor with reindeer herding rights in area)

SSNC = Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (Naturskyddsföreningen, Environmental non-governmental organisation, organised in local, regional, national levels)

FSF = Federation of Swedish Farmers (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund, non-governmental organisation, organised in local, regional, national levels)

CAB = County Administrative Board (regional state agency steered by government)

SEPA = Swedish Environmental Protection Agency

MI = Mining inspectorate of Sweden (national state agency steered by government)

ENGO = Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation (e.g. Greenpeace, WWF etc.)

FPIC = indigenous rights principle of “Free, Prior and Informed Consent”

Political party abbreviations:

(M) = Conservative party

(KD) = Christian democrats

(SD) = Sweden democrats

(L) = Liberal party

(C) = Centre party

(MP) = Green Party

(S) = Social democrats

(V) = Left party

Other parties within parentheses = parties specific for municipal/regional level.

Guide to data in study

Active time of movement is counted from the first resistance action against a specific extraction project occurs until the last actions stated to relate to the specific extraction project occurs.

Data collection

The search string used to identify cases via the Retriever Media Database read: ”(gruv* AND protest*) OR (gruv* AND motstånd*) OR (gruv* AND överklag*) OR (gruv* AND konflikt*) OR (gruv* AND aktivis*) OR (provborr* AND protest*) OR (provborr* AND motstånd*) OR (provborr* AND överklag*) OR (provborr* AND konflikt*) OR (provborr* AND aktivis*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND protest*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND motstånd*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND överklag*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND konflikt*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND aktivis*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND protest*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND motstånd*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND överklag*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND konflikt*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND aktivis*) OR (minerallag* AND protest*) OR (minerallag* AND motstånd*) OR (minerallag* AND överklag*) OR (minerallag* AND konflikt*) OR (minerallag* AND aktivis*) OR (mineralpoli* AND protest*) OR (mineralpoli* AND motstånd*) OR (mineralpoli* AND överklag*) OR (mineralpoli* AND konflikt*) OR (mineralpoli* AND aktivis*) OR (täkt* AND protest*) OR (täkt* AND motstånd*) OR (täkt* AND överklag*) OR (täkt* AND konflikt*) OR (täkt* AND aktivis*)”

Criteria for coding category D1) Population development

Decreasing population = population in municipality has decreased by 3 % or more in last decade.

Stable population = population in municipality has changed between – 3 % to + 3 % in last decade.

Increasing population = population in municipality has increased by 3 % of more in last decade.

Criteria for coding category I) Action aspects

The categories concerning action aspects were *not* treated as mutually exclusive, an event could thus be counted as more than one category. For example: a public meeting arranged by a movement invited both local public and municipal politicians. The event was then coded as part of both “municipal political arena” and “local public arena”, coded as targeting both “the public” and “municipal politicians” and coded as both “arrange public meeting” and “lobbying” in Types.

Arenas

Permit process – include actions taken in permit processes related to extraction project, e.g. writing of statements to state agencies, appeals or participation in meetings arranged as part of the permit process.

Municipal/Regional/National political arena – include contacts with political representatives on different levels. For example via lobbying, invitation to meetings or writing of letters.

Supranational political arena – include contacts with actors on supranational levels, such as UN-bodies or actors on EU level. For example via lobbying, invitation to meetings or writing of letters.

Indigenous political arena – include contacts with political representatives in Sami parliament in Sweden. For example via lobbying, invitation to meetings or writing of letters.

Private politics – include contacts with extraction company, investors or other market actors. For example via lobbying, invitation to meetings or writing of letters.

Media – include media appearances initiated by movement actors, e.g. writing of opinion pieced in newspapers or press releases. The category does not include news reports written about the movement.

Local public arena – include actions taken publically in the same municipalities as place-specific movement is active. For example public manifestations or publicly open meetings.

Public arena elsewhere – include actions taken publically on sights outside the municipalities where the movement is active as well as public internet actions that reach beyond local arena. For example public manifestations, publicly open meetings, internet petitions & starting of webpages.

Targets

State agencies/Courts/Government in permit processes: include actions aimed at authorities relating to the extraction project, e.g. CABs, MI, Courts. For example via appealing, opinion pieces in media or petitions aimed at authority.

Municipality (as entity): include actions aimed at municipality as a whole. For example via opinion pieces in media, lobbying of municipal officials or petitions aimed at municipality.

Municipal/Regional/National politicians: include actions aimed at political representatives on different levels. For example opinion pieces in media, lobbying, public manifestations or letters aimed at political representatives.

Supranational actors: include actions aimed at supranational actors, such as UN-bodies or actors on EU-level. For example via reporting violations of international conventions or lobbying aimed at supranational actor.

Indigenous politicians: include actions aimed at the Sami parliament its political representatives. For example lobbying, opinion pieces in media or public manifestations aimed at Sami parliament and its political representatives.

Extraction company & Investors: include actions aimed at the extraction company or its investors. For example lobbying, opinion pieces in media or public manifestations aimed at company or investors.

Public: include actions aimed at the public, without specifying level. For example opinion pieces in media, public meetings, petitions or public manifestations.

Countermovement: include actions aimed at other individual or organisations that oppose the movement. For example opinion pieces in media, public manifestations or writing of letters.

Types

Appeal: include appeals in permit processes, e.g. in relation to exploration permits, exploitation concessions or environmental permits.

Write statements/Letters: include writing of statements/letters to e.g. state agencies, politicians, company and investors.

Mobilise others to appeal: include actions taken to encourage others (often individuals) to appeal in permit processes.

Mobilise other to write statements/letters: include actions taken to encourage others (often individuals) to write statements/letters in e.g. permit processes or in relation to political representatives.

Lobbying/Meeting: include direct contacts with decision-makers. For example contacts with politicians, state agencies or extraction companies.

Arrange public meeting/festival/exhibition: include meetings open to the public with aim of promoting movement's goals.

Arrange excursion/site visit: include visits to the planned site for mineral extraction together with public or decision-makers.

Participate in seminar/conference: include attendance at seminars and conferences arranged by other actors, with aim of promoting movement's goals.

Public manifestation: include participation in protest events taken in public space. E.g. protest marches or lighting of beacons.

Petitioning: include campaigns to collect signatures from the public with aim of promoting movement's goals.

Start webpage: include start-up of internet platforms such as social media pages or webpages. General posts on platforms are viewed as internal movement activity and are not included as actions.

Write to media: include writing of media opinions and press releases.

Network with other anti-extraction movement: include occurrences when place-specific movement have collaborated with other anti-extraction movements in Sweden. E.g. via joint manifestations in Stockholm or via joint media opinions.

Network in SSNC/FSF/Federation of local history societies: include occurrences when place-specific movement have collaborated with organisations part of larger networks, such as SSNC or FSF.

Actors

In order to be counted as part of movement the actors must have stated the goal of opposing the specific extraction project or as being part of the place-specific movement. For example this means that invited lecturers, journalists and consultants are generally not counted as part of the movement if they do not state to oppose project or to be part of place-specific movement.

Empirical sources

The following section present a selection of central empirical source documents supporting observations in Appendix 1.

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II

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Banging on Closed Doors or Beating the Drum? Social Movements' Interpretations of Opportunities in Legal Appeal Processes

Daniel Fjellborg

Unit of Political Science, Luleå University of Technology, Luleå, Sweden

ABSTRACT

Social movements and interest groups in Europe are increasingly using litigation as a form of legal mobilization in their campaigns. Current literature often depicts this as a result of favourable opportunities in movements' legal contexts, with activists responding to rising prospects of legal success. This comparative study of fifteen cases of mobilizations against mineral exploration projects in Sweden explores a puzzle in relation to this view: Why do movements frequently litigate even when the prospects of legal success seem non-existent? Using frame analysis within a multi-institutional politics (MIP) approach, this study explores how movements interpret opportunities in appeal processes linked to mineral exploration projects. While confirming that the prospect of legal success is a relevant motivator in several cases, the results also indicate that some movements interpret the court as a democratic arena, presenting opportunities to mobilize adherents and signal popular resistance to policy makers and extractive companies. These diverging interpretations of the court are tentatively connected to organizational needs for mobilizing adherents, previous experiences of litigating and available institutional logics in society. Building upon the MIP approach, this study introduces the idea that the democratic understanding of the appeal process signifies a 'creative infringement'. A democratic institutional logic is imported into the court, an arena typically dominated by an institutional legal-bureaucratic logic. Movements' increasing use of litigation may thus be driven not only by goals of legal success, but also by creative reinterpretations of legal processes as arenas in which goals of popular participation and democracy may be achieved.

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1. Introduction

In 2018, the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden granted a mineral exploration company eleven exploration permits in the region of Scania (Skåne) in southern Sweden. The exploration of a mineral deposit is a first step towards establishing a new mine, and the legal requirements for being granted an exploration permit are easily met by most companies. Permitting takes little consideration of other local interests, so appeals of permits are typically rejected by the courts with reference to the Minerals Act

CONTACT Daniel Fjellborg daniel.fjellborg@ltu.se Unit of Political Science, Luleå University of Technology, Luleå 971 87, Sweden

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(Bäckström, 2015; Raitio et al., 2020). Nonetheless, within a few weeks, 546 appeals were sent to the local Administrative Court in response to the eleven permits granted in Scania. The appeals were coordinated and encouraged by organizations in a local anti-extraction movement. A few years prior and a few hundred kilometres north, similar permits were granted for a site near Lake Vättern. In this case, however, the highly active local anti-extraction movement chose not to pursue litigation in relation to the exploration permits (Fjellborg et al., 2022). How can social movement research make sense of such diverging actions in the same jurisdiction? Why do some activists bang on the court's closed door when legal defeat seems inevitable?

These questions concern a larger ongoing challenge in the study of social movement strategy, namely, how to make sense of the connection between institutional structures and movement agency (Doherty & Hayes, 2019). Research indicates that litigation, as a form of legal mobilization, i.e. actors' 'use of law in an explicit, self-conscious way through the invocation of a formal institutional mechanism' (Lehoucq & Taylor, 2020, p. 186), is on the rise as a strategy used by interest groups and social movements in Europe (Hofmann & Naurin, 2020). A common framework for understanding structural influences on legal mobilization is the legal opportunity structure (LOS) approach (Hilson, 2002; Vanhala, 2012). Based on empirical studies, the LOS approach expects legal mobilization to rise when regulation and judicial processes favour movements' prospects of achieving legal success (Boutcher & McCammon, 2019). However, LOS approaches have difficulty explaining why movements in the same jurisdiction make different uses of litigation and why litigation is pursued when prospects of legal success are poor (Vanhala, 2018), such as in the Scania and Lake Vättern cases. To address these contradictions, several researchers have noted the importance of investigating how movements understand their own goals and institutional contexts and how this sense-making relates to actions taken (Doherty & Hayes, 2019). Previous empirical studies of activists' understandings of court processes have, however, often lacked analytical tools grounded in broader interpretivist theory (e.g. Doherty & Hayes, 2014; NeJaime, 2011; Vanhala, 2012), thus creating learning difficulties across studies and research fields. Inspired by interpretive policy analysis (Rein & Schön, 1996), I use frame analysis to investigate how movements' action choices connect with their understandings of the institutional context. The dual function of frames – to help actors make sense of their situation and to bias them in favour of certain actions in relation to this sense-making (Perri 6, 2005) – makes the concept especially suitable for studies of how movements' interpretations relate to their actions. I position my analysis within the multi-institutional politics (MIP) approach (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008), which emphasizes the investigation of activists' interpretations and goals. Furthermore, the MIP approach understands power as dispersed across different institutions and cultures in society (e.g. state bureaucracy and democracy) and suggests that 'contradictions among institutions may provide opportunities' (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008, p. 87) for social movements to make varying interpretations of the same situation. This suggestion forms the basis of my concluding discussion concerning the social viability of different interpretations of the legal appeal processes, a discussion often lacking in studies of movements' interpretations of contextual opportunities.

The aim of this paper is to investigate how anti-extraction movements' interpretations of the arena constituted by the exploration permit process relate to their use of legal

mobilization. The arena concept is borrowed from Jasper (2015) and understood as the place where conflicts between actors occur and can be observed by audiences. The arenas studied here are appeal processes in the Swedish Administrative Courts. In fulfilling its aim, the study advances our understanding of the motivations behind legal mobilization. The study also contributes theoretically by bringing together frame analysis (Rein & Schön, 1996) and the MIP approach (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008). In this amalgamation, multi-institutional theory is introduced into the former as a way of exploring the institutional grounding of diverging interpretations, and a rigorous analysis of interpretations is introduced into the latter.

The paper continues by presenting theoretical debates about legal structures and movement litigation before introducing frame analysis and describing anti-extraction mobilization in Sweden. This is followed by a discussion of the methods and data, and the results of the qualitative comparative study, ending in a synthesizing discussion that introduces the concept of 'creative infringement' as a way of understanding the multi-institutional grounding of different frames.

2. Law and movement action

This study uses the MIP approach (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008), which views society as 'composed of multiple and often contradictory institutions' (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008, p. 82). The approach describes contemporary Western society as including such institutions as the legal-bureaucratic state, the nuclear family, religious systems, democracy, and the capitalist market. An institution comprises rules, whether informal norms or formal regulations, operating according to a social logic, i.e. a set of practices and symbolic constructions (Friedland & Alford, 1991). The dominant logic of the legal-bureaucratic state could be described as 'rationalisation and the regulation of human activity by legal and bureaucratic hierarchies', while the logic of democracy could be described as 'participation and the extension of popular control over human activity' (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248). The conceptualization of societal power as dispersed across several parallel institutions presents multiple targets and footholds for activists and creates difficulty for researchers in a priori deducing what goals motivate movements' current actions in their campaigns for societal change. In relation to this study, an MIP approach suggests that the studied appeal processes should be understood as the potential intersection of several institutions and power relations, investigations of activists' goals and their interpretations of institutional contexts are crucial for understanding their use of legal mobilization.

Another approach to analysing the relationship between legal institutions and legal mobilization is the LOS approach, which generally pays less attention to the goals and interpretations of activists. Instead, it typically assumes that movements litigate in order to achieve legal success by winning cases in court (Hilson, 2002; Vanhala, 2012). Changes to the legal context that result in increased chances of legal success for movements are therefore expected to increase the likelihood of litigation. Hilson (2002) argues that a favourable LOS for movements occurs if: 1) activists are granted access to court processes via legal standing and funding from the state; and 2) judicial actors, such as judges, are receptive to movements' arguments. If the legal arena does not have these two features, legal opportunities are assumed to be lower for movements, leading to

expectations of less litigation. In an empirical study, Hilson (2002) indeed finds that movements tend to turn away from litigation when the LOS is unfavourable. Some studies have made similar observations in other settings (Boutcher & McCammon, 2019). Other studies have, however, been unable to establish a link between LOS and litigation (Vanhala, 2018). Current research thus indicates that movements' prospects of legal success influence their choice of litigating in some, but not all, cases.

Some studies of the connection between the legal context and litigation by movements have used a starting point like that of MIP scholars and examined how activists may use legal mobilization to achieve a variety of goals. This especially occurs in the legal mobilization perspective, a literature emphasising not only the outcomes of direct legal success, but also the indirect effects litigation may bring for movements, such as consciousness raising and mobilization (Cummings, 2017; Levitsky, 2015; McCann, 1994). In his study of the LGBT rights and Christian Right movements, NeJaime (2011) shows that other motivations beyond legal success induced litigation in the cases studied. Litigation was understood by the movements as an opportunity to strengthen organizational identities, mobilize movement participants to take action outside the legal arena, and highlight the need for legal change to decision-makers and the public. Doherty and Hayes (2014) make similar observations in their study of illegal 'crop trashing' by movements mobilizing against the use of genetically modified organisms. By comparing the responses of 'crop trashers' to prosecution in France, England, and Scotland, the authors show that the chosen strategies directly contradict the expectations of LOS models. In France, where the risk of conviction is high, activists adopt an overt form of crop trashing, resulting in arrests. In England, on the other hand, a covert form is adopted, thereby avoiding arrest, even though the risk of conviction is lower in the English jurisdiction. Doherty and Hayes (2014) connect these puzzling strategic choices to differences in movement traditions in British and French political history. The studied French activists arguably honour a republican tradition, in which court trials are interpreted as an opportunity to gain publicity, demonstrate cause commitment, and increase solidarity and mobilization in the movement. These studies indicate that litigation may be just as much about publicly manifesting discontent and beating the mobilizing drum as it is about gaining legal victories. Similar arguments are made for the individual level in the social psychological literature. Which argues that activists' engagement in movements should be understood as driven by desires to express one's views and identification with movement groups, as well as by a desire to influence society (Klandermans, 2015).

Following the reasoning of the MIP approach and legal mobilization literature, this paper takes the position that movements' goals merit empirical investigation. Although some earlier studies of litigation have directly engaged with activists' interpretations of goals and contexts, they have often done so without an analytical tool originating in broader interpretivist theory. This is also the case for several studies in the MIP approach (e.g. Gürbüz & Bernstein, 2012; McMillan & Bernstein, 2021). I argue that the use of a theoretically grounded tool would facilitate knowledge exchange with interpretive scholars in neighbouring fields, as well as admit rigorous discussions of the social origins of diverging interpretations, something often missing in studies of interpretation. To achieve this, I turn to the frame concept.

3. Frames

Across many fields in the social sciences, frames have been used as theoretical constructs to capture actors' meaning-making (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Dewulf et al., 2009). Here I follow Rein and Schön (1996, 1994), two prominent frame analysts in policy analysis, and conceptualize frames as socially constructed at the group level. I define frames as 'strong and generic narratives that guide both analysis and action in practical situations. Such narratives are diagnostic/prescriptive stories that tell, within a given issue terrain, what needs fixing and how it might be fixed' (Rein & Schön, 1996, p. 89). The frame concept incorporates the functions of both situational sense-making (diagnosis) and biasing for action (prescription) (Perri 6, 2005), and is therefore suitable for studying the role of interpretation in relation to action choices. The expectation is that diagnosis corresponds with prescription, in turn shaping the actions of movement actors. In this study, the frame concept comprises three components: movements' interpretations of goals (diagnosis), movements' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints (diagnosis), and movements' action strategies (prescription).

In social movement studies, research has notably explored the construction and impact of *collective action frames* (Snow et al., 2019). Much research on collective action frames has viewed these as intentionally constructed by activists to mobilize supporters of movement campaigns (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014). As I set out to explore how movements' use of litigation relate to their sense-making of the court arena, Rein and Schön's version of frame analysis is more suitable for this study as it opens for the study of both intentional and unintentional interpretations of situations.

A challenge in much frame research has been to show that there can be different interpretations of a given situation, but that the number of viable interpretations is not infinite (Perri 6, 2005). In answer to this challenge, Schön and Rein (1994, p. 29) argue that different frames are 'grounded in the institutions that sponsor them'. Building on this, I argue that the MIP approach's description of movements as relating to multiple institutions in society creates a useful analytical basis for understanding how activists construct different interpretations of the same situation by drawing on different societal institutions. As I will show in the discussion section, an interpretation grounded in the institutional logic of the legal-bureaucratic state creates different strategies and actions from those of a frame grounded in the institutional logic of democracy. Both frames may, however, be viable due to their resonance with socially endorsed institutions.

4. Mineral exploration and resistance in Sweden

Extraction projects, especially new ones, are facing resistance in Europe (Kivinen et al., 2020). Sweden, a country with a large mining sector, has seen increasing levels of mobilization against mineral extraction in the last decade, however, the possibility of influencing state policy by mobilizing mining-sceptical claims has simultaneously been low (Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019). In the last decade, place-specific anti-extraction movements, i.e. resistance networks mobilizing against specific mineral or gas extraction projects, have emerged. These movements are typically coalitions of environmental organizations and new local resistance networks acting in some coordination with Sami indigenous organizations (in northern Sweden), or landowners and

farmers' organizations (in southern Sweden). Resistance have taken many forms, including public demonstrations, corporate and political lobbying across different scales, and legal actions (Fjellborg et al., 2022).

In the Swedish permitting processes, a typical extraction project moves through five steps before the extraction can start: exploration permit, concession permit, environmental permit, expropriation of land, and permits for associated infrastructure (Raitio et al., 2020). Here, I explore movements' actions in the exploration permit process, a step that is particularly 'closed' to legal success from the LOS perspective (Bäckström, 2015; Raitio et al., 2020). Actors having legal standing in the exploration permit process are landowners and actors holding other rights tied to the land in question (e.g. reindeer husbandry rights). Environmental organizations and the public are not granted standing in the exploration permit process (SOU, 2012:73). Exploration permits may be appealed to the Administrative Courts (Minerals Act, 16 chapter, 1 §), and there are no costs for appealing decisions of state authorities (Courts of Sweden, 2020). Judicial receptivity to opposing claims is very low, as the Minerals Act states that exploration permits *shall* be granted if there is reason to suspect that concession minerals can be found, subject to the condition that the applicant is not *obviously unfit* to perform explorations (Minerals Act, 2 chapter, 2 §). Judicial precedent indicates that appeals will be refused by the courts (Administrative Court of Appeals in Sundsvall, 2008 2010). Appeal processes do not delay exploration, as permits gain legal force without awaiting appeal process verdicts (Minerals Act 2 Ch. 5 §). The prospect of legal success in appealing exploration permits is extremely limited.

In line with my aim of investigating how anti-extraction movements' interpretations of the exploration permit process relate to their choices of litigation strategies, I ask two research questions:

(1) What actions have anti-extraction movements in Sweden taken in relation to the exploration permit process?
(2) How do anti-extraction movements frame the court arena associated with the exploration permit process?

5. Methods and data

Movements were studied for the period from 16 August 2009 to 16 August 2019, as mining resistance was increasingly active in Sweden at this time (Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019). Three criteria were used to identify a place-specific anti-extraction movement: 1) a network of activists communicating a shared 'we'; 2) this network having a main goal of opposing at least one mineral extraction project with an active exploration permit process; and 3) actions taken by activists outside the political system (e.g. public demonstrations, petitions, and protest meetings). Fifteen cases were identified via media reports and included in the study, creating an exhaustive case selection for the period (see Appendix 1 for an overview of cases, actions, and empirical sources).

I answered the research questions using document analysis. The data consist of: Swedish media reports from the print press and public service media (collected from the database Retriever.se), public documentation from permit processes, and publicly available documents created by organizations in the place-specific movements (e.g.

newsletters and websites). The case data vary in extent, but average 409 documents per case. Each case was examined starting from the date that the Mining Inspectorate granted an exploration permit until the end of the appeal process. The study was designed as a multiple-case study to map and compare how movements frame and act in relation to permit processes.

The first question, about actions taken, was answered by analysing appeals and court verdicts collected from the Mining Inspectorate and Administrative Courts, as well as reports on other movement actions related to the appeals. The numbers and types of actions and the actors taking action were explored. To answer the second question, about interpretations, movements' frames were reconstructed based on direct statements by movement actors, such as media quotations and texts produced by activists. Three operational questions guided the coding: What goals motivated the movements' actions in the permit process? What opportunities and constraints did movement actors report seeing in the permit process? What strategies did movement actors plan in relation to the permit process? I delimited individual frames by assessing the interpretations they promoted of the permit process. A frame was identified if actors presented a diagnosis of the court arena that they related to a unique prescriptive suggestion for action. Note that the quantity of data available for frame reconstruction varied between cases. Few reports about movement actors' views of the permit process were found in the Kvarntorp-Latorp case, and no reports were found in the Oviken, Laver, and Gävle-Storsjön cases. These cases are still included in the presentation of results, based on the information on their legal actions. While frame reconstruction based on publicly available documents enabled a broad inclusion of cases it also created analytical limitations. Organizations' public statements may do not comprehensively represent the group's reasoning regarding legal mobilization. Due to these limitations the results should be read with some care, even though document analysis in most cases facilitated sufficient material for frame reconstruction.

After the movements' frames and related actions are examined, I present a comparative analysis of all cases. Due to comparative analysis of an exhaustive selection of cases the study downplays the investigation of the temporal dimension in favour of cross-case comparison. I return to this limitation in the discussion of results.

6. Results

6.1. What actions have anti-extraction movements in Sweden taken in relation to the exploration permit process? (Research Question 1)

Appeals were launched in thirteen of the fifteen cases. In seven cases, permits were appealed all the way to the Supreme Administrative Court by organizations or individuals. In line with judicial practices related to the Minerals Act, the courts rejected all appeals. Based on differences in actions, I separate the anti-extraction movements into three groups (see Table 1). Group A comprises three cases involving the least legal activity, i.e. no organized appeals occurred. This was evident either via no reports of coordinated appeal action – i.e. landowners only appealed permits as individuals (in the Norra Kärr-Motala Bay case) – or no appeals at all (in the Laver and Gävle-Storsjön cases).

