

VALUE CREATION ON NORWAY'S GREEN GOLD

An analysis of policy formulation and implementation in the field of nature conservation



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To my two beloved children,
for constantly reminding me of what is most important in life

To my husband,
for your enduring love, caring, and understanding

To my parents,
for the unconditioned love and support throughout this work and my whole life

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Harstad
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SUMMARY

This dissertation's puzzle is to ascertain why a policy from 2003 aimed at increasing nature-based tourism in Norway has not yet lead to changes for tourism operators. The underlying expectations were that such a policy decision, which marked a shift in Norwegian environmental politics from a conservation path to a conservation-and-use path, would lead to institutional changes or the crafting of new institutions. Hence, this dissertation aims at answering the question "What facilitates or hinders whether a policy decision in the end leads to institutional change?" The purpose of investigating this question was to understand why this policy did not lead to changes for tourism operators, as well as to describe how a policy decision relates to an institutional change and vice versa.

The policy studied here is called the Mountain Text (Fjellteksten) and aims to increase nature-based tourism in protected areas in Norway. Internationally a recent acknowledgment of conservation's shortcomings resulted in a "new conservation paradigm" which Norway responded to with the Mountain Text. One of the goals of the Mountain Text was to increase the legitimacy of protected areas, because prior to 2003 Norwegians had a negative attitude toward them.

In this dissertation, policies are understood as series of dynamic decisions that are formulated and influenced by other policies. Policy making is described as a cycle in which three overlapping and interdependent activities take place: policy formulation, policy decision, and policy implementation. Policy making does, in many cases, lead to institutional changes, or may come as a result of institutional changes. Institutions are here understood as Elinor Ostrom defined them: "the prescriptions that humans use to organize all forms of repetitive and structured interactions including those within families, neighborhoods, markets, firms, sports leagues, churches, private associations, and governments at all scales." Institutions and policies share many characteristics, they are both dependent on previous policies and institutions, and thus are influenced by them. Further, they are nested in many layers, and interconnected both horizontally (with other policies and institutions) and vertically (varying meaning of the same policy or institution). The Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework is capable of dealing with complex situations, and is valuable in gaining more insights into the policy-making cycle at various administrative levels, as well as the interconnections between the different levels.

The data for this dissertation were gathered via document analysis, interviews, observations, and surveys. Studies of eight protected areas in Northern Norway

provided a good overview and insights into the situation there. To further develop this knowledge, one particular area was chosen as a case area: Junkerdal National Park. The aim was to gain a comprehensive understanding of the case itself as well as to provide an insight into local responses to the Mountain Text policy change and its implementation. The Mountain Text and relevant public documents leading up to and following the policy decision have been studied. All together, the dissertation is based on 95 interviews, including 27 in Junkerdal. I also had access to data from six other interviews undertaken as part of a research project and observed at various meetings, conferences, and seminars that dealt with issues related to the research. Last, I had access to data from two surveys that I carried out as part of the PROBUS (Protected areas as resources for coastal and rural business development) research project.

Further, the dissertation contains three empirical chapters corresponding to the three analytical levels in the IAD framework. Chapter 4 provides a constitutional analysis presenting how the Right of Access and conservation of private property are considered lock-in events that contributed to an undesirable situation for the government when the policy decision was made. This and international pressure to implement the New Conservation Paradigm jointly forced Norway to react. The policy for increasing nature-based tourism coincided with other policies in overlapping fields, and the dissertation shows how policy formulation of the Mountain Text has been affected by developments in these other policy fields. The chapter ends with a discussion of how the Mountain Text by itself did not lead to any changes in constitutional rules, but rather contributed to changes in the governance model of protected areas. Thus, so far, it appears that the Mountain Text was only a tool to legitimize Norway's conservation policies.

Chapter 5 provides a collective-choice analysis and focuses mainly on a new management model introduced in 2010. The main finding here is that the various collective-choice arenas making decisions that affect protected areas are poorly organized and coordinated, and have different stakeholder representation and responsibilities. This situation was worsened with the introduction of the new management model. Unintended consequences might be an outcome of this, leading, in the worst-case scenario, to ecological degradation of the conservation values.

The last empirical chapter, Chapter 6, turns to an operational analysis and an evaluation of how the Mountain Text relates to other operational rules such as the Right of Access, conservation of private property, conservation regulations, and the management plan. Following this presentation of actors' scope of action, the chapter presents people's interpretation of it, and concludes that generally people's perceived scope of action is stricter than the actual scope of action. The

lack of motivating measures encouraging individuals to change their actions has in this case led to poorer implementation of the policy. The chapter ends with an open question on why the implemented measures were mainly organizational and structural even though the policy appeared to be commonly accepted and supported.

Chapter 7 aims at summarizing and answering the research question, and concludes that the policy has had little impact. This is explained by both the fact that it lacked institutional changes in the operational rules and the paradoxical nature of the policy itself—the idea of utilizing something that has been protected against specific types of uses.

The dissertation shows, through its application of the IAD framework, that the policy was formulated simultaneously with its implementation. Hence ideas, measures, and incentives were defined after the policy decision, and thus became part of the implementation phase.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on increasing nature-based tourism in protected areas in Norway, phrased as a policy decision in 2003. The policy origin, content, and implementation are studied, aiming at understanding and explaining why the policy did not lead to changes for the tourism operators. The purpose is to describe how a policy decision relates to an institutional change and vice versa. The overall research question is What facilitates or hinders whether a policy decision in the end leads to institutional change?

The dissertation applies the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework, developed by Elinor Ostrom and colleagues, to policy studies. IAD's three analytical levels—constitutional, collective-choice, and operational—form the basis for the research and presentation. The multilevel, nested understanding embedded in these analytical levels is also highly relevant in policy studies. By applying the IAD framework, the dissertation studies policy formulation, policy decision, and policy implementation at the various analytical levels to see how policies are influenced and shaped by other policy fields and institutions.

The findings in this dissertation are based on qualitative interviews conducted in eight protected areas in Northern Norway between 2007 and 2011, two surveys of landowners, business actors, and recreationists carried out in 2008, document analysis mainly of official government documents, and observations at meetings, conferences, and seminars.

The policy decision studied here is generally referred to as the Mountain Text (Fjellteksten), and gained wide support both politically and from environmental and agricultural organizations. However, the policy proved incapable of crafting or redesigning institutions. This is because the conservation path has been sustained even though a new conservation-and-use path was introduced. Further, the complex collective-choice decision-making arenas resulted in overlapping interests and strategies for the same geographical areas, which complicates implementing new policies, e.g. the Mountain Text. These results lead to the main finding of the dissertation: the aim of increasing nature-based tourism was not the real purpose, but rather a tool for legitimizing controversial conservation decisions.

Keywords: Fjellteksten, policy, policy cycle, policy decision, policy formulation, policy implementation, institution, Institutional Analysis and Development framework, path dependence, lock-in effect, Norway, protected areas, nature-based tourism

ABBREVIATIONS & TRANSLATIONS

CPR	Common-pool resources
Din Tur	Norway Nature Travel (<i>Din Tur</i>)
DN	Directorate for Nature Management (<i>Direktoratet for naturforvaltning</i>)
DNT	The Norwegian Trekking Association (<i>Den Norske Turistforening</i>)
FIVH	The Future in Our Hands (<i>Framtiden i våre hender</i>)
FjellReg	Mountain Region Cooperation ¹ (<i>Fjellregionsamarbeidet</i>)
FNF	The federation of outdoor recreation and nature protection associations (<i>Forum for natur og friluftsliv</i>)
FRIFO	Outdoor recreation association (<i>Friluftslivets fellesorganisasjon</i>)
HANEN	Norwegian Rural Tourism (<i>Hanen</i>)
HOD	Ministry of Health and Care Services (<i>Helse- og omsorgsdepartementet</i>)
IAD	Institutional Analysis and Development framework
IN	Innovation Norway (<i>Innovasjon Norge</i>)
IUCN	The International Union for Conservation of Nature
KS	The Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities (<i>Kommunesektorens interesse- og arbeidsgiverorganisasjon</i>)
LMD	Ministry of Agriculture and Food (<i>Landbruks- og matdepartementet</i>)
LO	The Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (<i>Landsorganisasjonen i Norge</i>)
LO Reiseliv	The Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions – service and tourism (<i>LO Reiseliv</i>)
MD	Ministry of Environment (<i>Miljøverndepartementet</i>)
NBS	Norwegian Farmers' and Smallholders' Union (<i>Norsk Bonde- og Småbrukarlag</i>)
NBU	Norwegian Rural Youth's Union (<i>Norges Bygdeungdomslag</i>)
NFS	Norwegian Mountain Board Association (<i>Norges Fjellstyresamband</i>)
NFU	The Norwegian Farmers' Union (<i>Norges Bondelag</i>)
NHD	Ministry of Trade and Industry (<i>Nærings- og handelsdepartementet</i>)
NHO	The Norwegian Hospitality Association (<i>NHO Reiseliv</i>)
NJFF	The Norwegian Association of Hunters and Anglers (<i>Norges Jeger- og Fiskerforbund</i>)
NK	Norwegian Heritage (<i>Norsk Kulturarv</i>)

¹ All translations in this dissertation are author's, unless noted otherwise.

NN	Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature (<i>Norges Naturvernforbund</i>)
NNAC	Northern Norwegian Agricultural Council (<i>Nordnorsk landbruksråd</i>)
NORSKOG	Norwegian Forestry Association (<i>NORSKOG</i>)
NRL	Sámi Reindeer Herders' Association of Norway (<i>Norske Reindriftsamers Landsforbund</i>)
NU	Nature and Youth (<i>Natur og Ungdom</i>)
OIKOS	Organic Norway (<i>Økologisk Norge</i>)
PROBUS	Protected areas as resources for coastal and rural business development
RA	The Directorate for Cultural Heritage (<i>Riksantikvaren</i>)
RDF	Norwegian reindeer management (<i>Reindriftsforvaltningen</i>)
Skogeier	Norwegian Forest Owners' Federation (<i>Norges Skogeierforbund</i>)
SLF	Norwegian Agricultural Authority (<i>Statens landbruksforvaltning</i>)
SND	Norwegian Business and Rural Development Fund (<i>Statens Nærings- og Distriktsutviklingsfond</i>)
SNO	Norwegian Nature Inspectorate (<i>Statens Naturoppsyn</i>)
Statskog SF	Norwegian state-owned land and forest enterprise (<i>Statskog SF</i>)
USS	Norway's outlying municipalities (<i>Utmarkskommunenes sammenslutning</i>)
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

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1 NORWAY'S NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT – POLICIES FOR VALUE CREATION OF NORWAY'S GREEN GOLD

1.1 THE PARADOX OF INCREASING USE OF PROTECTED AREAS

Establishing protected areas is a relatively new development in Norway compared with other countries. Norway's first national park celebrated its 50-year anniversary in the autumn of 2012, having been established in 1962. Internationally, establishment of protected areas has been looked upon as the *one* policy tool to secure biodiversity, at the expense of both people and environment. In many areas, people have been displaced from protected areas, or limitations have been put upon which activities could continue when the protected area was established in order to safeguard biodiversity (Gurung 2010; Hutton et al. 2005; Murphree 2002; Sanderson and Bird 1998). In some places in developing countries, people have lost their whole livelihoods and local communities' needs have been overlooked. Limitations on use of protected areas have in some cases lead to ecological developments inside a protected area that either conflicted with the conservation values, or changed the whole ecological setting.

A more recent acknowledgment of conservation's shortcomings (Castro et al. 2006) has resulted in a "new conservation paradigm" (IUCN 2003) that aims at reconciling the interests of local communities. Tools such as resettlement of local people outside the protected areas, community-based management, and tourism development have been initiated (Bushell et al. 2007), aiming at increasing local livelihoods inside and around protected areas.

The Norwegian response to this has been to increase the focus on tourism development alongside a stronger focus on ensuring local participation. Until 2003 there was a ban on commercial tourism in protected areas in Norway. Then a policy called the Mountain Text (*Fjellteksten*) was initiated with a twofold aim: first, to increase nature-based tourism, and second, to secure local economic growth (see English summary in Fact Box 1 and Norwegian full text in Appendix 1) (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003)). The Mountain Text shares the aim with the "new conservation paradigm" of reconciling local communities' interests, and has been

initiated as a way to help legitimize conservation decisions. In Norway, national parks are established on uncultivated land, outside settlements. Thus, displacement of people has not occurred. But establishment of protected areas has proved controversial anyway (Bay-Larsen and Fedreheim 2008; Berntsen 2011; Daugstad et al. 2006; Fedreheim 2003; Skjeggedal 2007), and the negative attitudes towards protected areas increased throughout the 1990s. Thus, there was also in Norway a need to introduce measures that might help improve the legitimacy of conservation decisions, as well as improving the understanding of protected areas' importance for securing biodiversity, and the possibilities of their increasing local livelihoods.

Fact Box 1: The Mountain Text (*Fjellteksten*) Summary

Published:

Revised budget document from the Government to Storting. St. prp. nr. 65 (2002–2003): 140-153, May 15th 2003, Appendix 1 and

<http://www.regjeringen.no/Rpub/STP/20022003/065/PDFS/STP200220030065000DDDPD FS.pdf>

Executive work:

- Budget proposal for 2003 did not discuss increased use of protected areas (Budsjett-innst.S. nr. 1 (2002-2003)).
- During the budget negotiations in Storting Standing Committee on Business and Industry (members from the Progress Party, the Conservative Party, the Norwegian Christian Democratic Party and the Liberal Party) requested the Government to focus on sustainable use of outfields and mountainous areas (Budsjett-innst.S. nr. 1 (2002-2003)).
- Decision in Storting December 2nd 2002 (Budsjett-innst.S. nr. 1 (2002-2003))
- The coalition government with members from the Christian Democratic Party, the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party replied in the revised budget document (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003): 140-153).

Summary and some excerpts:

The request from the Standing Committee on Business and Industry:

"Storting asks the Government by October 1st 2003 to report back to Storting regarding sustainable use of outfields and mountainous areas in Norway. In that connection should the question regarding regulations for increased tourism use of these areas be more closely examined, for areas both outside and inside larger protected areas established after the Nature Conservation Act. Initiatives that contribute to developing quality tourism, while acknowledging the natural, economical, social, and cultural environment in mountainous regions, should be pursued and given support" (Budsjett-innst.S. nr. 1 (2002-2003): 22).

Justification of the potential:

"Norway has unique natural and cultural heritage resources in mountainous areas. Key elements are larger contiguous areas of wilderness, the opportunity to experience the peace and tranquility and nature's sounds and smells and species of plants and animals that are rare or do not exist in other countries in Europe. The mountainous landscape is also rich in cultural heritage related to resource extraction, traffic and settlement. In mountain forests we find a distinctive cultural landscape - mountain pastures - which has evolved over hundreds of years" (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003): 140-141).

"Products that provide special experiences and recreational and outdoor activities in almost untouched nature are increasingly demanded as these areas are scarce elsewhere in Europe" (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003): 141).

"The characteristics of national parks and other protected areas make possible that these areas will serve as 'attractions' for tourists and thus provide national park municipalities an additional advantage in tourism" (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003): 141).

Precautions:

"The Government uses the following framework as a basis for an overall policy for increased nature-based touristic use of mountainous areas:

- Our unique mountain scenery is to be preserved as a source for outdoor recreation and natural and cultural experiences, while these resources will provide the basis for employment and wealth creation in the mountain villages.
- The management of mountainous areas will be based on the conditions that the vulnerable mountainous scenery sets, i.e., an ecosystem approach.
- Norwegian mountainous areas and cultural heritage in the mountains will be developed as the brand for increased tourism-related use of mountain areas" (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003): 141).

Measures:

"In order to increase the touristic use of our protected areas and local value creation, the Government will:

- Remove the ban on commercial tourism as formulated in the conservation regulations of Saltfjellet / Svartisen, Jotunheimen and Reisa National Parks.
- Ensure facilitation, particularly within protected landscapes, of smaller, environmentally friendly tourism activities within the conservation objective.
- Prioritize and accelerate work on new and adjust existing management plans for protected areas in the mountainous areas.
- Facilitate that protection of areas and development of nearby communities increasingly is seen associated with the conservation processes.
- As far as possible facilitate for increased local political participation and influence in conservation processes" (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003): 141).

Fact box 1: The Mountain Text (*Fjellteksten*) Summary

The current prevailing discourse related to protected areas is to combine conservation and use expressed through IUCN's New Conservation Paradigm (as discussed in Section 4.4.1). This implies conserving natural resources not only for securing biodiversity, but also for making commercial use of them for tourism. This might also be understood as a *social dilemma* in which the potential for individuals to make choices to maximize their own short-term interests threatens the potential outcomes, and might leave all individuals worse off (Ostrom 1998: 1). Thus, the social dilemma is that natural resource values are protected in order to safeguard biodiversity, but when providing a potential for personal economic gains there might be a problem related to overuse of the protected areas. Thus, in

order to solve the social dilemma, there is a need for securing strong regulations on the possibilities for individuals to increase their own short-term gains. The sole idea of the Mountain Text, in terms of language might be interpreted as a *paradox*, which the Oxford dictionary defines as "a statement or proposition that, despite sound (or apparently sound) reasoning from acceptable premises, leads to a conclusion that seems senseless, logically unacceptable, or self-contradictory."² This relates to the fact that, first, a state (Norway) establishes a protected area because of certain identified natural characteristics with national or international value, and second, a strategic choice is taken to encourage visitors to come to these areas to experience their natural values. The paradox then involves the human use of something that is protected from use. But in this dissertation I will treat this as a social dilemma that might be analyzed and could be solved by reasonable collective action.

As well as acting as resources for tourism, protected areas are also playgrounds for traditional recreational activities such as skiing, hiking, fishing, hunting, and harvesting, and new types of recreational activities such as kiting, climbing, surfing, and so on. Consequently, the protected areas are now playgrounds in which commercial and non-commercial interests, and organized and non-organized groups have the same access rights, but with diverging impacts on ecological systems. Further, these various user groups have diverging dependence on the resource as well, and different perceptions of what they gain from visiting the protected areas.

The idea of value creation based on protected areas in the Mountain Text does not focus on economic values exclusively, but rather includes a focus on other values as well. Herein lies a clearly ambiguous aspect of the policy decision, in line with most of the policies in general due to the fact that they are political compromises. Economic value creation is important for many, including the politicians behind the Mountain Text (as discussed in Section 4.2), but other types of value creation are also important and incorporated into the Mountain Text. This is in line with a recent development in Norway focusing on the broad value creation stemming from the use of natural and cultural resources such as protected areas and cultural heritage, respectively (P. Haukeland and Brandtzæg 2009; Magnussen et al. 2011). When we talk about value creation we focus on economic, cultural, environmental, and social value creation. *Economic value creation* might then be related to the number of visitors, increased migration, increased employment, new establishments, and so on. *Cultural value creation* relates to the local identity and pride and how local communities mobilize to develop these areas. *Social value creation* relates to local consciousness and

² http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/paradox?q=paradox

commitment around protected areas. This might contribute to promote social values that are important in mobilizing and developing these areas. *Environmental value creation* relates to the conservation values, and to secure the qualities of natural environments and landscapes in ways that contribute to varied and diverse surroundings and landscapes, good overall planning and management, less pollution, and biological diversity (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2009b). Making use of Norway's protected areas will involve creation of cultural, social, economic, and environmental values; this is reflected in the policy decision, and is an important element to keep in mind while reading the rest of this dissertation.

This enlarged focus on value creation related to increased use of protected areas gave rise to several research projects in Norway, including "Protected areas as resources for coastal and rural business development"³ (PROBUS), which this dissertation grew from. This project will be reviewed in Section 3.2.

With the overview knowledge I gained from participating in PROBUS as the foundation, I chose to study policy making in a relatively new policy field in Norway: nature conservation. This field has several distinctive features. First, it is a field that is tightly interwoven with other policy fields since environmental challenges are evident, for example, in relation to industrial growth, health, and safety, etc. Second, it is a field in which collective action is of utmost importance in order to improve the situation for the individual. Thus, measures to help improve collective action will be emphasized. Third, this leads also to an acknowledgment that it is important to involve people in decision making since policy changes should be undertaken by everyone, and that individual efforts and knowledge are important in policy implementation. And the last element is related to the environment as not only an individual good, but as a national and international good. Thus the responsibility to ensure a sustainable environment lies not only in the individual but also in the whole global society.

Making use of protected areas for value creation is not a new development in Norway. Extraction of natural resources has contributed greatly to the development of the Norwegian welfare state and the general wealth among Norwegians. The *white coal* of hydropower has been secured by Norway through the reversion system, which limits foreign capital's future rights over Norwegian waterfalls (Thue 2003). Norway has worked actively internationally to secure sustainable fishing stocks, and to ensure that revenues from the *blue silver* are strictly regulated and given back to the country's society. Norway started extracting oil under strict control by Norwegian authorities. The *black gold* has been under national control and regulations, including a strong focus on

³ Norwegian Research Council Grant no 173070/I10

development of a Norwegian oil business, and emphasizing state participation (Oljeindustriens landsforening 2012).

Generally, the responsibility for these important decisions related to who owns the resources, who has the rights, and who is responsible for managing them have been lifted to the national level, reflecting that these decisions are a national responsibility and national strategic choices. At the same time, municipalities and landowners have claimed that they own these resources and thus should benefit from extracting them. Thus, white coal's revenue has been given back to municipalities (Thue 2003), the revenue from black gold has been invested and used to develop Norway as a welfare society (Oljeindustriens landsforening 2012), and the revenue from blue silver has also eventually been given back to society and is now strictly regulated.

With an increase in international tourism, and in particular nature-based tourism, Norway's *green gold* (here translated to protected areas) has also had a boost in attention. Thus, Norway now works, as discussed above, on increasing the use of these areas for tourism. This includes establishing guidelines and rules regulating the use and commercialization of green gold. Consequently, Norway's fjords, mountains, cultural landscapes, wetlands, rivers, and so on are now valued as potential revenue for Norway, and as important contributors to economic as well as social, cultural, and environmental value creation, mainly acting as a significant resource for tourism development.

The question now is what will happen if we experience an increase in the revenues stemming from nature-based tourism in protected areas? As of today, ten years after the policy decision, I conclude that the policy decision did not lead to changes in the operational rules for tourism entrepreneurs, and the policy is not very well known outside the environmental bureaucracy. Thus the puzzle behind this dissertation is *Why did a policy decision aiming at increasing nature-based tourism in Norway not lead to changes for tourism operators?* As stated already, the idea of the New Conservation Paradigm, including the Mountain Text, represents a social dilemma and a paradox, which I expect to be part of the reason for the lack of changes.

In order to understand the reasoning and background for why Norway is in this paradox, this dissertation focuses on the Mountain Text. I studied the origin of the idea of nature-based tourism in protected areas in Norway, the policy decision that came in 2003, the measures and their implementation, and the scope of action tourism operators have and the political reality ten years later.

1.2 POLICY DECISIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES – DO POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS MATTER?