Table 1. Place-specific anti-extraction movements grouped by forms of action in relation to the exploration permit process. Case names within parentheses indicate limited quantity of data for frame reconstruction. Abbreviations: SSNC = Swedish Society for Nature Conservation, FSF = Federation of Swedish Farmers, RHC = Sami Reindeer-Herding Community.

		A. Movements without coordinated action in appeals	B. Movements with appeals by organizations	C. Movements with appeals by organizations and coordinated public appeal campaigns
Cases (named after project location)		Norra Kärr-Motala Bay, (Laver), (Gävle-Storsjön)	Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni, Kallak/Gállok, Rönnbäck, Bricka, Öland, Taberg, Skåne-Shell	Dalsland, Unden, Skåne-Scandivanadium, (Oviken), (Kvarntorp-Latorp)
Anti-extraction movement frames	Interpretations of goals	Legal success [Frame 1]	Legal success [Frames 1 and 2]	Legal success [Frames 1 and 2] Mobilization and signalling of popular resistance [Frame 3]
	Interpretations of legal context	Constraint: The permit process is closed to legal success [Frame 1]	Constraint: The permit process is closed to legal success [Frame 1] Opportunity: Judicial practices in the permit process are uncertain [Frame 2]	Constraint: The permit process is closed to legal success [Frame 1] Opportunity: Legal practices in the permit process are uncertain [Frame 2] Opportunity: The permit process is a democratic arena [Frame 3]
	Action strategies in relation to permit process	Actions should be taken elsewhere [Frame 1]	Actions should be taken elsewhere [Frame 1] Legal actions should be taken to set new judicial precedence [Frame 2]	Actions should be taken elsewhere [Frame 1] Legal actions should be taken to set new judicial precedence [Frame 2] Legal actions should be taken in large numbers [Frame 3]
Anti-extraction movement's actions in relation to the exploration permit process		Actions: No coordinated actions in relation to appeals	Actions: Permits appealed by organizations in the anti-extraction movements Actors: Sami organizations and RHCs, SSNC chapters, Homeowners Association, local water associations	Actions: Permits appealed by organizations in the anti-extraction movements; organizations also campaigned to encourage public and landowners to appeal in large numbers Actors: Newly formed resistance networks, SSNC chapters, FSF chapters, religious assemblies, local water and fishing associations, local history societies, local companies, coordinated landowners

Group B consists of seven cases in which organizations appealed exploration permits as formal organizations, with the number of appeals ranging from one (in the Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni case) to twenty-five (in the Öland case). Group B includes three cases in which Sami indigenous organizations were involved (i.e., the Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni, Kallak/Gállok, and Rönnbäck cases). Sami reindeer-herding communities (RHCs, i.e. indigenous organizations with rights to land for reindeer husbandry) appealed permits in

these three cases. Permits in the Rönnbäck case were also appealed by another Sami organization claiming to have land use rights in the area.

Group C comprises the five cases with the most legal activity, due to coordinated public appeal campaigns. The number of appeals in this group ranged from thirty-six (in the Oviken case) to 601 (in the Skåne-Scandivanadium case). The appeal campaigns encouraged landowners or the public to appeal exploration permits in as large numbers as possible, and campaigns were typically implemented by spreading standardized templates for appeals. In four of these cases, appeal campaigns were initiated by organizations, particularly by newly formed place-specific resistance networks: Veto Now (in the Skåne-Scandivanadium case), Mining Struggle Dalsland (in the Dalsland case), We Burn For Lake Unden (in the Unden case), and Protect the Shales (in the Kvarntorp-Latorp case). These campaigns were sometimes coordinate with local chapters of the Federation of Swedish Farmers (FSF). In the fifth case (Oviken), the appeal campaign was initiated by one of the affected municipalities. Different mixes of organizations and individuals appealed the permits in Group C. Local chapters of the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC) were active in several cases and appealed permits in three cases. One of these cases (Dalsland) is in Group C, whereas the other two (Taberg and Öland) are in Group B.

6.2. How do anti-extraction movements frame the court arena associated with the exploration permit process? (Research Question 2)

Based on document analysis, I reconstructed three frames reflecting different ways that movements interpret the exploration permit process (see Table 1).

Frame 1: Goal of litigation is legal success – permit process is closed to legal success – so action should be taken elsewhere

This generic narrative of the permit process was present in all three groups of cases. Frame 1 emphasizes legal success as the goal of movement action in the permit process, but success is seen as unlikely due to the setup of Swedish mineral legislation (diagnosis). Movements should therefore avoid litigation in favour of other strategies (prescription). In the Norra Kärr-Motala Bay case in Group A, one leader of the resistance network Action Save Vättern diagnosed the permit process as:

> Today's legislation is very weak. The Mining Inspectorate can grant exploration permits without any environmental impact assessment. And now it concerns a large source of drinking water [i.e. Lake Vättern], it's horrible.
>
> *(quoted by Jönsson, 2013-03–23, author's translation).*

The interpretation of low prospects of legal success in appealing the permitting processes related to action using other arenas. In this case, the movements turned to political campaigns to change legislation. In a debate article, leaders of Action Save Vättern and a regional chapter of SSNC wrote:

> Since the Minerals Act has been granted such a strong position and is given precedence in relation to the Environmental Code, we cannot wait for verdicts from the courts. We must make sure that this important issue reaches the political agenda.
>
> *(Thernsjö & Eriksson, 2014-10-01, author's translation)*

Frame 1 was also evident in at least two cases in Group B: Öland and Skåne-Shell. A leader of the network Action Group Against Fossil Gas Extraction on Öland (AAFÖ) stated in an interview:

> Unfortunately, the Minerals Act is formulated in such a way that the Mining Inspectorate must grant exploration permits if there is reason to believe that it is possible to find valuable minerals or, as in this case, gas. *(quoted by Lecchini, 2013-08–18, author's translation)*

In the Skåne-Shell case (Group B), a leading figure in both the local SSNC chapter and the resistance network, Heaven or sHell, stated:

> 'According to the Minerals Act, [the director of the Mining Inspectorate] shall only investigate whether the company has the finances and competence to explore. [. . .] If these [conditions] are fulfilled, he must grant the permit. Landowners aren't even consulted.' *(Gustafsson, 2009-09–01, author's translation)*

Connected to this interpretation of limited prospects for legal success, both these movements chose strategies aimed at acting in arenas other than the permit process:

> If the company and state authorities do not want to listen to us, there is only one way forward, to become really, really troublesome. [. . .] It's time to show Öland's ability to take action – with demonstrations and protest actions we can stop this gas madness! *(AAFÖ, 2011, author's translation)*

Finally, Frame 1 was also evident in the Dalsland, Unden, and Skåne-Scandivanadium cases in Group C, the group with most litigations. A leader of the resistance network Veto Now, in the Skåne-Scandivanadium case, diagnosed the legal prospects as slim and prescribed political action:

> '[The Court's refusal of appeals] wasn't unexpected and is in line with what we have seen all along – legislation takes no consideration of the different arguments in the appeals. This shows, once again, the need to change the Minerals Act.' *(quoted by Wangel, 2019-03–07, author's translation)*

Frame 2: Goal of litigation is legal success – judicial practices are uncertain – so legal action should be taken to establish new judicial precedence

Movements in Groups B and C all upheld this second understanding of the exploration permit process. As in Frame 1, the goal of litigation was viewed as legal success, but Frame 2 describes the permit processes and its current legal practices as uncertain. What legislation does or does not apply in the judicial decision-making by courts is up for contestation (diagnosis). The recommended action strategy is that movements should take legal action to test whether different legal arguments may achieve legal success in establishing new judicial precedence and stopping exploration permits (prescription).

In three cases in Group B (i.e. Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni, Kallak/Gállok, and Rönnbäck), Sami organizations invoked this frame arguing for the primacy of indigenous rights over regulations in the Minerals Act. In their appeal, an RHC in the Rönnbäck case stated that:

> The reindeer-herding community also wants to remind that the Swedish state has ratified the UN's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Swedish state must live up to its commitments in this regard. *(Vapsten RHC, 2009-06-25, author's translation)*

Besides indigenous rights, movement actors in Group B argued against the Minerals Act based on other conflicting legislation. A water council in the Öland case strategized litigation with reference to an EU directive:

> The Water Council claims to have legal standing, with reference to the EU's Water Framework Directive and Water Governance Ordinance.
>
> *(quoted by Alåsen, 2014, author's translation)*

Frame 2 was also invoked by organizations in movements in Group C. Relating to a local FSF chapter's appeal of a permit in the Skåne-Scandivanadium case, the chair of FSF Sweden wrote:

> The FSF considers it utterly unreasonable that the interests of residents and people affected are not considered when decisions about exploration permits are made. [. . .] For reasons of principle it is important to test the reasonableness of the Mining Inspectorate's practice of granting permits without weighing different interests.
>
> *(Borgström, 2019-02–26, author's translation)*

Invoking the prescriptive component of Frame 2, an environmental cause lawyer representing organizations in the Dalsland, Unden, and Skåne-Scandivandium cases stated:

> I will take this appeal as far as possible, I hope that the Administrative Court of Appeals realises that this is a question of setting precedence.
>
> *(quoted by Andersson, 2018a, author's translation)*

Frame 3: Goal of litigation is mobilization and signalling of resistance – the permit process is a democratic arena – so legal actions should be taken in large numbers

This final understanding of the permit process was only present among movements in Group C, i.e. with the largest number of legal actions. In Frame 3, the mobilization of movement adherents and the communication of popular resistance to policy makers and extractive companies are the goals of litigation. The court is understood as a democratic arena, presenting opportunities for popular mobilization (diagnosis), so movement actors should take legal action, and encourage others to take legal action, in as large numbers as possible (prescription).

One leader of the network Mining Struggle Dalsland expressed these motivations for litigation as:

> We want to stop the exploration permit, and the other important thing is that we, at an early stage, show that there is resistance. This makes it possible to maintain mobilization against this kind of project. It sends signals to [the mining company] that this is not a good investment for their owners, but also to the Mining Inspectorate that we are alert.
>
> *(quoted by Andersson, 2018b, author's translation)*

A leader in the Unden case made a similar statement concerning the exploration permit process:

> It is important that people without legal standing should also participate and protest. We must show state authorities that many of us are reacting against these plans.
>
> *(quoted by Hermansson, 2017-11–21, author's translation)*

In four of the five cases in Group C (i.e. Unden, Dalsland, Skåne-Scandivanadium, and Kvarntorp-Latorp), the permit process was described as an arena that presented

opportunities to mobilize movement adherents. A leader of Veto Now (in the Skåne-Scandivanadium case) commented:

> [The legal process] is also a question of awakening as many local people as possible, so that we get the backing of the local community.
>
> *(quoted by Evereus, 2018-07–27, author's translation)*

This was connected to the strategy of appealing in large numbers, as promoted by FSF and Veto Now:

> We encourage all members, and others, to appeal the decision to the Administrative Court of Appeals. Attached you will find a template that you can use.
>
> *(Veto Now, 2019-03–21, author's translation)*

This strategy was echoed by a leader in the Unden case:

> We have said that even those with no land in the vicinity of the lake [i.e. no legal standing] should submit appeals in which they state why they think a mine is a bad idea.
>
> *(quoted by Rooth, 2017-12–27, author's translation)*

Table 1 summarises the study's findings regarding anti-extraction movements' frames and actions in relation to the exploration permit process. Based on Table 1, I make four comparative reflections across the case groups. First, actors in all case groups invoked Frame 1, although the frame's potential connection to a lack of litigation is seen only among movements in Group A, where litigation was not taken with reference to other frames. Second, movement actors in Groups B and C typically invoked several, sometimes competing, frames regarding the permit process, viewing it as both a constraint and an opportunity for legal action. Competing frames were sometimes invoked by different organizations in the same movement, but individual organizations also sometimes expressed competing interpretations of the permit process. Third, most legal actions were launched in relation to Frame 3. This is also the only frame that redirects attention away from litigation as motivated by legal success and instead view the permit process as an arena for achieving other goals, such as mobilization and communication with policy makers and extractive companies. Fourth, there was a tendency that certain types of organizations invoked certain frames. Frame 2 were more often found among established organizations from the environmental and Sami indigenous movements. Frame 3 on the other hand was primarily used by newly formed resistance networks that mobilized in relation to the specific extraction project. Frame 1 was used to a similar degree among established and new organizations and networks.

7. Discussion

The central finding of this study was that the examined anti-extraction movements acted in different ways in relation to the exploration permit process, and that these differences were associated with different interpretations of the arena. The study illustrated how three frames of the situation related to different action forms. An understanding of the arena as closed to legal success (Frame 1) related to abstention from litigation in Group A movements. For movements in Group B, the interpretation of judicial practices as uncertain and up for contestation (Frame 2) corresponded to organizations appealing permits based on contradictory legislation, aiming to establish new judicial precedence.

Finally, the understanding of the permit process as a democratic arena, presenting opportunities to reach the goals of popular mobilization and communication of resistance (Frame 3), was connected to the use of public appeal campaigns in Group C.

These results support literature within the legal mobilization perspective, advocating the analysis of activists' varying motivations when trying to understand the connection between legal structures and movement agency (Cummings, 2017; McCann, 1994). Lacking sensitivity to movements' interpretations and goals, LOS approaches would, for example, have difficulty making sense of the large number of appeals launched by movements in Group C in this study. It should be noted, however, that a LOS explanation is compatible with Frame 1 (and partly with Frame 2) in this study. The motivation of legal success is clearly still relevant to many movements when considering litigation. The results of this study should also inform studies of outcomes of legal mobilization. If movement actors are indeed motivated by additional goals beyond legal success, then it becomes essential to also explore outcomes in terms of 'indirect effects' of legal mobilization (Cummings, 2017, p. 233). Mobilization of adherents, consciousness raising, and media coverage have been pointed out as relevant indirect effects aside from legal success (Fuchs, 2013).

Why do movements then invoke different frames of the permit process? A tentative answer lies in the understanding of the anti-extraction movements as coalitions of actors engaged in various adjacent struggles, such as the movement for Sami indigenous rights, the environmental movement and the farmers' movement (Fjellborg et al., 2022). Indigenous movements around the world are increasingly using litigation to gain judicial recognition for their fundamental human rights (Gilbert, 2020). In Sweden there are indications of Sami organizations increasingly turning to litigation to gain judicial recognition (e.g. Allard & Brännström, 2020). Based on these trends it is not surprising that three out of four anti-extraction movements involving Sami organizations are found in Group B, invoking Frame 2 in trying to gain legal success by arguing on contradictory legislation. A similar observation can be made in relation to environmental organizations, particularly the SSNC, in this study. When engaged in litigation, local SSNC chapters invoked Frame 2. Even when SSNC chapters were involved in movements with public appeal campaigns (Group C), it was not the SSNC chapters that advocated Frame 3. SSNC's invocation of Frame 2 is in line with previous case research describing how SSNC has litigated with the goal of gaining legal success (Hellner, 2020). The interpretation of the permit process as a democratic arena suitable for public mobilization (Frame 3) was instead primarily supported by new resistance networks that formed in relation to the threat of the specific mineral extraction project. A partial answer to why this study finds different interpretations of the permit process among the anti-extraction movements may thus be due to some established organizations having developed legal know-how and preferences for legal mobilization via experience of litigation in other struggles. At the same time, newly formed networks are likely more in need of continuous mobilization of adherents and may therefore be more inclined to view the permit process as a democratic arena. It should however be noted that all new networks did not invoke Frame 3, and that established organizations sometimes did (e.g. some local chapters of the FSF). Future research should further explore how organizations needs and know-how of litigation influence their interpretations of the legal arena.

But how should we make sense of the social viability of multiple interpretations of the same arena, sometimes within the same organization? Why does not one interpretation take precedence over the others? To understand this, I argue that we need to consider how the larger societal context may influence movements' interpretations. Schön and Rein's (1994, p. 29) emphasis on frames as 'grounded in the institutions that sponsor them', taken together with the MIP approach's conception of society as comprising 'multiple and often contradictory institutions' (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008, p. 82), creates a useful way of understanding the viability of diverging interpretations. I understand 'grounding' as similar to the concept of 'resonance' in the frame literature in social movement studies. In previous studies, resonance has been used to analyse to what degree activists' frames agree with target audiences' interpretations (Snow et al., 2019). I argue that resonance can also be used to analyse how activists' frames resonate with institutional logics in society and how this supports different contextual interpretations and actions. Consider Frames 1 and 2 in this study. These frames describe the permit process as an arena in which laws are weighed against each other and judicial verdicts are cast. At stake for a movement is mainly legal success or failure. From an MIP perspective, these frames find resonance in the institution of the legal-bureaucratic state and its logic of 'rationalisation and the regulation of human activity by legal and bureaucratic hierarchies' (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248). The legal-bureaucratic state has a long history of support in Western society, and an interpretation of the exploration permit process in line with this logic is likely socially viable in a movement. As the MIP approach reminds us, however, other institutions are simultaneously in play in society. Frame 3, with the goal of popular mobilization and signalling resistance, can be understood as resonating with the institution of democracy and its logic of 'participation and the extension of popular control over human activity' (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248). Like the legal-bureaucratic state, the institution of democracy has broad social support, making an interpretation of the permit process resonating with this institutional logic socially viable. The MIP approach thus helps us make sense of how several different interpretations of the permit process may co-exist and remain socially viable in parallel via grounding in different institutional logics. One could say that movements applying Frame 3 in this study have transferred the idea of the democratic petition to the permit process. This is perhaps best seen in Skåne-Scandivanadium (601 appeals) and Unden (90 appeals), in which organizations encouraged appeals even from actors without legal standing. Inspired by Crossley's (2002) discussion of overlapping societal fields, I refer to this process of institutional transcendence as 'creative infringement'. It is infringement in that the use of one institution (in this case, democracy) can be seen as a form of intrusion into an arena typically dominated by another institution (in this case, legal-bureaucracy). It is creative in that the infringement opens new space for resistance by facilitating reinterpretation of the arena (in this case, the permit process). The intersection of two competing institutions may thus facilitate agency in that it presents actors with a choice of which institution to resonate with when interpreting the situation. The concept of creative infringement can hopefully be useful in future MIP studies of how movements use one institution as a 'material and cultural resource' to challenge other institutions and power in society (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008, p. 87). The study's use of the frame concept facilitated this further exploration of the viability of multiple interpretations, thereby enabling the study to contribute to disentangling a theoretical conundrum

discussed in the broader interpretivist literature (6, 2005). As noted in the methods section, the comparative design of the study downplayed the temporal analysis in favour of highlighting similarities and differences between many cases. Frame shifts may have occurred over time in cases, inspiring different actions. Reframing connected to deliberation has however been analysed over time in a few of the cases here studied, indicating that actors' perceptions of permit processes tended to remain relatively stable (Johansson et al., 2022).

From another perspective, the results can be read as exemplifying the increasing juridification or judicialisation of political participation in democracies (Croce, 2020; Hofmann & Naurin, 2020). Emphasising how political claims-making increases in courts, moving beyond the arenas traditionally associated with such claims (e.g. legislative assemblies). Studies of Swedish policy processes related to mineral extraction have described political processes as unreceptive to arguments by mining-sceptical actors (Haikola & Anshelm, 2016; Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019), which may be one reason for the large numbers of litigations observed in some cases in this study. The use of legal mobilization may be influenced by the opportunities for action in other arenas (Lehoucq & Taylor, 2020). A seemingly 'bad' opportunity in court may be viewed as attractive if formal policy making processes are understood as even worse. However, it is uncertain whether future opening of political arenas would move resistance away from courts. As Croce (2020) argues, the use of political and legal arenas for claims-making should not be seen as mutually exclusive avenues of political action, but as complementary ways of achieving societal change. Future research should further explore how movements' interpretations of one arena correspond to interpretations of others.

Finally, this comparative case study was able to show that different publicly communicated frames often corresponded with varying uses of legal mobilization. It should be noted, however, that the data used (i.e. publicly communicated statements) may not fully reflect internal reasonings concerning legal mobilization in movements. Future research should use more in-depth methods (e.g. direct observation or interviews) to study motivations in closer proximity to decision-making. This study covered an exhaustive number of anti-extraction movements in Sweden and indicated that if we are to understand how legal structures relate to resistance actions, we must investigate how the law and its connected practices are understood by activists. If researchers opt to investigate movement actors' interpretations of goals and surroundings, we can better understand actors' strategies and action choices. By doing this, we can see that an action that some view as banging on a closed door may actually be the beating of a rallying drum.

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Notes on contributor

Daniel Fjellborg is a PhD candidate in political science at Luleå University of Technology.

ORCID

Daniel Fjellborg http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8529-3863

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Appendix 1: Supplementary material (Paper 2)

Table 1 Case results. Rows 6-8: Total number of appeals = Appeals by organizations + Appeals by individuals (Number of permits appealed in parentheses).

1. Case, named after project location	**Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni**	**Kallak/Gállok**	**Laver**	**Rönnbäck**	**Oviken**
2. Types of minerals	Iron, gold, and copper.	Iron.	Mainly copper.	Nickel.	Vanadium (in alum shales).
3. Number of exploration permits	5	6	3	8	16
4. Year(s) permits were granted	-98, -07, -11, -16	-06, -08, -11, -12, -14	-07, -12, -12	-05, -07, -09, -10	-05, -07, -08, -09, -11, -15, -16, -17
5. Occurrence of public campaign to mobilize appeals of permits (Organizations with driving role in parentheses)	None.	None.	None.	None.	Municipality provided landowners with template to appeal.
6. Number of appeals to Administrative Court	1 = 1 (Laevas reindeer-herding community) + 0 (1 permit appealed)	11 = 2 (Sirges reindeer herding community) + 9 (3 permits appealed)	None.	4 = 4 (Vapsten reindeer-herding community and Vadtejen Saemiej Sijte) + 0 (3 permits appealed)	30 = 0 + 30 (3 permits appealed)
7. Number of appeals to Administrative Court of Appeals	None.	None.	None.	None, but RHC appealed other exploration permits before 2009	6 = 0 + 6 (2 permits appealed)
8. Number of appeals to Supreme Administrative Court	None.	None.	None.	None, but RHC appealed other exploration permits before 2009	None.
9. Court verdicts	Refused by courts after legal assessment.	Refused by courts after legal assessment One refusal by MI (late appeal).	None.	Refused by courts due to lack of standing or after legal assessment	Refused by courts due to lack of standing or after legal assessment One refused by MI (late appeal).

1. Case, named after project location	**Bricka**	**Gävle-Storsjön**	**Dalsland**	**Kvarntorp-Latorp**	**Unden**
2. Types of minerals	Vanadium and iron.	Lead, copper, silver, and zinc.	Mainly copper and silver.	Nickel and other minerals (in alum shales).	Cobalt.
3. Number of exploration permits	5	5	1	9	1
4. Year(s) permits were granted	-09, -11, -14	-07, -11, -17, -19	-18	-05, -08, -15, -17	-17
5. Occurrence of public campaign to mobilize appeals of permits (Organizations with driving role in parentheses)	None.	None.	Organizations campaigned to make landowners appeal (Mining Struggle Dalsland – newly formed network).	Organizations campaigned to make landowners appeal (Protect the shales – newly formed network).	Organizations campaigned to make public and landowners appeal (We Burn For Lake Unden – newly formed network).
6. Number of appeals to Administrative Court	13 = 2 (Local water association and local company) + 11 (4 permits appealed)	None.	83 = 3 (SSNC Norra Älvsborg region and company, and parish of the Church of Sweden) + 80 (1 permit appealed).	60 = 0 + 60 (3 permits appealed)	72 = 6 (Tived's local history society, Tived's development group, Unden fishing association, Högsåsen Narven economic association, Tiveden horse riding association, and tourist company) + 66 (1 permit appealed)
7. Number of appeals to Administrative Court of Appeals	4 = 0 + 4 (4 permits appealed)	None.	None (project owner gave up permit after first verdict from Adm. Court).	16 = 0 + 16 (2 permits appealed)	10 = 0 + 10 (1 permit appealed)
8. Number of appeals to Supreme Administrative Court	3 = 0 + 3 (3 permits appealed)	None.	None (project owner gave up permit after first verdict from Adm. Court).	13 = 0 + 13 (1 permit appealed)	8 = 0 +8 (1 permit appealed)
9. Court verdicts	Refused by courts due to lack of standing or after legal assessment.	None.	Refused by courts due to lack of standing or after legal assessment.	Refused by courts after legal assessment.	Refused by courts due to lack of standing or after legal assessment.

1. Case, named after project location	**Norra Kärr-Motala Bay**	**Taberg**	**Öland**	**Skåne-Shell**	**Skåne- Scandivanadium**
2. Types of minerals	Norra Kärr: rare earth elements Motala: gas (in alum shales).	Vanadium and iron.	Gas (in alum shales).	Gas (in alum shales).	Vanadium (in alum shales).
3. Number of exploration permits	Norra Kärr = 4 Motala = 17	1	5	2	11
4. Year(s) permits were granted	-09, -10, -11, -12, -13, -14 -15	-13	-11	-08	-18
5. Occurrence of public campaign to mobilize appeals of permits (Organizations with driving role in parentheses)	None.	None.	None.	None.	Organizations campaigned to make public and landowners appeal (Veto Now – newly formed network, and local FSF chapters).
6. Number of appeals to Administrative Court	10 = 0 + 10 (4 permits appealed)	7 = 1 (SSNC Jönköping region) + 6 (1 permit appealed)	15 = 10 (SSNC Kalmar region, Öland water council) + 5 (5 permits appealed)	17 = 2 (Homeowners Association, south region) + 15 (2 permits appealed)	546 = 22 + 524 (Högestad Christenehof Fideikommiss AB, The Benedictine Nuns Foundation, Local history society in south-east Skåne, Tommarps and Bolshögs Housekeeping Guild, FSF Skåne region, FSF Simrishamn municipal group, Brösarps-Tranås Parish, Smedstorp Parish, Råby Road Association, Bollerups Agricultural Institute, Skånefrö AB, Komstad shoes) (11 permits appealed)
7. Number of appeals to Administrative Court of Appeals	None.	5 = 1 (SSNC Jönköping region) + 4 (1 permit appealed)	5 = 5 (Öland water council) + 0 (5 permits appealed)	9 = 0 + 9 (2 permits appealed)	50 = 2 (Högestad Christenehof Fideikommiss AB, The Benedictine Nuns Foundation) + 48 (4 permits appealed)
8. Number of appeals to Supreme Administrative Court	None.	4 = 0 + 4 (1 permit appealed)	5 = 5 (Öland water council) + 0 (5 permits appealed)	8 = 0 + 8 (2 permits appealed)	5 = 1 (Högestad Christenehof Fideikommiss AB) + 4 (2 permits appealed)
9. Court verdicts	Refused by courts after legal assessment.	Refused by courts after legal assessment.	Refused by courts due to lack of standing or after legal assessment.	Refused by courts due to lack of standing or after legal assessment.	Refused by courts due to lack of standing or after legal assessment.

Empirical sources for each case

Rakkuri-Rouvdenjunni

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossier: BS 205-1220-2011

Kallak/Gállok

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 205-719-2012; BS 205-664-2012; BS 205-251-2014

Laver

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 200-692-2007; BS 200-1560-2011; BS 200-251-2012

Rönnbäck

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 205-17-2008; BS 205-90-2014; BS 205-968-2009; BS 205-1034-2012; BS 205-1445-10; BS 205-1324-2010

Oviken

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 205-136-2016; BS 205-176-16; BS 205-546-2019; BS 205-150-2017

Municipal document with appeal template:

Åre Municipality (2020), Uran, provborrning, *Webpage of Åre Municipality*, https://are.se/miljotrafik/miljo/uran-provborrning

Bricka

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 205-546-2012; BS 205-228-2010; BS 205-588-2012

Gävle-Storsjön

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 200-536-2017; BS 200-1183-2018

Dalsland

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossier: BS 205-926-2018

Movement documents about appeal campaign:

Mining Struggle Dalsland (2018-11-18) Nyhetsbrev nr 3 - Överklagan inne, vad händer nu?, Mining Struggle Dalsland's Newsletter, https://us19.campaign-archive.com/?u=5e4bccb0c7b60b89cbff4bb62&id=ad2fe030aaa

Mining Struggle Dalsland (2019-01-18) Nyhetsbrev nr 4 - Undersökningarna kan starta - swisha för fortsatt juristhjälp, Mining Struggle Dalsland's Newsletter, https://us19.campaign-archive.com/?u=5e4bccb0c7b60b89cbff4bb62&id=0eb5aba413

Kvarntorp-Latorp

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 205-1190-2015; BS 205-1245-2015; BS 205-136-2017

Movement documents about appeal campaign:

Protect the Shales (2019), Överklaganden, *Webpage of Freda Skiffern,* http://fredaskiffern.skollersta.nu/juridiken/overklaganden/

Unden

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossier: BS 205-961-2017

Movement documents about appeal campaign:

We burn for Lake Unden (2017-11-17), Mall för överklagan, *Facebook-page of Vi som brinner för Unden*, https://www.facebook.com/groups/visombrinnerforUnden

Norra Kärr-Motala Bay

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 205-123-2011; BS 205-131-2014; BS 205-219-2011; BS 205-1180-2014; BS 205-630-2015

Taberg

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossier: BS 205-404-2013

Öland

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 205-958-2011; BS 205-1184-2014

Skåne-Shell

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, see dossiers: BS 205-1641-2008; BS 205-1577-2009; BS 205-909-2008; BS 205-910-2008

Skåne- Scandivanadium

Archives of the Administrative Court in Luleå, see dossiers: Mål 3496-18; Mål 2845-18; Mål 2016-18; Mål 2846-18; Mål 2847-18; Mål 2865-18; Mål 2911-18; Mål 2920-18; Mål 2932-18; Mål 2934-18; Mål 2015-18; Mål 2939-18; Mål 1181-19 (summarizing all appeals of exploration permits of Scandivanadium)

Archives of the Administrative Court of Appeals in Sundsvall, see dossiers: Mål 661-19; Mål 722-19; Mål 724-19; Mål 647-19; Mål 726-19 (concerning appeals of verdicts by the Administrative Court)

Archives of the Supreme Administrative Court, see dossiers: Mål 3217-19; Mål 4948-19 (concerning appeals of verdicts by the Administrative Court of Appeals)

Movement documents about appeal campaign:

Veto Now (2018-10-23), Tips och länkar om överklaganden, *VetoNu.se*, https://vetonu.se/tips-och-lankar-om-overklaganden/

Data collection

Media materials were collected in a two-step process using the media database Retriever. First, the search string used to identify the cases read: "(gruv* AND protest*) OR (gruv* AND motstånd*) OR (gruv* AND överklag*) OR (gruv* AND konflikt*) OR (gruv* AND aktivis*) OR (provborr* AND protest*) OR (provborr* AND motstånd*) OR (provborr* AND överklag*) OR (provborr* AND konflikt*) OR (provborr* AND aktivis*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND protest*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND motstånd*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND överklag*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND konflikt*) OR (undersökningstillstånd* AND aktivis*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND protest*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND motstånd*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND överklag*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND konflikt*) OR (bearbetningskonc* AND aktivis*) OR (minerallag* AND protest*) OR (minerallag* AND motstånd*) OR (minerallag* AND överklag*) OR (minerallag* AND konflikt*) OR (minerallag* AND aktivis*) OR (mineralpoli* AND protest*) OR (mineralpoli* AND motstånd*) OR (mineralpoli* AND överklag*) OR (mineralpoli* AND konflikt*) OR (mineralpoli* AND aktivis*) OR (täkt* AND protest*) OR (täkt* AND motstånd*) OR (täkt* AND överklag*) OR (täkt* AND konflikt*) OR (täkt* AND aktivis*)"

Second, after cases were identified by reading titles and preambles, a second case-specific media search was conducted. Search terms then included the names of extraction projects and involved companies, and of prominent resistance actors and campaigns.

Beyond media reports, data collection also included publicly available documents produced by actors in the identified movements, including social media postings, websites, and newsletters.

For each case, official documents were collected from the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, the Administrative Courts, and other involved public authorities, such as municipalities, county administrative boards, and government offices at the national level.

Steps in data analysis

1. Exploration permits relating to each case were identified by analysing official documents from the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden.
2. Statements and actions of movement actors relating to the exploration permit processes were identified and compiled from the collected data. The compilation extended from the date an exploration permit was granted until the date the appeal process ended.
3. Based on movement actors' utterances, and guided by the operational questions outlined in the methods section, the researcher reconstructed frames representing different interpretations of the exploration permit process. The reconstructions were made with the help of the qualitative data analysis software NVivo.
4. Cases were grouped based on similarities of actions relating to the exploration permit processes.
5. Comparative analysis was conducted across the case groups, focusing on similarities and differences in actions, frames, and actors involved.

III

Understanding Diversification of Strategies and Actions in Swedish Mining Resistance – The Fanning-Out Effect of Goals and Contextual Opportunities

Daniel Fjellborg[a]

Abstract

Europe is witnessing increasing protests against mining. Social movements mobilizing against mining, (i.e. anti-extraction movements) are typically heterogeneous actor networks using diverse actions to stop projects and promote alternative visions for societal development. I investigate two prominent anti-extraction movements in Sweden and explore how movement actors' goals and interpretations of contextual opportunities shape their strategies and actions. I study actions over eleven years and use frame analysis to explore actors' goals, interpretations, and strategies. Results show how diverse goals lead to action diversification in movements by prompting actors to relate to different policy areas, that is, issue-specific contexts. Actors' previous experiences, informing retrospective reasoning, increased variation in their opportunity assessments. The study contributes to social movement theory by explicating how the content of goals shape strategies and actions, adding to such alternative explanations as traditions, diffusion, and resources. Understanding action diversification is important for handling increasing mining conflicts.

Keywords: social movement strategy; tactics; mining resistance; frame analysis; goals; issue-specific opportunities

[a] Unit of Political Science, Luleå University of Technology, 971 87 Luleå, Sweden.
Email address: daniel.fjellborg@ltu.se

1. Introduction

This is a study about how visions for the future (i.e., goals) shape actors' strategies and actions aimed at influencing society. But let me begin the story with current events. Europe has experienced rising public mobilization against new mining projects during the last decade (Eerola, 2022; Fjellborg et al., 2022; Kivinen et al, 2020) as demands have grown for more production of minerals within the EU due to increasingly uncertain global value chains and transitions to new technologies (European Commission, 2023). The global demand for minerals is expected to nearly double by 2060 (OECD, 2019), making mining-related conflicts a likely feature of our foreseeable future.

To understand the trajectory of mining conflicts, as well as the possibilities for handling them, it is important to understand the strategies and actions of the networks of actors that oppose mining projects – networks I here refer to as anti-extraction movements. Anti-extraction movements typically use very diverse actions, ranging from civil disobedience and public demonstrations to litigation, political lobbying, and actions targeting mining companies and investors (Conde, 2017; Fjellborg et al., 2022; Kivinen et al., 2020). However, we still know relatively little about how and why movements choose certain strategies and actions (Doherty & Hayes, 2019).

Studies on mining resistance in Europe and Latin America have shown that conflicts often emerge because of fundamental differences in visions for the development of society and local communities. Some actors promote mining as a desirable pathway to economic growth and employment, while mining opponents often promote environmental protection and/or the rights of people whose livelihoods depend on the land in question (e.g. farmers, reindeer herders) (Beland-Lindahl et al., 2018; Cuba et al., 2014; Eerola, 2022). Resistance against projects thus never seems to be just about mining, and the often diverse set of opponents to a project typically promote several alternative visions (Fjellborg et al., 2022; Walter & Wager, 2021).

Social movement scholars have long argued that movements' goals are important for their strategies and actions, yet relatively little research has explored the connection empirically (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008; Cross & Snow, 2012). Most studies that

have included goals have explored their role in providing movements with a shared purpose, facilitating collective action, whereas less attention has been paid to how the actual content of goals influences movements' choices of strategies and actions (Leitzinger & Waeger, 2023). In this study, I address this gap by exploring how the varying goals of actors in anti-extraction movements shape their strategies and actions.

I elaborate on the link between goals and actions by acknowledging that movement actors' aspirations to fulfil goals occur in a socio-political context that can be expected to channel them towards certain strategies and actions (Ancelovici, 2021). Recent literature on the influence of context has emphasized the importance of exploring movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities to better understand how context shapes strategies and actions (Giugni, 2011; McAdam & Tarrow, 2019). In a recent study of the climate movement, De Moor and Wahlström (2019) found that the strategy choices of climate movement actors, and how they viewed current contextual opportunities, were influenced by what they interpreted as successes and failures in their past actions. Here I add to this retrospective reasoning by arguing that movement actors' goals are also likely to shape movements' interpretations of contextual opportunities.

My aim in this study is thus to explore how and why actors in anti-extraction movements choose diverse strategies and actions. I focus particularly on how the actors' choices are shaped by their goals and their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints. I take an interpretive approach and explore movement actors' interpretations, goals, and strategies using frame analysis (Rein and Schön, 1996) in a paired case study of two prominent anti-extraction movements in Sweden (Norra Kärr and Kallak/Gállok).

Sweden is one of Europe's main producers of minerals. Legislation generally gives preferential treatment to mining compared to other land uses (Pettersson et al., 2017), and state policies have long promoted expansion of mining as a pathway to growth and welfare for the country (Beland Lindahl, 2023). Sweden has also experienced increasing mobilization against national mineral policies and mining projects since the beginning of the 2010s, often motivated by alternative visions for societal development

(Fjellborg et al., 2022; Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019). Sweden therefore exemplifies the fundamental value conflicts that often underpin mining conflicts and is a suitable setting for exploring the impact of diverse movement goals on strategies and actions.

2. Social Movements – Goals, Strategies, and Actions in Mining Resistance

Social movements are one of the main collective ways by which people strive to change current societies, and movements have had significant impacts on societal development throughout the last centuries (Tilly, 2004). Building on Della Porta and Diani (2006) and Snow, Soule, et al. (2019), I view a social movement as an informal network of actors that share a distinct collective identity and goal, are involved in conflictual interactions with opponents, and occasionally act outside of the formal institutions of the political system, for example, by organizing public demonstrations. Here I study anti-extraction movements – movements mobilizing against projects for the extraction of natural resources – with a focus on mining.

I understand anti-extraction movements as locally unwanted land-use (LULU) movements, which are movements anchored in local resistance against, for example, infrastructure or industry projects. A LULU movement is typically composed of a heterogeneous coalition of actors, both local and extra-local, mobilizing around a joint goal of opposing a specific project and gradually articulating more universal visions for societal development, such as environmental protection, alternative economic systems, and social justice (Della Porta & Piazza, 2007; Della Porta et al., 2019). Similar movements with multiple visions have been observed in mining resistance in Sweden (Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Fjellborg et al., 2022), other countries in Europe (Kivinen et al., 2020), and globally (Conde, 2017).

Both LULU and anti-extraction movements employ multi-scalar and widely varying strategies and actions. Campaigns have included complaints to international UN bodies, street demonstrations in local communities and capitals, litigation and other legal actions, public information campaigns, lobbying of politicians and private

shareholders, and civil disobedience at project sites (Della Porta et al. 2019; Fjellborg et al., 2022; Kivinen et al., 2020; Walter & Wagner, 2021). In a global review of mining resistance, Conde (2017) argues that three strategies are on the rise, especially in developing countries – local referendums against projects, litigation against companies, and collaboration with scientists to boost the arguments of mining opponents. However, research has yet to systematically make sense of the wide variety of actions typical of this type of movement. This is important to do, not only to understand the trajectory of conflicts but also to further understand how movement agency is shaped by existing power relations in society, that is, the extent to which movement actors' actions are chosen freely or are determined by the surrounding society (Armstrong & Bernstein, 2008).

In this study I understand strategy as movement actors' plans for future actions (Smithey, 2009), while action refers to their performance. To facilitate comparability between movement actors, I systematize and explore three aspects of their actions and strategies. First, I explore the target of action, the external societal actor that an act aims to influence. Such targets may be corporate or political decision-makers or segments of the public (Jasper & King, 2020). Second, I explore the arena of action, the observable setting where an act takes place, such as a legal process, a shareholder meeting, or an online forum (Jasper, 2021). Third, I explore the type of action, the technique of an act, such as civil disobedience, litigation, direct lobbying, or public demonstrations.

Although social movement scholars have long argued that goals are likely important in shaping strategies and actions, previous studies incorporating goals have typically either presumed movement actors' goals without empirical investigation (Cross & Snow, 2012) or explored goals as facilitators for collective action, focusing more on their functions for group-making in movements than on their guiding impact on actions (Leitzinger & Waeger, 2023). In my exploration of goals' potential influence on strategies and actions, I expect influence to be channelled and shaped by movements' socio-political contexts (Ancelovici, 2021), that is, the setup of societal actors and institutions surrounding a movement. Previous research has argued that movements' action choices are more influenced by the issue-specific context they face than by the societal context more generally. An issue-specific context typically refers

to the policy area (including relevant institutions and actors) a movement mainly relates to. For example, environmental movements relate to the environmental policy area, migrant movements to the migration policy area, and so on (Giugni, 2011; Meyer & Minkoff, 2004; Schnyder, 2015).

I argue that underlying the reasoning about issue-specific contexts is an often implicit expectation that movements' goals will influence what policy areas become relevant for choices of strategies and actions. However, studies of issue-specific contexts have typically avoided empirical explorations of goals, instead relying on presumptions about a movement's main goal and subsequently sorting the entire movement into one fitting issue-specific context. I argue that empirical investigation of movements' goals is important, especially when studying movements that potentially promote multiple goals, such as LULU or anti-extraction movements. Depending on their goals, actors within the same movement may relate to different issue-specific contexts and consequently choose different strategies and actions.

I expect the channelling function of the socio-political context to occur via movement actors' own interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints. I understand opportunity as the contextual conditions perceived as favouring a movement actor's prospects for fulfilling a goal, and I understand constraint as the antonym of opportunity. Although many scholars have argued that context influences strategies and actions via actors' perceptions of opportunities, few advancements have been made to elaborate on this link between societal structure and movements' agency (Giugni, 2011; McAdam & Tarrow, 2019).

Based on their study of strategic adaptation in the climate movement, De Moor and Wahlström (2019) argue that movement actors tend to rely on retrospective reasoning when interpreting contextual opportunities. Activists' knowledge based on 'trial and error' from previous mobilizations dominated the movement's collective sense-making of opportunities. Different interpretations of past events thus led movement actors to promote different strategies in response to seemingly similar contextual conditions.

Complementing these findings, I argue that movement actors' goals are likely to inform their sense-making by directing them to the policy areas that make the most sense given their goals for the future. In addition to this temporal reasoning, Gamson and Meyer (1996) argue that movement actors likely make sense of contextual opportunities by comparing different societal venues available to them. For example, a movement's opportunity in a legal court may be seen as advantageous if political decision-makers are perceived as unreceptive. However, the same court may be seen as less opportune if the route to influence policy-makers opens for the movement. I therefore expect movement actors' interpretation of opportunity to be an act of comparison, either in temporal terms (i.e. retrospective reasoning and goals for the future) or across societal venues (i.e. comparison of arenas such as courts, policy processes, private market, or 'the streets').

Of course, other things besides goals and socio-political contexts may influence movement actors' strategies and actions. First, internal movement traditions concerning ways to act, often linked to established collective identities in movements, may boost certain strategies regardless of context (Doherty & Hayes, 2012). Second, strategies and actions may be influenced by diffusion between movement actors (Larson, 2013), that is, the process through which a movement actor is inspired by and adopts another's actions. Third, availability of resources, such as money, may influence strategies and actions as resources influence an actor's strategic capacity to act on perceived opportunities (Císař & Navrátil, 2022). Limited resources can thereby lead to inaction or to a narrowing of options for action. While my focus in this study is on the role of goals and socio-political contexts, I consider these alternative influences in the analysis and discussion of results.

3. Frames

I use frame analysis to investigate movement actors' goals, interpretations of contextual opportunities, and strategies. Frame analysis is an interpretive approach to explore actors' social construction of meaning. Here I explore frames at the group level of movement actors, focusing on the organizations and sub-networks making up the two anti-extraction movements. Following Rein and Schön (1996), I define frames as 'strong and generic narratives that guide both analysis and action in practical situations. Such narratives are diagnostic/prescriptive stories that tell, within a given

issue terrain, what needs fixing and how it might be fixed' (p. 89). The frame's inclusion of diagnosis (i.e. sense-making of a situation and its problems) and prescription (i.e. action strategies) makes it a suitable construct for exploring how actors' goals and interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints (i.e. description) shape their choices of strategies (i.e. prescription).

My use of frame analysis facilitates a theoretically informed discussion about the stability or malleability of goals in a movement. Perri 6 (2005) argues that actors' frames are elicited from the social solidarities actors are part of. Concerning mining conflicts in Sweden, Johansson (2023) shows that actors' commitment to group relations creates longitudinal stability of problem formulations and goals among actors opposing mining projects. Sámi reindeer herding communities (RHCs), for example, have maintained a focus on the protection of reindeer husbandry and Sámi Indigenous rights over a long time. This understanding of problem formulations and goals as stabilized by movement actors' proximate social relations differs from research on collective action frames (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014; Snow, Vliegenthart, & Ketelaars, 2019), which tends to view problem formulation and goals as more malleable and something that movement actors intentionally align to discourses in the larger public to gain maximal resonance. I will return to these different ideas about goals as stable or malleable in my discussion.

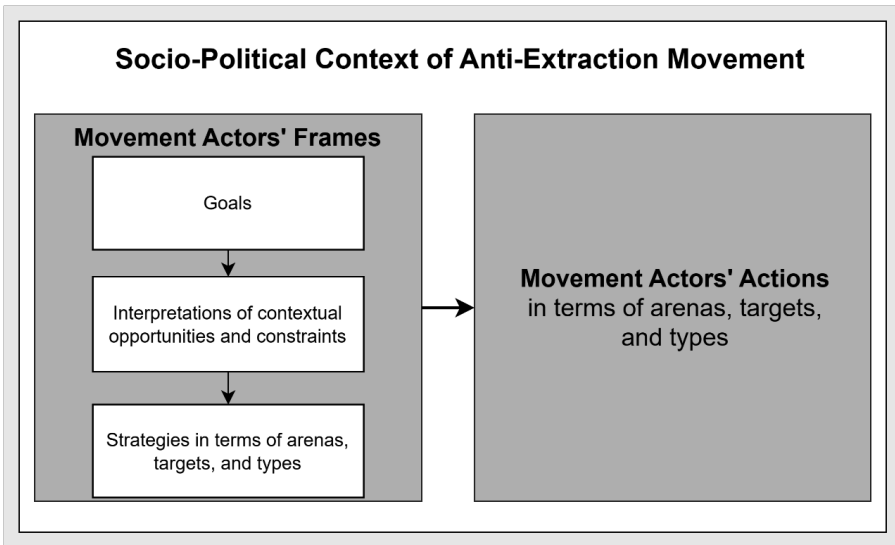

Figure 1 Theoretical framework

Figure 1 presents the theoretical framework guiding my study. Based on previous research, actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities are expected to occur via retrospective reasoning and comparisons across available arenas. In exploring the outlined connection between goals and actions, the analysis also opens to other influences (i.e. traditions, diffusion, and resources).

4. Research Design, Cases, and Methods

This is a paired case study based on replication logic (Yin, 2014) designed to explore how goals inform actors' choices of strategies and actions. I ask four research questions:

1. What goals do movement actors have?
2. How do movement actors interpret their contextual opportunities and constraints?
3. What strategies do movement actors promote in terms of arenas, targets, and types?
4. What actions have movement actors taken in terms of arenas, targets, and types?

4.1. Description of cases

My study covers January 2011 to August 2022, starting in the year both studied cases mobilized. This period was marked by increasing mobilization among mining-sceptical actors, relating to specific projects (Fjellborg et al., 2022) and to Swedish parliament, where the political majority supported policies perceived as mining-friendly (Anshelm & Haikola, 2018; Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019). Current mining policy also centralizes decision-making, with the government as the final decision-maker for vital permits (Pettersson et al., 2017).

The Swedish government has been generally supportive of mining during the last decades, with a potential exception for the years 2014-2021, when the Social Democrats ruled with the significantly smaller Green Party. Social Democrats have long promoted mining (Beland Lindahl, 2023), while the Green Party has generally taken a mining-sceptical position (Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019).

To answer my questions, I have explored the two largest and most prominent anti-extraction movements in Sweden – Kallak/Gállok and Norra Kärr. These movements display the two main constellations of goals currently found in anti-extraction movements in Sweden (Fjellborg et al., 2022).

Kallak/Gállok, located in rural northern Sweden, involves actors promoting environmental protection and sustainable livelihoods, as well as actors promoting Sámi Indigenous rights and reindeer husbandry. Norra Kärr, on the other hand, is located in rural southern Sweden and involves actors promoting environmental protection and sustainable livelihoods, paired with actors promoting landowners' rights and development of agriculture. The expected differences and similarities in actors' goals facilitate exploration of the influence that goals may have on strategies and actions.