My interest in this particular field was sparked by the fact that the Mountain Text decision evidently has not led to any changes for tourism operators in protected areas. I would have expected a policy decision reflecting a change from "conservation" to "conservation and use" to have more effects on tourism operators, and to lead to changes in the institutions regulating entrepreneurs' actions. This is the background for this dissertation's research question:

What facilitates or hinders whether a policy decision in the end leads to institutional change?

Hill and Hupe (2009: 4) define a policy as involving "behavior as well as intentions, and inaction as well as action ... [they have] a purposive course of actions ... [which] arises from a process over time." Hill (2005) has additionally defined policies as a series of decisions evolving from a decision network, and which are dynamic and influenced by other policies. Policies also are subjective, which means they are identified by the observer. Thus, the problem identified in this dissertation (and the purpose of the policy) is the negative attitudes toward protected areas. The focus on nature-based tourism is the policy introduced to solve this problem, and the Mountain Text represents the policy decision.

Policy making will in this dissertation be described as a cycle comprised of three activities: policy formulation, policy decision, and policy implementation. They are interdependent and assumed here to overlap greatly. I will show that policy formulation to a huge degree happens after policy decision, and thus affects implementation of the policy. Hence, I claim that unclear formulation of a policy results in a policy decision that does not give much guidance to implementation. Consequently, much of the work on formulating the policy happens throughout the implementation phase, and I will discuss some of the results stemming from this.

Policies have a limited time span, and further develop and overlap each other. What happens throughout implementation and formulation creates joint results that may not be in accordance with the policy's aims. Further, each policy is a separate experiment, and several individual experiments can create undesired outcomes as well. I will show how overlapping policies in the case study here dichotomously weaken policy decisions and contribute to strengthening policy implementation.

Policy making does, in many cases, lead to institutional changes, or may come as a result of institutional changes. An institution is here understood as "the prescriptions that humans use to organize all forms of repetitive and structured interactions including those within families, neighborhoods, markets, firms, sports leagues, churches, private associations, and governments at all scales" (Ostrom 2005: 3). Institutions, as with overlapping policies, are nested in each other, and changes at one level influence institutions at another level. While some changes are formal and reflect political or judicial changes, other changes are informal, more incremental, and take time. These latter changes generally reflect changes in norms, values, customs, traditions, etc. In some cases, observed changes in more informal institutions might lead to a policy decision in order to reflect population changes, while in other cases, more formal institutional changes are controversial but might in turn also lead to changes in the informal institutions.

By applying the Institutional Analysis and Development framework (IAD) (Ostrom 2005) on policy studies we can gain more insight into the policy-making cycle at various administrative levels, and the interconnections between the different levels. On the other hand, by studying how the whole policy-making cycle is undertaken, we study the relationship between politics and administration, commonly referred to as governance. Insights from governance studies emphasize also the role of private and non-profit sectors in policy making (Blomquist and deLeon 2011; Røiseland and Vabo 2008a). But policy making never happens in a closed society, and policies interfere with and influence each other, thus they are also made in a society in which there are numerous actors trying to interfere with policy making, numerous other policies that overlap one another, and numerous institutional rules that provide the scope of action for both the actors and the content of the policy. In a globalized world, numerous processes also are going on internationally that eventually affect policy making at a national level. Thus, policy making is a complex process itself, and it is made in a complex society. The IAD framework has proved a useful tool in studies of complexity, and is therefore also applied in this dissertation's study of a particular policy-making cycle.

Another element is that new policies and institutions are dependent on previous policies and institutions, and thus influenced by them. In that sense it will also be necessary to focus on previous policy decisions and institutions in order to understand the policy decision under study.

The IAD framework is well known for its applicability in complex situations related to governance of natural resources, and policy making related to it. The studies undertaken have mainly focused on local communities and rule making at the operational level (Clement 2010), thus not applied to multilevel situations. Additionally, acknowledging that policies interact and illustrating it with the IAD

framework has happened recently, and thus is not yet generally applied (McGinnis 2011b). Therefore, the IAD framework has a lot to gain from studies of governance and policy making, while at the same time, application of the IAD framework in policy settings can be valuable in coping with the complex context of a policy-making cycle.

So far, I have stated that policies are complex in nature, and that policy design is a mix of several administrative levels (Ostrom 2005). Further, policies might both introduce institutional changes and come as a result of institutional changes, either formal or informal ones. Value creation of Norway's green gold is a policy decision that involves a complexity in both policies and administrative levels, and a field where numerous policy measures have been introduced.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The overall purpose of this study is to understand why the Mountain Text did not lead to changes for the tourism operators. As of today, Norway has 42 national parks (35 on the mainland and 7 on Svalbard [English: Spitsbergen]; see Figure 1). All together, Norway has protected more than 16% of its mainland, with around 9% as national parks, 5% as protected landscapes, and 2% as nature reserves and other categories. The archipelago Spitsbergen is 61,022 km², and 65% is protected through 7 national parks and 22 nature reserves and other categories.

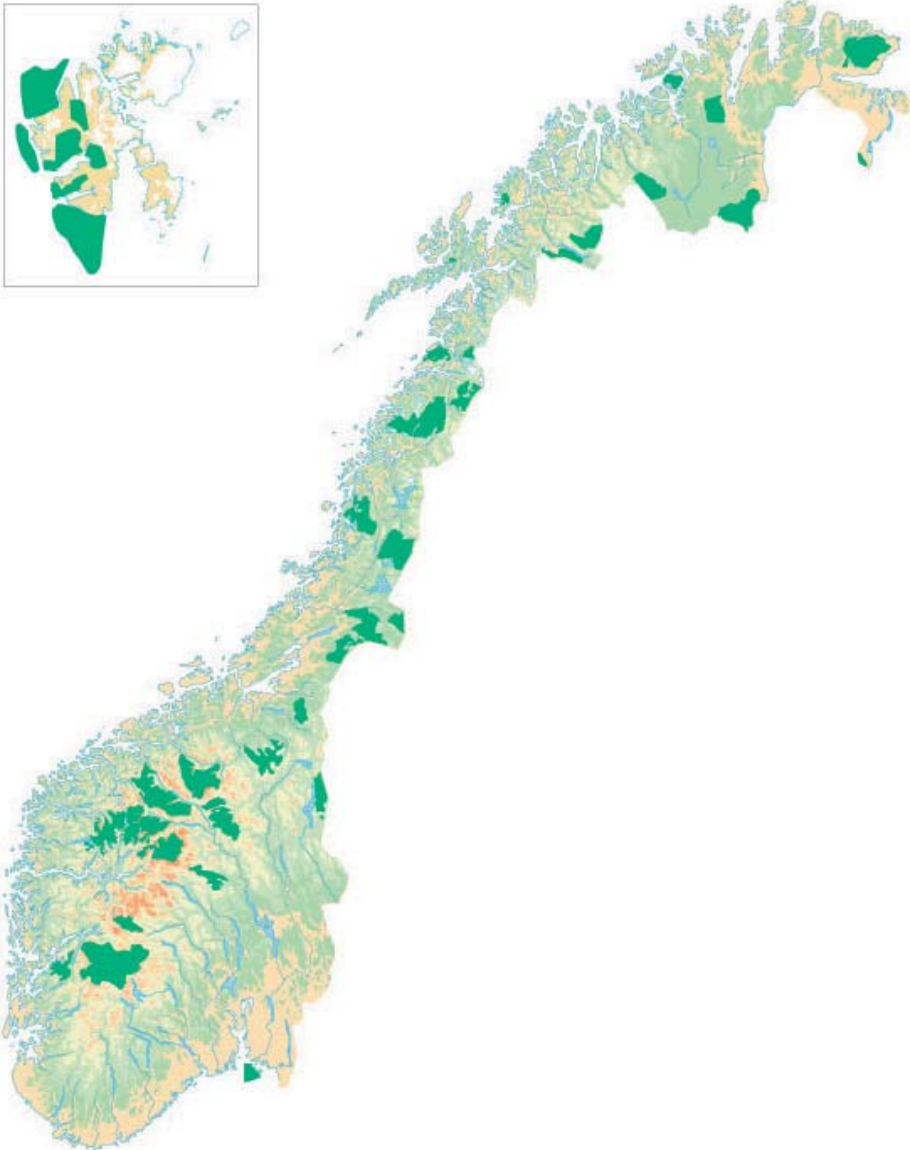


Figure 1: Map of Norway's national parks, in dark green, as of October 26, 2011 (source: <http://www.dirnat.no/nasjonlparker/>)

With almost 24% of Norway conserved, and with the growing tourism to the country, knowledge regarding policy implementation related to nature conservation is crucial. Thus, my findings could contribute to future policies and management approaches related to nature-based tourism. One purpose of this research is to contribute to ecologically sound governance of protected areas in order to preserve natural values as well as ensure sustainable use of the protected areas.

The more theoretical purpose is to describe how a policy decision relates to an institutional change and vice versa. Thus, I aim at describing how the Mountain Text's measures and tools did not contribute to an institutional change. Through this process I also explore which factors contribute to promoting institutional changes together with the policy decisions.

1.4 THE DISSERTATION'S OUTLINE

The organization of the dissertation is as follows: **Chapter 2** reviews the framework, theories, and key concepts that will be applied throughout the dissertation. The dissertation falls under the umbrella of "new institutionalism" and gives a review of the main developments and major contributions to this approach in the field of sociology, political science, and economics. This review also provides the background and main characteristics of the IAD framework, which is applied here. The IAD framework is also discussed in relation to policy and governance literature, and Chapter 2 ends by discussing what to gain from the various perspectives when studying policy formulation and implementation, and presents more specific research questions for the dissertation. **Chapter 3** presents the multiple methods that were applied in order to answer the research questions, and discusses how commissioned research has influenced the dissertation process.

Chapter 4 is the first analytical chapter, and is a constitutional analysis focusing on how two major events determined the conditions for the policy decision, and thus policy formulation and implementation. This chapter also shows how overlapping policies and implementation interact and jointly produce outcomes related to the policy decisions. The chapter ends by summarizing changes in constitutional rules that are applicable in relation to the nature-based tourism development. **Chapter 5** follows the analytical levels, and is a collective-choice analysis that mainly focuses on the new management model introduced in Norway in 2010, and analyzes how these new collective-choice rules might contribute to development of nature-based tourism. **Chapter 6** is an analysis of operational rules, and focuses on the scope of action for people who aim to develop nature-based tourism activities.

Chapter 7 zooms out again in order to gain an overview of the whole policy cycle as well as focusing on the content and outcome of the policy. This chapter also discusses the observed challenges for implementation of the policy decision, as well as discussing paradoxes related to the social dilemma. The last part of this chapter discusses what we might learn from this process, and how policy implementation in the environmental field should occur in order to promote a sustainable development of the New Conservation Paradigm.

2 FRAMEWORKS, THEORIES, AND KEY CONCEPTS

This chapter presents the framework I apply in this dissertation, based on the IAD framework and policy studies (as presented briefly in Section 1.2). Mainly, this chapter introduces the interplay between institutions and policies, as applied throughout the analysis. The first section discusses social dilemmas in protected areas. The second section discusses the background for the IAD framework, which has been developed as part of the new institutionalist approach in economics mainly, but with great influences from political science and sociology. In Section 2.3, application of the IAD framework in policy studies is discussed. In the last section of this chapter, I give an overview of the framework that I apply in this dissertation, and present an outline for the rest of this dissertation based on an elaboration of the sub-questions related to the research question presented in Section 1.2.

2.1 Social dilemmas in protected areas – a Common-Pool resource or public-goods problem?

The term "collective-action problems" is commonly used to describe situations where individuals act for their own benefits—maximizing calculations, leading to an outcome where all others involved are worse off. Thus, there is a divergence between individual interests and community-level interests (Cox and Ostrom 2010). The joint outcomes stemming from individuals' actions would have been better if the individuals had cooperated. These situations where collective interests compete with private interests are also characterized as social dilemmas.

A social dilemma occurs when individuals "in interdependent situations face choices in which the maximization of short-term self-interest yields outcomes leaving all participants worse off than feasible alternatives" (Ostrom 1998: 1). We find social dilemmas in all aspects of life, and maybe the most famous illustrations are "The Tragedy of the Commons" (Hardin 1968), Prisoner's Dilemma (Rapoport and Chammah 1965 cited in Poteete et al. 2010: 177), and The Logic of Collective Action (Olson 1965). They all focus on what happens if individuals do not cooperate toward reaching the optimal outcome for a group. For Hardin (1968), the only solution to avoid overuse and degradation was centralized or privatized governance. Prisoner's Dilemma illustrates what happens if two people do not

cooperate, even if it would have been in their best interests to cooperate. In most cases rational prisoners will blame each other, thus leading to the worst situation for both of them. Olson (1965) challenged the view that a large group with common interests automatically leads to collective action, based on acknowledging that rational and self-interested individuals do not necessarily act out of common or group interests. Thus he argues that contributions might be concentrated by only some of the group members, and benefits will be shared by everyone.

If we transform these examples to management of natural resources it seems difficult, if not impossible, to overcome such social dilemmas. Zachrisson states that even if the outcome of such dilemmas is a "comedy" and not a "tragedy," it is still a drama that depends on a certain mix of strategies for management and governance in order to succeed in solving these dilemmas (Zachrisson 2009a). Research has shown that such comedies occur, and that there are cases of happy endings. Most of the tragedies have applied one management solution on different social and ecological settings (Ostrom 2008). Usually these solutions ignore variances within and across resource systems, and assuming that the set of preferences, possible roles of information, and individual perceptions and reactions are the same all over the world, both in developing and developed countries (Ostrom et al. 2007). Both researchers and practitioners criticize using protected areas as the only tool to secure biodiversity, hence acknowledging that area protection often is used as a panacea (Sanderson et al. 1998; West et al. 2006; Zimmerer 2006).

Protected areas are often established in order to help solve social dilemmas related to such problems as overuse and resource degradation, in which maximization of short-term interests is prioritized before considering other feasible alternatives. But nature conservation can become a social dilemma itself by requiring that some people must counteract their individual self-interests for future generation's sake (Ohl et al. 2008). People might thus share experiences of protected areas as unfair from a local view, and that benefits and costs are unevenly distributed among those who are locals or non-locals, and importantly also between future and current generations. So even when establishment of protected areas is used to avoid tragedies, a tragedy might occur since the protection decision can lead to new and other social dilemmas. Further, applying similar policies in all protected areas might lead to tragedies as well. This is another example of the fact that there is no common solution to solve social dilemmas, and that one must take into account both social and ecological variances (Ostrom 2007a, 2009).

Social dilemmas in protected areas are often related to the various goods and services the protected areas provide. These are the benefits that humans derive (both directly and indirectly) from ecosystem functions (habitats, biological or system properties or processes of ecosystem) (Costanza et al. 1997). Ecosystem services are an example of such goods and services. Even though the notion is new, its content goes back to when people started extracting and using natural resources (Fisher et al. 2009). Ecosystem services often include four categories: production of food and water (provisioning), control of climate and disease (regulating), nutrient cycles and crop pollination (supporting), and spiritual and recreational benefits (cultural) (Fisher et al. 2009: 57). Various definitions of ecosystem services have been applied, and the latest revision goes from studying them as goods and services to recognizing that there is a distinction between services and benefits (Fisher et al. 2009). For example, surface waters and beaches are ecosystem *services* that provide possibilities for the *benefits* of swimming and recreation (Boyd and Banzhaf 2007; Fisher et al. 2009). We then see that ecosystem services are non-human while benefits are human. These benefits are neither homogenous nor static, and vary according to the value people attach to them as well as which place they come from (in-situ versus ex-situ) (Fisher et al. 2009). Thus, one ecosystem service might create multiple benefits. The benefit a person is interested in also dictates his or her understanding of an ecosystem (Boyd and Banzhaf 2007), and different valuations of benefits from a protected area might then also contribute to social dilemmas.

Ecosystem services and benefits are not only a function of the ecosystem dynamics, but must also be understood as social systems. They fit into the public-private goods space, and are regulated by markets, trade, and more generally, by governance systems that are complex and dynamic as well (Fisher et al. 2009). A common and well-developed way to distinguish various goods and services relates to their subtractability and exclusion. When arraying them, we get a general classification of four types of goods (Figure 2), and this classification as well as the debates over what values reside in nature have shown the complexity and multidimensionality of these concepts (Turner et al. 2003). An important question to ask when we discuss goods is Whom are these goods and services valuable for and do various user groups hold the same valuations of goods and services? Further, it is important to ask whether the value is related to the production of goods or services (ecosystem benefits), or to the stock of a certain ecosystem (ecosystem services).

		Subtractability	
		Low	High
Exclusion	Difficult	Public goods	CPR
	Easy	Toll/club goods	Private goods

Figure 2: A general classification of goods (source: Ostrom et al. 1994; Ostrom and Ostrom 1999)

When exclusion of other potential beneficiaries is easy, we talk about either toll/club goods or private goods. The former are goods in which the use is non-rival, hence where one person's consumption does not diminish another person's. Goods related to landscapes might be recreation areas whose main delivery is goods that are only enjoyable within the landscape. They might include supplying experiences such as visiting a specific cave (Berge 2006, 2011). Other examples of club goods are networks of hunting rights in southern Norway, in which groups bid for the best hunting terrain.

Private goods, on the other hand, are excludable and subtractable. Purchasable and tradable goods within a market are examples here, such as backpacks, and all goods extracted from an ecosystem service. Within a landscape, this might be agricultural areas, which deliver private benefits such as agricultural products. Such products are available outside the landscape.

Common-pool resources (CPR) are characterized by difficulties in excluding others and by a high degree of subtractability. CPRs are defined as a "natural or man-made resource system that is sufficiently large as to make it costly (but not impossible) to exclude potential beneficiaries from obtaining benefits from its use" (Ostrom 1990: 30). CPRs in a landscape setting are defined as ecosystem service areas (Berge 2006, 2011). They include fisheries, irrigation systems, groundwater basins, pastures, grazing systems, forests, lakes, oceans, and Earth's atmosphere (Ostrom 2008).

The benefits such as recreation and a beautiful view have emotional values and, as such, are public goods in the sense that they are non-consumptive and not subtractable. However, congestion and human-induced erosion can decrease the emotional values and the physical resources respectively (Zachrisson 2009a). Berge uses wilderness areas as examples of land-use areas related to public goods (Berge 2006, 2011).

Conflicts over establishing national parks reflect different ideas and values, and the decision represents national claim of ownership of both physical and emotional values. The four various landscape typologies all reflect various perceptions of what a certain landscape, e.g. national parks, might mean for people. Norwegian national parks are used in all aspects of this; sheep and reindeer graze, recreational activities are undertaken, ecosystem services are

provided, and wilderness areas provide information values. Thus, national parks can be understood as the resource foundation providing all of these values, and contributing to the broad value creation as discussed in Section 2.1. This means that in national parks subtractable resource units include the grazing areas for economic purposes, quietness for solitude, untouched nature for learning, and fish and game for hunting.

Ownership of resources and how they are best governed are questions that have been thoroughly studied for several decades. The three models of social dilemma ("The Tragedy of the Commons," Prisoner's Dilemma, and The Logic of Collective Action) that were briefly described here imply that appropriators will not cooperate in order to achieve collective outcomes. However, research has shown that it is possible to overcome such social dilemmas, thus individuals do have the possibility to achieve results that avoid the worst outcome (Ostrom 2010). Important factors identified in experimental studies include the role of communication and avoiding sanctions by cooperating (Poteete et al. 2010). Communication helps to increase the group identity and solidarity, and thus contributes to an agreement of cooperation.

Problems related to the commons are puzzles that institutionalism, particularly rational-choice institutionalism, tries to solve (Peters 2005). This is also one of the CPR research topics that scholars in sociology, political science, economics, and other fields have struggled with for a long time.

2.2 DO INSTITUTIONS MATTER?

The development of new institutionalism has happened in various fields of social studies, and major contributions have come from economics, political science, and sociology. In new institutionalism, one of the main assumptions is that people (mostly referred to as actors) make their choices within constraints (P. Ingram and Clay 2000). This is an assertion that involves three important elements: first, actors are boundedly rational; second, institutions are defined as rules; and third, these institutions constrain actors so that their best choices are consistent with the collective good.

This section will start with putting the individual in focus by introducing methodological individualism. Further, I discuss how people are boundedly rational, and last, I explain the rule-based understanding of institutions.

2.2.1 Understanding society in terms of social wholes and structures, or in terms of individuals

From the mid-1930s to the 1960s, a fundamental shift took place in political science, changing the attention from institutions to political behavior. These changes are commonly called the behavioral and rational revolutions (Peters 2005: 12), and had consequences for other social sciences. Although the notion of revolution can be contested (Gunnell 2004), there are no doubts that political science changed during these years.

One of the major changes was a new focus on theory development, and several general theories were tested in sub-fields of political science. There was a movement away from the more normative aspects of political science. Methodologically, the stronger interest in individual-level political behavior gave rise to experiments and surveys, emphasizing the view that the only actor in political settings is an individual (Peters 2005). Political behavior was the new study object, and the focus then turned to voting and interest groups' activities, and how these factors served as output in a "black box," thus making policy processes "magical processes" that happened inside the black box. The success of the behavioral revolution, as well as the focus on an individual's rational choice, formed the basis for the new institutionalism.

Social sciences then turned toward studying individual actions and behavior again, often called methodological individualism, which means that social order is a product of individuals' aggregated actions (Nee 1998; Peters 2005). In economics, microeconomic analysis never lost its strong influence (Boettke and Coyne 2005), but in other disciplines methodological holism⁴ characterized the period of old institutionalism (Nee 1998; Peters 2005). Contrary to methodological individualism, the view of methodological holism was that "meaningful social science knowledge is best or more appropriately derived through the study of group organizations, forces, processes, and/or problems" (Samuels 1972: 249).

Methodological holism in sociology is often associated with Durkheim and Marx (Peters 2005), and the common assumption is that society is more than just the sum of individuals. Durkheim claimed that using individualistic explanations for societal problems will mislead us and give false explanations. He used suicides as examples, and said that the number of committed suicides varies according to how the society functioned, or how one was integrated in one's surroundings. Thus, there had to be a power in the society that pushed everyone in the same direction, and the strength of this power decided how many suicides would be committed (Durkheim and Østerberg 2001). Marx and Engels (1998) explained

⁴ Often referred to as methodological collectivism.

that such societal problems came from differences between classes. Class struggles go on between those who own the means of production and those who work, respectively the bourgeoisie (the ruling class) and the proletariat (the working class). These class struggles eventually will lead to the proletarians gaining power through revolutions against the bourgeoisie (Marx and Engels 1998).

Methodological individualism, on the other hand, understands society by studying individuals. Social order is thus a product of the aggregation of individual choices (Nee 1998). Hence, the appropriate focus for social analysis is the individual, e.g. the decision makers. Yet even though social collectivities exist, they still do not make decisions. The decision makers are the individuals within such collectivities (Peters 2005). Udehn claims that contrasting methodological individualism with holism is a mistake, since there are various approaches under methodological individualism (see Figure 3), and several of these approaches also incorporate elements of methodological holism (Udehn 2002b).