The two anti-extraction movements also have different local socio-political contexts (Fjellborg et al., 2022). The Norra Kärr project is located next to Lake Vättern, and affected municipalities are against the project due to its potential threat to Vättern and drinking water. In Kallak/Gállok, the political majority in Jokkmokk municipality has instead viewed the project positively as it would create employment and potentially reverse the municipality's decreasing population trend. The Norra Kärr project overlaps nationally designated protected natural areas, whereas Kallak/Gállok overlaps areas designated for Sámi reindeer husbandry and risks affecting the nearby World Heritage Site Laponia, designated to protect the natural environment and Sámi cultural values.

Both cases were at the same stage of the permit process during most of the study; however, the mining concession for Kallak/Gállok was approved by the government in March 2022 (Government of Sweden, 2022). After receiving a mining concession, projects still need to attain an environmental permit from the courts before initiating mining, a process that typically takes several years (Pettersson et al., 2017). Table 1 summarizes the two cases.

	Norra Kärr	Kallak/Gállok
National mining policy area context	Majority of parliament supportive of mining as creator of economic growth and employment. Mining legislation (Minerals Act) generally gives mining preferential treatment over other land uses.	
Main actors in movements	Environmental and farmers' organizations, as well as newly formed networks.	Environmental, Sámi, and human rights organizations, as well as newly formed networks.
Local socio-political context of mining project	In rural southern Sweden. Stable or increasing population. Affected municipalities negative to mining project due to risks to environment and drinking water. Project overlaps nature protection areas (Natura 2000). Project at mining concession stage in permit process.	In rural northern Sweden. Decreasing population. Municipality positive to mining project due to job creation. Project risks affecting the World Heritage Site Laponia. Project overlaps lands designated for reindeer husbandry. Project at mining concession stage in permit process (concession granted in March 2022).

Table 1 Description of cases

4.2. Data collection and analysis

The study uses document analysis and semi-structured interviews with movement actors. Documents were collected from three sources. First, the database 'Retriever.se' was used to collect Swedish print media and public service reports. Search terms included names of mining projects, project owners, movement organizations, networks, and campaigns. Altogether, 1177 media reports were collected for Kallak/Gállok and 838 for Norra Kärr. Second, public documents from permit processes were collected from state authorities (Mining Inspectorate of Sweden, county administrative boards (CABs), government offices, and administrative courts). Third, publicly available documents produced by movement actors were collected from digital platforms and webpages, including blogposts, newsletters, and social media postings.

The document analysis informed the selection of movement actors to interview, and the selection was later cross-referenced with respondents during interviews. Organizations and networks were counted as part of the anti-extraction movement if they publicly expressed opposition to the mining project and identified with the larger network of actors opposing the mine.

Eighteen movement actors were interviewed, 12 for Kallak/Gállok and eight for Norra Kärr (see Appendix 1). For informal networks, where a clear spokesperson could not be identified, I interviewed two prominent members to increase the credibility of findings. Two actors were engaged in both cases – the eco-anarchically inspired Colonies network and the national association of the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC). Interviews were conducted between February and August 2022.

In the Kallak/Gállok case, nine interviews were conducted before the government approved the mining concession in March 2022, and five were held after. To mitigate the potential effects of the decision on actors' reasoning, later interviews were steered towards the situation before the decision. For two networks (Mining Free Jokkmokk and Artists), one interview was performed before and one after the decision. The analysis of these interviews indicated no significant differences in reasoning due to the decision.

I answer research questions 1-3 by reconstructing movement actors' frames based on interviews. Transcribed interviews were thematically analysed in NVivo software. After familiarization with the data and open test coding of two interviews (Spencer et al., 2014), interviews were coded based on three themes: 1. Actors' interpretations of goals; 2. Actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints; 3. Actors' strategies in terms of arenas, targets, and types.

Each actor was summarized in a thematic table after coding, and actors with similar goals were grouped, resulting in the construction of three frame groups. To strengthen the credibility of the frame analysis, the results were triangulated with actors' statements in the collected documents, and at least one respondent from each frame group was invited to comment on the reconstructed frames.

I answer research question 4, concerning actions taken, via NVivo analysis of the collected documents. Actions were identified in a careful reading of the documents, and for each action, the arena, target, type, and movement actors were coded. The credibility of the analysis of actions was strengthened by using documents from multiple sources (media, public documents, movement documents) and by interviewees' reports on actions.

5. Results

The frames and actions of the studied movement actors are summarized in Figure 2 (see Appendix 1 for details on frames and actions). The flow from left to right in the reconstructed frames indicates the theoretical expectation concerning actors' reasoning and its influence on actions. However, see results substantiating arrows [F] and [G] for indications of reversed reasoning among actors.

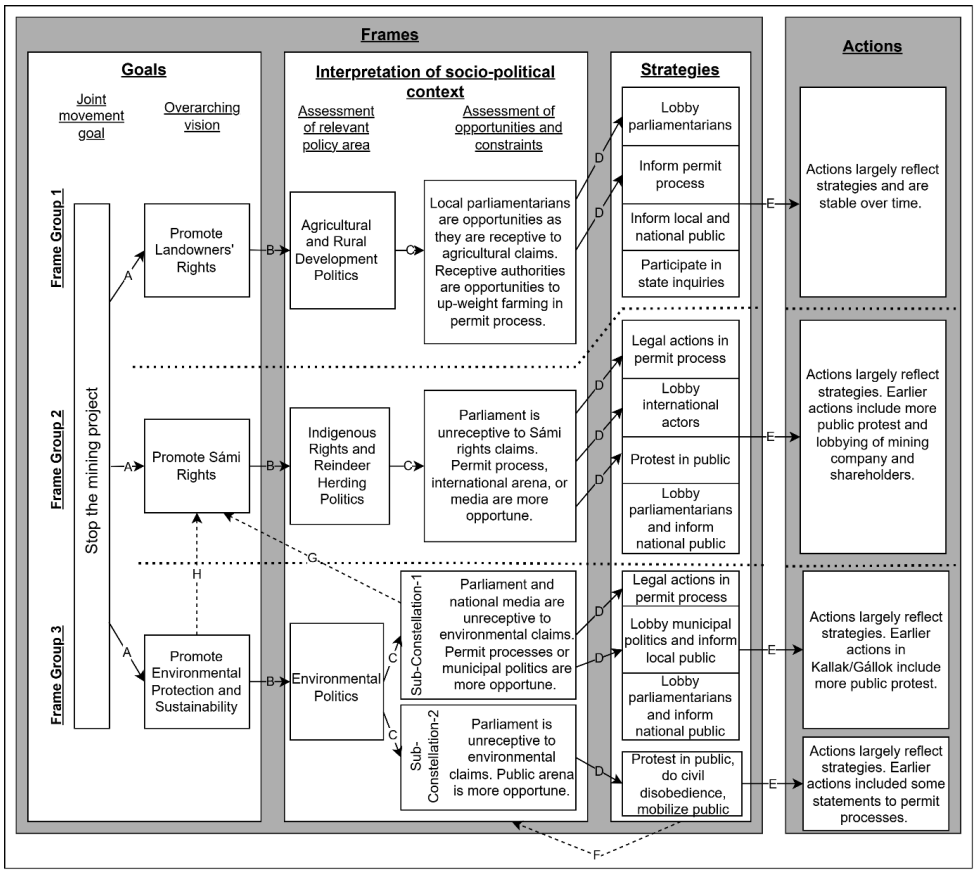

Figure 2 Frames and actions in the studied cases

To begin with, the joint goal of stopping a mining project held actors in Kallak/Gállok and Norra Kärr together as movements. In addition, I identified three frame groups based on actors' different overarching visions for societal change [A]. These were: 1. 'Promote Landowners' Rights', adopted by farmers' and landowners' organizations in Norra Kärr; 2. 'Promote Sámi Rights', adopted mainly by Sámi organizations and human rights organizations engaged in Kallak/Gállok; and 3. 'Promote environmental protection and sustainability', adopted by environmental organizations and newly formed resistance networks in both cases. Each frame group is presented below.

5.1. Promote Landowners' Rights (Frame Group 1)

Frame Group 1 included the national Federation of Swedish Farmers (FSF Sweden), FSF's regional branch in Östergötland (FSF Östergötland), and the landowners' organization Elgen in Norra Kärr. These actors shared a vision of promoting landowners' rights and rural development, seeing protection of drinking water as a prerequisite for agriculture.

> The reason we engage is… this mineral legislation we see as a large encroachment on landowners' property rights, which often affects farmers. But also, there are big risks for drinking water in this case. (interview with FSF ÖG, author's translation)

Group-1-actors had learned from earlier failed attempts at changing the Minerals Act that parliament remained generally supportive of mining policy. Thus they assessed opportunities in the policy area of agriculture and rural development [B], where national parliamentarians of all parties from the local region seemed more receptive to their cause. These politicians were seen as providing opportunities to leverage the Swedish parliament at large, for example, by acting as hosts for parliamentary seminars about the adverse effects of mining [C].

> If we contact parliamentarians responsible for mining policy in all parties three times a year, not much will happen. We must contact local parliamentarians who have a feel for this issue and have some knowledge and connection to the other things affected [i.e. agriculture and rural development]. (interview with FSF Sweden, author's translation)

Similar reasoning occurred in relation to authorities responsible for weighing mining against other interests in the permit process (e.g. CABs). CABs were interpreted as receptive to learning more about the mining project's adverse effects on farming, thus presenting an opportunity to influence permitting. Group-1-actors' reasoning about contextual opportunities aligned with strategies of lobbying locally and agriculturally connected parliamentarians as well as CAB officials [D]. However, FSF Sweden also strategized participation in state inquiries concerning mining legislation, although

they saw only limited opportunities for policy influence. FSF ÖG and Elgen also strategized communication targeting the local public via media, public meetings, and webpages, although they also viewed such actions as having only a limited impact. Instead of being shaped by opportunity assessment, these actions instead seemed to be informed by the organizations' democratically grounded action traditions of informing the public and participating in policy-making with elected officials (indicated by the absence of two [D] arrows in Figure 2). Regarding actions, Group-1-actors' forms of activities were stable over time and largely aligned with the strategies articulated in their frames [E].

5.2. Promote Sámi Rights (Frame Group 2)

Frame Group 2 included two Sámi reindeer herding communities (RHCs) with land-use rights in Kallak/Gállok, the National Association of Swedish Sámi (NASS – an umbrella organization for RHCs), the Sámi youth organization Sáminuorra, and Civil Rights Defenders (CRD), a Swedish human rights organization. Group-2-actors shared visions of promoting Sámi Indigenous rights, culture, and reindeer husbandry via their opposition to the Kallak/Gállok project.

> We see it as a good way to promote Sámi rights. Rights to have influence over traditional lands. And to ensure respect for the RHCs. We see it as promoting a greater good. (interview with NASS, author's translation)

Group-2-actors were guided by their overarching vision to promote Sámi rights and therefore saw opportunities and constraints in the policy area addressing Indigenous rights and reindeer husbandry [B]. However, in contrast to Group 1, Group-2-actors experienced meagre support from most of their locally based parliamentarians and perceived limited opportunities for Sámi rights claims in the national parliament. Based on retrospective reasoning about judicial victories for Sámi rights in other issues,[2] NASS and RHCs instead perceived better opportunities in the legal permit processes. This assessment was also facilitated by the RHCs' legal standing in the permit processes [C].

[2] For example, in the Girjas case concerning hunting and fishing rights (Allard and Brännström, 2021).

> Promoting Sámi rights, and particularly the rights to lands and waters, or natural resources, is not something politicians win elections on. Unfortunately. […] Where we have reached progress is via litigation, not in political processes. But via judicial victories political advancements are promoted. (interview with NASS, author's translation)

CRD similarly saw parliament's receptiveness to Sámi rights claims as limited. However, they had successfully pressured the Swedish government on other human rights issues by complaining to international organizations such as UN bodies and the Council of Europe, and they therefore saw international arenas as offering the best opportunities [C].

> Our assessment is that Sámi rights have strong support from international actors and human rights mechanisms. The international critique [of Sweden] is so uniform and clear. […] [In the Swedish parliament and government] however, it is generally difficult to gain support for these issues. But based on Sweden's foreign policy objectives they are often willing to respond to international criticism. (interview with CRD, author's translation)

Sáminuorra agreed that parliament was unreceptive. However, they perceived their best opportunities as being in public arenas such as national media outlets, which were seen as increasingly willing to report on Sámi rights claims [C]. Group-2-actors' strategies often aligned with their assessments of contextual opportunities and constraints. NASS and RHCs primarily promoted legal action in permit processes, CRD targeted international actors to pressure the Swedish government, and Sáminuorra prioritized public protests and campaigns to gain visibility in media [D].

However, all Group-2-actors also strategized lobbying of most national political parties and government, although the national parliament was seen as unreceptive. Similarly, all actors strategized continued information campaigns targeting the public, via social media, webpages, or by writing opinion pieces in newspapers, although they perceived the public as largely unknowledgeable about Sámi rights (absence of [D] in Figure 2). Like Group-1-actors, Group-2-actors chose strategies that appeared to be

rooted in established action traditions of keeping elected officials and citizenry informed about trade-offs in policy-making. Sáminuorra's preference for public protest strategies also appeared to have been shaped by diffusion via their co-operation with Fridays for Future Sweden, which prioritizes such strategies (see Frame Group 3). Thus diffusion may have shaped Sáminuorra's assessment of contextual opportunities via reversed reasoning [F].

The recent actions of Group-2-actors (from 2016-2022) largely aligned with their current strategies [E]. However, compared to the earlier period (2011-2015), some changes to actions were observed. During the initial years of mobilization, NASS and RHCs used a broader variety of actions. In addition to legal actions, political lobbying, and informing the public, the earlier period also included private lobbying of the mining company and shareholders as well as participation in public demonstrations in the local community (Jokkmokk) and in the capital (Stockholm).

One reason for narrowing their actions was that the permit process had become increasingly demanding, and they had fewer resources for parallel actions. Also, the anti-extraction movement had grown, and as new movement actors entered and engaged in public activities and demonstrations, NASS and RHCs were able to focus elsewhere. However, no movement actors continued the lobbying of private shareholders, something NASS and RHCs attributed to their earlier actions demonstrating the private arena as firmly unreceptive.

NASS' and RHCs' goals and interpretations of relevant policy areas thus seemed to remain stable over time. Yet their interpretations of contextual opportunities changed due to limited resources, growth of the movement, and learning from past interactions with the mining company and shareholders, and the changed interpretations led to shifts in their strategies and actions.

5.3. Promote Environmental Protection and Sustainability (Frame Group 3)

Frame Group 3 was the largest group and covered actors from both cases. It included the national organization SSNC Sweden (active in both Kallak/Gállok and Norra Kärr), its local branch SSNC Jokkmokk (Kallak/Gállok), and its regional branch SSNC Östergötland (Norra Kärr). Group 3 also included two new environmental organizations that emerged in response to the Norra Kärr project, Action Save Vättern (ASV) and the Bedrock Group Grenna-Norra Kärr (BGG, a local chapter of Bedrock Group Sweden). In Kallak/Gállok, Group 3 also included two newly formed networks, Mining-Free Jokkmokk (MFJ) and an informal Artists network, as well as Fridays for Future Sweden (FFF), the Green Party in Jokkmokk municipality, and the eco-anarchic inspired network, the Colonies (active mainly in Kallak/Gállok, but also in Norra Kärr during 2014).

Group-3-actors mainly promoted protection of nature, clean drinking water, lakes, rivers, and forests, and local sustainable ways of living, such as reindeer herding in Kallak/Gállok or eco-tourism. These visions tended to guide Group-3-actors to the policy area addressing environmental issues, for example, legal opportunities offered by the Swedish Environmental Code, or opportunities and constraints for environmental protection claims in various political arenas [B]. However, Group-3-actors in Kallak/Gállok stated that, over time, they promoted Sámi rights more actively, thus making the policy area addressing Indigenous rights increasingly relevant.

> It [our mobilization] started as a strict environmental issue [...] but then it developed during the struggle to, more and more, become an issue about human rights. About Sámi conditions and rights to continue living in these lands. (interview with MFJ1, author's translation)

For most Group-3-actors, these different visions were linked via the idea of environmental justice. Promotion of Indigenous rights thus followed from promotion of social and environmental sustainability [H]. However, there were also some examples of Group-3-actors perceiving Sámi rights claims as more popular in media,

leading actors to emphasize such goals to make the anti-mining campaign more visible. This indicated reversed reasoning of assessments of contextual opportunities influencing formulation of goals [G].

> To be frank, the Sámi arguments are very popular in media. It's been relatively easy to get media coverage on the Gállok case based on the Sámi perspective. [...] It's more difficult to get coverage on the traditional environmental issues. (interview with SSNC Jokkmokk 2, author's translation)

Within the policy area addressing environmental issues, Group-3-actors tended to perceive the majority of national parliament and media as unreceptive to arguments promoting further environmental protection in relation to mining. In response, the Group-3-actors split into two sub-constellations [C]. Sub-constellation 1 (ASV, BGG, SSNC Östergötland, SSNC Sweden, SSNC Jokkmokk, Green Party Jokkmokk) tended to perceive opportunities in municipal politics or legal permit processes. They viewed municipal politics as comparatively receptive, as local lobbying presented a route to elevate environmental claims to national politics. This reasoning was particularly pronounced among actors in Norra Kärr, where municipalities were mining-negative, but it also occurred in Kallak/Gállok. Sub-constellation 1 also tended to perceive opportunities in the permit processes, due to actors' previous experiences of successful litigation based on environmental legislation.

> There is a growing awareness and knowledge in [the Swedish Courts]. As more cases have been handled and… the Environmental Code is coming along. It is slowly making its way into the Swedish Judicial system. It's becoming better. (interview with SSNC ÖG, author's translation)

Sub-constellation 2 (MFJ, Artists, FFF, Colonies) instead tended to diagnose the current political parties and permit processes more critically and saw their best opportunities as being in public arenas, mobilizing grassroots outside of formal political and legal processes.

> Many have said that they will become members of the Social Democratic Party to create change from within. But they just get swallowed up in it. The only way

> to influence parliamentary decisions is to force change [...] By thousands of people being on the streets. By blockading and stopping traffic, airplanes, all that. By peaceful civil disobedience. (interview with MFJ1, author's translation)

Group-3-actors' strategies often aligned with the two Sub-constellations' assessments of contextual opportunities [D]. Sub-constellation 1 strategized legal actions in permit processes based on environmental legislation, as well as lobbying municipal politicians and doing information campaigns aimed at the local electorate.

However, as in Frame Groups 1 and 2, Sub-constellation 1 also strategized to lobby national parliamentarians and create information campaigns targeting the national public, despite seeing parliament and media as largely unreceptive. As in previous frame groups, these strategies seemed to hark back to established action traditions of maintaining contact with democratically elected officials and making the stakes at play clear to the public. Sub-constellation 2 instead tended to strategize public protests, occasional civil disobedience, and grassroots mobilization to create societal change and stop the Kallak/Gállok project.[3] Although these strategies aligned with their view of public arenas as more opportune than the national parliament, Sub-constellation 2's preference for protest action was also informed by traditions of using more radical protest actions. This was especially true for the Colonies and FFF, who formed strategic preferences before engaging in Kallak/Gállok. The representative of FFF explained:

> We should do what we do best, and that is to demonstrate outside parliament and on other sites. It's not like we choose it. It's just a natural way for us to organize demonstrations; that's what our movement is built upon. (interview with Fridays for Future Sweden, author's translation)

MFJ stated that their strategizing of future civil disobedience was directly inspired by civil disobedience performed by the Colonies in Kallak/Gállok in 2013. Sub-constellation 2's strategizing thus seems to have been significantly informed by pre-existing action traditions and subsequent diffusion of strategies to other movement

[3] The Colonies also engaged in Norra Kärr via civil disobedience in 2014 but later disengaged from the case.

actors. This likely informed actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities (reversed reasoning) [F].

Group-3-actors' recent actions largely aligned with their current strategies. For actors in Kallak/Gállok, however, there were some changes over time. SSNC Jokkmokk (Sub-constellation 1) participated in local public protests, together with the RHCs, during the earlier period (2011-2015) while later favouring litigation based on environmental legislation in the permit processes. This change in actions was likely due to similar changes in reasoning as for the RHCs (Frame Group 2), resulting in a shift in SSNC Jokkmokk's strategy from local mobilization to legal actions in permit processes. MFJ (Sub-constellation 2) also changed actions over time. In addition to public protests and mobilization, earlier actions by MFJ also included submitting collectively written statements to the permit process in Kallak/Gállok. MFJ representatives attributed these previous permit process actions to a need to signal public resistance to legal decision-makers and to maintain mobilization of the network. In line with this reasoning, the last permit process statement of MFJ was co-signed by 110 members.

6. Discussion

This study aimed to explore how and why actors in anti-extraction movements choose diverse strategies and actions. It focused particularly on how strategies and actions are shaped by movement actors' goals and their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints.

My results indicate that actors in the two anti-extraction movements, beyond stopping mining projects, were also motivated by overarching visions of promoting landowners' rights, Sámi Indigenous rights, and environmental protection and sustainability. This finding of multiple visions is consistent with previous research arguing that diverse goals for land use and societal development is a reoccurring feature in mining resistance and LULU movements (Beland Lindahl et al., 2018; Della Porta & Piazza, 2007).

Furthermore, results showed that actors used a broad variety of strategies and actions in their campaigns, also typical for such movements (Conde 2017; Fjellborg et al., 2022; Walter & Wagner, 2021). My study adds to previous research by showing how

multiple goals in a movement can become a stepping stone towards diversified strategies and actions. First, actors' different overarching visions led them to focus on different policy areas in their interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints (e.g., agricultural and rural politics, Indigenous rights and reindeer herding politics, or environmental politics). Accordingly, actors entered different pathways and initiated a fanning-out process towards diverse strategies and actions in the movements.

Second, actors' assessments of contextual opportunities and constraints within these policy areas, based on different previous experiences, resulted in a further diversification of strategies and actions. In addition to the established relationship between goals, interpretations of contextual opportunities, and actions, I found that actors' strategies and actions were sometimes shaped by traditions, diffusion, and resource availability. As for the actions, my results indicated that recent actions often aligned with strategies as expressed in interviews. However, documented differences between current strategies and earlier actions suggest that actors' frames may have changed over time.

My findings of how overarching visions inform movement actors' identification of the policy areas that enable or constrain their actions adds to previous research on issue-specific contexts in social movement studies. Previous studies of issue-specific contexts have typically presumed the relevant policy area of movements, often sorting entire movements into one fitting issue-specific contexts (Giugni, 2011; Meyer & Minkoff, 2004; Schnyder, 2015). My study suggests that actors in the same movement may be influenced by different issue-specific contexts depending on movement actors' visions. This finding underlines the importance of exploring the content of actors' goals when wishing to understand how context links to actions (Leitzinger & Waeger, 2023). This is especially important in studies of movements that typically promote multiple goals, such as LULU and anti-extraction movements.

The diversification of strategies and actions continued as movement actors assessed their contextual opportunities and constraints within the policy areas that they deemed most relevant to their campaigns. Opportunity assessments were often

performed via comparative reasoning across different arenas available to actors in their specific situations, and by comparison with previous experiences.

Concerning comparisons across arenas (what Gamson and Meyer, 1996, call 'venues'), most movement actors tended to view the national parliament as their main reference point. This means that opportunities in other arenas, for example, legal permit processes, public arenas, or municipal politics, were assessed in comparison to the perceived receptiveness of parliament, creating a form of hierarchy of arenas that guided interpretations, with parliament on top. Actors who perceived parliament as receptive to their claims (e.g. FSF) viewed other arenas as less relevant. Actors who instead perceived parliament as unreceptive tended to look elsewhere for opportunities, for example, in international arenas (CRD), permit processes (SSNC, NASS, RHCs), municipal politics (BGG, ASV), or public arenas (MFJ, Artists, FFF). Limited opportunities in municipal politics, for example, could thus become preferable for some actors to act on if opportunities in national parliament seemed even more limited. This understanding of opportunity assessments as relative presents a way to make sense of occasions when movements act on opportunities that appear meagre, something that has puzzled previous researchers (Giugni, 2011). Actors may simply act on the best chance they can find.

In line with previous research (de Moor & Wahlström, 2019), my results also indicate that movement actors' interpretations of opportunities were often guided by their previous experiences (i.e. retrospective reasoning). NASS and RHCs (Frame Group 2) reasoned that legal actions in permit processes were opportune by referencing previous litigation advancing Sámi rights in Sweden. Environmental organizations, such as SSNC, similarly reasoned that previous litigation based on environmental legislation had advanced environmental protection in general and had proven permit processes as opportune. My study adds to the results of de Moor and Wahlström (2019) by suggesting that researchers need to ask: 'Retrospection of what?' as the actors in my study reasoned retrospectively about experiences related to different policy areas and goals.