Strong MI		Weak MI		
Theory of the social contract	Theory of general equilibrium	Austrian MI	Popperian MI	Coleman's MI
Natural MI	Compromising MI	Social MI	Institutional MI	Structural MI
Arrow	Elster	Menger Weber Schumpeter	Popper Simon Olson Buchanan North Ostrom	Coleman




Figure 3: Various versions of substantive methodological individualism (MI) with major contributors (Developed from Udehn 2002b)

The first to use methodological individualism was probably Joseph Schumpeter. He used the notion to make a distinction between political and methodological individualism in 1908, and to argue that they were independent of each other. His understanding of methodological individualism was that it was a method used in theoretical economics, but he was not a proponent of methodological individualism himself (Udehn 2002b). In sociology, the phrase *methodological individualism* is usually associated with Weber and his concurrent notion of "individualistic method." Udehn shows that Weber used the notion first in a letter to economist Robert Liefmann in 1920: "Sociology too, can only be practiced by

proceeding from the action of one or more, few or many, individuals, that means, by employing a strictly 'individualistic' method" (Udehn 2002b: 98, citing Roth 1976). For Weber, it was particularly problematic that sociology studied "collectivities" such as "classes" or the "state," and he stated that we need to study "the action of individuals, the types of officials found in it" (Weber et al. 1978: 18). For Weber, such collective concepts cannot act, and thus only reflect individual persons' actions, but they should not be totally eliminated from sociological analysis either. Such concepts are useful in the sense that they provide a frame of reference, and sometimes serve as helpful tools for identifying processes in society (Udehn 2002b). The important question for Weber was what the motives were behind individuals' actions.

These two scholars, Schumpeter and Weber, are the major proponents of two groups of methodological individualism, respectively procedural and substantive. The former says something about the order of analysis and/or presentation (starting from an individual's needs), and the latter says something about the content of concepts and/or explanations. According to Udehn, procedural methodological individualism is rare, and not interesting, and the focus should be given to substantive methodological individualism instead, thus focusing on where you end rather than where you begin your analyses (Udehn 2002b). Udehn continues to divide substantive methodological individualism into one strong version and one weak version, claiming that the only real opposite to methodological holism is this strong variant. He makes further distinctions based on methodological individualism's history, showing that there has been a development from strong to weak methodological individualism, and that this development has led to an acceptance of more holistic ideas as well. Udehn's versions of methodological individualism are presented in Figure 3, and further elaborated below.

The strong version of methodological individualism represents the more extreme versions, which require that social phenomena be explained in terms of individuals. In a policy analysis, such as this dissertation, one studies processes and actors such as organizations, municipalities, ministries, etc. However, these actors are comprised by individuals who I believe are not independent of their surroundings (as in natural MI⁵). Weak MI acknowledges that social

⁵ The theory of social contract assumes that individuals are asocial and natural, and live without social institutions in a state of nature. The theory of general equilibrium treats the same isolated individual, but studies its interactions on the market, absent of social institutions and technology.

institutions/structures have an important role in social science explanations⁶ (Udehn 2002a,b). Udehn also presents an approach that falls between the strong and weak versions of MI, and names it *compromising individualism*.

In the following section, I focus on discussing weak MI but include compromising MI. The discussion will not follow the organization presented in Figure 3, but rather will follow the outline presented in the beginning of Section 2.2, while incorporating contributions from the authors mentioned in Figure 3. However, I will begin by discussing the rational choice approach as one of the approaches under methodological individualism. This is important here since implementation relies on how individuals act, and theories related to individual actions can help explain institutional changes.

2.2.2 Boundedly rational individuals

One of the reasons for James March and Johann Olsen's emphasis on normative institutionalism lies in the development of rational choice institutionalism (Peters 2005). Weber et al. (1978) contributed greatly to setting rational choice theory at the core of social sciences, especially sociology, but it has been strongly influenced by political science and economics as well. Rational choice theory first developed in the economics field, and the main assumption is that all actors are rational in their actions, meaning that they rationally choose those actions that will maximize their own goals or preferences (Moberg 1994; Weale 1992). The intellectual roots can be traced back to many nineteenth-century economists and philosophers who focused on individual activities and choices.

There are various rational choice approaches to institutionalism, and they all share the assumption that individuals are the central actors and that they act rationally in order to increase their personal utility. Edling and Stern show that various approaches of rational choice sociology can be placed on a continuum ranging from those who are more inspired by rational choice theory to those who are "hard-core" rational choice theorists (Edling and Stern 2003). The latter would typically use mathematical models or computer simulations to analyze rational individuals and their actions, and study the macro outcomes of individual action. The former is based on a certain way of theorizing about individuals and their intentions and opportunities, and the way they influence individual action.

⁶ Social/Austrian methodological individualism (MI) assumes that individuals are isolated and social or cultural beings who attach subjective meaning to their own actions. Institutional/Popperian MI considers social institutions as exogenous variables, and social structures as endogenous variables. This is the dominating version of methodological institutionalism in political science and economics. Structural/Coleman's MI is somewhat similar to institutional MI, but believes social structures appear as exogenous variables.

Methodological individualism is still at the core, emphasizing that choice, constraints, opportunities, incentives, and so on matter, but also includes a focus on social norms and social networks (Edling and Stern 2003), thus we are evidently at the weak methodological individualism side.

Popper's (2002; Popper and Notturmo 1994) methodological individualism is often understood as an attempt to build a methodology based on individualism (situational logic) and institutionalism. Situational logic is nowadays more often juxtaposed with rational choice (Udehn 2002a). In fact, Popper is reckoned as a pioneer of rational choice sociology (Hedström et al. 1998). His main idea was that an individual's actions cannot be explained without making references to social institutions, which he and Notturmo define as "those things which set limits or create obstacles to our movements and actions almost as if they were physical bodies or obstacles" (Popper and Notturmo 1994: 167). However, he also states that an analysis of the logic of a situation must bring in the decisions and actions taken by individuals (Hedström et al. 1998). Popper distinguishes the social institutions according to their nature. Some are linked with, or incorporated in, physical bodies; examples would be traffic signs. Others are incorporated in human bodies, such as police officers regulating the traffic. And yet others are of a more abstract nature, such as the rule of the road. For Popper and Notturmo, all of these are social institutions (Popper and Notturmo 1994).

Olson contributed greatly to the literature on how rationality influences collective action. He found that rational, self-interested individuals will only pursue collective interests if they are rewarded for doing so, or if there is a punishment for not doing so (Olson 1965). Thus, group members will join and contribute to a group if benefits are reserved strictly for them. He connects this to the size of a group; smaller groups will be more successful than larger groups due to social pressures and social incentives. In larger groups, each member is so small that his or her actions do not matter as much as they do in a smaller group. Thus, for a rational actor to react toward non-conforming behavior from other group members would be irrational, since the disobedient action is not decisive. Also, in larger groups it is impossible for everyone to know everyone else, hence a rational actor might know that his/her decision on not to make any group sacrifices will not affect him socially. Thus, there is a problem of free riding in which actors aim at limiting their own costs at the same time they hope to benefit from others' contributions (Olson 1965). Smaller groups have these kinds of social control mechanisms, and are thus more able to get around these problems. Following from that, smaller groups are able to decide on policies that have consequences for the whole country, and thus have more power than their actual size would give them. Olson states this as follows: "in the sharing of the costs of efforts to

achieve a common goal in small groups, there is however a surprising tendency for the 'exploitation' of the *great* by the *small*" (Olson 1965: 3).

One of the biggest debates inside this approach is connected to the degree of information individuals have. Theories of full rationality assume that individuals have complete information regarding each participant's possible actions, outcomes, and preferences (Ostrom 1998). To stretch this even further, one might add the element that all individuals also know the actions of all the others, and then we have perfect information. Thus actors possess full information and are always capable of considering all possible outcomes, choosing actions that will result in the best possible outcome. Newer studies, however, discuss whether full rationality is possible, and the idea has been modified in several ways (Martinussen 2008). The first modification is connected to Simon and his understanding of boundedly rational individuals (Simon 1972). The second modification is related to Elster, who added norms as an explanatory variable since rational calculations alone cannot serve as explanations for individual choices and actions (Elster 2007). The third modification is presented by Coleman, who focused on norms and social capital (Coleman 1990). I will now briefly discuss all three modifications.

Simon states that "because of limits of knowledge and computational power, people are frequently unable to judge whether particular beliefs are true, and whether particular behaviors will contribute to their utility (wealth, power, or whatever it may be)" (Simon 1997: 244). Real life is different from these previously described fully rational situations, and individuals' abilities to possess complete and perfect information is restricted due to their information-processing capabilities, thus individuals might be incapable of making optimal rational choices. Simon came to his understanding of boundedly rational individuals drawing on developments from modern cognitive psychology, and for him bounded rationality is "behavior that is adaptive within the constraints imposed both by the external situation and by the capacities of the decision maker" (Simon 1985: 295). Thus, when we study boundedly rational choice in a situation, we do not need to know everything about the situation they are in. We rather assume that individuals do not have full information, but that they still can learn. McGinnis defines bounded rationality as when "individuals pursue goals but do so under constraints of limited cognitive and information-processing capability, incomplete information, and the often subtle influences of cultural predispositions and beliefs" (McGinnis 2011a).

Elster has criticized rational choice theory for not providing an adequate predictive theory (Koelbe 1995). The first step in a rational choice approach, according to Elster (Elster 1989), is to determine what a rational individual would

do given certain circumstances. The second step is to study what the rational individual actually did. Elster sees two challenges related to these steps; first, the theory can fail to predict what a rational individual would do (failure of indeterminacy), and second, some individuals do not act in accordance to what has been predicted (failure of irrationality). There might not exist a uniquely optimal action, belief, or amount of evidence (Elster 1990). In order to overcome these failures, Elster acknowledges that the work of Simon has contributed to understanding rational action, but criticizes it for lacking explanations of "why people have the aspiration levels they do ... [and] ... why they use the particular search rules they do" (Elster 1990: 44). Hence, rational choice theory must include a theory of preference, norms, and institutions to improve its explanatory powers. Elster defines social norms as "an injunction to act or to abstain from acting" (Elster 2007: 354). Norms are based on past behavior, either by oneself or by others, and thus not based on future goals. What makes norms social are that they are shared with others, and that they are enforced by others.

Coleman has been characterized as the "undisputed leader of rational choice sociology" (Udehn 2002b), which is evidence of his contributions to this field. Coleman studied norms, how they come into existence, their forms, and what kinds of sanctions are attached to them. For him, norms are constraints on individuals' scopes of action, and are expectations about actions (either your own, others', or both) that express what actions are right and wrong (Coleman 1987, 1990). Norms are imposed by either internal sanctions or external sanctions, or by both. Social norms might constitute social capital, which Coleman defines by its function: "It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (Coleman 1988; Coleman 1990: 302). When Coleman further discusses the notion, he also incorporates a description of the notion. First, social capital is productive in the sense that it makes possible results that would not have been realized if it did not exist. Second, social capital is not completely fungible, meaning that it is difficult to replace social capital with another element. Third, social capital is vested in the relations and structures among people (Coleman 1988, 1990). Coleman's definition and use of the notion of social capital is one of his most influential concepts. He relates the notion to trustworthiness, which for him means to what extent obligations will be repaid. When Coleman analyzes the way social capital operates, he first identifies to what degree trustworthiness has outstanding obligations. Coleman also includes the information potential in his analysis, and expresses that this also is an important form of social capital since it provides the basis for action (Coleman 1988).

For Ostrom and Ahn (2009:20), social capital represents a synthesizing approach to how cultural, social, and institutional aspects of communities jointly affect how collective-action problems are solved. There are three types of social capital that are important in studying collective action: trustworthiness, networks, and formal and informal rules or institutions, with trust as the core link between social capital and collective action. Thus trust is not a form of social capital, but a result. Elster defines trust as "refrain[ing] from taking precautions against an interaction partner, even when the other, because of opportunism or incompetence, could act in a way that might seem to justify precautions" (Elster 2007: 344). In this definition, there are two successive decisions: first, to engage in the interaction, and second, to abstain from monitoring and controlling the interaction partner. Trustworthy people may be perceived as that for several reasons. Elster focuses on past behavior, incentives, signs, and signals as factors that influence a person's trustworthiness.

There is now growing evidence of social capital's effects, but the question will be if these effects are necessarily positive and good contributions. One might talk about social capital in different settings: strong social capital in guerrilla groups might not necessarily have positive effects and outcomes; social capital in mafia groups might have hugely negative impacts on a society; and so on. There are many examples in history of social capital's negative effects, not for the group involved, but for other groups. Therefore it is important to keep in mind that social capital might also have negative effects. When looking at social capital by focusing on its effects, we must look at varying consequences.

2.2.3 Institutions as rules and the collective good

Since people are boundedly rational, they use their experiences and what they have learned over time to decide on their actions (Ostrom 1998). Thus, they act according to their heuristics, norms, and rules. The rational choice approach considered here treats institutions as rules, but there are variations even inside this rule-based approach. Peters (2005) identifies three versions and only the first version will be discussed in the following:

1. *institutions as rules* that direct behavior, as developed by North (1990, 1993) and Ostrom (2005);
2. *institutions as decision rules* that provide a set of conformed rules that map preferences into decisions, with proponents like Arrow (1950), Buchanan and Tullock (1962);
3. *organizations of individuals* in which individuals aim at utilizing institutions to achieve their goals, with Niskanen (1971, 1975) and Downs (1957) as major contributors.

The first approach views rules as a means to prescribe, proscribe, and permit behavior, and this approach has been strongly influenced by institutional economics and economic history, but it is also evident in political science. North defines institutions as "the rules of the game in a society ... the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction" (North 1990: 3). Institutions are, for North, made up of formal constraints (such as rules, laws, and constitutions) and of informal constraints (such as norms, behavior, and conventions). With institutions as the rules of the game, the players are organizations. Thus, North distinguishes between organizations as political bodies (e.g., political parties, city councils), economic bodies (e.g., firms, trade unions, cooperatives), social bodies (e.g., churches, clubs), and educational bodies (e.g., universities, schools). Hence, organizations are groups of individuals bound together by some common purpose to achieve some objectives.

Ostrom has a somewhat similar definition of institutions, stating that they are "the prescriptions that humans use to organize all forms of repetitive and structured interactions including those within families, neighborhoods, markets, firms, sports leagues, churches, private associations, and governments at all scales" (Ostrom 2005: 3). Ostrom (with Crawford) divides institutions into three groups; rules, strategies, and norms, and a lot of work have been done to develop a common meaning of the concepts. Rules can be defined as "prescriptions that define what actions (or outcomes) are required, prohibited, or permitted, and the sanctions authorized if the rules are not followed" (Crawford and Ostrom 1993 in Ostrom et al. 1994: 38). Institutions as strategies mean institutions as *instructions*, like those used in manuals and to give usage directions. A strategy may also be looked upon as a "sequence of moves" (Kiser and Ostrom 2000: 189), where one commits to follow a specific plan of action (Kiser and Ostrom 2000; Ostrom 2005). The term *norm* has already been discussed. Ostrom views rules as crucial for regulating individuals' behaviors so that collectively undesirable results can be avoided. Thus the idea is that people agree to follow rules when they get something desirable in exchange.

Related to the policy definition from Section 1.2, it appears that policies and institutions are quite similar. In fact, one might ask why policies are not institutions. Institutions are here understood as guiding an individual's behavior and thus affecting how those involved in the policy cycle act. Policies are a broader concept and include the choice of strategies undertaken in order to convince someone to support and act in accordance with the policies' aims. Hence, policies often aim at changing institutions.

The study of collective action has been one of the main focuses in rational choice institutionalism, along with the question of how people can make decisions that

satisfy the conditions of a social welfare function (Peters 2005). It has also been the key interest in the work undertaken by Elinor Ostrom and colleagues at the Vincent and Elinor Ostrom Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis (hereafter referred to as the Ostrom Workshop), Indiana University, Bloomington. According to Aligica and Boettke (2009), the study of collective action developed from an interest in public economies, social organization, and polycentrism⁷, applied through a great variety of methods (Poteete et al. 2010). The understanding of institutions that have been reviewed here is in accordance with the understanding applied at the Ostrom Workshop. The next section will discuss further the comprehensive work that led to the Institutional Analysis and Development framework.

2.3 BUILDING A COMMON LANGUAGE FOR STUDYING COMMON-POOL RESOURCES – COPING WITH MULTILEVEL, NESTED, AND COMPLEX SYSTEMS

2.3.1 The Institutional Analysis and Development framework (IAD)

During the early 1980s, many scholars realized that the dominant view that privatization and nationalization were the only ways to sustainably manage CPRs was wrong, based on empirical evidences. Through a structured process called the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework scholars began gathering evidences across disciplines, regions, and resources as proof (Poteete et al. 2010). This work led to a further development of IAD (Kiser and Ostrom 2000), changing its focus from collective action in field settings to collective action related to natural resources. And with *Governing the Commons*, Elinor Ostrom proved that Hardin's assumptions were unsuccessful for predicting behavior in small-scale CPRs where individuals communicate and interact (Ostrom 1990).

IAD (see Figure 4) was further developed as an analytical tool for approaching the study of complex institutions and governance structures, based on a "methodological individualist perspective" (Kiser and Ostrom 2000) as discussed in Section 2.2. The origins of the IAD framework came from a general systems approach to policy processes, and was an extended elaboration of this (McGinnis and Ostrom 2011). In the IAD, inputs are processed by policy makers and constitute policy outputs that interact with external factors producing some outcomes that again are evaluated and give feedback to all the previous

⁷ McGinnis (2011a: 171) defines polycentricity as "a system of governance in which authorities from overlapping jurisdictions (or centers of authority) interact to determine the conditions under which these authorities, as well as the citizens subject to these jurisdictional units, are authorized to act as well as the constraints put upon their activities for public purposes."

components (McGinnis 2011b; McGinnis and Ostrom 2011). The inputs are how the rules and the physical and cultural world jointly influence the action situation ("black box") where policy choices are made. We can see then that the IAD partly follows from the behavioral revolution as discussed earlier, but that it also opens up the "black box" in order to learn more about the action situation.

The action situation is where individuals "observe information, select actions, engage in patterns of interaction, and realize outcomes from their interaction" (McGinnis 2011a: 173). It is where policy choices are made, and it involves several clusters of variables that in themselves are relatively complex, thus they contribute to an immense number of possible action situations. These variables are the *participants* who are in *positions* and must decide among diverse *actions* in light of the *information* they have regarding how actions are *linked* to potential *outcomes*, and the *costs* and *benefits* assigned to the actions and outcomes (McGinnis 2011a; Ostrom 2005). Behaviors in action situations create some kinds of interactions, and are together with outcomes the output in the policy process. Importantly, actors evaluate actions, interactions, and outcomes that in turn might affect other levels in the process. Further, feedback can also affect the external variables (input) as well as the action situation, illustrated by dotted lines.

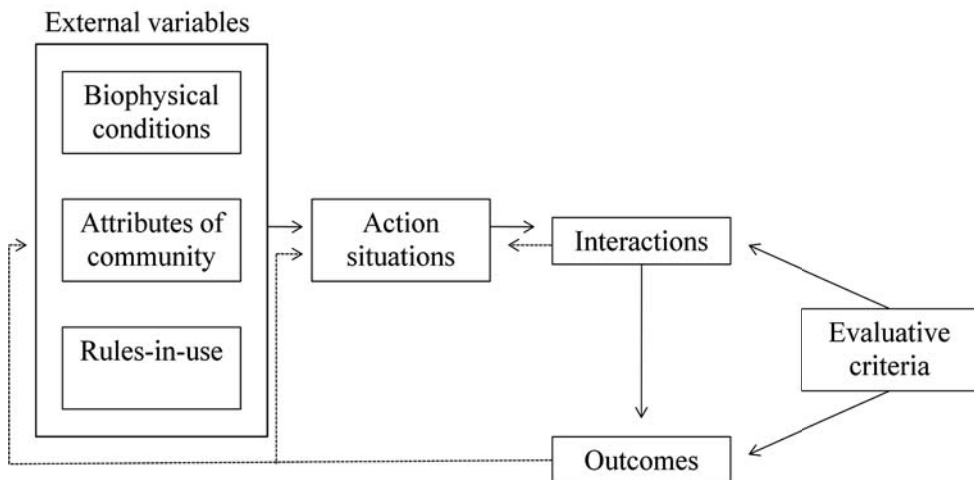


Figure 4: The IAD framework (Ostrom 2005, 2010)

The IAD framework opens up for studies of both one action level and several action levels. When classifying rules that affect action situations, the former studies the part of an action situation that is most directly affected (the horizontal approach), and the latter focuses on the level of authority involved in the analysis (the vertical approach). Rules can be expressed by studying their generative and

regulatory forms. The former means studying which rules create positions and the latter means studying which actions are allowed (Ostrom 2005).

The relationships between the various parts of an action situation (the horizontal approach) is illustrated in Figure 5. Generative rules regulate the actors in the action situation. Here, position rules specify the set of positions participants fill, and the number of participants. Boundary rules are often also called entry and exit rules, and specify who is eligible to enter a position and how a participant may enter or leave a position. Choice rules, also called authority rules (McGinnis 2011a), specify which set of actions each position is assigned to. Aggregation rules specify whether a prior decision is needed before going from action to intermediate or final outcomes. Information rules specify the information available to each position. Pay-off rules specify the distribution of sanctions and rewards. Scope rules specify a set of outcomes, thus they affect the scope of outcomes (McGinnis 2011a; Ostrom 2005).

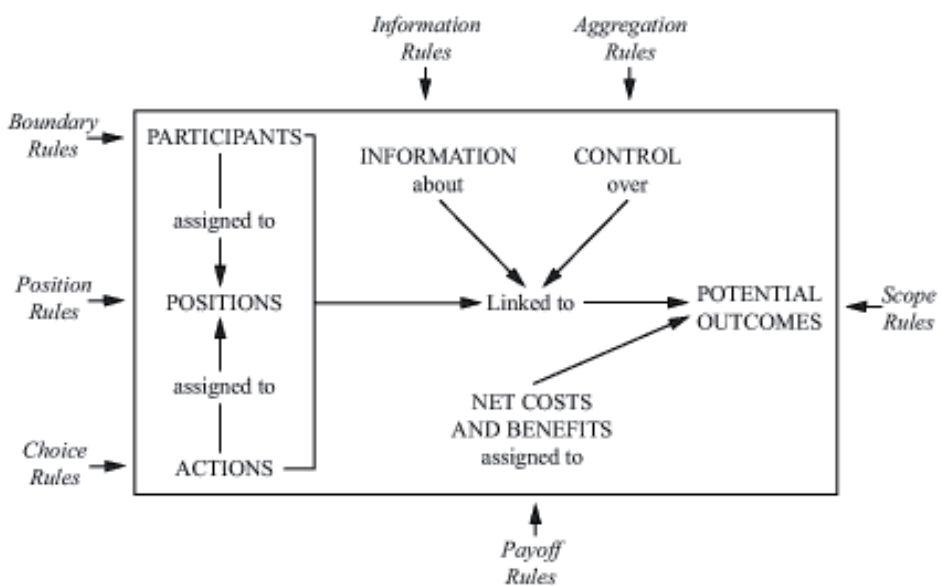


Figure 5: An action situation's internal structure - how rules affect an action situation (source: Ostrom 2005: 189).