My results thus indicate that actors' strategies often align with interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints; however, other factors were also influential.

Resource availability occasionally affected actors' strategizing by limiting their capacity to maintain parallel strategies (Císař & Navrátil, 2022). This was expressed most clearly by NASS and RHCs when they described narrowing their focus to the permit process in Kallak/Gállok. In addition, actors' strategies and actions seemed to be influenced by changes in movement networks, for example, with new actors entering and taking over demonstrations. This indicates that the division of labour in movements may also influence actors' interpretations of opportunities and strategies, something future research should explore further.

Actors in all frame groups also continuously strategized lobbying of national politicians even though they saw parliament as largely unreceptive, and they organized campaigns targeting the public, despite viewing the national public as largely unaware or unreceptive. My results suggest that such strategies and actions can likely be understood with reference to action traditions among movement actors (Doherty & Hayes, 2012). Most actors saw communicating with elected officials and the public as a democratically grounded tradition. Targeting national politicians, receptive or not, may thus be more about fulfilling ideas about how one should act in a representative democracy than about consequentialist reasoning about what strategies would be most effective.

Other traditions also appeared to influence some actors' preferences for more radical strategies. The Colonies and FFF (Frame Group 3) indicated their pre-established preferences for civil disobedience or public demonstrations, as their group identities were built around such methods. In addition, diffusion of strategies occurred between movement actors when MFJ was inspired by the Colonies' use of civil disobedience, and Sáminuorra was inspired by FFF.

The co-presence of several potential explanations of strategies and actions, and my reliance on interviews for frame reconstruction, meant that the study sometimes faced analytical equifinality, meaning that two or more explanations logically aligned with the same choice of strategy. For example, when Artists (Frame Group 3) strategized public protest and art in relation to Kallak/Gállok, they rationalized it by arguing that the public was receptive to their claims (i.e. a perceived contextual opportunity). However, Artists also stated that they had routines of doing public art and protests,

pointing to tradition as also aligning with their choice of strategy. My frame analysis enabled exploration of actors' construction of meaning and identification of a limited number of causes that actors saw as relevant for their action choices. However, my approach did not always allow for singling out particular explanations among multiple perceived causes for strategies and actions.

A final contribution of my study relates to the stability or malleability of goals. Social movement research often treats problem formulations and goals as malleable, expecting movement actors to try to align their frames to public discourse to increase mobilization of adherents (Snow, Soule et al., 2019). Other frame analysts have instead argued that problem formulations and goals are shaped by actors' commitment to social relations and groups, suggesting that goals are relatively resistant to changes in more general public discourse (Perri 6, 2005; Rein & Schön, 1996).

My results mainly point towards the latter understanding of anti-extraction movements' goals as reasonably stable, something also supported by previous research on the Kallak/Gállok case indicating goals' stability over time (Johansson, 2023). Goals as stabilized by social commitment may be especially pronounced in LULU and anti-extraction movements, where negatively affected groups, such as farmers and Indigenous groups, mobilize against projects from a starting point of established social groups. However, my results for SSNC in Kallak/Gállok (Frame Group 3) show that anti-extraction movements' goals can also be adjusted in response to contextual opportunities and public discourse ([G] in Figure 2). This may be due to increased emphasis on both environmental and social sustainability in environmental organizations, improving their ability to adjust and broaden their goals.

Future research should explore goals in other LULU movements to assess the conditions under which movement actors' goals are aligned to public discourse or when goals are shaped by movement actors' social commitments, as well as the consequences the resulting malleability or stability of goals have for movements' adaptation of strategies and actions.

7. Conclusions

Popular resistance against new mining projects has increased in Europe. Understanding the motivations behind the strategies and actions of anti-extraction movements is therefore important to understand the trajectories of mining conflicts as well as society's potential for handling them.

I started by arguing that existing research on LULU and anti-extraction movements lacked an adequate account of the diversification of strategies and actions typically seen in such movements. My study demonstrated how anti-extraction movements' simultaneous promotion of multiple goals for societal development and land use led movement actors to relate to, and assess, contextual opportunities and constraints in different policy areas. This in turn led to a diversification of strategies and actions among movement actors.

Although other explanations, such as diffusion, traditions, and resources, were acknowledged as shaping strategies and action, I argue that the impact of actors' goals and embeddedness in socio-political contexts are especially important to understand. As such in-depth interpretive understandings can highlight the underlying value conflict motivating mining resistance and offer a starting point for discussions about how social, corporate, and political actors may handle the rising trend of mining conflicts.

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Appendix 1: List of interviews, interview manuals, references to documents analyzed, and tables presenting reconstructed frames and actions (Paper 3)

List of abbreviations (Swedish names in parenthesis)

ASV – Action Save Vättern (Aktion Rädda Vättern)

BGG – Bedrock Group Grenna-Norra Kärr (Urbergsgruppen Grenna-Norra Kärr)

CAB – County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelse)

CRD – Civil Right Defenders Sweden

FFF – Fridays for Future Sweden

FSF – Federation of Swedish Farmers (Lantbrukarnas Riksförbund)

MFJ – Mining-Free Jokkmokk (Gruvfritt Jokkmokk)

NASS – National Association of Swedish Sámi (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund)

RHC – Sámi Reindeer Herding Community (Sameby)

SSNC – Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (Naturskyddsföreningen)

Table 1 List of interviews. (*) Signifies actors who provided feedback on the reconstructed frames during analysis.

Actor interviewed	Case	Actor description	Date, type of interview, and interviewer
Jåhkågasska RHC	Kallak/Gállok	Sami reindeer herding community with rights to lands affected by Kallak/Gállok project. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from before 2011.	2022-03-01, one respondent, on-site in Jokkmokk, interviewed by author.
Sirges RHC	Kallak/Gállok	Sami reindeer herding community with rights to lands affected by Kallak/Gállok project. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from before 2011.	2022-03-09, one respondent, on-site in Jokkmokk, interviewed by author.
National Association of Swedish Sami*	Kallak/Gállok	National interest organization representing reindeer herding communities in Sweden. Established in 1950. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from before 2011.	2022-03-07, one respondent, digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Swedish Society for Nature Conservation – Jokkmokk chapter*	Kallak/Gállok	Local chapter of larger Swedish environmental organization. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2012.	2022-03-01, two respondent, one digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Civil Rights Defenders Sweden*	Kallak/Gállok	A Swedish human rights organization. Established in 1982 as the Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2018.	2022-06-03, one respondent, digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Green Party in Jokkmokk municipality	Kallak/Gállok	Municipal branch of the Green party in Sweden. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2011.	2022-02-28, one respondent, on-site in Jokkmokk, interviewed by author.
Fridays for Future – Sweden	Kallak/Gállok	Swedish branch of international youth-led climate movement. Started in 2018. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2022.	2022-07-12, one respondent, digital video interview, interviewed by author.

Sáminuorra	Kallak/Gállok	Youth organization for Sami in Sweden. Established in 1963. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2013.	2022-08-09, one respondent, digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Mining-Free Jokkmokk*	Kallak/Gállok	Network mobilized in response to the planned mine in Kallak/Gállok. Facebook-community established and engaged case from 2011.	2022-02-28 and 2022-04-26, two respondents, two interviews, first on-site in Jokkmokk, second digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Artist Network	Kallak/Gállok	Network of artists engaged in the opposition to the planned mine in Kallak/Gállok. Include musicians, painters, authors etc. Artists engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2012.	2022-03-09 and 2022-04-08, two respondents, two interviews, first on-site in Jokkmokk, second digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Board of Sami Parliament	Kallak/Gállok	Elected assembly for Sami in Sweden as well as a state agency for Sami issues. Opened in 1993. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2013.	2022-04-27, one respondent, digital video interview, interviewed by author. *Note: Interview not used in analysis due to actor not identifying itself as part of the movement.*
The Colonies	Kallak/Gállok and Norra Kärr	Activist network engaged in opposition to several exploitation project in Sweden. Inspired by anarchism. Mobilized in 2012 in opposition to a quarry on Gotland. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2013.	2022-03-03, one respondent, digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Swedish Society for Nature Conservation – Sweden	Kallak/Gállok and Norra Kärr	Sweden's largest environmental organization, with regional and local chapters all over Sweden. Established in 1909. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2015.	2022-03-17, one respondent, digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Swedish Society for Nature Conservation – Östergötland Region (SSNC ÖG)	Norra Kärr	Regional chapter of larger Swedish environmental organization. Engaged in Norra Kärr case from 2014.	2022-03-17 & 2022-05-17, two respondents, digital video interviews, interviewed by author. Second respondent was legal representative of several SSNC chapters, ASV and BGG in relation to the NK mine.
Action Save Vättern (ASV)	Norra Kärr	Organization mobilized in protection of lake Vättern and in opposition to the planned mine in Norra Kärr, the military's practice shootings in Vättern, and gas exploration in Motala Bay. Network established and engaged in Norra Kärr from 2011, formal ENGO from 2013.	2022-03-09, three respondents, on-site in Hästholmen, interviewed by author.
Bedrock Group Grenna – Norra Kärr (BGG)*	Norra Kärr	Local chapter of larger Swedish environmental organization. Mobilized in relation to Norra Kärr in 2015.	2022-03-23, one respondent, on-site in Gränna, interviewed by author.
Elgen Association	Norra Kärr	Local organization engaged in issues concerning landowners' rights, local impacts, and environmental issues. Engaged in relation to Norra Kärr in 2015.	2022-03-31, one respondent, digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Federation of Swedish Farmers – Sweden (FSF Sweden)	Norra Kärr	Sweden's largest interest organization for agriculture and forestry, with regional and local organization all over Sweden. Engaged in Norra Kärr case on 2019.	2022-03-22, one respondent, digital video interview, interviewed by author.
Federation of Swedish Farmers – Östergötland Region (FSF ÖG)*	Norra Kärr	Regional organization of FSF. Engaged in Norra Kärr case in 2011.	2022-03-24, one respondent, on-site in Ödeshög, interviewed by author.

Interview manual for Kallak/Gállok (translated from Swedish)

(Semi-structured interviews – follow-up questions were asked depending on the answers of the interviewee.)

How have you engaged in the opposition to the mine in Kallak/Gállok – what group do you represent?

What would you say that you want to achieve by your opposition to the planned mine in Kallak/Gállok?

Potential follow-up: Is your opposition mainly about this mine or about other things as well?

What other actors would you say have been active in the movement opposing the suggested mine?

Potential follow-up: What goals do other actors in the movement have?

Potential follow-up: How do you handle different goals in the movement?

Potential follow-up: Have your goals changed over time?

Can you tell me about what your group has done to achieve your goals in your engagement against the mine in Kallak/Gállok? Why did you choose those actions?

Potential follow-up: Probe for elaborations on arenas, targets, types, and allies in actions.

Have you acted on you own or together with other actors in the movement?

What have other actors in the movement done in the opposition to the mine?

Have others' actions affected your reasoning about what you should do?

What does your organisation/network consider good ways to do resistance to the suggested mine? Why?

Are there any ways to oppose the mine that you do not consider as good?

Has there been different opinions within the movement about what actions should be taken?

Who has power to decide if there will be a mine or not?

Potential follow-up: In what way do they have power?

Potential follow-up: Do you trust those who make decisions about the mine? Why/Why not?

Which power holder does your organization/network believe that you can influence/not influence?

Potential follow-up: Does your organization/network have power? If so, in what way?

Among whom can you find support in your opposition?

Potential follow-up: Who do you perceive as your main opponents?

How do you view state agencies and permit processes for the Kallak/Gállok mine – can you influence those?

Potential follow-up: Has indigenous rights played any role in your ability to have influence?

How do you perceive the opportunities to influence politicians and political parties?

How do you perceive the opportunities to influence the mining company and the industry?

How do you perceive the opportunities to influence public opinion?

Potential follow-up: How do you perceive opportunities to influence media?

Who else do you think I should talk to in the movement to understand the resistance to the suggested mine?

Is there anything you would like to add that we have not talked about?

Interview manual for Norra Kärr (translated from Swedish)

(Semi-structured interviews – follow-up questions were asked depending on the answers of the interviewee.)

How have you engaged in the opposition to the mine in Norra Kärr – what group do you represent?

What would you say that you want to achieve by your opposition to the planned mine in Norra Kärr?

Potential follow-up: Is your opposition mainly about this mine or about other things as well?

What other actors would you say have been active in the movement opposing the suggested mine?

Potential follow-up: What goals do other actors in the movement have?

Potential follow-up: How do you handle different goals in the movement?

Potential follow-up: Have your goals changed over time?

Can you tell me about what your group has done to achieve your goals in your engagement against the mine in Norra Kärr? Why did you choose those actions?

Potential follow-up: Probe for elaborations on arenas, targets, types, and allies in actions.

Have you acted on you own or together with other actors in the movement?

What have other actors in the movement done in the opposition to the mine?

Have others' actions affected your reasoning about what you should do?

What does your organisation/network consider good ways to do resistance to the suggested mine? Why?

Are there any ways to oppose the mine that you do not consider as good?

Has there been different opinions within the movement about what actions should be taken?

Who has power to decide if there will be a mine or not?

Potential follow-up: In what way do they have power?

Potential follow-up: Do you trust those who make decisions about the mine? Why/Why not?

Which power holder does your organization/network believe that you can influence/not influence?

Potential follow-up: Does your organization/network have power? If so, in what way?

Among whom can you find support in your opposition?

Potential follow-up: Who do you perceive as your main opponents?

How do you view state agencies and permit processes for the Norra Kärr mine – can you influence those?

How do you perceive the opportunities to influence politicians and political parties?

How do you perceive the opportunities to influence the mining company and the industry?

How do you perceive the opportunities to influence public opinion?

Potential follow-up: How do you perceive opportunities to influence media?

Who else do you think I should talk to in the movement to understand the resistance to the suggested mine?

Is there anything you would like to add that we have not talked about?

Selection of references to documents central to case analysis

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Table 2 Actors sorted into frame groups; sorting guided by shared goals.

	Frame Group 1 (Promote Landowners' Rights)	Frame Group 2 (Promote Sámi Rights)	Frame Group 3 (Promote Environmental Protection and Sustainability)	
Goals (Diagnostic frame component)	Joint goal: Stop the mining project			
	Promote landowners' rights, agriculture, and rural development in relation to mining and other land exploitations. Protect drinking water as prerequisite for agriculture.	Strengthen Sami indigenous rights in relation to mining and land exploitations. Promote reindeer husbandry and RHCs' rights to land.	Protect nature, such as drinking water, lakes, rivers, and forests. Promote local sustainable ways of living in tune with nature, e.g., Sami culture and reindeer husbandry (K/G), or eco-tourism. Promote recycling, waste mining and efficient use of minerals.	
Movement actors (K/G= Kallak/Gállok, NK=Norra Kärr)	FSF Swe (NK), FSF ÖG (NK), Elgen (NK)	NASS (K/G), CRD (K/G), Sirges RHC (K/G), Jåhkågasska RHC (K/G), Sáminuorra (K/G)	SSNC Sweden (K/G & NK), SSNC Jokkmokk (K/G), SSNC ÖG (NK), Greens Jokkmokk (K/G), ASV (NK), BGG (NK)	MFJ (K/G), Artist Network (K/G), FFF Swe (K/G), the Colonies (K/G & NK),
Interpretations of opportunities and constraints in the socio-political context (Diagnostic frame component)	<u>Policy processes</u> Ability to influence national mining policy is constrained by large parties' supporting mines as job creators and by the mining lobby's strong influence on national politicians. Rising numbers of mining conflicts in agricultural Sweden increase opportunities to put mines' effects on farming on national political agenda. National parliamentarians from the affected regions around Norra Kärr understand and feel responsibility for the other businesses and values negatively affected by mining projects – contacting then is opportunity to influence national politics. <u>Permit processes</u> Permit processes governed by Minerals Act are opaque and hostile to landowners' rights. FSF ÖG & Elgen: Involved authorities lack experience of mining. This creates need to inform and support CABs in permit process for NK mine. CABs are receptive to advice on negative effects of NK mine. <u>Public arenas</u> FSF ÖG & Elgen: The public around Vättern and in the water catchment area are unaware of the mine's risks of polluting their drinking water. Media constrains information giving to the public by not wanting to write about these risks anymore. <u>Private market</u> Ability to influence project owners and investors via dialogue is constrained by owner's unwillingness to change.	<u>Policy processes</u> Ability to influence national mining policy is constrained by national politicians not being aware of, or not respecting, Sámi indigenous rights. Influence is constrained by established political parties gaining votes on promoting mines for jobs and economic growth – elections are not won on promoting Sami rights. RHCs & NASS: Judicial success for Sámi indigenous rights is relative opportunity to pressure politicians for policy changes. CRD: Pressuring politicians via international arenas is opportunity for policy changes for indigenous rights. <u>Permit processes</u> RHCs & NASS: The permit process present opportunities to stop the mine and to influence legal practices to strengthen Sámi indigenous rights in other cases in Sweden. Previous judicial successes for RHCs and the unreceptiveness of national politicians increase perception of legal opportunities. CRD: International arenas, such as UN bodies, present opportunities to pressure decision-makers to respect indigenous rights. Based on previous international experience. <u>Public arenas</u> National media's growing interest in K/G case and Sámi issues create opportunities to influence the national public. RHCs & NASS: The risk of getting negative reprisals from local community constrains willingness to take local public action. <u>Private market</u>	<u>Policy processes</u> It is difficult to influence national policy concerning mineral legislation. Policy change is constrained by the EU and mining industry lobbying for mining and by large parties (e.g. Moderates and Social Democrats) winning votes by promoting mining for job creation and economic growth. SSNC, ASV, BGG: Litigation based on environmental legislation is opportunity to pressure politicians for policy changes for environmental protection. ASV & BGG: Influencing movement-friendly municipalities around Vättern is opportunity to indirectly influence national political parties. Greens: Access to national Green party is opportunity to influence national policy processes.	Public protests and mobilization are opportunities to push national politicians to change policies in favour of environmental protection and sustainability.
			<u>Permit processes</u> The current Minerals Act lacks in consideration of environmental protection and other sustainable land-uses. SSNC, ASV, BGG: Arguing on nature protecting institutions (e.g., EU environmental directives and Swedish Environmental Code) present opportunities to stop projects or influence conditions in permits, and to change legal practices so that environmental legislation is better implemented in other cases. ASV, BGG, Greens: Encouraging municipalities to engage in the permit processes is opportunity to promote thorough permit assessments. Greens: National Green is opportunities to influence Government as decision-maker in permit process.	Public protests and mobilization are opportunities to put pressure on decision-makers in permit processes. MFJ: Writing statements in permit process is opportunity to inform authorities, e.g., CAB, and mobilize supporters.

	FSF ÖG & Elgen: Monitoring reports on the Canadian stock exchange, where project owner is registered, is opportunity to collect information to forward to permit process.	Ability to influence project owner via dialogue is constrained by owner's unwillingness to change.	<u>Public arenas</u> Public opinion raising is opportunity to influence policy and permit processes concerning mining. SSNC ÖG & ASV & BGG: Local public supports protection of Vättern and are generally pro-movement. Goal of protecting drinking water creates opportunities to influence affected public around Vättern. MFJ and Greens: Regional public and media in K/G is generally pro-industry which constrains local mobilisation and public opinion raising. SSNC Jokkmokk & MFJ: National media's interest in Sámi issues creates opportunity to increase media coverage of the K/G case. <u>Private market</u> Ability to influence project owners via dialogue is constrained by owners' unwillingness to change. Activity by project owners, such as statements in public and in permit processes, or on-site activities, create opportunities for counteractions targeting the public or decision-makers.
Preferences for strategies in terms of arenas, targets, and types (Prescriptive frame component)	<u>Arenas and Targets:</u> FSF Swe & ÖG: Should have direct contact with national politicians to change mineral legislation in favour of landowners' rights. Parliamentarians from affected regions should be prioritized as they are especially receptive to agricultural claims. Should also inform national public, via media, about trade-off-situations between agriculture and mining. FSF ÖG & Elgen: Should prioritize informing CABs, as decision-makers in permit process, about risks for agriculture and drinking water, to stop the NK mining project. Should also inform affected public about risks of the mine. <u>Types:</u> Should meet and inform politicians and state authorities. Should collect and publicly spread information about the negative impacts of NK mine and mining legislation, for example via media and own webpages. FSF Swe: Should participate in state inquiries about mineral legislation. Elgen and FSF ÖG: Should participate in public meetings with locally affected public.	<u>Arenas and Targets:</u> Should have direct contact with national politicians to strengthen Sámi right in relation to land exploitations. Should do public opinion work, prioritizing national public via media, webpages, and social media. RHCs & NASS: Should prioritize legal action in permit processes to stop the mine, to strengthen legal practices for Sami indigenous rights, and to pressure national politicians for policy changes. CRD: Should prioritize action in international arenas, e.g. UN bodies, to pressure decision-makers in permit processes and national politicians for policy change. <u>Types:</u> Should write to and participate in media. Should write to and meet national politicians. Sáminuorra: Should do public demonstrations to increase public awareness of risks of Kallak/Gállok mine. NASS & RHCs: Should litigate in permit processes. NASS, RHCs, CRD: Should produce reports concerning the project's effects on Sámi rights and reindeer husbandry.	<u>Arenas and Targets:</u> Should do public opinion raising at national and/or local level. Politicians, permit decision-makers, and project owners are also indirect targets of public actions against projects. Should prioritize work in permit processes to stop, or influence implementation of, mining projects. Should also directly communicate with national politicians for changing mineral policy to better consider environment and sustainability. SSNC, ASV, BGG: Should litigate based on environmental legislation to strengthen general implementation of environmental legislation in Sweden. Greens: Should act via municipal and party politics to influence permit processes. ASV & BGG: Should directly communicate with municipal politicians and officials around Vättern to engage them in permit processes against the NK mine and to indirectly influence national politicians. Should prioritize protest actions in public arenas to mobilize supporters and public opinion, e.g. street demonstrations or school strikes. MFJ, Artists, Colonies: Should target project owner's on-site activities with civil disobedience to halt Kallak/Gállok project. <u>Types:</u> Should do public campaigning via media, social media, and webpages. Should keep track of, and litigate in, permit processes. Should meet with and inform national or municipal politicians. ASV & BGG: Should arrange petitions, demonstrations, information movies and exhibitions. Should arrange public campaigns such as petitions, artwork, demonstrations, and exhibitions. Artists, FFF, Colonies: Should continue using our established methods, such as art, public demonstrations, or civil disobedience.

Table 3 Actions taken by actors. Sorted into Frame Groups.