When applying the IAD framework, one might study only one action situation, but it does not operate separately from other action situations, which are nested in each other and thus demand analyses on multiple levels (the vertical approach) (Kiser and Ostrom 2000; Ostrom 2005; Ostrom et al. 1994). Three levels of analysis have been identified (Figure 6), and decisions at one level generally are a

result of, and affect, decisions at another level. At the operational level, decisions that affect day-to-day actions are made by actors involved in a particular policy setting. Actors' scope of action at the operational level is defined by processes at the collective-choice level. More concretely, decisions here define who is eligible and which rules should be used at the operational level. But the same decisions are taken at the constitutional level to define who is eligible and which rules should be used at the collective-choice level (Ostrom 1990, 2005; Ostrom et al. 1994).

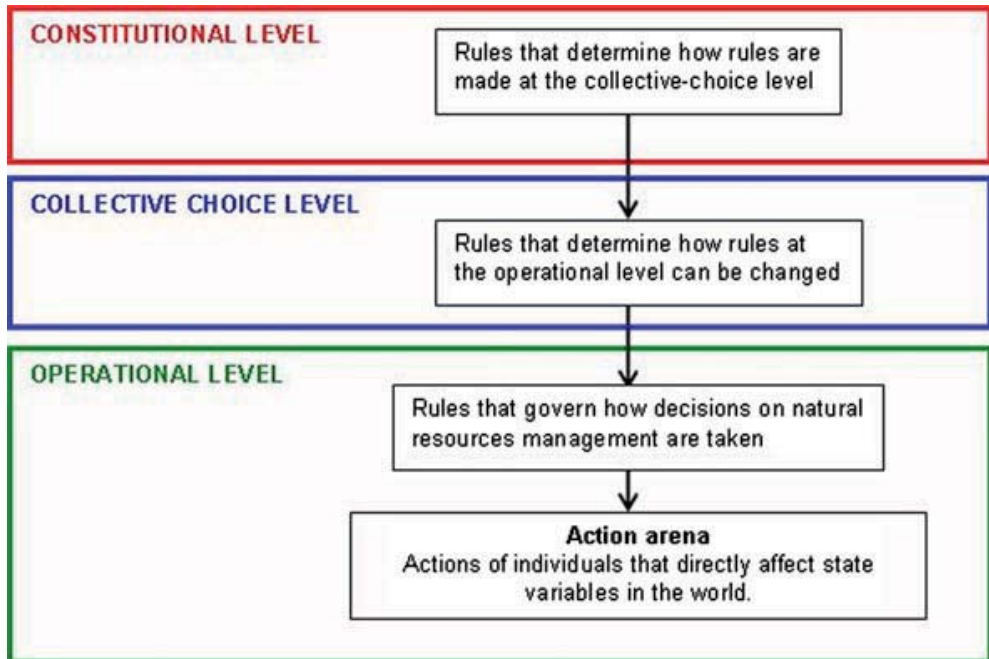


Figure 6: The three levels of analysis in the IAD framework (source: E. Ostrom 1999).

The distinction between multiple levels of analysis is maybe one of the most important components of the IAD framework (McGinnis 2011b), and gives researchers possibilities to study how rules are crafted at several levels as well as how different tasks are carried out at the same level of analysis. Thus, it is not only important to study how rules are nested at various analytical levels, but also how several activities at one level influence each other. This coincides with how studies of CPR have evolved, and efforts in building a shared language for "the commons" are still undertaken around the world (Dolšak and Ostrom 2003).

2.3.2 Studying rules as part of the policy-making cycle

IAD has contributed largely to an increased understanding of rules and how they are designed and which effects they have. For a policy analyst, is it necessary to understand how rules change as well as the impact of these changes (Ostrom 2005). There are strong connections between policy studies and the IAD framework, and policy studies influenced the IAD framework in its initial phase. The IAD framework has been applied in studies of several policy settings, and implementation studies' early focus on output and outcome is reflected in the IAD framework. Many theories might be compatible with the IAD framework. IAD has proven to be compatible with game theory, social choice theory, public choice, and theories of public goods and common-pool resources, among others (Ostrom 2005). Thus, theories regarding policies are highly compatible with the IAD framework. Consequently, this section discusses how policy studies can be undertaken by applying the three levels of analysis in the IAD framework, and vice versa, how the IAD framework can benefit from theories on policy studies.

Scholars have found that the levels of analysis are highly relevant for modern policy studies, in the sense that they both share a multilevel, nested understanding (Hill and Hupe 2009; Howlett 2009) and are alternatives to the traditional linear "stages model" in policy process studies (Hill and Hupe 2006, 2009). Earlier research on implementation of policies focused on stages (Hogwood and Gunn 1984; Lasswell 1956), and decomposed implementation of a policy into numerous stages or phases in a linear model that did not reflect real-life policy processes (Hill and Hupe 2009; Püzl and Treib 2007). Attempts were made to distinguish separate stages in this cycle, focusing on how issues get on the agenda, how they are initiated and formulated, how policies are applied and implemented, and how feedback and evaluation occur. This stages approach has been criticized because it is difficult to separate out the various stages. John states that such an approach is confusing because there are no such neat divisions between the different types of activities (John 1998). The process is much messier and complex than we are able to capture by studying the linearity. The same argument has been supported by Sabatier, Howlett, and Ramesh (Hill and Hupe 2009).

Research on policy design had not gained too much attention until the last decade (Schneider and Sidney 2009), but has since focused on why some kinds of policy designs appear, what their consequences are, and why we get certain kinds of design elements instead of others (Schneider and Sidney 2009). There are many theories of the policy process with different foci, and they are hard to separate because they overlap and draw upon one another (Schlager and Blomquist 1996).

The most common concept of policy is public policy, a field that focuses on the content of political decisions, their backgrounds/reasons, and their consequences. Thus *policy* means a combination of administration and politics. In Section 1.2, policies were defined as a series of dynamic decisions, behaviors, intentions, actions, and inactions. Defining a policy is difficult without acknowledging its interdependent relationship with its implementation (Hill 2005; Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009; Pülzl and Treib 2007). The essential idea for understanding this relationship can be the "implementation [following] formulation and decision theorem" (Hill and Hupe 2009: 4), thus a policy process involves policy formulation that leads to a decision and implementation.

Several concepts are used to describe how a policy is made, with just minor differences in application. More recent literature regarding policy and implementation often state that there are two phases in a policy process: design and implementation, and these stages influence each other in a "policy cycle" (Hill and Hupe 2002), equivalent with the IAD framework. The main thought is that in this cycle agenda setting, policy initiation and formulation, policy application and implementation, and feedback and evaluation do not happen in stages, but rather in a cycle, over and over again. Thus, new issues are put on the agenda all the time, and hence policies change the dynamics of future policies and political action too (Hill and Hupe 2002; Schneider and Sidney 2009).

Hill and Hupe talk of policy formation to clarify that there is a distinction between thought (policy formation) and action (implementation) (Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009). In the policy formation phase, two processes take place: formulation and decision making (Hill and Hupe 2002: 8). The interplay between policy formulation and decision making (thus the actions in the policy formation phase) can, according to Hill and Hupe, explain the "often ambiguous character of policy that has to be implemented" (Hill and Hupe 2002: 9; Hill and Hupe 2009). The policy formulation phase is a way of working out how to reach the goals. Hill also introduces the concept agenda setting, deciding on where to go, as an interlinked process with policy formulation (Hill 2009). Figure 7 illustrates the policy cycle as viewed in this dissertation, based on Hill and Hupe (Hill 2005; Hill and Hupe 2006, 2009).

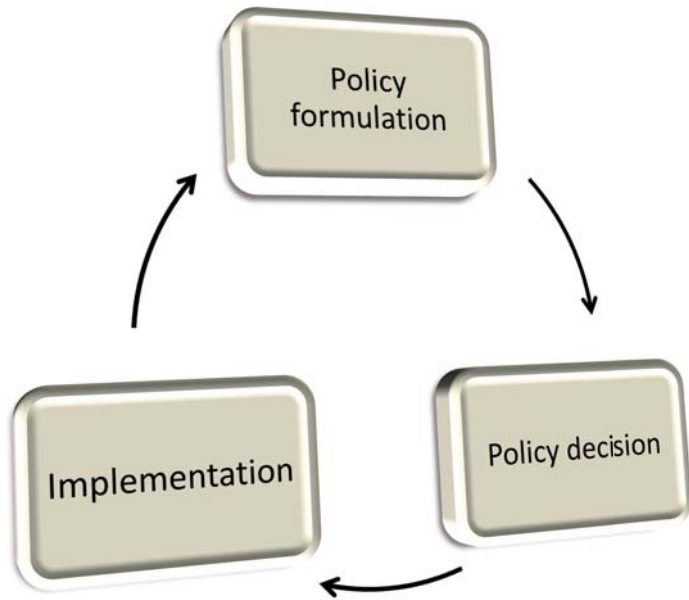


Figure 7: The policy-making cycle (source: Hill 2005; Hill and Hupe 2009).

In the policy formation phase, the fundamental elements of a policy are developed, such as defining the goals, target actors, measures, and so on, matching a policy’s content with the political context in which the policy was formulated (May 1991). Thus, policy formulation is not unaffected by exogenous variables, to put it in an IAD vocabulary, and social, institutional, and biophysical factors are inputs to policy design (McGinnis and Ostrom 2011). Howlett states that what he calls policy design is the effort undertaken to match goals and instruments with each other and across categories (Howlett 2009), thus prioritizing between them according to ruling political values. But values might change since each phase in the cycle has different actors with their own pro or contra values who try to influence the implementation process (Kiviniemi 1986). Social construction of knowledge and target populations in the policy formulation phase must therefore be reckoned as important causal determinants of policy design (Schneider and Ingram 1997).

Finding the exact time a policy was first presented and when policy formulation happened might be difficult. Policies might be formal (legislation, executive orders, or other official acts; May 2003) or a result of a political process (Winter 1994), with the former representing a document or similar record that makes it

easier to find the particular occasion when the policy was made. H. Ingram and Schneider claim that there is no single model for an effective statute (policy decision); instead, smart statutes are designed for the context in which they are to be implemented (H. Ingram and Schneider 1990). Hence, a policy decision does not necessarily say anything regarding how it was designed, who decided what needed to be done, and who reached decisions regarding what its central purpose was.

It is also difficult to say when implementation ends. Goggin et al. (1990) say that implementation ends when established routines (standard operating procedures) are firmly in place. Implementation studies is an important field of policy studies that dates back to the beginning of the 1970s policy implementation was understood as a top-down, linear, and mainly political process that happened in clearly separated phases, in which the aim was to evaluate the achievement of the policy's goal, its output, and its impact (Hill 2005; Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009; Lipsky 1980; Sabatier 1986; Winter 2003a,b). This first generation was followed by a bottom-up understanding of policies, which started at the lowest implementation level and described actors' behaviors in order to say something about the policies' effects and outcomes (Elmore 1980; Lipsky 1980; Sabatier 1986; Winter 2003a,b). The third generation aims at synthesizing the previous two approaches, and focuses more on characteristics of the policy formulation process, applying mixed methods in order to understand why implementation behavior varies across time, policies, and units of government (Goggin et al. 1990; Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009; Lester and Goggin 1998; O'Toole 2000; Winter 1990, 2003b).

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the focus was on output and outcome incorporated in the IAD framework. One of the most influential models on this was presented by Easton in 1953 in which inputs go into the political system, and outputs come out (referred to in Hill and Hupe 2002: 9; Lane and Ersson 2000: 61). Implementation is then something that happens within the system. *Output* has often been used with two meanings: first, as a result of a legislative or decision-making process (e.g. policy); and second, as those achievements/performances that implementation of this policy concludes in (Winter 1994: 14). Thus, output is what is being delivered to the citizens, "the extent to which programmatic goals have been satisfied" (Goggin et al. 1990: 34; Winter 2006) and is more at an operational level than at the level of a law. While output is what is delivered to the citizens, *outcome* is the actual consequence of the policy and what has been delivered, independent of the policy's aims and goals. Thus, outcomes are the real consequences and results, both within and

outside the political system (Lane and Ersson 2000), and they are influenced by outputs as well as the exogenous variables⁸ (McGinnis 2011b).

Ostrom separates biophysical outcomes from the value assigned to outcomes by participants in the action situation (Ostrom 2005), which separates outcomes into real and perceived outcomes. The question is Who experience the outcomes? Implementation literature makes a general distinction between target groups (recognized in the policy as the focal point for that policy, e.g. within the policy's aims, goals, and measures, and who should expect a change after implementation of a policy) and end users (those who are at the bottom line of the implementation process) (Kiviniemi 1986; Schneider and Ingram 1993; Schneider and Sidney 2009; Winter 1994, 2006)

Institutional theory, particularly in political science and sociology, share the same concerns that analysts studying implementation do (Hill and Hupe 2002). During the last decades of the 20th century, questions related to the impact of institutions on policy processes became important, questioning how implementation processes could be placed in their constitutional and institutional contexts. Thus, scholars acknowledged that studies of policy processes and implementation processes had to recognize that "established norms, values, relationships, power structures and 'standard operating procedures'" (Hill and Hupe 2002: 35) occur in organized contexts and influence these processes. Institutional theory asks how these structures are formed and how they influence policy processes and implementation. Hence, policy studies must deal with relational phenomena, and not only focus on a policy's results (Ashford 1977).

For rational choice theorists, policies are perceived as institutional arrangements (rules) that permit, require, or forbid actions (Schlager and Blomquist 1996). These rules are thus often under pressure to be changed, and studying the actions that promote change is of interest. IAD addresses this by studying rules at different levels, and changes in collective choice and constitutional rules mean a change in a policy. However, policy studies have in many cases ignored the role of rules (Polski and Ostrom 1999). One of the main identified challenges when studying institutions in policy analysis is related to a policy's complexity (Polski and Ostrom 1999; Schlager and Blomquist 1996). This is also a field in which policy studies can gain the most from IAD. I will now continue by focusing on how IAD can be used to cope with complex policies.

⁸ Thus there should have been an arrow leading directly from the exogenous variables to outcomes in the IAD to reflect that these factors directly influence the outcome and not only through an action situation.

Even though I discuss three phases in relation to the Mountain Text, I do not believe them to be independent of one another, but rather that policy formulation happens throughout the implementation phase too. Thus, the only "static" element of my understanding is the decision-making phase, in which the budget proposal represents the formal institutionalization of the Mountain Text (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003) 2003). This means that whatever has happened since the budget negotiations in 2003 in some manner is implementation of the policy, but at the same time this might be policy formulation, in which the policy's content is developed. Thus formulation and decision making are both activities that happen before implementation, reflecting that the policy process does not happen independently of other processes in society.

2.3.3 Institutional Analysis and Development as a tool to cope with policies' complexities

Policies enter a "crowded policy space, impacting upon and being influenced by other policies" (Hill 2005: 8). It is not always easy to identify a certain time when a policy is made and can be defined in terms of involving several decisions taken together, rather than one independent decision (Hill 2005). This is related to the fact that policies arise from a process over time with many actors involved, and that policies can be influenced by other policy fields or external economic developments (Pülzl and Treib 2007). Personal, group, and organizational influences have contributed over a long time (Hill 2005; Hill and Hupe 2002), both intentionally in developing the policy, and unintentionally in participating in other fields of society. Further, policies change over time and are dynamic rather than static. These changes happen either by adjusting a policy after earlier decisions and policies, or as a major change of direction (Hill 2005). Policies involve behavior and inaction too, and do not only focus on intentions and actions; they might have unpredicted outcomes, and purposes might be defined retrospectively (Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009). The distinction between goals, objectives, and measures show the multilevel aspect of policies. Not only are they developed at various political levels, they also vary according to how concrete they are (Howlett 2009; Schneider and Sidney 2009). Goals are more abstract than measures, hence leaving measures as the most operationalizable analytical unit. Policies hence include several elements that reach across various levels and are embedded in one another. This complexity has caused much theoretical and terminological confusion for researchers (Howlett 2009) and needs to be taken into account in future work.

The IAD framework is one such tool to cope with policies' complexity. Ostrom has classified policy changes as experiments based on an assumption that such changes are based on more or less informed expectations of the potential outcomes, and their effects on participants (Ostrom 2005). The IAD aims at

"dissecting" this complex environment, and realizes that "what is a *whole* system at one level is a part of a system at another level" (Ostrom 2005: 11). Thus, for example, rules are nested in one another, and in order to fully understand these rules it is necessary to unpack them layer by layer. Also, policy decisions are nested within one another and institutionally dependent on other institutions (Blomquist and deLeon 2011).

Even though the IAD framework has been applied in several settings, these studies have mainly focused on the operational level and studied collective action in local communities (Clement 2010), thus overlooking IAD's own multilevel character and the linkages between international and national policies and resource users' actions. Further, IAD is often applied in policy settings, and those studies have stopped after identifying one policy setting without acknowledging that policies interact and that key activities taking place in one area might constitute action situations in another area (McGinnis 2011b). Thus there is a need for more multilevel governance studies, including studies of policy implementation (Andersson and Ostrom 2008; McGinnis 2011b). Goggin et al. (1990: 75) said that "policy implementation is a dynamic and interactive process, one that simply cannot be understood by focusing exclusively on one level of action or another."

Hill and Hupe used the IAD framework as their inspiration in developing the multiple governance framework especially designed for governance research and on combining management, content, and institutions (Hill and Hupe 2006, 2009). Also, O'Toole (2000) acknowledges the IAD framework's success in analyzing policy implementation, especially in helping analysts move beyond the top-down/bottom-up debates. Yet he calls for a stronger focus on official governmental programs, and suggests an adjustment of IAD to include both self-organizing systems as well as mandated elements (some portions of government programs quite typically have a mandated character of certain interunit links) (O'Toole 2000). Another framework has been developed to analyze water systems, management processes, and multilevel governance regimes, and builds heavily on the IAD as well. The Management and Transition Framework (MTF) takes into account policy cycles as well as the organizational and analytical multilevel character (Pahl-Wostl et al. 2010). But the MTF does not focus on adjacent action situations, as proposed by McGinnis (McGinnis 2011b).

The contemporary focus of IAD scholars on polycentricity coincides with the recent recognition of the term "governance" in policy studies (Blomquist and deLeon 2011; McGinnis 2011b; McGinnis and Ostrom 2012). Vincent Ostrom has defined polycentricity as "many centers of decision making that were formally independent of each other" (V. Ostrom 1999: 52). Polycentricity and governance

share in common several characteristics such as decision-making processes influencing each other at multiple organizational levels with various actors. Of key interest for IAD scholars have been "(i) the construction of linkages between institutional arrangements and even between action situations and (ii) the interactions that occur among organizations and rule systems that have been designed and that operate at diverse scales" (Blomquist and deLeon 2011: 3).

The term *governance* is a concept that has developed to be broadly used when describing a shift from hierarchical and state-dominated governing to a society-based ruling and decision-making model, thus including the whole range of institutions and relationships involved in decision making (Pierre and Peters 2000; Rhodes 1996; Røiseland 2010; Røiseland and Vabo 2008a). Governance might then be understood as the government's capacity to make and implement policies.⁹ Policy formulation and implementation increasingly take place through interactive forums, such as user boards, public-private partnerships, interorganizational networks, and so on (Sørensen and Torfing 2005), linking the political system with the environment. Or to put it in IAD language, linking the action situation with exogenous variables.

There are various types of governance, commonly distinguished between hierarchies, markets, and networks (Pierre and Peters 2000), and in the European Union (EU) setting, multilevel governance has grown forward as the model best suited to describe how the EU works (Hooghe and Marks 2001). In a Norwegian and Scandinavian setting, similar systems have been applied for a long period with firms, organizations, labor unions, and others as active participants in public decisions. Such a system (corporativism) can be distinguished from governance by being hierarchical and state dominated, while governance is pluralistic with a stronger society-based administration and decision-making model (Røiseland and Vabo 2008a). However, as of today, the corporative system is declining in Norway and taking other forms (Østerud et al. 2003). IAD scholars have generally left out private and non-profit sectors in their studies, and these are actors that might be better incorporated in the IAD by connecting IAD more with policy theories (Blomquist and deLeon 2011: 5): "In an age when public policy appears often – indeed, nearly always – to involve governmental, private nonprofit, and private for-profit bodies, the linkages and interactions among them are a timely and are vital subject for our attention." However, in further elaboration of the Social-Ecological Systems (SES) framework, which builds on IAD, McGinnis and Ostrom

⁹ Røiseland and Vabo (2008a) argue that the concept can be replaced in Norwegian by the term "samstyring," defined as "the non-hierarchical process through which public and private actions and resources are coordinated and given a common direction and meaning" (Røiseland and Vabo 2008a: 86).

recognize that actors might be collective entities that are so organized that they act as unitary actors (McGinnis and Ostrom 2011).

The notion of governance is applied both as a description of the real-life process of steering economy and society and as a means of studying political systems. The latter understanding is most relevant in this dissertation, and might be connected with the different analytical levels in the IAD framework. IAD addresses governance at various levels already, and acts at various scales. An important distinction here is between analytical and organizational/administrative levels, and there is no direct connection between them in a Norwegian setting. Herein lies an analytical challenge when studying implementation of a policy. This means that at one organizational level crafting of both operational and collective-choice rules may be undertaken (horizontal dimension). It also means that crafting collective-choice rules can include all organizational levels (vertical dimension). And neither of these processes happens independently of others, distinguished by Young as horizontal and vertical interplay (Young 2002), at the same level of social organization and at different levels of social organization, respectively. Interplay might then be both functional interdependencies or a result of politics of institutional design and management (Young 2002). In a Norwegian setting, studies of the vertical interplay would be between the different administrative levels as will be described in Section 4.1, and horizontal interplay would aim at identifying institutions operating at the same level. When interplay takes place between institutions that belong to different issue areas, we talk about overlapping institutions (Kvalvik 2011). These notions are usually applied to studies of international regimes, but I consider them to be relevant for studies of policies as well, thus acknowledging that policies also can establish, change, or dissolve institutions, and that there might be institutional interplay or overlap as well. Further I believe that studying institutions also means studying governance in vertical and horizontal dimensions.

Following more from studies of international regimes, Young states that for institutional arrangements to be effective, they "need to be well-matched to the defining features of the problems they address" (Young 2008). Thus environmental problems differ from one another and require different arrangements to solve them. This is the same kind of concern that Ostrom has in relation to various governance models implemented in order to avoid the tragedy of the commons; there is no blueprint solution that fits under all social and ecological systems (Ostrom 2007a, 2009). And here a question of scale becomes relevant: on which organizational/administrative level should a researcher focus, and how should this focus be related to the analytical levels? The important factor should of course be the research question, but apart from that there is much to gain from keeping in mind the governance aspect. Ostrom's focus on nested

systems (Ostrom 2005) reflects that one needs to dig deeper to peel off the various levels of nested institutions. Further, one should also zoom out to get an overview and to identify the exogenous factors that affect the action arena.

As we have seen here, several linkages exist between governance studies and the IAD framework. This is well illustrated by ending with Ostrom's definition of governance (in relation to Social-Ecological Systems) as

a multilevel process established by humans to craft institutions – rules – that affect how we can do what in relation to specific aspects of a linked SES, who will monitor conformance to these rules, and how these rules may be modified over time in light of feedback from the ecological system itself and from those involved in its use, management, and conservation. (Ostrom 2007b: 3)

The challenge lies in establishing policies and institutions that fit various settings; in my case, to establish policy tools and institutions that would work under various settings, or to target the policy tools and institutions in relation to each setting. This brings us to the next part: How do we change policy tools and institutions?

2.3.4 Institutional changes, path dependency, and lock-in events

As understood from the discussions in the last section, institutions are active at various levels and are mutually depend on and influence each other. Thus, in order to study governance of a policy by focusing on institutions there is also a need for recognizing that institutions can change, and that they once originated from somewhere. Ostrom defines an institutional change as "a change in any rule affecting the set of participants, the set of strategies available to participants, the control they have over outcomes, the information they have, or the payoffs" (Ostrom 1990: 140). She makes a distinction between institutional change and origin, where the latter is when new rules emerge in a situation without any rules. Hence the origin of institutions is reckoned as a major, one-step transformation, while institutional changes involve incremental changes in existing rules (North 1990; Ostrom 1990). And since institutions are nested and embedded in a society, changes take time; thus changes in the more informal elements such as customs, norms, conventions, traditions, codes of conduct, and so on may follow from formal changes (political or judicial decisions) but might happen incrementally based on actors' perceptions that they might do better by changing the existing institutions (North 1990, 1993).

Peters has criticized the rational choice approaches for not focusing on institutional change and rather focusing on assessing a structure's impact on behavior and policy (Peters 2005). Institutional change is treated as an exogenous

factor and thus often ignored, or studied to understand why changes occur without focusing on reshaping of preferences and adaptation of preferences within an institution. Thus there is more to gain from historical approaches to new institutionalism, and the idea that events and circumstances from the past determine the range of solutions available at present (Peters 2005). Central in historical institutionalism is a claim that choices made when formulating a policy or forming an institution have a constraining effect into the future, and are difficult to escape from (Greener 2005). Hacker defines path dependence as "developmental trajectories that are inherently difficult to reverse" (Hacker 2002: 54). Thus, small, happenstance changes may have large eventual consequences through self-reinforcing processes, and historical forces will then constrain introduction of new laws to be similar to past laws (Page 2006).

Path dependency then means that a new policy or institution will depend on the pre-existing policy path, which makes it difficult to break away from the pre-established patterns (Torfing 2001), and institutions and policy decisions made in the past then matter. Current and future states, decisions, and actions depend on the path of previous states, decisions, or actions (Page 2006). This path is shaped through complex interaction between deliberate decisions related to policy design, long-lasting traditions, learning processes, and accidental discoveries (Torfing 2001). The path is not static, nor provides the best possible solution to policy problems, and is a "relatively entrenched way of unifying, organizing, and regulating a certain policy field" (Torfing 2001: 286).

Institutions and policies become path dependent when there are considerable costs connected to breaking out or challenging the system (Greener 2005). This is based on an understanding that choices made and patterns created persist until there is some kind of force that overcome these choices and patterns. North explains path dependency based on studies of property rights. These are a necessity for a market to function, and he defines them as "the rights individuals appropriate over their own labor and the goods and services they possess" (North 1990: 33). The costs of transacting property rights have changed dramatically over time, thus efficient economic markets are exceptional. When an economy is on an "inefficient," stagnation-producing path, it can continue on the same path because of the nature of path dependence ("the consequence of small events and chance circumstances can determine solutions that, once they prevail, lead one to a particular path" (North 1990: 94)).

Several factors are mentioned as contributing either to creating a specific path or to maintaining it, making it more difficult to break from. North explains this by *network externalities* (North 1990). This is a concept often used in economics when referring to a situation when consumers' benefits from choosing a specific

product increases in relation to an increase in the number of other consumers making the same choice. The effect of this might be that consumers will not choose an alternative product unless they expect many others to make the same decision. In such a situation the market may become locked in with consumers choosing one product even though there are other (and possibly better) alternatives. One example might be the development of Facebook, and the efforts from Google to develop a similar social network to compete with Facebook. Social networks in general would not be as popular if other people did not join, and Facebook dominates the "market" for social networks. Google realized this and tried to compete with developing Google+, which has not had the same attractability at all (see an overview of market shares at <http://www.dreamgrow.com/top-10-social-networking-sites-by-market-share-of-visits-september-2012/>). Even though there are good reasons for why Google+ would be a more secure social network (it takes advantage of improving the shortcomings of Facebook), it does not attract as many people as Facebook.

Page's review of literature on path dependence has revealed four causes for why these paths come into existence: increasing returns, self-reinforcement, positive feedbacks, and lock-in (Page 2006). Increasing returns means that the incentives to remain on a path increase the farther one moves along it (Hacker 2002; Pierson 2000), thus the more a choice or an action is taken, the greater the benefits since the costs of exiting rise over time (Page 2006). Self-reinforcement means that the choices made and actions undertaken are automatically encouraged to sustain from the pre-existing institution (Page 2006). Positive feedback occurs when the choice or action creates positive externalities when the same choice is made or action undertaken by other people (Page 2006). There is often a tipping point associated with the positive feedback, which further increases the path after passing a given point (Bennett and Elman 2006). And the last cause, lock-in, occurs when the choice or action becomes better than any others since a sufficient number of people have already made that choice (Page 2006). The other factors might also contribute to lock-in, and whether an institution or a policy becomes locked in depends on the whole constellation of supporting mechanisms for the institution (Bennett and Elman 2006). Pierson summarizes the key claims of path dependence as follows:

specific patterns of timing and sequences matter; starting from similar conditions, a wide range of social outcomes may be possible; large consequences may result from relatively "small" or contingent events; particular courses of action, once introduced, can be virtually impossible to reverse; and consequently, political development is often punctuated by critical moments or junctures that shape the basic contours of social life. (Pierson 2000: 251)

Paths may be unproductive and lead to undesired outcomes, in which case it would be more effective to break away from the persisting path, but where this is difficult. Then the stability of informal institutional elements influence the path dependence in institutional arrangements (Nee 2005), and institutions have created disincentives that influence the payoffs of reforming policy institutions (Torfing 2001). Torfing also introduces collective-action problems as one explanatory factor for path dependency, in the sense that it is difficult to establish institutional arrangements that can guarantee norm-conforming behavior from others (Torfing 2001).

The notion of lock-in demands further focus. Here it will be understood as those choices made at a certain point in time that lead to a solution that is difficult to exit from (lock-in). Thus the path chosen might be an unintended and unexpected path, and leave the actors with a possible range of actions that are undesired and limited. The notion of lock-in was first used by Arthur in relation to technological lock-in. He did not state that change is impossible but rather that it is difficult if clearly superior technological alternatives exist (Hacker 2002). In order to sustain on a specific path "lock-out" must occur in which competing political ideas and vested interests are deliberately kept out (Greener 2005). Arthur used this concept when talking about technological developments, but later used both path dependency and lock-in when talking about institutional change and changes in policy making. Few (if any) political processes start with "a tabula rasa" of open options (Bennett and Elman 2006), and are nearly always influenced by the prevailing political process. However, it is not as simple as to say that once a choice is made it immediately becomes locked in either, since political actors do not disappear and leave the arena when they lose a battle. Instead, they stay around and try to find other ways to influence the process, and work toward creating a specific path they want to follow (cf. with the discussions of policy cycles in Section 2.3.2 and Section 2.3.3). Thus, it is not enough to state that lock-in appears when a choice is made; we must rather study the institutions and mechanisms behind it to understand the whole constellation. North states that it is more complicated to understand lock-in and path dependence of institutions than technology (North 1990), and reasons this with the interplay between policy choices and economy, the many actors involved, and the role of cultural heritage.

Paths are kept for many reasons, mainly since they are very difficult to break away from. Change is not impossible but it is channeled by the self-reinforcing mechanisms that propel the existing path of development. The later the change occurs, the larger it has to be to move off of that particular path (Bennett and Elman 2006). Historical institutionalism explains why paths are maintained based on institutional mediation of power struggles and the negotiations therein. The old policy path influences the allocative and authoritative choices of some

strategies over others, and the outcome depends on the power struggles and how they are mediated (Torfing 2001). Escaping from particular paths is a topic that has been criticized for not being clear, and there appears to be no framework to deal with change (Greener 2005). Since breaking from an existing path requires a significant effort, institutions and policies have a tendency toward inertia (Greener 2005). Torfing states that a complex interplay between internal sources of instability and external events can influence the structures of a path (Torfing 2001).

This idea of "path dependency" is familiar in studies of technological developments (see Magnusson and Ottosson's (2009) reference to Paul David (1985) on the development of the Qwerty keyboard, institutions (North 1990, 1993)), institutions (North 1990; North 1993), policies (Peters and Pierre 1998), and welfare reforms (Hacker 2002; Torfing 2001). It has also been used to criticize the use of national parks as a tool to secure biodiversity (Berkes 2007). Heinmiller (2009) claims that path dependence is an underexplored variable in the governance of common-pool resources, and asks for a greater emphasis on it when conducting common-pool analysis.

When studying complex systems, context (history, politics, and culture) is important in understanding a particular case. And thus in order to uncover the logic/illogic of the world around us we will have to understand the details of why and how it developed that way (David 2007), including demonstrating that there were numerous viable alternatives for the development of a policy or institution (Greener 2005). Bennett and Elman argue that process tracing and detailed comparisons of a limited number of cases can help unravel the complexities in social life, including path dependency (Bennett and Elman 2006), and contingent events might have contributed to the establishment of a particular policy or institution (Greener 2005). Pierson argues that the path dependency arguments are important for political scientists as well as economists, since they can help political scientists think more clearly and explicitly about time's and history's roles in social analysis. Some aspects of history can be best understood as temporal processes that might change (Pierson 2000).

Path dependence is studied more in Chapter 4, in which I also present two lock-in events that have contributed to policy change.

2.4 FRAMEWORK AND CENTRAL QUESTIONS APPLIED IN THIS DISSERTATION

I have now reviewed the theories and framework I apply in this dissertation. The focus has been on policy studies and the IAD framework, aiming at combining them in the analysis in order to apply the strengths from both the theories and the framework. This is reflected in the dissertation's research question of whether a policy decision can be understood as an institutional change. The aim with the rest of the dissertation is to study how institutions determine the choices made when designing a policy; thus I study the influence of institutions in the policy cycle.

In policy studies, some of the identified future challenges are related to what happens between a policy decision and its impacts, and who are actively participating in this process (Goggin et al. 1990; Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009; Sabatier 1986; Winter 2003a,b). The IAD framework might provide useful tools for studying this. Other future challenges are related to an increased focus on the output (performance of implementers) while not forgetting about the outcomes either. Also, the relevance of the context is identified as necessary to include in policy studies. Another element is the horizontal interorganizational relationships between the parallel organizations collaborating in implementation (Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009; Winter 2003a,b). Identifying challenges related to the IAD framework involves a larger focus on the multilevel character (Clement 2010) and the network of interlinked policy arenas (McGinnis 2011b; McGinnis and Ostrom 2012).

The rest of the dissertation is structured around IAD's levels of analysis, starting with the constitutional level (Chapter 4), followed by the collective-choice level (Chapter 5), and finally the operational level (Chapter 6). The dissertation's last chapter (Chapter 7) zooms out again, and discusses the basic idea of the policy in relation to other policy fields. In Table 1, I present the dissertation's structure and relate it to some basic research questions for each chapter. I also present the methods applied and which action arenas are studied.

Table 1: Structure and research questions

Ch.	Title	Research questions	Methods and focal action arena
4	Norwegian nature's constitutional legacy – constitutional analysis and institutional development	<p>How and when did the connection between protected areas and tourism arise in governmental politics and environmental management?</p> <p>How can institutions determine the context for policy formulation?</p> <p>Which institutions regulate the scope of action for a policy decision?</p> <p>What consequences does the policy decision have on institutions?</p> <p>What happened to make tourism in protected areas the chosen path historically?</p>	<p>Content analysis of official national documents.</p> <p>Qualitative interviews of bureaucrats from the ministries and directorates.</p> <p>Focal action arena: international and national arenas where nature-based tourism is framed and discussed.</p>
5	Collective-choice arenas – their importance for implementation of a policy decision	<p>Which rules have determined how rules can be made at the collective-choice level?</p> <p>Which institutional changes has the policy decision led to?</p> <p>Which collective-choice arenas are evident in relation to protected areas?</p> <p>How do different collective-choice arenas interact?</p> <p>What are the joint consequences of individual policy experiments?</p>	<p>Content analysis of official national documents.</p> <p>Qualitative interviews and observations at meetings.</p> <p>Focal action arena: collective-choice arenas related to protected areas.</p>
6	Policy implementation - local responses to national and international policies	<p>Which operational rules define nature-based tourism's scope of action in protected areas?</p> <p>How has the idea of value creation on Norway's green gold been implemented and perceived in regional and local planning?</p> <p>Why are the policy and its related concepts perceived differently by user groups?</p>	<p>Qualitative interviews of bureaucrats and users of protected areas.</p> <p>Survey results from all eight study areas in PROBUS.</p> <p>Focal action arena: Junkerdal National Park.</p>
7	Policy making and institutional change	<p>What facilitates or hinders whether a policy decision in the end leads to institutional change?</p> <p>How do institutional changes affect policy cycles?</p> <p>What are the benefits of applying IAD's levels of analysis on a Norwegian policy cycle?</p> <p>How can individual policy experiments produce unintended outcomes and contribute to policy paradoxes?</p> <p>How can overlapping policies and agendas contribute to collective action for the common good?</p>	<p>Summary based on the three preceding chapters.</p>

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter I review the dissertation's research design. This includes accounting for and justifying the decisions taken on how to best answer the research question *What facilitates or hinders whether a policy decision in the end leads to institutional change?* Ideally, these decisions are undertaken before they are carried out, but in research, changes are made to the research design throughout the process. King et al. (1994) emphasize that researchers must have the flexibility to revise research designs and to collect more data than originally intended. This is also the case in this dissertation, in which the data obtained are more comprehensive than needed for answering the dissertation's research question. In my case, analyzing data was an ongoing process that influenced every stage of the research (Coffey and Atkinson 1996) from beginning to end. Thus, I believe that preparing, conducting, and evaluating research is an ongoing intersubjective process (Blaikie 2009). Hence, knowledge is already generated at the beginning of the research process with the development of research questions, and this knowledge influences the research process (Blaikie 2009; Kramvig 2007).

My research design has three parts. First, I had gained a very good overview of the topic of interest, nature-based tourism in protected areas, before I zoomed in at a particular area to gain insight and knowledge from a specific case. Finally, I zoomed out again and combined the in-depth knowledge from the specific case with the insights and overview from the topic in general.

My research question grew out of my central role in the commissioned research project, PROBUS ("PROtected areas as resources for coastal and rural BUSIness development"). Blaikie states that the time and effort used in designing the research is smaller when the researcher is part of a research team or joins a project where others already have contributed (Blaikie 2009). Even though this was my situation, I still found it necessary to develop a separate research design for the dissertation work, which I account for here.

The type of research question posed offers suggestions for whether the study should be qualitative or quantitative. Open-ended, evolving, and non-directional questions generally suggest qualitative studies (Creswell 1998; Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2006), while quantitative research questions tend to be very specific and descriptive, comparative or reflecting trends between two (or more) variables (Creswell 2009; Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2006). The former types of questions typically describe rather than relate and compare variables or groups, and they generally address "what" and "how" questions (Creswell 1998; Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2006), while quantitative research questions start with "why" (Creswell 1998). Hence, this dissertation's research question suggests mainly a qualitative approach. However, if we investigate the various central questions presented in Table 1, we see that they also include a "why" question: "Why is the policy and its related concepts perceived differently by user groups?" which implies a quantitative approach. This specific question is answered by use of quantitative methods as well as qualitative methods.

This chapter provides a background for the choices made below as part of the dissertation's research design. The starting point in this chapter is a justification of the research strategies chosen here. They are a natural follow-up of the research question, and thus show how the research question is interlinked with the research purposes and the type of research undertaken. Following from a discussion of the research strategies, I present methods, data, and insights from the PROBUS project focusing on documenting how data were obtained, analyzed, and stored in PROBUS. This is essential here since it both provides the background for the research question and gives insights into the subject. The focus turns after a short discussion of PROBUS and puts the dissertation's research process in the center. This section starts with explaining how my research question grew out of a larger setting, followed by a justification of why I also chose to study a certain case in this work. I then discuss the data types, forms, and sources for the dissertation and how data were collected and documented. The section on the dissertation's research process ends with a discussion of research ethics in this specific situation and how data were analyzed and interpreted. The chapter ends with a discussion of validation or verification of the research process and whether the dissertation's findings might be generalized to other settings.

3.1 RESEARCH STRATEGIES

In order to answer the research question there are several paths to follow. This dissertation has its starting point from the insights gained from studies of eight protected areas. I chose to use these insights while focusing on one specific case, and then combine them and in some degree generalize the findings from the case to the eight protected areas (see also Section 3.4). The fact that the research question is a "what" question implies that certain procedures should be followed (Blaikie 2009) that exclude deductive and retroductive research strategies, and rather open the use of inductive and abductive research strategies (Blaikie 2009). The aim with inductive strategies is to "describe social characteristics and the nature of regularities, or network of regularities, in social life" (Blaikie 2009: 18) in accordance with the theoretical purpose of the dissertation —to describe how a policy decision relates to an institutional change and vice versa, as presented in Chapter 2. The dissertation's overall purpose is to understand and explain why the Mountain Text did not lead to changes for the tourism operators, or in other words, to discover why these tourism operators did not act as the policy prescribed and expected. This purpose then reflects the abductive research strategy, which aims at discovering "why people do what they do by uncovering the largely tacit, mutual knowledge, the symbolic meanings, intentions and rules, which provide the orientations for their actions" (Blaikie 2009: 89).

The research purpose reflects which types of knowledge I want to produce through this work (Blaikie 2009) and is thus the major objective of the research (Creswell 1998). I have identified three different purposes: understand, explain, and describe. This implies that the research is both descriptive and explanatory in nature (Blaikie 2009). Descriptive research aims at presenting an accurate account of a specific topic expressed in words or numbers. Explanatory research aims at accounting for observed patterns. When conducting explanatory and descriptive research, case studies have been suggested as a method of selecting the source of data (Blaikie 2009).

Aiming at answering the research question, I am influenced by my preferred strategies, my preferences for certain research methods, and more pragmatic factors such as time, costs, etc. My approach is in accordance with Blaikie's suggestion for an abductive approach in three stages (Blaikie 2009). While Blaikie suggests following these chronologically, my approach rather had overlapping stages. The aim is to "present descriptions and understanding that reflect the social actors' points of view rather than adopting entirely the researcher's point of view" (Blaikie 2009: 91). Thus the three stages are first of all to discover how social actors view and understand the phenomena that the researcher is interested in, second, to abstract or generate technical concepts from these

concepts, and third, to take the understanding further, either by refining and further elaborating, or translating it so it can be used in deductive or retroductive strategies. The first stage demands that the researcher contribute to encouraging people's reflections and report them by using a language as close as possible to the language that was used by the social actors. The second stage demands feedback from the social actors by, for example, "member checking" (see Section 3.4). In the third stage, either the understanding is tested with other social actors in the same context, or in other contexts, or it is translated into a form that might be applied as part of the deductive or retroductive strategies (Blaikie 2009).

In the research for this dissertation, the first stage was a combination of qualitative interviews that aimed at gaining an understanding of the social actors' perceptions of the origin of the Mountain Text, the policy change itself, and its implementation. Simultaneously, in order to achieve an overview of the policy's ideas, purposes, and background, it was necessary also to look back in history and study the development of the idea of tourism in protected areas in Norwegian governmental and public documents. Then it was necessary to study the implementation process in order to understand how the policy was formulated. Through this process it is possible to identify informants' motives and how they interpret and understand the concept of nature-based tourism and the Mountain Text in particular. Even though the information is reported in a language close to the language used by the informants, I still needed to dig deeper to generate concepts and new understanding. Thus, I followed the second stage, and aimed at increasing the understanding of the phenomenon. Hence, initial findings were tested both inside the project group as well as with the social actors themselves through active participation at seminars and conferences, and importantly, through surveys undertaken. This was done to ensure that I had grasped the world of the informants and not interpreted the data in a wrong direction.

The last stage is what defines my approach to follow an abductive research strategy, since a further refining and elaborating of the initial findings was undertaken. In the dissertation research, the findings are further elaborated in relation to the other study areas in PROBUS. This process is somewhat similar to what Ostrom calls zooming out, which is what a researcher can do after having gained an initial understanding of the topic under study (zooming in). When you zoom out, you investigate either the exogenous variables influencing the specific action arena, or study other action arenas (Ostrom 2005).

The choice of research strategies in this dissertation focused on empirical data, without denying theoretical assumptions, in accordance with the abductive research strategy (Alvesson and Schöldberg 2008; Blaikie 2009). Blaikie states that the main benefit with abduction is that it incorporates what has been ignored

with induction and deduction: people's meanings, interpretations, motives, and intentions. By alternating between theory and empirical data it is possible to put people's perceptions at the center of the research, and study how they affect people's actions and behaviors (Blaikie 2009). This was also the starting point for this dissertation, the fact that I understood from informants' lack of knowledge of the Mountain Text and the targeted effort to focus on nature-based tourism that this was an understudied issue. In order to explain this fact, I searched for understanding and reasons by studying a specific case and learning from those informants. This is discussed more in the following section.

3.2 METHODS, DATA, AND INSIGHTS FROM THE PROBUS PROJECT

The dissertation's research question grew out of PROBUS and the essential role I played in this project. Thus, it is necessary to briefly account for the insights, central methods, and data, and my role in them before turning the focus to the dissertation research itself. This dissertation's research question is also a result of initial knowledge from PROBUS, and I therefore also discuss the background for the research question.

The PROBUS project was user oriented and the initiative and initial ideas were promoted by the Northern Norwegian Agricultural Council (NNAC).¹⁰ NNAC represents farmers' organizations in northern Norway, and they searched for more research on innovation and opportunities for business development in protected areas. The background for this was twofold: first they realized that more areas became protected and that this resulted in changed conditions for farmers, and second, they were aware that many small farms were struggling to keep their subsistence, thus there was a need for developing subsidiary sources of income based on the farm. The project group was comprised of researchers from Norwegian Institute for Agricultural and Environmental Research (Bioforsk), University of Nordland, the Recreation Council of Salten (Salten Friluftsråd), and Nordland Research Institute.