	Frame Group 1	Frame Group 2	Frame Group 3	
Summary of actions taken between 2011-2022. Described in terms of arenas, targets, and types. (Active years in parenthesis) [Case affiliation in square brackets, K/G = Kallak/Gállok, NK = Norra Kärr]	FSF ÖG (2011-2022) & FSF Swe (2019-2022) [NK] **Actions in national politics** – most common action arena. Arranged parliamentary seminars and field excursions for parliamentarians from affected regions around Vättern. Argued for strengthened landowners' rights, and protection of agriculture and drinking water. FSF Sweden participated in governmental inquiries about adjustments to mineral legislation. **Actions in permit processes** – FSF ÖG wrote statements to, and arranged field excursions for, CABs and municipalities. Argued for consideration of landowners' rights, agriculture, and drinking water. **Actions in public –** less common arena. Wrote opinion pieces and presented at public meetings. Elgen (2015-2022) [NK] **Actions in public –** Wrote opinion pieces in regional media arguing for water protection and local landowners' influence in decision-making for the Norra Kärr project. **Actions in permit processes** – wrote statements to CABs and Government. Argued for consideration of drinking water and local influence. **Actions in private market** – monitored project owner's statements at Canadian stock exchange. Collected information about project to inform permit process action.	NASS & RHCs (2011-2022) [K/G] **Actions in permit processes** – most common action arena. Wrote statements, met decision-makers, and appealed. Mainly arguing on indigenous rights and rights of RHCs. **Actions in national politics** – less common arena. Met with Government and national politicians, especially Green Party, arguing mainly for indigenous rights. **Actions in private market** – actions attempted 2011-2015. Targeted project owner and investors e.g., at company's annual meetings, informing that project violated indigenous rights. **Actions in public** – Wrote in national and local media, often in relation to permit process developments and arguing on indigenous rights. Between 2011-2015 RHCs co-arranged demonstrations in local community and in Stockholm. Sáminuorra (2013-2022) [K/G] **Actions in public –** most common actions. Wrote in national media, often arguing for indigenous rights. Co-arranged art exhibition and local and national demonstrations. Later actions often with Fridays for Future. **Actions in national politics** – less common action arena. Wrote to, and met with, national politicians, often arguing for indigenous rights. CRD (2018-2022) [K/G] **Actions in national politics –** wrote letters to and pressured Government via international arenas to strengthen indigenous rights. **Actions in permit process –** wrote statements to Government and raised the permit process to international actors, such as UN's special rapporteurs on human rights and indigenous peoples. **Actions in public –** wrote in national and social media about K/G as human rights issue.	SSNC Sweden (2014-2022) [K/G & NK], SSNC Jokkmokk (2012-2022) [K/G], & SSNC ÖG (2012-2022) [NK] **Actions in permit process** – most common action arena in NK and increasingly common in K/G. All wrote statements to the Government and state authorities in permit processes and appealed decisions to courts. Argued on environmental institutions e.g., EU environmental directives in NK and environmental institutions and indigenous rights institutions in K/G. **Actions in politics** – actions mainly by SSNC Sweden who wrote to, and met with, national politicians in most parties, arguing for environmental consideration in mining legislation. Less common action arena for SSNC Jokkmokk and SSNC ÖG. **Actions in public** – arranged lectures, information campaigns, and wrote in media about mining and its risks for environment and sustainability, often in relation to argumentation in permit or policy processes. In initial years SSNC Jokkmokk co-arranged local demonstrations concerning K/G. ASV (2011-2022) & BGG (2015-2022) [NK] **Actions in permit process** – Filed complaints, wrote statements, appealed decisions, and met with state authorities. **Actions in politics** – recurringly wrote to, and met, municipal politicians around Vättern, urging for protection of Vättern and opposition to the NK mine. Arranged some events for national politicians, mainly attended by Green and Left parties. **Actions in public** – most common action arena. Continuously wrote in regional media, arranged manifestations, petitions, and public meetings around Vättern. Participated in national demonstrations with actors opposing other mining projects in Sweden. Green Party Jokkmokk (2011-2022) [K/G] **Actions in politics –** opposed pro-mining political majority in Jokkmokk municipality via media statements and in municipal policy processes. Lobbied national Green party concerning mineral policies. **Actions in permit process –** engaged in municipal politics to influence municipality's statements in permit process. Communicated with national party to influence concession process when Social Democratic-Green-Government handled application 2017-2021. **Actions in public –** did numerous media appearance and wrote public opinions concerning K/G. Mostly in regional media.	Mining-Free Jokkmokk Network (2011-2022) [K/G] **Actions in public –** most common action arena. Started social media groups and website, arranged public lectures, movie, and information campaigns, initiated online petition against project, wrote to national and local media, co-arranged several local demonstrations and movement gatherings, and co-arranged several national level demonstrations. Some members engaged in civil disobedience in 2013. **Actions in national politics –** less common action arena. Wrote letters to Government and politicians and met with national Green Party. **Actions in permit process –** filed complaints and wrote collective statements to Government and state authorities. Artist Network (2012-2022) [K/G] **Actions in public –** most common action arena. Produced music, poetry, dance, and visual art. Co-arranged exhibition of 'protest art' travelling Sweden. Participated in local and national media. Posted in personal social media channels and arranged local art manifestations targeting public, project owner and politicians. Some members engaged in civil disobedience in 2013. Colonies Network (2013-2022) [K/G & NK] **Actions in public –** most common action arena. Started webpage and several members engaged in civil disobedience against projects in 2013 (K/G) and 2014 (NK). Produced art, movie, and music. Co-arranged exhibition of 'protest art' and workshops travelling Sweden. Fridays for Future Sweden (2022) [K/G] **Actions in public –** most common action arena. Posted on social media and co-arranged local and national demonstrations with Sáminuorra. Wrote in national media with Sáminourra and RHCs.

IV

Division of Labour in Swedish Mining Resistance: The Interplay between Legal Mobilization and Public Protests in Social Movements

Daniel Fjellborg[a] * and Karin Beland Lindahl[a]

Abstract

More knowledge is needed about how the design and implementation of legal processes shape the strategies and actions of social movements. We explore how movement actors' interpretations of opportunities and constraints within legal processes shape their choices of strategies and actions. We particularly investigate how actors' interpretations relate to their access to legal processes (i.e. legal standing) and to their understanding of opportunities in alternative action arenas in society, such as policy-making processes and public protests. We investigate an anti-extraction movement and its mobilization against a mining project in northern Sweden over eleven years. Using social movement theory and frame analysis, we explore the interpretations, strategies, and actions of movement actors who have or lack legal standing within the project's permit process (i.e. legal insiders or outsiders). Key results indicate that movement actors' actions are shaped by their understanding of opportunities in societal arenas, their action traditions, and their interpretations of expected roles amongst other actors in the movement. To understand how legal standing shapes actions, we must acknowledge that actions are shaped by both a logic of consequences and a logic of appropriateness. Results also indicate that insiders' legal engagement did not diminish outsiders' use of public protests. On the contrary, outsiders' motivation to use protests increased via a division of labour emerging in the movement, with actors specializing into either legal mobilization or protests. Integration of some movement actors into legal processes may not lead to a phasing out of protests in the growing mining resistance in Europe.

Keywords: social movement strategy; tactics; legal mobilization; mining; protest; logic of appropriateness

[a] Unit of Political Science, Luleå University of Technology, 971 87 Luleå, Sweden.
* Corresponding author. E-mail address: daniel.fjellborg@ltu.se

1. Introduction

In this study we explore how a social movement's strategies and actions are shaped by movement actors' varying access to formal legal processes. We do this in the setting of natural resource exploitation by investigating a movement mobilizing against a proposed mine in Sweden. Drawing on Lehoucq and Taylor (2020), we understand legal processes as involving not only litigation in courts but also state-led administrative procedures, such as permit processes for mining projects. Previous research shows that actions such as legal mobilization – 'the use of law in explicit, self-conscious ways through the invocation of formal institutional mechanisms' (Lehoucq & Taylor, 2020) – are becoming increasingly prominent among social movements and interest groups in Europe (Hofmann & Naurin, 2021; Vanhala, 2018).

In natural resource management literature, it is often assumed that the design of legal processes, particularly mechanisms for actor involvement, influences the strategy and action choices of actors opposed to projects (Bäckstrand et al., 2010; Reed, 2008). However, knowledge about how this influence occurs is limited, and further explorations may advance our understanding of legal mobilization and contribute to the revigorated debate in social movement studies about *how* movements' socio-political contexts influence movements' strategies and actions (Ancelovici, 2021; McAdam & Tarrow, 2019).

Previous research on social movements suggests that the design and implementation of legal processes produces 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Insiders are movement actors with legal standing, expected to be more prone to legal mobilization, while outsiders are movement actors lacking legal standing, expected to be more prone to using other forms of actions, such as public protests (Hilson, 2002). However, these relationships are not straightforward. While some studies indicate that access to legal processes often affects movements' use of legal mobilization in expected ways (Boutcher & McCammon, 2019), others display contradictory results, with movement actors sometimes engaging in legal mobilization even though they lack legal standing or any prospect of winning in court (Fjellborg, 2023; NeJaime, 2011; Vanhala, 2012).

Consequently, more research is needed to clarify the link between the design of legal processes, including the significance of movement actors' positions as insiders or outsiders, and movements' strategies and actions. While previous research has focused primarily on actors that regularly turn to the courts (Vanhala, 2018), we choose a broader approach to explore how the actions of both insiders and outsiders are shaped by the design and implementation of legal processes.

Our point of departure is that movement actors' use of legal mobilization must be understood in relation to alternative strategies, as their choice is likely influenced by their ability to act in a variety of societal arenas besides the courtroom (Cummings, 2017; Levitsky, 2015). Drawing on Jasper (2021), we understand a societal arena as the observable setting where an interaction takes place. Apart from legal processes, actors may, for example, act in policy-making processes or public arenas.

To better understand how the design and implementation of legal processes shape movements' strategies and actions, we explore how movement actors make sense of relevant legal processes and their broader socio-political context. Social movement scholars increasingly argue that movement actors' own interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints are vital for understanding how context shapes movements' strategies and actions (de Moor & Wahlström, 2019; Doherty & Hayes, 2019; Duyvendak & Fillieule, 2015). The burgeoning literature on movements' sense-making of legal processes indicates that different actors interpret legal opportunities differently, leading to diverse strategies and actions (Fjellborg, 2023; Vanhala, 2018). Hence, more research is needed on how actors imbue legal processes with meaning, and how this subsequently shapes their strategies and actions.

Building on the research gaps outlined above, our aim is to explore how movement actors interpret opportunities and constraints within legal processes and how this shapes their choices of strategies and actions. We explore how actors' interpretations relate to their positions as insiders or outsiders in relation to the legal processes in question, and to their understandings of opportunities and constraints in alternative societal arenas, such as policy-making processes and public protests. Knowledge about how legal process design affects movements' actions is important for understanding

how social movements mobilize, as well as how state institutional design may influence the trajectory of societal conflicts.

We explore our aim by studying mobilization against a planned mining project in northern Sweden (Kallak/Gállok). Mining resistance in Sweden has increased in recent decades and typically engages heterogeneous sets of actors, such as formalized environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOs), organizations for Indigenous Sámi or farmers, and newly formed activist networks. Coming together in anti-extraction movements mobilizing against specific projects, these actors tend to deploy a wide range of strategies and actions, from legal mobilization and lobbying of political actors and private shareholders to public protests and civil disobedience (Fjellborg et al., 2022).

The startup of mining projects in Sweden involves an extensive legal permit process led by state authorities. Some movement actors can take part in the formal process and appeal decisions to courts (Raitio et al., 2020), whereas others cannot, thus creating groups of insiders and outsiders. Understanding the dynamics of anti-extraction mobilization in Europe is increasingly important as EU-level political initiatives to increase mineral production currently face rising public mobilization against mining projects at the local level (European Commission, 2023; Kivinen et al., 2020).

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Legal Processes and Movements' Strategies and Actions

Drawing on Della Porta and Diani (2020) and Snow et al., (2019), we understand social movements as informal networks of actors that share distinct collective identities and goals, are involved in conflictual interactions with opponents, and occasionally act outside of the formal political institutions, for example, through demonstrations or other public protests.

We study an anti-extraction movement, a place-specific mobilization against a suggested mining project. We understand anti-extraction movements as locally unwanted land-use (LULU) movements, which are movements involving local and

extra-local actors who oppose specific developments, such as infrastructure or industry projects, and often promote alternative societal pathways and ideas about social justice and environmental protection (Della Porta et al., 2019).

Anti-extraction and LULU movements in Europe typically include a variety of movement actors, from formalized NGOs to new activist networks, and use a broad variety of actions to influence projects and policies. Actions include legal mobilization in permit processes for projects as well as street demonstrations, petitions, political lobbying, information campaigns, and civil disobedience (Della Porta et al., 2019; Fjellborg et al., 2022; Kivinen et al., 2020). We understand *movement actors* as the organizations and sub-networks making up a movement, *strategy* as movement actors' plans for future actions (Smithey, 2009), and *actions* as movement actors' performance.

Previous research on how the design and implementation of legal processes influence movements' strategies and actions has mainly explored how movement actors' varying access to legal processes induce or deter legal mobilization. Hilson (2002) captures this in terms of varying legal opportunity structures (LOS). A LOS expected to favour legal mobilization consists of three things. First, litigation is more likely if a movement actor has legal standing, that is, the right to pursue their claims in a legal process. Second, litigation is more likely if legal decision-makers, such as judges or authorities, are receptive to claims made by movement actors. Third, legal mobilization is more likely if movement actors have resources, such as money and legal expertise, fitting to such actions.

LOS theory's foundation is similar to that of political opportunity structures (POS) theory, which suggests that movements' actions are shaped by access to, and receptiveness in, states' policy processes (McAdam & Tarrow, 2019). Both LOS and POS theory assume that movement actors choose actions with a view to fulfilling goals and that their choices are based on a logic of consequences, meaning that 'actors choose among alternatives by evaluating their likely consequences for personal or collective objectives' (March & Olsen, 1998, p. 949). This logic has implicitly predominated much research on social movement action (Della Porta & Diani, 2020; de Moor, 2022). The alternative of actions as guided by a logic of appropriateness,

where the choice of action 'involves evoking an identity or role and matching the obligations of that identity or role to a specific situation' (March & Olsen, 1998, p. 951), is less considered.

Subsequent empirical research on LOS has agreed on legal standing as an important starting point for understanding actors' propensity to use legal mobilization (Vanhala, 2012). Differences in legal standing demarcate movement actors as either legal 'insiders', expected to be more prone to litigation, or 'outsiders', expected to be more prone to actions in other arenas, such as public protests or political lobbying. We take this with us and explore movement actors' differences in legal standing in the mining permit process.

Although some studies have shown that LOS often has expected impacts on movements' legal mobilization (Boutcher & McCammon, 2019), others indicate that it sometimes does not. Fjellborg's (2023) study of permit processes for mineral exploration drilling in Sweden indicates that the meaning movement actors place in legal processes depends on their goals. Actors who aim to raise public awareness and mobilize supporters occasionally see legal processes as arenas for gaining publicity and may litigate even when prospects for legal success are low (see also NeJaime, 2011).

Vanhala (2018) also shows that environmental organizations that habitually view themselves and their campaigns through a 'legal lens', that is, as representatives of legal rights holders, are more prone to legal mobilization than other organizations holding similar LOS positions. Additionally, legal mobilization literature argues that movement actors' use of legal mobilization is also likely shaped by opportunities and constraints in other arenas in their socio-political context, such as policy processes or public arenas (Cummings, 2017; Levitsky, 2015). A limited opportunity in legal processes may, for example, be perceived as good if all other potential arenas are perceived as firmly unreceptive. The interpretation of opportunity in legal processes thus becomes relative to opportunities in other societal arenas (Gamson & Meyer, 1996).

These studies have in common that they underline investigation of movement actors' own understandings of legal processes as an important, yet often overlooked, step

between the setup of legal processes and movements' strategies and actions. Inspired by this, we investigate movement actors' interpretations of opportunities and constraints in legal processes and their larger socio-political context as a mediating step between the design and implementation of legal processes and actors' strategies and actions. We understand opportunity as the contextual conditions perceived as favouring a movement actor's prospects for fulfilling a goal, and we understand constraint as the antonym of opportunity.

2.2. Frame Analysis

We investigate movement actors' interpretations of their socio-political context and strategic reasoning with the help of frame analysis, an approach commonly used in social sciences to explore how actors' meaning-making shapes actions (Cornelissen & Werner, 2014). Following Rein and Schön (1996, p. 89), we understand frames as 'strong and generic narratives that guide both analysis and action in practical situations. Such narratives are diagnostic/prescriptive stories that tell, within a given issue terrain, what needs fixing and how it might be fixed'.

In most conceptualizations of frames, the frame consists of two interrelated functions – a *diagnostic* function, capturing actors' understanding of the situation, and a *prescriptive* function, capturing actors' suggested ways of acting based on their understanding of the situation (Perri 6, 2005). Consequently, the frame is a well-suited concept for exploring the connection between actors' understanding of the socio-political context (diagnosis) and their strategies (prescription).

We explore frames at the meso level of movement actors. This allows us to perform a more extensive study of the movement and explore variations between movement actors who are insiders and outsiders. We investigate two components of movement actors' frames.

First, as part of diagnosis, we explore movement actors' understandings of contextual opportunities and constraints in the legal permit process and other societal arenas they deem relevant. Second, as the prescriptive function of the frame, we explore movement actors' preferences for strategies, that is, what should be done. To facilitate

comparison between movement actors, we explore strategies in three aspects. First, *arena of action* refers to the observable setting where an action takes place (Jasper, 2021), such as in the legal permit process, in state consultations in policy-making processes, or on the streets.

Second, *target of action* refers to the external societal actor that an act aims to influence (Jasper & King, 2020), such as owners of the mining project, the public, legal decision-makers, or politicians. Third, *type of action* refers to the technique of an act, for example, demonstrating, writing complaints, or lobbying.

Figure 1 presents our theoretical framework. Based on frame theory and social movement research we expect that movement actors' interpretations of their situation, in terms of contextual opportunities and constraints, will shape their strategies and actions. To facilitate exploration of the link between frames and actions we explore actions in the same aspects as strategies, considering arenas, targets, and types.

Although focusing on opportunities and constraints in socio-political contexts, our analysis also pays attention to other potential explanations of movements' strategies and actions. These include actors' pre-existing action traditions potentially making actors prefer certain strategies regardless of contextual opportunities (Doherty & Hayes, 2012), resource availability shaping actors' strategic capacity to act on contextual opportunities (Císař & Navrátil, 2022), and diffusion of strategies (i.e. inspiration) between movement actors (Larson, 2013).

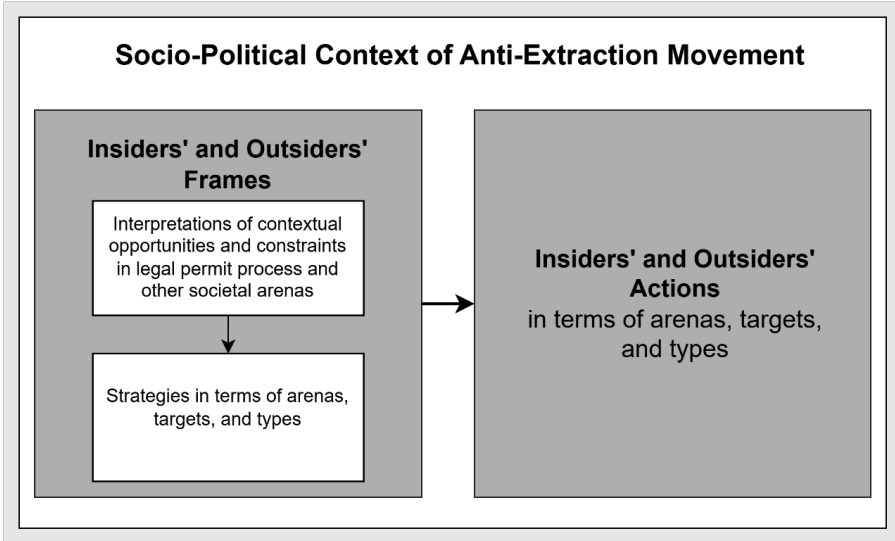

Figure 1 Theoretical framework.

Based on our theoretical framework, we ask three research questions:

1. How do movement actors interpret opportunities and constraints in the legal permit process and in other societal arenas for action?
2. How do movement actors' interpretations of contextual opportunities and constraints shape their strategies in terms of arenas, targets, and types?
3. What actions have movement actors taken in terms of arenas, targets, and types?

3. Research Design, Case, and Methods

3.1. Design and Empirical Setting

We apply a qualitative interpretive approach and perform a single-case study of actors in an anti-extraction movement opposing a planned iron-ore mine in Kallak/Gállok in the municipality of Jokkmokk in northern Sweden. We follow the movement between 2011 and 2022. Sweden is one of Europe's main producers of minerals and has a long history of mining, especially in the north.

Dominant political parties at the national level, including the Social Democrats and Moderate Party, typically promote mining for economic growth and welfare (Anshelm & Haikola, 2018; Beland Lindahl, 2023). This position was also reflected in the municipal political leadership of Jokkmokk, which took a positive stance to the Kallak/Gállok mine during the study (Fjellborg et al., 2022).

Smaller national parties, especially the Green Party, have expressed more mining-sceptical views due to negative effects on the environment and other interests. Since the beginning of the 2010s, Sweden has experienced increasing popular mobilization against national mining policies (Zachrisson & Beland Lindahl, 2019) and projects (Fjellborg et al., 2022).

Previous research shows that conflicts over new mines in northern Sweden are typically rooted in actors' diverging understandings of sustainable development, in different worldviews and values relating to economic development and perceptions of nature, and in conflicting visions of land and resource use. Instead of mining, opponents of the Kallak/Gállok project have mainly promoted Sámi Indigenous rights and reindeer husbandry as well as environmental protection and small-scale businesses in tune with nature (Beland Lindahl et al., 2018). The Kallak/Gállok movement involves a range of actors, including local Sámi reindeer herding communities (RHCs), human rights organizations, local and national ENGOs, the Church of Sweden and independent churches, eco-anarchist networks, the municipal Green Party, and newly formed activist networks (Fjellborg et al., 2022).

The Swedish mining permit process includes five distinct steps which must be passed before a mining operation can begin. These are 1) exploration permit, 2) mining concession, 3) environmental permit, 4) expropriation of land, and 5) permits for associated infrastructure (Raitio et al., 2020). During our studied period the first two steps were activated in Kallak/Gállok. These two steps are governed by the Minerals Act, a law centralizing decision-making to state agencies and government and generally designed to favour mineral extraction over other forms of land use (Pettersson et al., 2017).

In the first two steps, legal standing, which entails the right to be consulted or to appeal decisions in a legal process, is granted to a relatively narrow selection of actors representing interests with rights to the affected land, such as Sámi RHCs and private landowners. Applications for exploration permits are assessed by the Mining Inspectorate (MI), a national state authority. Decisions on exploration permits can be appealed to the administrative courts by actors with legal standing. For exploration drilling, the project owner submits a working plan, which is assessed by the MI and may be appealed by actors with legal standing (Minerals Act, Ch. 2-3).

The subsequent application for a mining concession is also assessed by the MI, this time in dialogue with the County Administrative Board (CAB). If these agencies cannot agree on granting or rejecting a mining concession, the application is elevated to the government for decision (Minerals Act, Ch. 8, § 2). The government's decisions on mining concessions can be appealed for judicial review to the Supreme Administrative Court. Apart from Sámi RHCs and landowners, ENGOs also have the right to appeal decisions on mining concessions. However, ENGOs lack standing in the administrative process leading up to a decision (Minerals Act, Ch. 16, § 4a).

The environmental permit process (the third step) is governed by different legislation and allows for more public participation (Raitio et al., 2020); however, this step had not yet been activated in Kallak/Gállok during our study.

Figure 2 summarizes the main decisions in the permit processes for the Kallak/Gállok mine during the studied period. The process began in 2012 with an administrative court process after a Sámi RHC appealed one of the project owners' working plans for exploration drilling. The court process resulted in minor adjustments to the plan. In 2013, the project owner applied for a mining concession ('Kallak K no. 1') at the MI. After consultations with affected actors, including the Sámi RHCs, the MI and CAB could not agree on a decision. The CAB wished to decline the application while the MI favoured approval. The application was elevated for decision to the government, which was composed of a coalition of the Social Democratic and Green parties. The government handled the application between 2014 and 2016 before resending it to the MI due to new legal practices emerging from another mining process (the Norra Kärr

case, see Pölönen et al., 2020). In 2017, the MI once again elevated the application to the government since the involved agencies still could not agree.

At the end of 2021, the Green Party left government (Björkman et al., 2021). Social Democrats formed a minority government alone and granted the Kallak K no. 1 mining concession on 22 March 2022 (Government of Sweden, 2022). In each move of the application (i.e. MI/CAB – government – MI/CAB – government), the affected Sámi RHCs were invited to submit statements as actors with legal standing in the permit process. Legal standing to appeal the mining concession decision was also granted to formalized ENGOs, such as the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC), thus making affected RHCs and ENGOs insiders to the legal permit process.