The main objective of PROBUS was thus to improve the level of knowledge on how different factors influence the possibilities for business development in protected areas. In particular, institutional features, conservation processes, and area-conflicts were to be investigated (PROBUS 2005). Four sub-goals were defined, which included getting an overview of the commercial activities undertaken in protected areas, identification of decisive formal and informal institutions, identification of area conflicts among outdoor activities, traditional

¹⁰ NNAC consists of members from Nordland, Troms, and Finnmark Farmers' Union and Nordland, Troms, and Finnmark Farmers' and Smallholders' Union.

businesses, and new businesses, and evaluating participatory processes and their role in increasing business development (PROBUS 2005).

My insights came from eight study areas in northern Norway that were chosen with the aim to include coast lines and reindeer pastures, traditions with various planning procedures, under establishment and already established, and areas with varying degrees of activities.¹¹ Thus we ended up with the protected areas presented in Figure 8: six national parks, one protected landscape, and one World Heritage Area. All of these areas were visited during the project period. Knowledge of this variety of protected areas has given me insights into protected areas in general in northern Norway.

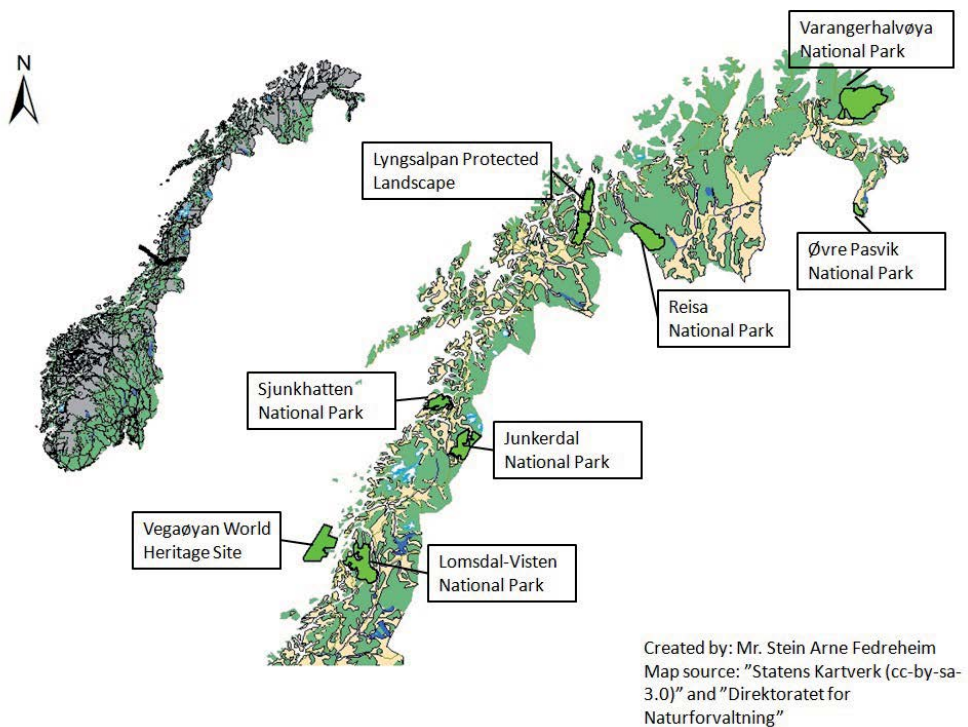


Figure 8: Map of the protected areas studied in PROBUS (illustration by Stein Arne Fedreheim).

The data acquired in the PROBUS project was obtained through both qualitative and quantitative methods: qualitative interviews, Internet searches, surveys, GPS monitoring, and observation. During the whole project, **qualitative interviews** were conducted with 87 persons from the eight protected areas: 38 tourism

¹¹ The areas are further presented and described in the report by Fedreheim, Bay-Larsen, and Ojala 2008.

operators, 10 farmers, 4 reindeer owners, 3 landowners,¹² 3 politicians, and 29 public authorities (see details of informants and interviewees in Section 3.3.4 and Appendix 2). I participated in 81 of these 87 interviews, and of these 81 interviews 16 were undertaken together with others from the project team, and the rest I conducted alone. Themes in the interviews covered several topics: the informant and his/her role related to the protected area, usage of the area, their participation in conservation planning processes, their work with management plans etc., factors (judicial and social) influencing today's and future use of the area, their opinions of Norwegian conservation policies, and their knowledge of the right of access. The data from these interviews generated a broad knowledge of the types of activities undertaken in these protected areas, as well as the main factors promoting or hindering business activities. The informants were chosen in order to cover the various stakeholder groups in each area by the snowballing method. I planned the interviews and was the lead investigator in nearly all of them (see Appendix 2).

The **Internet searches** were undertaken in order to map out the business actors. Then tourist information was used in combination with lists of stakeholders invited to participate in conservation processes in order to get an overview of the commercial activities in each area. I led the data-gathering process with contributions from the other two authors of the PROBUS-report regarding this (Fedreheim et al. 2008). The data was stored in Excel files, one file for each protected area, and the information obtained covered the following: name of business, type of business, specific offerings, name of contact persons, location, and contact information including Web page, phone number, and e-mail. A separate file was produced summarizing the findings from the eight protected areas. All these files are stored on a Web server, and are thus available upon request. Since these data were gathered through the use of public channels, they are not restricted.

In the **surveys**, we gathered data regarding the informants' business activities, people's opinions of usage of protected areas, participation in conservation and management planning processes, management of protected areas, nature conservation and use of nature, and knowledge of the public right of access (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009). We had two surveys that asked the same kinds of questions (see Appendices 3 and 4 for the complete survey forms):

¹² Some landowners are also tourism operators or farmers and are reported under these categories. The three landowners in my study are solely landowners and do not use their land for economic purposes.

- Paper-based to landowners and business actors¹³ in the eight areas: n = 324
- Web-based to recreationists: n = 181

The population for the paper-based survey was based on lists of landowners acquired from the County Governor's lists of landowners in each protected area, and lists of business actors came from the mapping process described earlier in this section (Fedreheim et al. 2008). Since there is no registration of visitors to Norwegian protected areas (open access), the sample of recreationalists was recruited by advertising in media, email to recreation organizations, and advertisements on recreation organizations' Web pages (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009).

After cleaning the list of landowners to eliminate deceased people, we ended with a sample of 1,529 landowners and business actors out of the initial sample of 1,881 persons. Characteristics of this sample were compared with the official landowner registry in Norway. We found that our sample had larger properties and higher education than the average farmer. The sample is similar to the registry when it comes to age and who is registered as the owner (woman/man) (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009).

For the paper-based survey, the response rate was 21.2% (324), and for the web-based survey, we do not know anything about the response rate. The number of responses is not evenly distributed among the eight areas. For the paper-based survey, the number of responses per protected area varied from 2 to 118 (12% to 35% of the total survey recipients) (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009: 19). For Junkerdal National Park, the response rate was 21% (based on only 7 responses), which means that the sample is too small to use in estimates. Thus, the results that will be presented from the survey cannot give area-specific results for Junkerdal National Park.¹⁴ Hence, all eight areas are represented when analyzing respondents' opinions related to management of protected areas, municipalities' roles, and nature conservation and nature use. I chose to present the findings from the survey without distinguishing between the various protected areas, since the presentation focuses on people's opinions rather than actual business activities in protected areas. This also relates to the fact that the different user groups (business actors, landowners, and recreationists) have more explanatory power than the different protected areas (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009).

¹³ Based on the work presented in "Aktiviteter i vernet natur i Nord-Norge" by Fedreheim, Bay-Larsen and Ojala 2008.

¹⁴ The same applies for Øvre Pasvik and Reisa national parks. They had respectively 2 and 7 responses, which was a response rate of 11.8% and 35%.

The purpose of these surveys was to get an idea of the extent of business and recreation activities in protected areas, and render visible the different interests and opinions in questions related to use of nature and nature conservation. Thus, the samples are as representative as possible of the landowners, business actors, and recreationists. But there are challenges related to measuring representativeness for both samples, and this is reviewed below.

In the paper-based survey, a sample from a defined population was used. But this population is only made up of address lists with affected landowners, and business actors were, as already mentioned, mapped out as part of PROBUS. Apart from the name and contact information, there is no background information to distinguish the sample from the population. The sample of recreationists is defined by who was informed about the survey and who decided to participate. In such a situation it was rather used as a comparison of other defined samples for similar populations to make visible how the samples relate to them. These calculations are done in the report from the surveys (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009: Appendix B). Sociodemographic variables were then used, making it possible to compare with other samples.

It became clear that the landowners' and business actors' samples had more than ten times larger properties than the general agricultural property in Nordland. This is supposedly because properties in relation to protected areas cover mountainous areas with large outfield properties. Age and sex of the sample is comparable with landowner registries from Nordland. The average age of the sample is lower, and the proportion of men is a little higher, but these differences are not significant. Education and marital status were also controlled for by limiting the sample to those aged between 18 and 67 and with a representative control sample of landowners from the landowner registries. There were significant differences for both variables. The sample had a higher degree of married respondents, and my sample was more highly educated than the control sample (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009).

The sample of recreationists was compared with a representative sample drawn from a survey undertaken by the market research company Synovate, employed by Nordland Research Institute. Out of that sample of 2,558, 959 had visited protected areas in northern Norway, which was the starting variable in our survey. Thus, the Synovate sample corresponds with the PROBUS sample of 181 recreationists, and was compared to see if the PROBUS sample distinguishes itself from the representative Synovate sample. Recreationists were in general five years younger than the national representative sample. Further, the sample had more men, more respondents married or living together with a partner, and more

educated respondents. All the differences were significant (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009). Because of the rather large demographical differences between the sample and the national representative sample, they were balanced by distinguishing the sample according to the same categories for age, sex, marital status, and education as used in the Synovate sample (see Appendix B in Rønning and Fedreheim 2009). By doing this, we were able to analyze the data, assuming that the sample was representative of Norwegian recreationists in general.

Even though it was difficult to calculate the samples' representativeness, they were described according to how similar the samples were with the population by comparing them with registries and a national, representative sample. This review, however, proved that the samples were partly biased (the means for the different sociodemographic variables do not correspond with the means of registries and the representative samples), which means that the survey findings cannot be generalized to the whole population. Thus, the findings must instead be interpreted as the results from a sample of users of eight protected areas in northern Norway. I did not incorporate southern Norway here because it has a different context. In southern Norway there are more users of protected areas, fewer reindeer owners, and a different judicial history from northern Norway (Sandberg 2008, 2009) (see also Section 1.4.2).

The work on the surveys was led by me and started April 7–9, 2008 at a project meeting. After spending the first day reviewing the project findings to that point, the second day was spent on formulating questions and themes for the survey. After that, I worked on categorizing and editing the form, in cooperation with the co-author of the report (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009).

The surveys were undertaken in accordance with the regulations of Norwegian Social Science Data Services. This means that all data are treated confidentially, and that the researchers are bound to protect the data. Further, all the paper-based forms were shredded, while the survey data is stored on a Web server. There are no possibilities for making the connection between our respondents and the population lists.

GPS monitoring was used to map out area conflicts. Thirty-eight (38) female reindeer in Junkerdal National Park were monitored by Bioforsk in 2008. We already knew that this area had intense recreational activities, good GSM signals, reindeer owners with a positive attitude, and clear access points to the national park. The monitoring continued throughout the summer, and some female reindeer broadcast throughout the rest of 2008. My participation was restricted to developing and disseminating user questionnaires and organizing interviews

undertaken at the access points. My work was aimed at mapping out people's use of the area, and their contact with reindeer.

Additionally I, together with the project group, met users in other arenas, such as conferences, seminars and meetings. Table 2 gives an overview of the conferences, seminars and meetings that I participated in, and the presentations I gave in these arenas). This made it possible to **observe** stakeholders' participation in such processes. Several constitutional changes were going on in Norway during the time of the writing of this dissertation, such as devolution of rights to land and water in northern Norway, decentralization of management of protected areas, and revisions of several Acts related to outfields and outdoor recreation. The PROBUS team participated in seminars and meetings regarding these processes in order to meet informants and to get thorough insights into the problems and challenges that were presented and discussed. Giving presentations in these arenas also promoted feedback from the audience, and comments which were useful in the subsequent work. Thus, the fact that the project studied ongoing processes also contributed to required methodological flexibility and diversity in study objects, which again promoted increased understanding.

Table 2: Seminars, conferences, and meetings in which I participated.

Date	Arrangement type and topic	Location	Organizer
25-26 Oct 2006	Conference: Verneområder som grunnlag for økt lokal verdiskaping	Stjørdal	Landsdelsutvalget
17 Nov 2006	Presentation: PROBUS*	Bodø	The County Governor of Nordland
26 Jan 2007	Seminar: Northern area seminar*	Bodø	University of Nordland
6-7 Feb 2007	Meeting: Pasvik-Enari project*	Svanhovd	The County Governor of Finnmark
15 Jan 2008	Information meeting: the new reindeer herding act	Fauske	The Norwegian Reindeer management
26 Feb 2008	Presentation: PROBUS*	Trondheim	Directorate for Nature Management
27-28 Feb 2008	Conference: natural values and value creation	Stjørdal	Directorate for Nature Management
5 Mar 2008	Information meeting: the proposed Hålogaland commons	Bodø	Norway's outlying municipalities
10 Mar 2008	Meeting: regional conservation planning committee	Bodø	The County Governor of Nordland
26-27 Mar 2008	Seminar: the proposed Hålogaland commons	Bodø	Outdoor recreation's Association
16 Apr 2008	Presentation: Commercialization of American national parks – the example of Yellowstone*	Bodø	The Bodø Regional Hiking Association
23 Jan 2009	Information meeting: value creation from natural heritage	Bodø	Ministry of Environment
10 Feb 2009	Meeting: regional conservation planning committee*	Bodø	The County Governor of Nordland
17 Feb 2009	Seminar: PROBUS seminar*	Bodø	PROBUS
23 Apr 2009	Presentation: PROBUS*	Storjord	Nordland National Park Center

* Gave presentation

As part of the project's dissemination plan we arranged a seminar titled "Protected areas as resources for value creation" on February 17, 2009, where we invited participants from the management authorities, organizations, businesses, landowners, etc. The seminar was separated into two parts: presentation of findings from PROBUS and evaluation and information from the user group (all the presentations are available, in Norwegian, at <http://nordlandsforskning.no/forsiden/931>). With over 70 participants, the seminar was a good way to test the project's findings (member checking is discussed more in Section 3.4 as important in verifying the research process).

The triangulation and use of multiple methods produced rich data regarding commercial use of protected areas in northern Norway, and factors influencing it. Further, the project has given new knowledge regarding uses of protected areas in northern Norway. The businesses are mainly subsidiary businesses with low turnover and profit, in which developing the local community is one of the main aims behind the activity. Besides, many of the businesses do not want to become larger, since growth and expansion is constantly counterbalanced with the conservation values. While these business actors use protected areas, they also acknowledge the value these areas have for their enterprises (Fedreheim et al. 2008; Rønning and Fedreheim 2009). For business actors, area protection has had several positive effects: promoted decisions on establishing new businesses, given new opportunities and possibilities for further developing the businesses, contributed to marketing, and increased the circle of customers. But it also has had some negative effects: changes in activity and reduced dimension, restrictions on the possibilities for further developing the activity, and more paper work and bureaucracy. Fifteen percent (15%) of landowners try to establish new activities in relation to protected areas, mainly related to tourism and activities (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009).

Regarding area conflicts, we identified several possible conflict lines. The female reindeer roamed over very long distances at a time when recreationists flocked to one of the lakes for ice fishing. Thus, recreationists most likely made the reindeers flee this area (Godal 2008). The GPS monitoring gained enormous interests among reindeer owners, who felt less anxiety for not spending the time with the herd, increased safety due to less driving in bad weather, made it easier to reach the herd quickly since owners knew where the herd was, and it might even contribute to less loss of livestock to carnivores (Eilertsen 2008). Various actors were identified as having conflicting interests with each other: local communities, landowners, tourism actors, reindeer owners, foresters, and aquaculture the main categories (Bay-Larsen and Fedreheim 2008). There are potential conflicts related to use of the Right of Access as well (Fedreheim and Sandberg 2007, 2008), and this is further discussed in Sections 4.3, 4.6 and 6.3.

As this review shows, an array of methods was applied. My role in the project was central, and I have undertaken or been responsible for most of the data gathering and in lead of analyses. Figure 9 presents an overview of the methods applied in PROBUS and how they are connected along a time scale as well as with each other. We see clearly from the figure that the Internet searches provided the basis for informants for the qualitative interviews and the population for the survey. The figure also shows which project data were available for the dissertation work, and how this influenced obtaining data for the dissertation. Observation and

qualitative interviews were undertaken throughout the project period, as well as the survey and GPS monitoring in 2008. We also see from the figure that the data collection for the dissertation work started later (2008) and lasted longer than the PROBUS project.

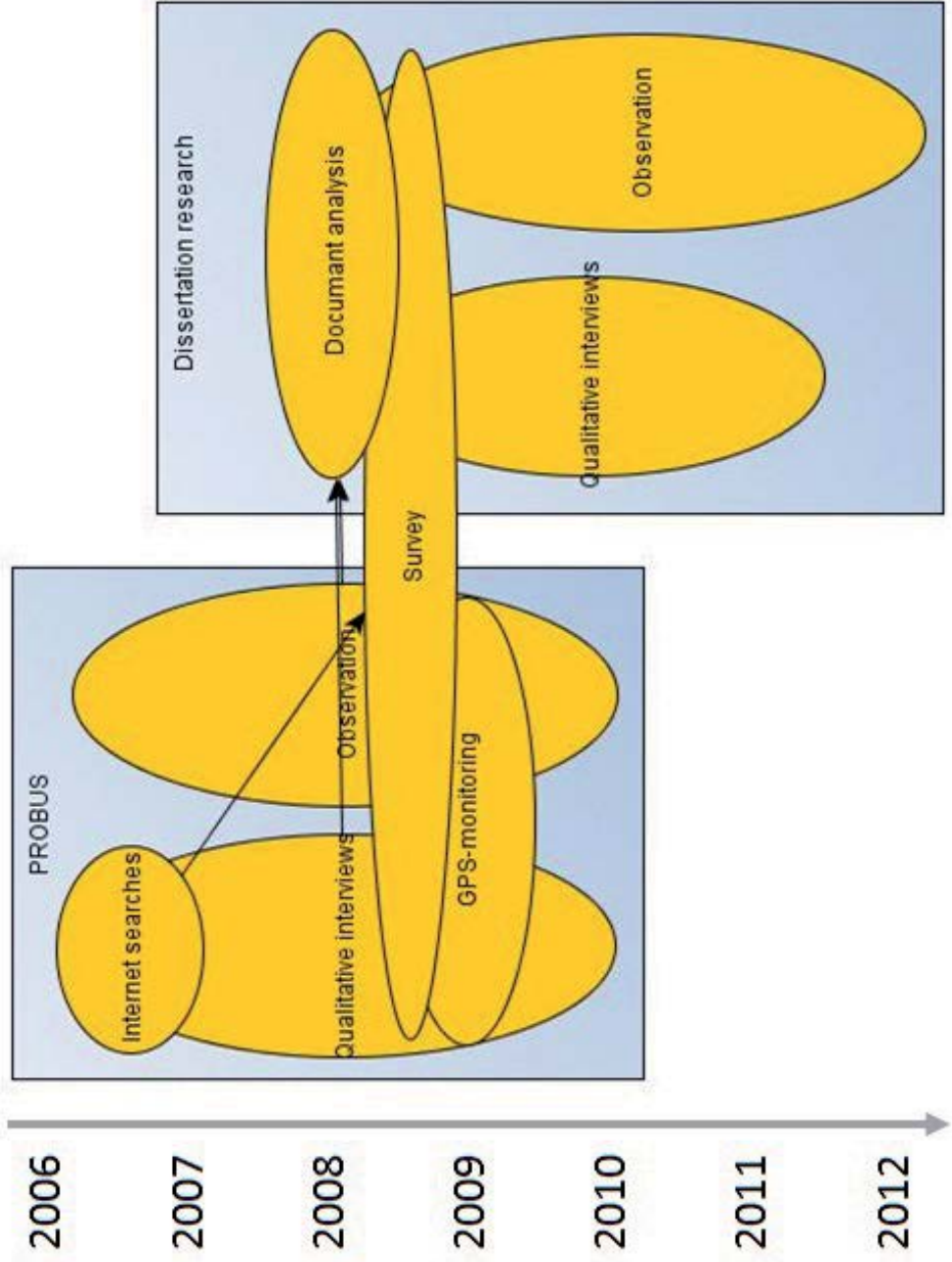


Figure 9: Overview of the relationship between the methods and sub-goals used in PROBUS and those used in the dissertation work.

3.3 THE DISSERTATION'S RESEARCH PROCESS

I now turn the focus of this dissertation's research process to how the research question guided the choices I made, including the choice to focus on one particular case in order to gain a deeper understanding. The question also influenced selection of informants and interviewees from the particular case area, Junkerdal, as well as the data sources for the document analysis. It is important to note that these respondents and documents gave valuable information for the dissertation, which was not necessary for the PROBUS project. Thus, the data types, forms, and sources for this dissertation, and analyses of the surveys, are also different from the PROBUS project. Hence, I will account for these choices and discuss some ethical concerns during the process.

3.3.1 Carving out the dissertation's research question

The knowledge from PROBUS provided a very good overview of the situation with regard to nature-based tourism in protected areas in northern Norway. During the initial analyses of the first round of interviews conducted in 2006 and 2007 (Vega, Lomsdal-Visten and Øvre Pasvik; see Appendix 2), it became clear that there were not many commercial activities undertaken *inside* protected areas, and in particular not touristic activities. Additionally, the interviews clearly showed that many were positive about taking advantage of the national park label, and people were mostly positive toward increased use of protected areas. However, few had heard about the policy change working toward increasing nature-based tourism in mountainous areas, including protected areas, and few were aware of measures implemented to carry out the policy change. This caused my curiosity into the policy and what it actually meant and initiated for those affected by it, and how it was dealt with by the environmental bureaucracy.

In the PROBUS project, the policy was taken for granted without questioning its background, measures, and implementation. Hence, the project did not study the Mountain Text more thoroughly mainly since the project was not focused on policy implementation. In addition, no in-depth studies of the Mountain Text have been undertaken in Norway, even though many studies refer to it in relation to evaluations of local management approaches (Aas et al. 2006; Flognfeldt 2005; Heiberg et al. 2005; Heiberg et al. 2006).

Thus, there was a gap in knowledge regarding policy formulation, decision, and implementation of the Mountain Text, which this dissertation aims to close. This meant that in the middle of the PROBUS fieldwork, early 2008, I decided to focus on the Mountain Text in the dissertation. The theme in this dissertation is both a further development of PROBUS research as well as a new and independent topic.

One might say that the Mountain Text is one of the institutions providing the foundation for economic activities in protected areas, thus it had been understudied in PROBUS. Based on this, I decided to study the formulation and implementation of a policy (as discussed in Section 2.3.3), thus to focus on the ideas behind the policy decision, the formulation of the policy, and its implementation by focusing on institutional changes.

Following from the discussion in Section 1.2 and here, and elaborated on in Chapter 2, the research question is

What facilitates or hinders whether a policy decision in the end leads to institutional change?

With the policy decision being the Mountain Text, I thus framed a research question that aims at understanding if the Mountain Text led to any changes for people affected by it. This includes a focus on the operational level, and a focus on possible changes at the collective-choice and constitutional levels.

This research question demanded more studies and data gathering than what had been done so far in the project. This will be elaborated more in the rest of chapter 3. We have already seen that the research question and research purposes imply a descriptive and explanatory type of research using inductive and abductive research strategies. I will now argue why I chose to focus on a particular case in parts of the dissertation, and how I understand the case.

3.3.2 Case study as a choice of what to study

As already discussed, I chose to zoom in as part of the research design, aiming at improving the insights and knowledge by studying one particular case. The choice of case is thus a research design choice. When carving out the research question, I realized that I knew the situation in northern Norway very well, and had a good overview of the challenges in the various protected areas. Thus, I had gained many insights from the PROBUS project. Aiming at learning more and following on the abductive research strategy, I wanted to study one specific area in which my knowledge could be further developed. In that situation, I zoomed in (Ostrom 2005), aiming at describing the situation and informants' meanings in a specific area in order to establish categories and concepts that might help improve the general understanding of the problem (Blaikie 2009). The aim was not to compare areas, since I already knew that there were many similarities between the various cases in terms of social factors, e.g. uses of the areas, conflicts, scope of commercial activities, stakeholders and so on. My aim was rather to focus on the knowledge this specific case could give. I then focused on uniqueness, and the aim was to gain a comprehensive understanding of the case itself as well as to provide

an insight into local responses to the Mountain Text policy change and its implementation. Stake says that an "instrumental case study" is a case that is viewed as typical of other cases and when the choice of the specific case is aimed at deeper insights to increase the understanding of a defined topic (Stake 1995, 2003).

The case chosen in this research was a protected area, thus an individual unit with certain boundaries. The case is then a choice of what to study (Stake 2003), rather than a specific method of research, as Yin understands case studies (Yin 1994). Yin states that case studies are common when explanatory, exploratory, and descriptive studies are undertaken. He also states that case studies are appropriate to answer "how" and "why" questions (Yin 1994). Hence, a case study approach appears appropriate here with the purpose to investigate what might be learned from the specific case.

I chose to study Junkerdal National Park. Hence, I aim zooming in on Junkerdal National Park in order to learn about people's perceptions of the policy. The Junkerdal case is thus a specific geographical area with certain socially constructed national park borders. The choice of Junkerdal was made both out of practical reasons as well as a belief that Junkerdal would maximize what we might learn from any of the cases (Stake 1995). Poteete et al. emphasize more practical reasons for the choice of a case, and mention the availability and consistency of data, the ease or difficulty of fieldwork, and the need for knowledge of this certain case (Poteete et al. 2010). Junkerdal National Park is not far from Bodø and the research institute, and is therefore a practical choice.

Junkerdal is a good case for improving the understanding of policy implementation for several reasons:

- a strong history of protected areas starting in 1935 with the establishment of Junkerdal-Balvatn Flora Preservation, Junkerdal Nature Reserve in 2000, and the national park in 2004;
- the municipalities surrounding Junkerdal have an average of 47% protected areas, which is very high in a Norwegian setting (Statistisk Sentralbyrå 2011);
- Junkerdal has an active national park center, which was opened in 2005;
- Nordland County Governor had acted proactively to ensure deliberate conservation processes (see Section 6.3) and focused on use of protected areas.

Additionally, much work has been undertaken related to Junkerdal, and it was therefore desirable to build on this (Bay-Larsen 2006; Bay-Larsen and Fedreheim 2008; Bay-Larsen and Sandersen 2005; Elvestad and Sandberg 2011; Fedreheim et al. 2008; Fedreheim et al. 2009; Hoff 2005; Rønning and Fedreheim 2009; Sandersen and Stornes 2004).

I believe that Junkerdal is a good case to study and serves as an illustrative example of all eight protected areas, thus the study represents an instrumental case study (Stake 1995, 2003). My focus on the case is on how the policy is formulated and understood, and how various actors work in accordance with the policy. Thus, I present challenges and obstacles related to developing nature-based tourism, including conflicting user groups and the lack of collaborative action to implement the Mountain Text policy.

3.3.3 Data types, forms, and sources

There is a strong incentive for using qualitative methods when answering research questions that begin with "how" or "what," as already discussed (in the introduction to Chapter 3). My starting point for developing the research question was people's expressed meanings regarding the policy change, and their clear lack of knowledge therein. Thus, the point of departure was on what promoted this, rather on how many did or did not know about the Mountain Text. Further, the aim was to understand and explain why the Mountain Text did not lead to changes for the tourism operators, hence how a policy decision relates to an institutional change and vice versa. I studied the policy change in detail to get an overview of it and to explore the topic. Additionally, I studied the process of implementing the policy, which entails in-depth study of a specific process. All these factors support the earlier reasoning leading to a choice of applying qualitative methods to answer the research question (Blaikie 2009; Creswell 1998, 2009; Marshall and Rossman 2011).

Before making a choice of how to collect the data required to answer the research question, other concerns need to be taken into account. The choice of forms of data is strongly connected with the choice of types and sources of data (Blaikie 2009). Researchers need to consider whether the data should be generated by the researcher (primary data), generated by other researchers (secondary data), or analyzed by other researchers (tertiary data). Primary data are then "new" data which are obtained by the researcher aiming at answering specific research questions. Secondary data are data that are collected by other researchers, and the aim of these data is often different from the aim of the secondary user. Tertiary data is already analyzed, and the raw data might not be available (Blaikie 2009). With my participation in PROBUS, I already had obtained some interview

data when I decided to study the Mountain Text. But the interviews undertaken did not cover the topics I aimed to unravel in the dissertation, so I conducted supplementary interviews. Thus, I needed primary data of which I had sole control over the production, and data that were more targeted to my research question than the PROBUS data.

Another concern relates to the forms of data, numbers or words. All primary data start as words (Blaikie 2009), either as a source, during the analysis, or when reporting. During the analysis, these words often are transformed into numbers, but some qualitative researchers prefer to remain qualitative during the whole research process. Further, data can be obtained in different settings: natural social settings, semi-natural settings, artificial settings, and social artifacts. In natural settings, people are studied in their everyday lives, while they are asked to report on their activities in a semi-natural setting. Artificial settings include establishment of a social setting for experimental or learning purposes, and social artifacts include analyzing records or traces left by individuals or groups in the past (Blaikie 2009). In order to answer the research question, I found it most useful to ask people to give accounts on what they had done related to the Mountain Text, what they thought of the policy, and so on; thus, I think of them as informants/interviewees or some kind of representative of stakeholders in protected areas. On the other hand, studying historical events is difficult when one uses only interviews, thus I also needed historical data from documents.

Two data sources are typically mentioned as qualitative data collection types: interviews and observation. But documents and audio-visual materials are also suggested as possible data sources in qualitative analysis (Blaikie 2009; Creswell 1998, 2009; Marshall and Rossman 2011). The intention to study the origin of nature-based tourism by the use of social artifacts already implies that some types of documents should be studied. They might be from "newspaper articles to transcripts of interviews and from descriptions of pictures to written recollections" (Bos and Tarnai 1999: 660), or, according to Creswell, either public documents (minutes of meetings, newspapers, official reports) or private documents (journals, diaries, letters, e-mails). Common to all these documents is that they have lived a "life by their own" before they are studied. Phrases such as "situated products" (Ong 1982 cited in Prior 2007), "documents as agents" (Prior 2007: 346), and "social artefacts" (Blaikie 2009) are used to describe how documents are created through social interaction with influences from various sources. Thus, studies of a document's creation phase, how documents are used, who asserts influence over the content, and so on might all be undertaken. Blaikie describes these documents as social activities that are left behind by participants

(Blaikie 2009), illustrating that documents are results of an active process, even though the text we analyze is static.

Studying the content of documents might take many forms, and they share in common that the text is the subject for the analysis (Bos and Tarnai 1999). In its most simple version, content analysis includes counting the frequency of certain words, categories, or items. But such a process of counting should always rest on "an informed analysis concerning the nature of the 'facts' and 'categories' to be counted" (Prior 2003: 21). There are several advantages to studying documents (Figure 10), including that they enable us as researchers to use the language and words of the participants from a certain time, and that access is not restricted by time. Further, the data receive attention during compilation, and it is thus not necessary to transcribe. Such data are ideal when relevant informants have passed away. Disadvantages with documents include that maybe not everyone is articulate and perceptive, and that the text was already interpreted when it was written. Further, these documents might be protected and unavailable, or might be very difficult to find. The material might be incomplete, and maybe not accurate and authentic enough for the researcher's purpose (Creswell 2009; Jacobsen 2010).

The origin of the idea of nature-based tourism and the growth of the conservation-use paradigm might best be studied through the use of documents. But with more recent events in which the people involved have not passed away and might still be working on the same issue, data can be obtained by the use of qualitative interviews, thus creating a semi-natural setting and primary data. Even though interviews have a long tradition in social sciences, dating back to the late 19th century, it is only more recently that they have been understood as something other than the asymmetrical relationship between an interviewer and a respondent (Kvale 1997). In the literature, there are many variances of interviews, like in-depth, non-directed, semi-structured, conversational, or reflexive, but few clear definitions of each of them with corresponding guidelines (Rapley 2007). Hence, the notion of qualitative interviews covers many types of interviews and best describes the interviews conducted in my research, since they were a combination of Rapley's variances. The advantages of interviews (Figure 10) are that they can provide historical information and are useful when it is difficult to observe the participants. Further, interviews allow the researcher to control the line of questioning, and focus on informants' and interviewees' opinions and attitudes, making it possible to understand people's perceptions and their understanding of a specific social phenomenon. On the other hand, interviews filter information through the views of the interviewees, and they remove us from the natural setting, creating a semi-natural setting. People's

responses might be biased, and we gain large amounts of data when interviews are transcribed (Figure 10) (Creswell 2009; Jacobsen 2010; Kvale 1997).

Additionally, I was (and still am) studying an ongoing process—implementation of a policy change—and several activities were organized by the environmental authorities, who invited stakeholders from protected areas. These events allow the researcher to observe and see how the stakeholders act and what they are preoccupied with, and they serve as arenas in which possible informants participate. Advantages with observation as a method include that you might get a first-hand experience with the participants, and information can be recorded as it occurs. Further, unusual aspects can be observed and noted for later explanation in interviews, and it might be easier to explore uncomfortable topics. On the other hand, researchers might be seen as intrusive, and not all information is recordable. Additionally, the researcher must have good attention and observing skills.

Data Source	Advantages	Disadvantages
Documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Might obtain the language and words of participants Unobtrusive source of information Data are given attention during compilation Not necessary to transcribe Ideal in historical analysis – informants might have passed away 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not everyone is equally articulate and perceptive Must search for information in hard-to-find places Incomplete material Are the documents authentic? Less spontaneous, more reflective and considered
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can provide historical information Researcher can control the line of questioning Informants'/interviewees' opinions and attitudes Can understand people's perceptions and understanding of a social phenomenon 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indirect information because it is filtered through the views of the interviewees Designated place rather than a natural setting May bias the responses Not everyone is equally articulate and perceptive Large amounts of data Time demanding
Observations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First-hand experience with participant Record information as it occurs Can observe unusual aspects Easier to explore uncomfortable topics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intrusive researcher Not all information is recordable Must have good attention and observation skills

Figure 10: Advantages and disadvantages of types of data (documents, observation, interviews) (based on Creswell 2009 and Jacobsen 2010).

The three types of data already discussed all provided primary data, and only observation took place in natural settings, while documents served as social artifacts and interviews took place in semi-natural settings. I also had access to **survey** data. As already described, I was responsible for developing the survey, and thus I also included relevant questions for the dissertation research. Hence, I have some primary data from the surveys which are based on responses to questions directly relevant for this dissertation, and some secondary data that enlighten some of the discussions here. A survey is described by Fink as "a system for collecting information from or about people to describe, compare, or explain their knowledge, attitudes, and behavior" (Fink 2003: 1), and consist of "relatively systematic, (mostly) standardized approaches to collecting information on individuals, households, organizations, or larger organized entities through questioning systematically identified samples" (Wright and Marsden 2010: 3).

3.3.4 Collection of data and data documentation

Taken together, I have documents, interviews, observations, and survey data; they provided the data for this dissertation. I will now account for how I obtained the data, how data was recorded, and how data can be accessed if there is a need to verify my work or the conclusions drawn from the data.

In early 2008 I already had an overview of the situation regarding use of protected areas in northern Norway. Aiming to gain more insight, I decided to study Junkerdal National Park more in depth, and zoomed in on the situation there. As mentioned above, when analyzing the data and writing the dissertation, I zoomed out again and used the Junkerdal case as an example and illustration. When I was deciding on the research question, fieldwork had been undertaken in three areas: Vega, Lomsdal-Visten, and Øvre Pasvik, which covered 30 people.

The research process started with the **document analysis** and, in particular, with the text in which the Mountain Text (see English summary in Fact Box 1 and Norwegian full text in Appendix 1) was presented (the revised budget document for 2003). Several re-readings of this text contributed to my understanding of the main goal, objectives and sub-objectives described in this text, as well as the activities presented (see Table 3). The work was divided into two phases: first, to identify how the Mountain Text has been followed up in official public documents, and second, to study the origin and the history of the idea of nature-based tourism by focusing on historical development in the field of nature conservation in Norway, and in particular on institutional changes that promoted the idea of nature-based tourism. The second phase also focused on official public documents. A list of the documents studied is presented in Appendix 5, separated in the different phases described here.

The first phase includes documents such as the governmental platform, a plan of action for increased use of protected areas presented by the Directorate for Nature Management (DN), strategies and plans for an increased focus on agriculture and tourism for the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Further, this phase included the budgets of the Ministry of Environment (MD) from 2003 to 2012, its reports on the state of the environment from 2003 to 2007, and the discussions and new Nature Diversity Act.

The second phase involved digging back in time in search for documents where nature-based tourism was discussed in central documents in Norwegian nature conservation history. This also includes the specific discussions building up to the Mountain Text decision (Section 4.4). I also studied documents directly relevant for institutional changes, including official Norwegian reports, several acts, and

the new acts' circulars. Last, the second phase also focused on several white papers (reports to Storting, the Norwegian legislature/parliament) regarding the state of the environment, the National Park Plan of 1992, as well as the preceding official report from 1986.

One major advantage with public documents as data is that they follow established guidelines and have a standard form that includes references to other documents focusing on the same topic. This clarifies which documents are relevant for the specific topic, and thus simplifies the search for documents that need to be studied. In phase one, the search was easier because I already knew the field quite well, and have followed this specific topic since working on my Cand. Polit. degree¹⁵ in political science (achieved in 2003). Thus, I could follow the developments from the Mountain Text up to today. Phase two involved more search for relevant documents, and started with the most central for protecting areas, the 1992 National Park Plan and the discussions related to it. Further, the research question focuses on institutional changes as well, and I wanted to study more closely some of the major formal changes: the Nature Conservation Act, and several revisions of it, and the establishment of the MD. The initial analyses clarified the major role of the public Right of Access, and thus called attention to the institutionalization of the right to roam through the 1957 Outdoor Recreation Act (LOV 1957-06-28-16). Identifying which documents to study was therefore, in many cases, a snowballing process in which some documents were already central and suggested which other documents would be relevant. In addition to the documents presented in Appendix 5, I also read numerous other national and international (particularly related to IUCN) documents that contributed to the analyses. But these latter documents did not have a central role in the analyses apart from adding information. These documents will still be referenced in the text.

Another advantage with documents is that the more recent documents are available online from the MD's web page. Older documents were accessed from libraries. When conducting research using public documents as data there is a challenge related to the language. The older documents are only available in Norwegian, while only a few more recent documents have been translated to English. This is a challenge when publishing in English, also since I have to

¹⁵ Candidata rerum politicarum (abbreviated Cand.Polit.) was an academic degree in the social sciences under the old education system in Norway. This degree was a two-year extension to the four-year Cand.Mag. degree. After the Quality Reform implemented in 2003 this degree was replaced by a Master degree.

translate some sections and some of the content and meaning might be lost in this process.

Supplementary **interviews** were undertaken in order to increase my understanding when I realized that I needed more in-depth understanding. My focus is on nature-based tourism, thus I chose to expand the number of informants from the tourism sector. Further, I also increased the number of reindeer owners as a direct result of recommendations that a focus group setting would reduce the language barriers for the reindeer owners, and that it would provide a freer and more open setting. Hence, to obtain the best possible and most trustworthy data, it was necessary to expand the group. Thus, for the focus group arranged in Junkerdal in 2011, both reindeer owners and tourism operators were invited, and we had a very good participation from the reindeer owners. The two farmers in the sample are also landowners, but are presented as farmers in Appendix 2. I have no formal interviews with politicians in either Fauske or Saltdal municipalities, but I had informal talks with politicians from each municipality. In summary, I interviewed more people in Junkerdal than PROBUS needed, and spent more time in the field there as well. I also did more interviews with management authorities than PROBUS needed, since I spoke with the people responsible for the Mountain Text and the Outdoor Recreation Act in the MD and the DN and with those working on nature-based tourism in both the Ministry and the Directorate, as well as in the Ministry of Trade and Business. Thus, as shown in Appendix 2, I did 16 interviews with colleagues in PROBUS, I did the focus group interview with a fellow PhD student because we felt two people were needed to carry it through, and I did 66 interviews by myself; hence, I participated in 95 of the total 101 interviews, including 27 in Junkerdal.

Choosing informants started with reading the procedural documents from the conservation planning process in Junkerdal and the municipal planning process in Saltdal municipality (see Section 3.3.3) to identify people who had participated in the process and who had made active statements. The list of possible persons was then separated into the categories of tourism, farmer, reindeer owner, landowner, politician, and public authority and then randomly chosen from there. However, I also spoke with central persons: staff at Nordland National Park Center and the bureaucrats both at the County Governor's Offices and in the municipalities in order to receive help in choosing informants. During fieldwork, my plan was deliberately kept open in order to have the possibility to follow recommendations from informants about other possible informants. Thus, even though I started out with purposely selected participants, snowballing also occurred when I followed the informants' recommendations. The aim was to ensure variation and diffusion among the identified groups and geographically,

and to provide good data by talking with people who had knowledge of the protected area, the processes going on, and possibly about the policy change.

Not all of the informants were comfortable with the use of a tape recorder, and it could not be used in all settings, such as the focus groups. In these interviews (62) I only have summaries of the conversations. When these interviews were done, my colleagues and I compared, discussed, and elaborated our summaries. In other interviews, a tape recorder was used (39), and all of them have been transcribed. My references to information from participants are anonymized, and I only refer to the transcribed interviews. Informants who refused to be recorded are also anonymized and not directly cited. The insights I gained from these interviews served as the basis for my analysis. The quotations from interviews have been translated by me, and this might have influenced the meaning presented here. However, the interviews were undertaken in my native language, and language should thus not have influenced my interpretation and understanding. Both the recordings of the interviews as well as the summaries and transcribed versions are stored at Nordland Research Institute's server, and are thus accessible. The same goes for lists of persons who have been interviewed. Appendix 2 presents a summary of the informants separated into location, date, type of interview, type of documentation, and user category. One important point in this regard is that several of the informants belong to more categories, but I chose to place them according to the role I interviewed them in. For example, some politicians are also farmers and landowners.

In Appendix 2, I make a distinction between informants and interviewees based on their role in this dissertation. Informants are those who provide overview and insight, and interviewees are those for whom this dissertation was undertaken and are directly relevant for that purpose.

The purpose of the interviews was communicated openly to the participants. In many cases, people I spoke with were relieved that someone would finally sit down and discuss and listen to their expressions regarding use of protected areas, and many easily focused the interviews on the restrictions and conflicts they were experiencing. In most cases, this was accepted in order for them to remain on the interview's focus later. The interviews were undertaken in settings familiar to the participants: at their homes, in their offices, at their businesses, or at other locations of their choice. Since the topics were predefined, there was already an asymmetrical power relationship (Kaarhus 1999; Kvale 1997), which the choice of location aimed at dissolving. I was not only trying to get the informants' opinions and views on certain events, but also trying to get them to share their own insights and thoughts (Yin 1994). This way of interviewing also required flexibility,

improvisation, and openness (Myers and Newman 2007). Conducting such interviews is demanding since it required deep knowledge of the policy fields, and here I had gained much from my participation in a larger project and at various seminars and conferences. The interview guide (Appendix 6) was never followed precisely, but used as a check list to ensure that we had covered all the topics I wanted to.

In addition to the meetings, conferences, and seminars presented in Table 2, I also **observed** the meetings in the National Park Board of Central Nordland (see Section 5.1.2). These meetings were necessary for understanding the important and prevailing topics in this newly established governance model. Data from all these meetings, conferences, and seminars are stored as notes in my personal notebooks, while the official minutes from the meetings are available online at the Board's web page.

With regard to the **surveys** undertaken, I have already discussed data collection and the challenges with respect to their representativeness. Further, because of the low response rate and small number of responses for Junkerdal, I could not separate out Junkerdal and do an analysis of only this area. Thus, I use analyzed data from the surveys to illustrate and substantiate the findings.

3.3.5 Research ethics – ensuring the anonymity of the informants, interviewees, and respondents

I have already reviewed how data is stored and documented and how the informants and interviewees could choose for themselves if they wanted to use a tape recorder or not. The choices undertaken here are all part of a strategy aimed at ensuring the anonymity of the participants in the research. The work has been reported to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services, and has followed that organization's regulations. I discuss here two interrelated topics that influenced the work, and which I have tried to deal with in the best possible manner.

The first aspect relates to the fact that northern Norway is very large geographically,¹⁶ but very small when it comes to population.¹⁷ This is reflected in a very low population density for northern Norway.¹⁸ Additionally, there is immense cooperation in separate fields between the three counties in northern Norway, resulting in very close relationships among the counties. In this case, this is reflected in great knowledge and personal connections both between the

¹⁶ Around 113,000 km², which is around one-third of Norway's mainland.

¹⁷ Around 470,000 inhabitants, which is almost 10 percent of Norway's total population.

¹⁸ 15.4/km² for mainland Norway in total, and in northern Norway only 4.2/km².

different protected areas and between the people working inside the environmental bureaucracy and the users of each protected area. As a researcher, I was challenged, since the circumstances in each protected area are transparent and recognizable. Thus, talking about a specific national park and the challenges and measures implemented there meant talking about a well-known topic in which many people are familiar with the actors involved and the topics mentioned. This resulted in my choice to talk about tourism operators, farmers, reindeer owners, land owners, politicians, and public authority, and not to specify the type of tourism operator, type of farm, etc. Hence, the quotations I include are only separated according to the overarching categories. The same applies to locations. As discussed in Section 6.1, Junkerdal National Park is comprised of two municipalities and several villages. But in order to ensure that it was not transparent with whom I spoke and who said what in the quotations I present, I chose not to separate them according to the different villages, but rather to quote them by connecting them to Junkerdal National Park. However, in Appendix 2, I make a spatial distinction, illustrating how I travelled around the protected area and when and where interviews were undertaken.