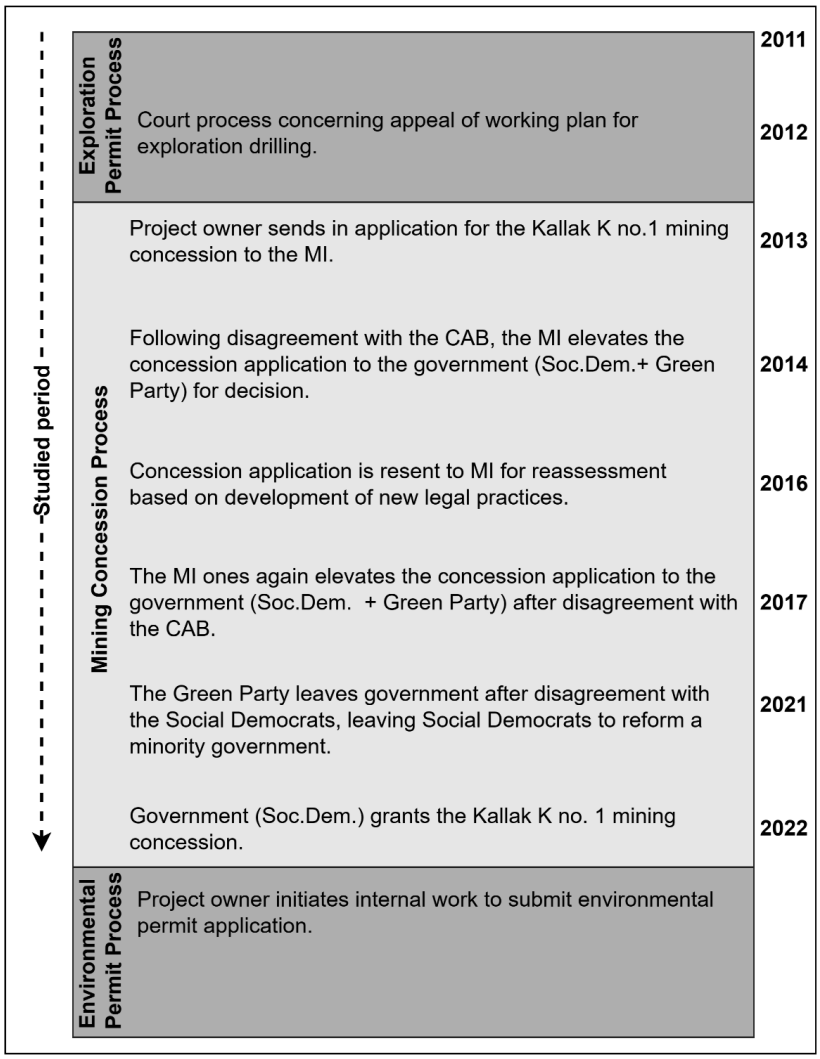

Figure 2 Permit process steps in Kallak/Gállok, 2011-2022.

3.2. Methods and Data

To answer our research questions, we first identified actors in the Kallak/Gállok movement based on mapping from previous research (Fjellborg et al., 2022). An organization or sub-network was counted as a movement actor if it publicly expressed opposition to the mining project and in subsequent interviews expressed an identification with the larger network of actors opposing the mine.

To explore movement actors' frames and actions, we used a combination of document analysis and semi-structured interviews. Three types of documents were analysed: media reports, publicly available documents from permit processes, and documents created by movement actors themselves. The documents collected dated from the start of the mobilization in November 2011 until August 2022.

First, media reports were searched via the media database Retriever.se and included Swedish print media and public service reports. Searches included names of the involved mining company, project, movement actors, and movement campaigns. In total, 1177 media reports were collected. Second, documents from permit processes, including interventions by movement actors, were collected from the MI, CAB Norrbotten, government offices, and the Supreme Administrative Court. Third, documents produced by movement actors were collected, including publicly available blogposts, newsletters, and social media posts. The documents formed the basis of our analysis of actions and supported our analysis of frames.

To enable the reconstruction of movement actors' frames, we conducted a series of 15 semi-structured interviews with representatives of 13 movement actors between February and August 2022 (see Appendix 1 for details). We selected movement actors to interview on three criteria. First, more active movement actors were prioritized. Second, achieving a spread among interviewed actors in terms of legal standing (i.e. positions as insiders/outsiders) in the permit process was prioritized. Third, respondents were asked during interviews to identify other actors they considered important in the movement. These replies informed the ongoing selection of interviewees.

For loosely organized networks without a clear spokesperson, two interviews were conducted with prominent actors in the networks. During the analysis, it became clear that one interviewed actor (Sámi Parliament) did not identify itself as part of the movement. The actor was thus removed from the study.

Nine interviews were conducted before the government granted the Kallak/Gállok mining concession in March 2022, and five were done afterwards. All actors with legal standing were interviewed before the decision, while about half of the actors without

legal standing were interviewed after the decision. To mitigate the effects of the decision, conversations in later interviews were steered towards the situation before approval, and in the analysis we did not see any systematic differences in reasoning among respondents interviewed before and after.

To answer research questions 1 and 2, movement actors' frames were reconstructed based on interviews. The transcribed interviews were thematically coded in a qualitative data analysis program (NVivo) after familiarization with the data and open test coding of two interviews (Spencer et al., 2014). We used three codes based on the frame components of interest: understandings of opportunities and constraints in the permit processes, understandings of opportunities and constraints in other socio-political arenas, and preferences for strategies in terms of arenas, targets, and types.

After coding the interviews, the frame of each actor was summarized in a thematic table. To facilitate examination of how actors' understanding of legal processes related to strategies and actions, actors with similar interpretations of opportunities and constraints in the permit process were grouped together. Four groups of similar frames, (i.e. frame groups) were produced.

The credibility of the interview-based frame analysis was enhanced by cross-referencing with actors' statements in the analysed documents and by inviting at least one actor from each frame group to comment on the reconstructed frames.

To answer research question 3, about movement actors' actions, the collected documents were coded in NVivo. Actions by movement actors were identified through careful reading of the documents, and for each identified action the arena, target, type, and actors involved were noted. Actions were compiled chronologically for each movement actor and then aggregated to reflect the actions of each frame group. Based on this information, similarities and differences were assessed across frame groups as well as between actors in the same frame group. Reports on actions from the interviews were used to increase the credibility in the document-based analysis of actions and to cover actions that were not reported in the studied documents.

4. Results

Table 1 summarizes the frames and actions of the studied movement actors (see Appendix 1 for more details on frames, actions, and a list of abbreviations). Based on movement actors' different interpretations of opportunities and constraints in the legal permit process for the Kallak/Gállok project, we identified four frame groups:

1. 'Permit process insiders', which included two Sámi RHCs affected by the mining project and their legal representative, the National Association of Swedish Sámi (NASS), an umbrella organization for RHCs in Sweden.

2. 'Insiders to be', which included two actors affiliated with the SSNC – the national ENGO SSNC Sweden and the municipal chapter SSNC Jokkmokk.

3. 'Outsiders with access to proxies', which included the Swedish human rights organization Civil Rights Defenders (CRD) and the Green Party in Jokkmokk municipality.

4. 'Permit process outsiders', which included two informal networks formed in opposition to the Kallak/Gállok project: Mining-Free Jokkmokk (MFJ) and an Artists network. Frame group 4 also included the eco-anarchic-inspired activist network the Colonies, the Swedish branch of the environmental youth network Fridays for Future Sweden (FFF), and the Swedish Sámi youth organization Sáminuorra. We present each of the frame groups below.

Access to permit process		Have, or will have, legal standing in permit process		Lack legal standing in permit process	
Frame Group		1. Permit process insiders	2. Insiders to be	3. Outsiders with access to proxies	4. Permit process outsiders
Movement Actors		Jåhkågasska RHC, Sirges RHC, NASS	SSNC Sweden, SSNC Jokkmokk	CRD, Green Party Jokkmokk	MFJ, Artist Network, the Colonies, FFF, Sáminuorra
Frames	Interpretation of opportunities and constraints in legal permit process (Diagnosis)	Access to permit process offers opportunity to hinder mining project and strengthen Sámi rights. Acting in permit processes is our expected role in the movement.	Right to appeal future decisions offers opportunities to influence mining project and promote general environmental protection – good opportunities in permit process make other arenas appear less attractive. Acting in permit processes is our expected role in the movement.	Proxy actors, e.g., international actors or municipality and national mother party, present opportunities to influence the permit process. Targeting proxy actors is our expected role in the movement.	Lack of legal standing constrains legal mobilization in the permit process. MFJ: Writing statements to permit process is opportunity to signal resistance and mobilize supporters. Other movement actors take on the role to do legal mobilization.
	Interpretation of opportunities and constraints in other arenas (Diagnosis)	National politics is generally unreceptive to Sámi rights claims – making permit processes relatively opportune. Risk of social reprisals constrains local public protest. Other movement actors take on the role to do public protests.	National politics is generally unreceptive to environmental claims in relation to mining. SSNC's position as large Swedish ENGO offers opportunities to influence national public opinion. Other movement actors take on the role to do public protests.	National politics is generally unreceptive to claims for Sámi rights and sustainability. Other movement actors take on the role to do public protests.	Public arenas are opportune compared to other options, although industry's domination in Norrbotten constrains local mobilization. National politics is generally unreceptive to claims for Sámi rights and environmental sustainability. Public protest and mobilization is our role in the movement.
	Strategies (Prescription)	Prioritize legal mobilization in permit processes. Lobby national politicians. Inform the public through media. Avoid civil disobedience.	Prioritize future legal mobilization. Raise national public opinion. Lobby national politicians. Avoid civil disobedience.	Prioritize actions targeting proxy actors (international actors or municipality and mother party). Raise public opinion, locally and nationally. Lobby national politicians.	Prioritize public protests and mobilization. Raise public opinion. Sáminuorra: Lobby national politicians. Colonies and MFJ: Do civil disobedience.
Actions		Recent actions largely reflected strategies. Earlier actions included public protests and lobbying of project owner and investors.	Recent actions largely reflected strategies. Earlier actions included local public protests by SSNC Jokkmokk.	Actions largely reflected strategies and were stable over time.	Actions largely reflected strategies. Earlier actions by MFJ also included writing collective statements to permit processes.

Table 1 Results

4.1. Frame Group 1 – Permit Process Insiders

Frame Group 1 included NASS and the two Sámi RHCs. These actors cooperated from the start of the movement mobilization in 2011, and all three saw themselves as having access to the permit process since the RHCs had legal standing, and NASS functioned as their representative.

At the time of the interviews, Group-1-actors typically interpreted legal mobilization in the permit process as presenting opportunities to reach two parallel goals: stopping the mining project to protect reindeer husbandry in the area and strengthening Sámi rights in relation to land exploitation generally.

They assessed the permit process as offering opportunities to achieve these goals for two main reasons. First, Group-1-actors had already successfully litigated to advance Sámi hunting and fishing rights in a prominent case (i.e. 'the Girjas case', Allard & Brännström, 2021). The outcomes of that case spurred hope that legal mobilization would also bear fruit in the permit process assessing the Kallak/Gállok project. Second, Group-1-actors interpreted legal processes as their best available option, as they saw national politicians as generally unwilling to act to strengthen Sámi rights to land and water.

> Promoting Sámi rights, and particularly the rights to land and water, or natural resources, is not something politicians win elections on. Unfortunately. […] Where we have reached progress is in legal processes, not in political processes. But, taking all things together, as we gain traction in legal processes, political processes are also advanced.' (interview with NASS, authors' translation)

In addition, possibilities to protest in public arenas were seen as constrained by Group-1-actors, who feared possible social reprisals from those in the local Jokkmokk community who supported the mining project. Potential risks with public protests included attacks on reindeer and incidents of racism towards the Sámi. Compared to other arenas, the permit process was thus interpreted as relatively opportune.

Besides perceiving the permit process as relatively opportune for goal achievement, Group-1-actors argued that acting within the permit processes was their expected role in the anti-extraction movement. More 'activist' movement actors (Frame Group 4) were expected to protest in public. NASS's representative explained that this division of labour also made it easier for Group-1-actors to gain access to the government as a decision-maker in the permit process, as protests placed the Kallak/Gállok issue on the political agenda.

This reasoning about expected roles and division of labour within the movement was seconded by the RHCs. The representative of Sirges RHC explained how, earlier in the mobilization, they had engaged in protests in Jokkmokk and Stockholm, but over time they had specialized more in legal mobilization as other actors entered the movement and took over public protesting.

> We realized it's better for us to influence where we think we can create real impact. These protests… there are others that do that now. And that's very good. Had they not been there, then maybe we would have to do that as well. (interview with Sirges RHC, authors' translation)

Concerning strategies, Group-1-actors prioritized legal mobilization within the permit process. Their efforts focused on formal interventions, such as submitting statements, describing the expected negative impacts a mine would have on reindeer herding, and preparing future legal action. In addition, these actors strategized raising public awareness by engaging with national media and lobbying national politicians with the dual purpose of influencing government as a key decision-maker in the permit process and pushing for general policy changes to promote Sámi rights.

Hence, Group-1-actors strategized informing the public and lobbying politicians even though they perceived these arenas as largely unreceptive. NASS also stated that civil disobedience was not their 'way of working', while contacting politicians and legal decision-makers was. This indicates that Group-1-actors' traditions of using certain actions influenced their current strategizing as well as their perceptions of contextual opportunities and expected roles.

Concerning actions, Group-1-actors' recent actions largely reflected their strategies regarding legal mobilization, political lobbying, and public engagement. However, earlier actions, in the period 2011-2015, included participation in public protests as well as lobbying project owners and investors. In the interviews, Group-1-actors provided three explanations as to why they had narrowed their range of actions over time. First, the mobilization of a broader variety of actors and an emerging division of labour in the movement made it possible for Group-1-actors to specialize in legal mobilization. Second, limited resources made it difficult to uphold several parallel action forms over time. Third, Group-1-actors had learned from prior experience that project owners and investors were largely unreceptive to the movement's claims, thus making it meaningless to continue targeting them.

4.2. Frame Group 2 – Insiders to Be

Frame Group 2, Insiders to be, included two ENGOs – SSNC Jokkmokk, engaged in Kallak/Gállok from 2012, and SSNC Sweden, engaged from 2015. At the time of the interviews these ENGOs viewed themselves as future insiders as they had rights to appeal mining concessions and environmental permits but did not have legal standing in the ongoing mining concession assessment.

Group-2-actors saw the permit process as offering opportunities to stop the mining project, or mitigate its negative environmental impacts, and to strengthen general implementation of environmental legislation by influencing legal practices for permitting. Like Group-1-actors, these actors perceived national political parties as generally promoting mining, making politicians less receptive to claims regarding environmental protection. Group-2-actors thus assessed the permit process as more opportune than political lobbying in terms of influencing the project. SSNC Jokkmokk also considered spending resources trying to mobilize the local public less worthwhile than using the perceived good future opportunities to appeal permits. However, SSNC Sweden's position as a national popular organization was seen as opening opportunities for Group-2-actors to mobilize national public opinion against the mining project.

In addition to reasoning about contextual opportunities and constraints for goal achievement, Group-2-actors also argued that it was their role in the anti-extraction movement to act within the permit processes. SSNC Jokkmokk explained.

> I think we are biding our time. And when it's time for legal processes, SSNC will step forward. Mining-Free Jokkmokk can't appeal or work legally with this issue, and the Green Party certainly can't […] it's a sort of turn taking […] [The permit process] is kind of where our superpower lies. (interview with SSNC Jokkmokk, authors' translation)

The emerging division of labour in the movement also affected Group-2-actors' view of the need to take public action. As other movement actors (Frame Groups 3 and 4) took on roles of writing in local media or engaging in local public protests, Group-2-actors could specialize in other actions.

Concerning strategies, Group-2-actors prioritized future legal mobilization, preparing to appeal decisions if necessary. For SSNC Jokkmokk, this resulted in a relatively passive role awaiting the right time to act. Meanwhile, other strategies, such as local public mobilization, were downplayed. SSNC Sweden, on the other hand, prioritized ongoing lobbying of national politicians and information campaigns about the negative impacts of Kallak/Gállok targeting the national public. These strategies were prioritized because SSNC Sweden saw political lobbying and informing the public as core missions of the organization, even though they did not see national political or public arenas as particularly receptive.

Group-2-actors stated that civil disobedience was not part of their action traditions and that SSNC's 'soul is more to write formal permit process interventions and lobby politicians with matter-of-fact arguments' (interview with SSNC Jokkmokk). This suggests that action traditions, as well as assessments of contextual opportunities and roles within the movement, were important to their strategy choices.

Regarding actions, Group-2-actors' recent actions largely aligned with their strategies of prioritizing legal mobilization, national political lobbying, and raising national public awareness. However, earlier actions by SSNC Jokkmokk also included lobbying

municipal politicians and raising local public awareness. Between 2012 and 2016, SSNC Jokkmokk co-arranged annual demonstrations against the Kallak/Gállok project at the Jokkmokk Winter Market. However, Group-2-actors' actions in the local public and political arenas decreased over time. As SSNC Sweden entered the movement in 2015, legal mobilization increasingly became SSNC Jokkmokk's main strategy, and other movement actors took over the organization of public protests.

4.3. Frame Group 3 – Outsiders with Access to Proxies

Frame Group 3, Outsiders with access to proxies, included the human rights organization CRD and the Green Party in Jokkmokk. CRD engaged in Kallak/Gállok in 2018, and the Green Party in Jokkmokk in 2011. Group-3-actors did not have legal standing in the permit process. However, these actors saw themselves as having access to proxy actors – other political actors through which they could indirectly influence the permit process.

For CRD, the relevant proxy actors were international human rights offices, such as bodies within the UN or Council of Europe. International actors were seen as opportune since they offered ways to hold the Swedish government accountable for what were seen as violations of Sámi Indigenous rights in the permit process. The CRD representative explained how reporting violations to international actors could influence the government as decision-maker in the permit process.

> Actions at the international level… it is a way to inform [the Swedish government about Indigenous rights], but it is also a form of leverage targeting the Swedish state. Because Sweden suffers public shaming when international critique is produced and publicized. (interview with CRD, authors' translation)

CRD's assessment of international arenas as opportune was shaped by their previous experiences of successfully promoting human rights through such arenas. In addition, their perception of national politicians as being generally unreceptive to claims about Sámi rights contributed to making international arenas appear comparatively opportune.

For the Green Party in Jokkmokk, municipal politics and party politics served as the relevant proxy processes as they opened channels to influence the government and the national mother party. The Green Party in Jokkmokk believed they had opportunities to influence the concession process when it was handled by the Social Democratic-Green government between 2017 and 2021. Moreover, Jokkmokk municipality was invited to submit formal statements to inform the assessment of the concession application, and the Green Party saw some opportunities to influence such statements.

In addition to assessing proxy actors as relatively useful for influencing permit processes, Group-3-actors also stated that they were expected to try to influence these proxy actors, just as other movement actors were expected to engage directly in permit processes (Frame Group 1) or in public arenas (Frame Group 4). The Green Party representative explained how roles in the movement emerged without active coordination.

> It's not a board game we're playing. Everybody just does what they can. […] I mean, if I sit as a member of the municipal board, then I use that arena and try to influence the municipality's statement […], and if you sit as a representative of an RHC then you have legal standing and argue for your case there. It is quite natural. (interview with the Green Party in Jokkmokk, authors' translation)

Concerning strategies, Group-3-actors prioritized actions to influence the proxy actors they had access to. In addition, Group-3-actors promoted strategies to raise public awareness via local and national media and social media, although they did not see the public as particularly receptive. CRD also strategized lobbying national political parties, although they perceived most politicians as unreceptive to their Sámi rights claims.

Again, this suggests that factors other than assessments of contextual opportunities and constraints influenced this group's strategizing. Most likely, their established action traditions of lobbying politicians and engaging the public shaped their strategies. Regarding actions, Group-3-actors largely acted in line with their strategies, that is, targeting proxy actors, raising public awareness via media and social media, and lobbying national politicians.

4.4. Frame Group 4 – Permit Process Outsiders

Frame Group 4, Permit process outsiders, included five actors: MFJ (active since 2011), the Artist network (active since 2012), the Colonies (engaged since 2013), Sáminuorra (engaged since 2013), and FFF (engaged since 2022). Group-4-actors lacked legal standing in the permit process, and most (except Sáminuorra) were informal networks.

These actors typically perceived their lack of formal standing in the permit process as constraining their ability to use legal mobilization. MFJ, however, did not view it as a complete constraint; they saw opportunities to engage in the permit process even though the decision-makers in that process were generally unreceptive to the outsiders' claims. Submitting collective permit process statements from the network was seen as an opportunity to publicly signal resistance to the project and to maintain the mobilization of supporters.

Like actors in the other Frame Groups, Group-4-actors perceived national political parties as generally positive to mining and unreceptive to their claims for environmental sustainability and Sámi rights. This was seen as constraining political lobbying. In response to closed political and legal arenas, Group-4-actors tended to perceive their best opportunities in public arenas, where they could mobilize at a grassroots level to pressure decision-makers in legal and political processes. One artist explained:

> For me it's always been about reaching decision-makers. But to reach them you must go via the grassroots. So, you must start at the bottom to reach the top, otherwise it is impossible. (interview with Artists network1, authors' translation)

At the same time, Group-4-actors, especially MFJ, assessed the local public in the Norrbotten region as generally supportive of mining due to its economic importance to the regional economy, and the local public was therefore unlikely to mobilize in opposition to the project. However, this constraint did not hinder Group-4-actors from

engaging in public protest actions and trying to mobilize the public at large, as it still was their best available option.

In addition to choosing strategies based on assessments of contextual opportunities and constraints, Group-4-actors tended to argue that they were expected to do public protests and grassroots mobilization. The fact that other movement actors had taken on roles within the permit process was typically seen as a reason for Group-4-actors to specialize more in public mobilization and protests. The representative of FFF explained:

> If there already are some people engaging in the permit processes and participating legally, then we instead should do what we do best, and that's to demonstrate outside of Parliament and in other places. (interview with FFF, authors' translation)

To explain their preference for using public civil disobedience, the Colonies representative similarly stated:

> In many resistance struggles there are groups that try the normal or endorsed ways of stopping [projects], such as talking to the company or politicians […] Many such methods may have been used, but they have been insufficient. Then we come with fresh ideas, complementing ways of doing resistance. (interview with the Colonies, authors' translation)

A perceived division of roles in the movement thus seemed to influence what arenas Group-4-actors saw as suitable and opportune to act in.

Concerning strategies, Group-4-actors prioritized public protests and mobilization, such as demonstrations in Stockholm and Jokkmokk, public exhibitions of protest art, online petitioning, and information campaigns in media and social media. Some members of MFJ and the Colonies also strategized future civil disobedience should the mine receive a permit to open. The Colonies had a tradition of using civil disobedience, and some MFJ members stated that this had inspired their own use of civil disobedience (diffusion of strategies).

Consequently, Group-4-actors' prioritization of public protests aligned with their assessment of the public arena as their most opportune option. However, public protests also corresponded with Group-4-actors' expected role in the movement and with their traditions of doing public protests, grassroots mobilization, and civil disobedience. Sáminuorra was the only Group-4-actor that planned to seek direct dialogue with national politicians. This strategy likely reflected Sáminuorra's action traditions as a more formalized interest organization.

Importantly, insiders' (Frame Groups 1 and 2) access to, and engagement in, the permit process did not appear to demotivate Group-4-actors from doing public protests. Instead, the idea of complementing other movement actors' strategies amplified Group-4-actors' motivation to engage in public protests.

Regarding actions, Group-4-actors' recent activities largely aligned with their strategies of public protests and mobilization. Earlier actions by MFJ also included submitting collective statements to the permit process, reflecting MFJ's perception of the permit process as opportune for communicating popular resistance and mobilizing supporters. However, MFJ's lack of plans for such actions in the future indicate a possible frame shift.

5. Discussion

Our aim with this study was to explore how movement actors interpret opportunities and constraints within legal processes and how this shapes their choices of strategies and actions. We explored how actors' interpretations related to their positions as 'insiders' or 'outsiders' in relation to the legal permit process and to their understandings of opportunities and constraints in alternative societal arenas, such as policy-making processes and public protests.

Our results show that the Kallak/Gállok anti-extraction movement included both legal insiders (Frame Groups 1 and 2) and outsiders (Frame Groups 3 and 4), reflecting their legal standing in the mining permit process. By using frame analysis, we were able to delve deeper into the meaning of the legal permit process and explore how different actors understood their possibilities to act within it. The results indicate that actors'

positions as insiders or outsiders are not enough in themselves to explain how movements relate to legal processes in their action choices. Some additional considerations need to be taken to understand how the design and implementation of legal processes come to shape movement actors' strategies and actions.

First, while Group-1-actors (Permit process insiders) had legal standing and were indeed more prone to legal mobilization, this was not necessarily because they saw legal mobilization as particularly likely to stop the mine but because it was their best available option – certainly better than trying to influence unreceptive national politicians and a generally mining-positive local public. Consequently, research needs to consider how alternative societal arenas shape movement actors' interpretations of legal processes and their willingness to use legal mobilization (Cummings, 2017; Levitsky, 2015).

Second, ENGOs in Frame Group 2 (Insiders to be) lacked immediate access to the permit process but interpreted the future process as offering favourable opportunities to influence the project by appealing unwanted decisions. The perception of future opportunities shaped their current strategies and actions, mainly by making them adapt a more passive position awaiting the right time for legal mobilization (especially SSNC Jokkmokk). This shows that it is not only immediate access, or lack thereof, to legal processes that matters. Studies need to address temporality and consider legal standing and perceived opportunities throughout the duration of a legal process to properly understand how the design of legal processes shapes movements' strategies and actions.

Third, Group-3-actors (Outsiders with access to proxies) lacked legal standing but were still strongly oriented towards influencing the permit process via proxy actors, such as international actors or the municipality and the national party. This indicates that perceived opportunities to indirectly influence legal processes should also be considered as potentially shaping movement actors' strategies and actions. Similar mechanisms have been described in POS theory, where 'elite allies' may function as indirect access points for movements to influence policy-making processes (McAdam & Tarrow, 2019). Leveraging legal processes via proxy actors is likely more pronounced as a strategy in processes where it seems possible to influence decision-makers

through external pressure, such as when the Swedish government is the final decision-maker in mining concession processes.

Fourth, Group-4-actors (Permit process outsiders) lacked legal standing and access to proxy processes and accordingly prioritized public protests and mobilization. However, despite their lack of legal standing, some Group-4-actors (MFJ) chose to engage collectively in the legal permit process as it offered opportunities if not necessarily to influence legal outcomes, then to communicate the existence of resistance to the decision-makers as well as to mobilize grassroots supporters. These results align with previous research showing that legal mobilization is sometimes motivated by 'indirect effects', such as public communication and mobilization, rather than by prospects of achieving legal success (Cummings, 2017; Fjellborg, 2023; NeJaime, 2011). Future research thus needs to explore movement actors' motivations to properly understand their use of legal mobilization.

Fifth, our results indicate that actors' action traditions, their established preferences for certain strategies (Doherty & Hayes, 2012) played an important part in choices of strategies and actions. Insiders in both Frame Groups 1 and 2 referenced traditions when explaining why they used legal mobilization. A habit of applying a 'legal lens' (Vanhala, 2018) thus shaped their strategies. The influence of traditions was also seen among outsiders, where actors referenced habits of targeting proxy actors (Frame Group 3) or of using public protests and civil disobedience (Frame Group 4) when explaining their action choices.

As mentioned in the theory section, much social movement research, including opportunity theories, have assumed actors' action choices as mainly guided by a logic of consequences; actors opt for actions that most efficiently produce their desired goals (de Moor, 2022). Although movement actors in Kallak/Gállok considered goal achievement in their choices, our results indicate that strategies and actions in all frame groups were also guided by a logic of appropriateness, that is, action choices as guided by 'evoking an identity or role and matching the obligations of that identity or role to a specific situation' (March & Olsen, 1998, p. 951).

Group-1-actors, for example, repeatedly stated that it was their 'role' or 'obligation' to engage in the permit process while they simultaneously perceived the permit process as opportune for fulfilling their goals of stopping the mine and strengthening Sámi rights. Similarly, Group-4-actors stated that they should do public protests because they saw such action as their most opportune option and because it was part of their action traditions and an appropriate role for them to take.

Consequently, our frame analysis revealed that movement actors' choices of strategies and actions typically included elements of both a logic of consequences and a logic of appropriateness. Researchers who rely too heavily on the logic of consequences in social movement risk misinterpreting the motivations behind action choices. Future research should explore both logics and how they mix in movements' choices of actions, thus bringing the study of action traditions, roles, and contextual opportunities closer together.

Lastly, actors in all frame groups stated that they considered other movement actors' expected actions when devising their own strategies. For example, it is notable that the integration of some movement actors into the legal permit process (Frame Groups 1 and 2) did not lower Group-4-actors' motivations to do public protests.

Based on the idea of adding complementary actions to the movement as a collective, Group-4-actors instead typically saw others' actions in legal processes as further reasons for themselves to specialize in public protests and mobilization. We found similar tendencies among insiders in Frame Groups 1 and 2, where outsiders' expected use of public protests and grassroots mobilization was seen as a reason for insiders to further specialize in legal mobilization. Hence, movement actors' awareness of others' opportunities and expected actions resulted in a division of labour in the movement, facilitating specialization into different branches of strategies, such as public protests or legal mobilization.

Gamson and Meyer (1996) have theorized on the relationship between a movement's different actions as being either hydraulic or symbiotic. A hydraulic relationship builds on the idea that public protest diminishes if formalized political and legal arenas open for the movement, while a symbiotic relationship builds on the idea of a continuing co-

existence between public protests and actions in formalized arenas. In the case of Kallak/Gállok, we clearly see a symbiotic relationship between legal mobilization and public protests.

Previous research has observed similar divisions of labour in other LULU movements (Della Porta et al., 2019; Piazza & Frazzetta, 2019). Our study contributes by showing how a division of labour emerges and is maintained in this type of movement. A shared goal of stopping a project and movement actors' mutual awareness of others' expected actions shape the ongoing interpretations of contextual opportunities and roles. By extension, this encourages movement actors to specialize into the different branches of strategies where they can provide complementary actions (e.g. public protests or legal mobilization) to the movement as a collective.

The presence of diverging long-term visions for societal development and varying action traditions and access to legal arenas in a movement likely facilitate the emergence of a division of labour (Fjellborg, 2024). Future research should further explore under what circumstances a division of labour emerges as well as its implications for a movement's impact on projects and societal development.

6. Conclusions

Our study of the Kallak/Gállok movement revealed how movement actors' strategies and actions were shaped by their interpretations of opportunities in the legal permit process and alternative societal arenas, as well as by expectations for their behaviour in relation to the legal permit process. More specifically, actors' expected roles in the movement, their assessment of other actors' strategies, and their experiences facing political opposition at the national level appeared to influence their assessment of the legal permit process and their subsequent actions. The actors' awareness of others' strategies led to a division of labour between legal insiders and outsiders, with specialized branches of strategies and actions.

Our findings also have potential implications for current policy-making. In natural resource management it is often assumed that more, or better, mechanisms for actor involvement will help to resolve public protests and conflicts (Bäckstrand et al., 2010; Reed, 2008). Sweden, for example, has implemented additional mechanisms for actor

involvement, such as increased consultations concerning environmental impact assessments, in response to increased public protests (Johansson, in press; Pölönen et al., 2020).

However, our results suggest that the involvement of some mining-critical actors in permit processes does not necessarily phase out public protests among other movement actors. On the contrary, such involvement may further increase some actors' specialization in public mobilization and protests. Understanding how the design and implementation of legal processes influence movement actors is increasingly important, not least in the context of mining, where European initiatives to increase mineral production are likely to result in recurring interactions between anti-extraction movements and the legal system.

Author contributions (CRediT)

Daniel Fjellborg: Conceptualization, Methodology, Software, Validation, Investigation, Data Curation, Writing - Original Draft, Writing - Review & Editing, Visualization. **Karin Beland Lindahl**: Methodology, Validation, Writing - Review & Editing, Supervision, Funding acquisition.Artikel

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Appendix 1: Lists of abbreviations and interviews, interview manual, references to empirical sources, and tables presenting frames and actions (Paper 4)

List of abbreviations (Swedish names in parenthesis)

CAB – County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelse)

CRD – Civil Right Defenders Sweden

ENGO – Environmental Non-Governmental Organization

FFF – Fridays for Future Sweden

MI – Mining Inspectorate (Bergsstaten)

MFJ – Mining-Free Jokkmokk (Gruvfritt Jokkmokk)

NASS – National Association of Swedish Sámi (Svenska Samernas Riksförbund)

RHC – Sámi Reindeer Herding Community (Sameby)

SSNC – Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (Naturskyddsföreningen)

Table 1: List of interviews (*) Signifies actors who provided feedback on the reconstructed frames during analysis.

Actor interviewed	Actor description	Date, type of interview, and interviewer
Jåhkågasska RHC	Sami reindeer herding community with rights to lands affected by Kallak/Gállok project. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from before 2011.	2022-03-01, one interviewee, on-site in Jokkmokk, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
Sirges RHC	Sami reindeer herding community with rights to lands affected by Kallak/Gállok project. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from before 2011.	2022-03-09, one interviewee, on-site in Jokkmokk, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
National Association of Swedish Sami*	National interest organization representing reindeer herding communities in Sweden. Established in 1950. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from before 2011.	2022-03-07, one interviewee, digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
Swedish Society for Nature Conservation – Sweden	Sweden's largest environmental organization, with regional and local chapters all over Sweden. Established in 1909. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2015.	2022-03-17, one interviewee, digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
Swedish Society for Nature Conservation – Jokkmokk chapter*	Local chapter of larger Swedish environmental organization. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2012.	2022-03-01, two interviewees, one digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
Civil Rights Defenders Sweden*	A Swedish human rights organization. Established in 1982 as the Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2018.	2022-06-03, one interviewee, digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
Green Party in Jokkmokk municipality	Municipal branch of the Green party in Sweden. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2011.	2022-02-28, one interviewee, on-site in Jokkmokk, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.

Fridays for Future – Sweden	Swedish branch of international youth-led climate movement. Started in 2018. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2022.	2022-07-12, one interviewee, digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
Sáminuorra	Youth organization for Sami in Sweden. Established in 1963. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2013.	2022-08-09, one interviewee, digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
Mining-Free Jokkmokk*	Network mobilized in response to the planned mine in Kallak/Gállok. Facebook-community established and engaged case from 2011.	2022-02-28 and 2022-04-26, two interviewees, two interviews, first on-site in Jokkmokk, second digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
The Colonies	Activist network engaged in opposition to several exploitation projects in Sweden. Mobilized in 2012 in opposition to a quarry on Gotland. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2013.	2022-03-03, one interviewee, digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
Artist Network	Network of artists engaged in the opposition to the planned mine in Kallak/Gállok. Includes musicians, painters, authors etc. Artists engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2012.	2022-03-09 and 2022-04-08, two interviewees, two interviews, first on-site in Jokkmokk, second digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg.
Board of Sami Parliament	Elected assembly for Sami in Sweden as well as a state agency for Sami issues. Opened in 1993. Engaged in Kallak/Gállok case from 2013.	2022-04-27, one interviewee, digital video interview, interviewed by Daniel Fjellborg. Note: Interview not used in analysis due to actor not identifying as part of movement.

Interview manual for Kallak/Gállok (translated from Swedish)

(Semi-structured interviews – follow-up questions were asked depending on the answers of the interviewee.)

How have you engaged in the opposition to the mine in Kallak/Gállok – what group do you represent?

What would you say that you want to achieve by your opposition to the planned mine in Kallak/Gállok?

Potential follow-up: Is your opposition mainly about this mine or about other things as well?

What other actors would you say have been active in the movement opposing the suggested mine?

Potential follow-up: What goals do other actors in the movement have?

Potential follow-up: How do you handle different goals in the movement?

Potential follow-up: Have your goals changed over time?

Can you tell me about what your group has done to achieve your goals in your engagement against the mine in Kallak/Gállok? Why did you choose those actions?

Potential follow-up: Probe for elaborations on arenas, targets, types, and allies in actions.

Have you acted on you own or together with other actors in the movement?

What have other actors in the movement done in the opposition to the mine?

Have others actions affected your reasoning about what you should do?

What does your organisation/network consider good ways to do resistance to the suggested mine? Why?

Are there any ways to oppose the mine that you do not consider as good?

Has there been different opinions within the movement about what actions should be taken?

Who has power to decide if there will be a mine or not?

Potential follow-up: In what way do they have power?

Potential follow-up: Do you trust those who make decisions about the mine? Why/Why not?

Which power holder does your organization/network believe that you can influence/not influence?

Potential follow-up: Does your organization/network have power? If so, in what way?

Among whom can you find support in your opposition?

Potential follow-up: Who do you perceive as your main opponents?

How do you view state agencies and permit processes for the Kallak/Gállok mine – can you influence those?

Potential follow-up: Has indigenous rights played any role in your ability to have influence?

How do you perceive the opportunities to influence politicians and political parties?

How do you perceive the opportunities to influence the mining company and the industry?

How do you perceive the opportunities to influence public opinion?

Potential follow-up: How do you perceive opportunities to influence media?

Who else do you think I should talk to in the movement to understand the resistance to the suggested mine?

Is there anything you would like to add that we have not talked about?

Selection of references to documents central in case analysis

Archives of the Mining Inspectorate of Sweden

See dossiers: BS 213-438-12; BS 215-164-2013; BS 215-1557-2010; BS 213-1238-12; BS 215-15-2012; BS 213-641-2014; BS 211-467-13 (exploration permits Kallak nr 1 and Parkijaru nr 2). BS 205-1037-2012 (exploration permit Kallak nr 2). BS 205-719-2012; BS 205-664-2012 (exploration permit Kallak nr 3). BS 205-251-2014; BS 200-1485-2013; BS 205-363-2017; BS 201-102-2017 (exploration permit Ågåsjiegge nr 2). BS 22-559-2013 (exploitation concession application Kallak K nr 1).

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Table 2: Actors sorted in to Frame Groups – sorting guided by similar interpretations of opportunities and constraints in permit processes

Frame Group	1. Permit process insiders	2. Insiders to be	3. Outsiders with access to proxies	4. Permit process outsiders
Movement actors	NASS, Jåhkågasska RHC, Sirges RHC,	SSNC Sweden, SSNC Jokkmokk	Civil Rights Defenders, Green Party Jokkmokk	Mining-Free Jokkmokk, The Colonies, The Artist Network, Fridays for Future, Sáminuorra
Legal standing in permit process	RHCs have legal standing throughout process, and right to appeal, as affected rights holders.	SSNC, as formal environmental organization, has right to appeal mining concession and environmental permit.	No legal standing.	No legal standing.
A. Interpretation of socio-political context (Diagnostic frame component) 1. Opportunities and constraints in permit processes 2. Opportunities and constraints in other societal arenas	A1. RHCs legal standing in permit processes present opportunity to protect the RHCs' lands from encroachment by the mining project and strengthen Sámi rights to land in general. Previous experience of working for Sámi rights shows that legal mobilization, aimed at changing legal practices, presents opportunities to advance Sami rights in Sweden. The unreceptiveness of national politicians strengthens perception of permit process as relatively opportune. Participation in permit processes is also our expected role in the anti-extraction movement, as RHCs are the actors with legal standing. A2. National politicians are generally in favour of mining and unreceptive to claims for Sámi rights. The risks of receiving social reprisals in the local community (Jokkmokk) due to being viewed as against the local economic development a mine might bring constrains the RHCs from protesting in public. Other movement actors (Frame Group 4) fill the role of doing public protest. This reduces the need for RHCs to protest in public and increases RHCs' ability to specialized in other actions, such as legal mobilization and political lobbying.	A1. SSNC's right to appeal decisions present opportunities to hinder, or at least influence, specific exploitation projects and promote implementation of environmental protecting legislation more generally. Good opportunities to appeal future decisions limits motivation to take actions in other arenas, such as local public opinion raising. As an actor with legal standing, it is also SSNC's role in the anti-extraction movement to act in permit processes. Compared to other movement actors (Frame Group 3 and 4) SSNC has its relative 'superpower' in permit processes. A2. National politicians are often unreceptive to claims for environmental protection in relation to mining. As politicians promote mining to create jobs and economic growth. Other movement actors (Frame Group 4) fill the role of doing public opinion work and protests in local community, limiting the need for us to act in those arenas.	A1. We do not have legal standing but have opportunities to influence permit process via interlinked processes, i.e., municipal and party politics (Greens) or international processes (CRD). Greens: Access to influence Jokkmokk municipality's statements to the permit process, as well as the national Green party's reasoning as decision-maker in Government are indirect opportunities to influence permit process. CRD: Reporting the permit process to international bodies, such as Council of Europe and UN bodies, is opportunity to get international actors to pressure decision-makers in permit process to respect indigenous rights. Acting in these proxy processes is also our expected role in the anti-extraction movement. A2. National politicians are generally unreceptive to claims for indigenous rights and sustainable livelihoods in relation to mining. Other movement actors' engagement in other arenas, such as public arenas and permit process, creates ability for us to specialize in what we can add to the movement. Greens: Local opinion raising is constrained by natural resource industry dominating the region of Norrbotten.	A1. Lack of legal standing in permit processes constrains us from influencing the project via legal action. Also, legal mobilization is the role of other movement actors (Frame Group 1-2), not us. MFJ: However, collectively writing to authorities in permit process is opportunity to signal resistance and maintain mobilization of the network. A2. Public protests and public opinion raising are opportunities to mobilize grassroots for long-term societal change, leverage politicians, and pressure decision-makers in permit process. National media's increasing interest in Gállok and Sámi rights creates opportunities to inform the national public. National politicians are generally unreceptive to movement's claims for indigenous rights and environmental protection in relation to mining. Local and regional mobilization (Norrbotten region) is constrained by regional and local public and media being dependent on industry for jobs and welfare. Acting in public arenas is also our role in the movement. Other movement actors do legal mobilization and political lobbying.

B. Strategies in terms of arenas, targets, and types (Prescriptive frame component)	Arena and Target: Primary strategy should be to continuously act as rights holder in the permit processes. Mainly because previous experience has shown legal mobilization to be an efficient method to promote Sámi rights and because it is our role in the anti-extraction movement to act in permit processes. Should also meet with national politicians and build public opinion via media to influence policy making processes for Sámi rights. If resources become limited, permit process should be prioritized. Initial strategies of doing public protest actions are not prioritized anymore, due to other movement actors (Frame Group 4) taking over such strategies. Types: Should prioritize to write, inform, and participate in meetings in permit processes. Should also meet national politicians, participate in media and research, and send out press releases to promote policies stengthening Sámi rights. Should not do civil disobedience as it is against action traditions of NASS.	Arenas and Targets: Primary strategy should be to appeal future decisions in permit processes. Mainly because SSNC has a tradition of doing such legal mobilization and because it is SSNC's role in the anti-extraction movement, but also because it is an opportunity to influence the project. Should also do national political lobbying and national public opinion raising for changing national policies concerning mining and environmental consideration. Should not prioritise local public opinion work, as locals lack power over decisions and because other movement actors (Frame Groups 3-4) do such strategies. Types: Should prioritize to write, inform, and participate in in permit processes. Should also meet national politicians and raise public opinion – e.g., via social media and media campaigns. Should not do civil disobedience as it is against the action traditions of SSNC.	Arenas and Targets: Prioritized strategy should be to work via the arenas we have access to – municipal and party politics (Greens) and international arenas, such as UN bodies (CRD). This because they present opportunity to stop the mine, but also because we have tradition of doing this and it is our expected role in the movement. Should also work with public awareness raising. Greens: Opinion raising should target local public as well, even if many locals are unreceptive. This because opinion raising is our role and tradition. Types: Should prioritize meeting and arguing in accessible arenas – e.g. municipal and party policy development (Greens) or doing indigenous rights analyses concerning Gállok (CRD). Should also do social media postings, send out press releases and participate in media to inform the public.	Arenas and Targets: Prioritized strategy should be to take public protest action to strengthen public opinion and public mobilization against the mining project and for Sami rights and sustainable ways of living. This because public arenas present opportunities, but also because we have traditions of doing this and it is our expected role in the movement. Sáminuorra: Should also act in national political arena by communicating with politicians about Sámi indigenous rights. Types: Should prioritize public methods, e.g., arranging demonstrations, information exhibitions and movies, petitions, social media, participate in media and do artwork. Sáminuorra: Should actively meet and communicate with national politicians. FFF, Artists, Colonies: Have traditions of using certain public protest methods, such as public demonstrations, art, or civil disobedience. MFJ: Learnt to use civil disobedience via diffusion from the Colonies.

Table 3: Summary of actions taken by movement actors 2011-2022

Frame Group	1. Permit process insiders	2. Insiders to be	3. Outsiders with access to proxies	4. Permit process outsiders
Movement actors	NASS, Jåhkågasska RHC, Sirges RHC	SSNC Sweden, SSNC Jokkmokk	Civil Rights Defenders, Green Party Jokkmokk	Fridays for Future Sweden, Sáminuorra, Colonies, Mining-Free Jokkmokk, Artists
# of actions	63 (highest intensity in 2013)	16 (highest intensity in 2021-2022)	27 (highest intensity in 2021-2022)	87 (highest intensity in 2013)
Summary of actions taken between 2011-2022. Described in terms of arenas, targets, and types.	2011-2015 **Actions in permit processes** – filed complaints against mineral explorations, appealed exploration permits and working plans, wrote statements to state authorities in concession process. NASS and RHCs acted in coordination. **Actions in private market** – targeted project owner and investors at international mining venue and company's annual meetings. Wrote letters to investors. NASS and RHCs acted together, occasionally supported by Sámi Council. **Actions in national politics** – met with Government or national politicians. NASS and RHCs acted in coordination. **Actions in public** – Wrote in national and regional media, often related to events in permit process. RHCs co-arranged demonstrations on local and national level with other movement actors, such as MFJ, Sáminuorra, and SSNC Jokkmokk, or with actors opposing other mining projects in Sweden. 2016-2022 **Actions in permit process** – most common actions. Wrote statements to, and met with, Government and state authorities in concession process. Appealed Governments concession decision to Supreme Administrative Court in 2022. NASS and RHCs acted in coordination. **Actions in national politics** – less common than previous period. Met with national politicians in policy making processes. **Actions in public** – wrote opinion pieces and press releases, often in relation to events in concession process. NASS and RHCs tended to act together. RHCs sometimes acted with other movement actors, such as Sáminuorra and FFF.	2012-2016 **Actions in local public** – SSNC Jokkmokk co-arranged local demonstrations together with other movement actors, such as MFJ and RHCs. SSNC Jokkmokk lobbied municipal politicians in elections. SSNC Sweden increased work on mining from 2015 by writing internal Mineral Policy. 2017-2022 **Actions in permit process** – wrote statement to the Government in concession process and appealed Governments concession decision to Supreme Administrative Court in 2022. SSNC Sweden, SSNC Norrbotten, and SSNC Jokkmokk acted together. **Actions in politics** – SSNC Sweden wrote open letters to, and met with, Government and national politicians – alone or together with Sami organizations, human rights organizations, and national ENGOs. **Actions in public** – Both arranged lectures and information campaigns about mining. SSNC Jokkmokk also wrote in local and national media in response to statements by project owner or events in permit process, alone or together with other movement actors, such as MFJ.	Green Party Jokkmokk 2011-2022 **Actions in permit process –** engaged in municipal politics in Jokkmokk to influence municipality's statements in concession process. Worked towards national party to influence concession process when Social Democratic-Green-Government handled application from 2017-2021. **Actions in politics –** opposed mining positive majority in municipality, led by Social Democrats, in media statements and in municipal policy processes. Had contact with national Green party concerning mineral policy making. **Actions in public –** did numerous media appearance and wrote public opinions concerning Kallak/Gállok. Most in local media, or national media together with national Green party. CRD 2018-2022 **Actions in permit process –** wrote statements to Government in concession process. Raised the permit process to international actors, such as UN's special rapporteurs on human rights and indigenous peoples and Council of Europe, to pressure Government in concession process. Tended to act alone or together with Sami organizations or Amnesty Sweden. **Actions in national politics –** wrote open letters to Government promoting policy making for Sámi rights. Pressured Government via international actors to strengthen indigenous rights. **Actions in public –** wrote in national media and social media about Gállok as human rights issue.	Mining-Free Jokkmokk Network 2011-2022 **Actions in public –** most common actions. Started social media groups and website, arranged public lectures, movie, and information campaigns, initiated online petition against project, wrote to national and local media, co-arranged several local demonstrations and movement gatherings, and co-arranged several national level demonstrations. Some members engaged in civil disobedience in 2013. Acted alone, with other movement actors (both insiders and outsiders), or with actors opposing other mining projects. **Actions in permit process –** filed complaints against project owner's explorations, wrote collective statements to Government and state authorities in concession process. **Actions in national politics –** less common actions. Wrote letters to Government and politicians and met with national Green Party. Artist Network 2012-2022 **Actions in public –** most common actions. Produced music, poetry, dance, and visual art. Co-arranged exhibition of 'protest art' travelling Sweden. Participated in local and national media. Posted on social media and arranged local art manifestations targeting public, project owner and politicians. Some members engaged in civil disobedience in 2013. Tended to act alone or with others in Frame Group 4. Colonies Network 2013-2022 **Actions in public –** most common actions. Started webpage, several members engaged in civil disobedience in 2013. Produced art, movie, and music. Co-arranged exhibition of 'protest art' and workshops travelling Sweden. Co-arranged local movement gatherings and demonstrations. Tended to act alone or with others in Frame Group 4. Sáminuorra 2013-2022 **Actions in public –** most common actions. Co-arranged exhibition of 'protest art' travelling Sweden. Co-arranged local and national demonstrations with FFF, RHCs, MFJ, or actors opposing other mining projects in Sweden. Wrote in national media with FFF and RHCs. **Actions in national politics** – less common actions. Wrote letter to, and met with, representatives of the Government. Acted with MFJ and actors opposing other mining projects. Fridays for Future Sweden 2022 **Actions in public –** most common actions. Posted in social media and campaigned for MFJ's online petition. Co-arranged local and national demonstrations with Sáminuorra. Wrote in national media with Sáminourra and RHCs.

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