The other aspect is related to the Sámi people. In many cases, the Sámi circle is even more transparent than the small societies described above. Further, there are in many areas conflicts and situations of mistrust between the Sámi and other users of protected areas (as described in Bay-Larsen and Fedreheim 2008; Rønning and Fedreheim 2009). I would in no case add to these challenges, and have aimed at discussing the situation with an objective eye, intending to portray the situation as described by my informants and interviewees. Another aspect of this is my own Sámi background, which was a topic in some interviews. Some informants and interviewees have asked questions about my own background and why I did not speak Sámi even though I grew up in a historically Sámi village. The explanation of my being a product of the process of Norwegianization was accepted (Minde et al. 2003), but the fact that this was a topic made me and, in some cases, the informants and interviewees uncomfortable and might have influenced the consequent discussions in the interview situation. This, however, has not influenced my interpretation of the data, but it might have affected what the informants chose to share with me.

3.3.6 Data analysis and interpretation

As reviewed in the introduction, I see data analysis as an ongoing process (Coffey and Atkinson 1996), in which there is "no particular moment when data analysis begins" (Stake 1995: 71). This means that the dissertation's research question came as a result of initial analysis of already obtained data. Further, the different data sources are tightly connected with each other as well, as described in Figure

9. The analytical process was touched upon when I described how the research process started with the document analysis, in which I aimed to improve the insights I already had by gaining an overview and in-depth understanding of the policy decision, its origin, and its implementation. This was background knowledge that I took with me to the subsequent interviews and the development of the surveys.

In general, I believe that empirical data are influenced by various settings such as language and social, political, and theoretical elements. These elements are interwoven in the knowledge production phase (Alvesson and Schöldbberg 2008). However, the researcher is also influenced by other factors, such as the research collegiate, culture, education, the social context, and so on. So the analyses that I present are dependent on both my interpretation and the context in which the empirical data appeared. In the dissertation's preface I give some of the background for my interest in this particular topic, stemming from an upbringing in which we used and harvested from nature. I have always been interested in protecting nature, while also acknowledging that people should still be able to use nature in a sustainable manner. Thus I am influenced by a "conservation through use" approach, as long as this use does not harm the conservation values. My interpretation of the data might have been influenced by this fact, and the belief that use of nature is important and natural for many reasons.

When reporting on research, the investigator should present his/her own background and values and biases (Creswell 1998: 76), and justify how this influenced both data gathering and analyzing. Of course, my personal view on conservation and use has influenced the choice of research question in this dissertation. But I have made efforts to allow the literature and the data provide the answers to the research question.

Bos and Tarnai make a distinction between two traditions in content analysis: hermeneutic-interpretative content analysis and empirical-explanatory content analysis (Bos and Tarnai 1999). The difference lies in whether you count frequencies or conduct an informed analysis. The empirical-explanatory tradition, in which counting the frequency of certain themes is one of the procedures that might be undertaken, was followed in the first stage of my research process. In my research, I have looked for a certain theme, tourism or nature-based tourism, and studied its occurrence in policy documents leading up to the Mountain Text, as well as studying how the Mountain Text is used to justify measures or initiatives for self-implementation. However, the aim was not to count the appearances, but rather to study its context and the content of the text in which it was mentioned. Nevertheless, the content analysis is more in accordance with the

hermeneutic-interpretative approach in which I search for *meaning* in the text through an interpretative reading (Bos and Tarnai 1999). This includes both hidden meaning and expressed meaning. The document is a result of compromises undertaken during the policy battles, and this makes such policy documents challenging to understand. Central in my analysis was the aim to map out the chain of events, actors, arenas, and the connections between different activities in the document analysis.

Through a series of readings and re-readings of data, new questions arose which were answered through qualitative interviews as well as the surveys. I reckon the interviews can be seen as reflecting a reality that I constructed together with the participants and reflecting the informants' realities in their everyday lives. When we interview people, we ask them to retell their experiences and lives, thus making the interview a reflexive process (Strandbu 2007). They then make sense of their own experiences through retelling them. How informants retell their stories might say something about their wider social contexts, or the cultural settings they arrive from (Coffey and Atkinson 1996). Each interview was thus an interactional event in which both I as a researcher and the participant collaboratively produced data (Rapley 2007). The many insights I already had helped me in asking follow-up questions that promoted further elaboration from the informants and interviewees, and thus provided more targeted data as well. The challenge then lies in how I interpreted this. My personal filter, as well as the fact that I also belong to a specific sociopolitical and historical setting, influenced the process. Thus, not only did the literature presented in Chapter 2 and the research questions shape my interpretation of the data, but also my own personal experiences. This means that, as a researcher, I might have interpreted it in another manner if I had observed them in their natural setting and not in the semi-natural setting. However, the fact that numerous interviews were undertaken has given me a better overview and knowledge of the informants' social contexts since I have spoken with several people from different areas.

When zooming out again after the analysis of Junkerdal National Park in particular, I have tried to summarize the various data sources with my analysis aiming at collating the reality of the informants and interviewees, with the political reality. And aiming at discussing how the knowledge from one particular case also contributes to the overall knowledge of the topic. Thus, the last part of the dissertation includes a more general discussion based on the insights from all eight protected areas as well as the case study knowledge.

3.4 VALIDATION AND GENERALIZING THE WORK

The aim of this chapter has been to provide sufficient information for the reader to accept the research process and the findings stemming from this work, and to present where the reader may consult the data if that is desired. These are important aspects of research, both qualitative and quantitative, and it is common to question the quality and credibility of the work. Thus, my aim was to have a transparent research process that validates the findings and results. Commonly, these issues have been related to discussions of reliability (of methods) and validity (of data), but the application of these terms have been criticized for being "positivist" (Creswell 1998; Denzin and Lincoln 2008; Seale et al. 2007). Hence, numerous concepts have grown forward in order to deal with the same issues, aiming at importing the same meaning into qualitative paradigms (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson 2006; Seale et al. 2007). Creswell uses the notion that verification instead of validity underscores qualitative research as a separate approach, aiming at legitimatizing it. For Popper, verification is impossible and only falsification is possible (Popper 2002). He claims that the fact that something is "true" and represents a certain "truth" is impossible, since truths only have limited time spans. We can never verify truths by scientific testing, but rather only falsify them and state that they are wrong. Thus, we can eliminate only those hypotheses that are true, and then there are no certainties that we have tested all the possible explanations (Popper 2002). In that case, the scientific process is an evolutionary, open-ended process. For Creswell (1998), verifying seems to be a question of bringing research results closer to reality, hence validity might be replaced with bringing things closer to reality.

By spending extensive time in the field, ensuring thick descriptions, and staying close to the participants, the value of the study is increased. The question of generalization from case studies has been asked by numerous critics of case studies. Yin answers this by stating that one needs to focus on what it is one wants to generalize. Case studies are generalizable to theoretical propositions, and not to populations or universes, and the goal is to expand and generalize theories rather than to enumerate frequencies (Yin 1994). The idea is, as stated earlier, to get to know a particular case well, not focusing on how it is different from other cases, but rather on what it does. We then focus on uniqueness, and the aim is to understand the case itself (Stake 1995). Thus, the value of generalization lies in the particular description and the themes developed in a specific context (Creswell 2009), and how this knowledge is interpreted when studying additional cases and generalizing findings to these new cases (Yin 1994). Next, I account for how I have treated the issues of verification and generalization.

3.4.1 Procedures for validating the research process

The main strength with this research process has been the possibility to constantly test the initial findings. As accounted for earlier, I participated in various seminars and conferences (Table 2) in which early research results were presented and **peer reviewed** (Creswell 1998) by stakeholders in the field. This improved the findings' credibility. The same was done by the user group in the PROBUS project, and by the project group and my participation in scientific conferences (Blanco and Fedreheim 2011; Fedreheim 2008a; Fedreheim et al. 2011; Fedreheim and Sandberg 2009, 2011). I also presented my research to colleagues at the Vincent and Elinor Ostrom Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis in Bloomington, Indiana, USA (Fedreheim 2007b, 2011a). Thus, answering questions related to methods, interpretations, and analysis helped improve the research process since it provided an **external check** of the research (Creswell 1998) and gave valuable inputs to the ongoing research process.

Further, through the project seminar in February 2009 and the presentation given at Nordland National Park Center in April 2009, I had opportunities to present findings to stakeholders from northern Norway in general and from Junkerdal, respectively. Then I presented my data-gathering methods, analysis, and interpretation and some conclusions, and had help from them in judging the accuracy and credibility of the work. Such **member checking** might improve the credibility of the research by providing a bridge between my interpretation and the "reality" (Seale et al. 2007; Stake 1995) as experienced by stakeholders and bureaucrats. This includes trying to present my informants' and interviewees' experiences as authentically as possible (Onwuegbuzie and Johnson 2006), which has been the goal in the writing of this dissertation.

I have also tried to **account for my own background** in the preface, and in Sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.6, hoping that this has improved the readers' understanding of my position and factors which might have influenced my interpretation and approach (Creswell 1998). This includes also reviewing my role in PROBUS as well as the short review above with references to conferences and presentations I have given. Additionally, the PhD courses I took and papers written for them (Fedreheim 2007a,c,d,e, 2008b) might also say something about the background for my research and the influences I have been exposed to. The papers and discussions in the courses provided a background for developing the research question and the theoretical approaches and methodological choices undertaken. The research design has also been developed as a result of my choices of a methodological course focusing on qualitative methods.

Several authors also emphasize **triangulation** related to data sources and methods as important in verifying the research process (Poteete et al. 2010). I

have already reviewed how various data sources have contributed to this dissertation's findings, and thus how these findings are based on different data and use of methods (Creswell 1998; Jacobsen 2010; Onwuegbuzie and Johnson 2006). Methodological triangulation is the most recognized form of triangulation (Stake 1995).

All in all, within the research, I have aimed at testing the research process at various locations and under various settings, aiming to bring it as close as possible to reality.

3.4.2 Generalization

As seen from this section's introduction, the aim of this dissertation is not to generalize the findings to the population in general, but rather to learn from a specific case and apply this knowledge to additional cases. In this dissertation, we might then talk about generalization at two different levels: from case studies, and from this dissertation in general. My research strategy was to use the insights I had and zooming in at one particular case, before zooming out again to all eight cases.

Flyvbjerg (2007) claims that the criticism toward case studies is that they cannot be generalized and thus cannot contribute to scientific development is one out of five misunderstandings related to case studies. Such claims are reasoned in the fact that it is difficult to replicate case studies and that it is difficult to investigate if the correct inferences are drawn (Poteete et al. 2010). However, in this dissertation, the choice of the specific case, Junkerdal National Park, represents what is studied. Junkerdal is in that case a good example of a protected area in northern Norway. The data-gathering processes accounted for here should supply sufficient information so the case study might be replicated in another protected area. We already know which methods have been applied, with whom I spoke, which documents were analyzed, and who the survey's sample consisted of, and we then are able to undertake similar research in other areas. This is reflected in Gobo's (2007: 423) statement that "generalizability concerns general structures rather than single social practices."

Replication had in some sense already been undertaken in PROBUS. Even though the choice of Junkerdal implied obtaining more data than the other cases in PROBUS, the findings from Junkerdal could still be compared with the other cases. This relates also to the fact that Junkerdal is similar to the other areas in its historical setting, physical setting, economic, political, and legal contexts, and my choice of informant categories (Stake 2008). Further, the Ostrom tradition of studies of different cases has proved that such studies might be replicated in

other areas, and thus might contribute to new knowledge (Poteete et al. 2010). There will, however, be challenges related to the fact that social situations never are exactly the same, and the fact that the researcher affects the research process. But Ostrom and others have aimed at overcoming such challenges by developing a common language that directs the research undertaken (Ostrom 2005).

When it comes to generalization from the dissertation in general, I have already accounted for the restricted representativeness of the surveys. This influences the possibilities to generalize from the surveys. However, the strength of this dissertation regarding generalization is that both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been undertaken. The findings of this dissertation relate to a development in the field of nature conservation and in particular the emphasis on developing nature-based tourism. I believe that the findings might be appropriate in other fields as well, in particular where we talk about fields with similar characteristics such as a need for involving stakeholders and local populations; a strong history of state control; concurrent measures and developments internationally; and being of great importance to many. Thus, generalizing the findings from this particular field to other related policy fields in Norway would be appropriate. I would, however, not aim at generalizing the findings to other national contexts, since they vary greatly, even between Norway and its neighboring countries.

4 NORWEGIAN NATURE'S CONSTITUTIONAL LEGACY – CONSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

This section analyzes the constitutional and institutional development in the field of nature conservation in Norway. The discussion will not be structured chronologically, but rather focused around the policy decision (the Mountain Text) and how this represents a break from the prevailing policy path of only conservation. The chapter will begin with a brief introduction to the Norwegian political system, aiming at improving the reader's understanding of it and how different political discussions are tied together. I then turn the focus to the policy decision and present its content, focusing on the policy formation phase. This section also includes a discussion of the fact that Norway, with the policy decision, tried to break away from the prevailing policy and turn to a conservation-and-use path instead.

Aiming at understanding the context in which the policy change was introduced, I then turn to a discussion of the historical factors that shaped the conservation path. This includes a review of the origin of the idea of nature-based tourism and how this was dealt with before the policy change. This review also shows that two specific events determined and contributed to the policy change. These events are then discussed as lock-in events since they represent two developments that appeared difficult to exit from, and of great importance for Norway even being able to introduce the conservation-and-use path.

After providing the history, I discuss what has happened since the policy decision, and then focus on the policy measures introduced and implemented. They are discussed as actions in the policy cycle, and understood as battles between two policy paths. I give examples of how lock-out occurs, in which choices and actions undertaken deliberately aim at sustaining the conservation path.

The last section of this chapter summarizes the discussions and discusses some of the challenges with overlapping policies, and how this might affect institutional changes and the crafting of constitutional rules. This includes a discussion of how

governance might be challenging when we aim to break away from a specific path and when several policy fields interact.

4.1 A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO NORWAY'S PRESENT POLITICAL SYSTEM

Norway is a constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary democracy. The Constitution of 1814 separated the executive power (the King in the Council of State), the legislative power (Storting), and the judicial power (the courts) (see Figure 11). Thus the executive power is vested in the King, which in reality means the government, with the responsibility to ensure that decisions are implemented. The legislative, budgetary, and supervisory powers are vested in Storting. And the judicial power is vested in the courts, with the Supreme Court as the highest judicial body.

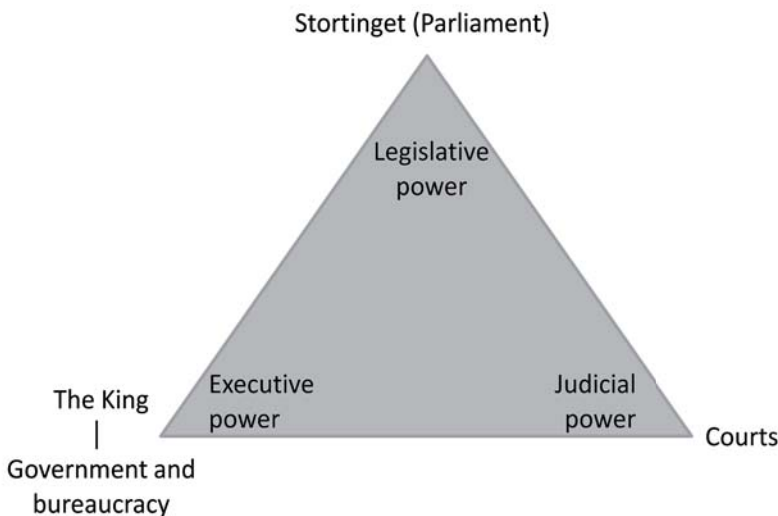


Figure 11: The three branches of government (source: <http://www.norge.no>).

Storting's electoral system is based on proportional representation, in which 169 members are elected from 19 constituencies (equivalent to the numbers of counties). Parliamentarism's breakthrough came in 1884, but was written into the Constitution as late as February 20, 2007.

Norway, as a unitarian (non-federal) state, has three management levels (see Figure 12): the state, the counties (19), and the municipalities (428). Representatives to these three levels are elected by the people, and they have different management responsibilities. The responsibilities of the counties and municipalities are given through the acts decided upon in Storting, and are

controlled by the state’s representative in each county—the County Governor (Fylkesmann), who is appointed by the King. The County Governor has several supervision and control tasks on behalf of several ministries.

The county council is an independent management level between the state and municipalities, with both political and executive leadership. It is responsible for regional tasks such as high school education, culture, and cultural heritage, transportation, road maintenance, public health, dental care, regional development, and some area management.

Municipalities are responsible for area planning issues, welfare services such as compulsory elementary and secondary school, social care, child care, medical care, nursing homes, water, and renovation. The county council and municipalities together comprise Norway’s local democracy.

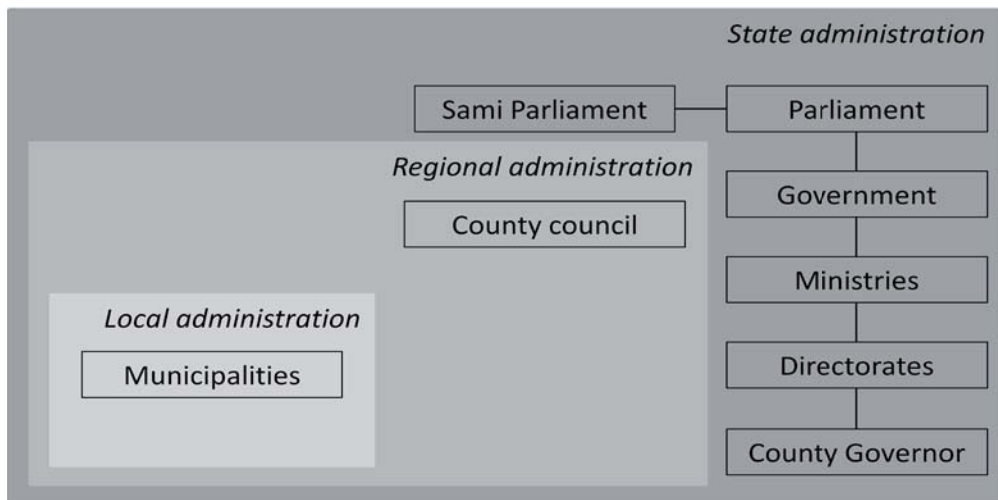
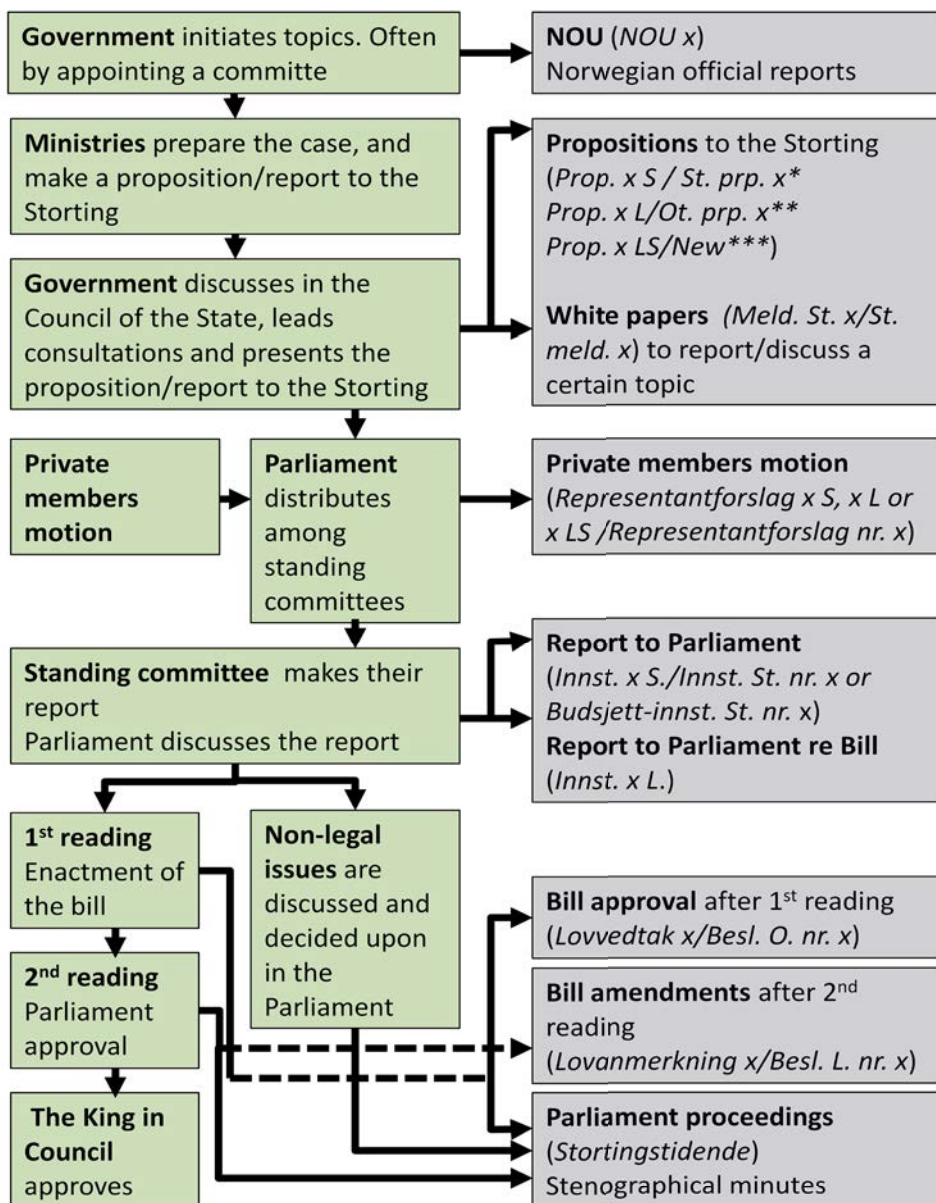


Figure 12: Public administrative levels in Norway (source: <http://www.norge.no>).

As of today, there are 18 ministries in Norway. The ministries have given various directorates authority to develop, manage, and impart knowledge regarding specific areas, commonly standard procedure topics without the need for political decisions.

With parliamentarism, the government reflects the political parties’ support in Storting. Thus the government gets its democratic legitimacy from Storting, and makes the executive branch accountable to the legislative branch. The executive and legislative branches work together, and the procedures for this are shown in

Figure 13. The green boxes represent who is responsible, and the grey boxes represent the publications and documents published. A recent reform (October 1, 2009) changed the names of the publications, and establishes some new publications. The names in brackets and italic represent the names of the publications, with the new names in front of the slashes, and the old names after the slashes.



*Governments proposition for a decision by the Storting ** Government's proposition for legislation *** Decision and legislation in the same proposition

Figure 13: Procedures for the work between the government and Storting (source: <http://stortinget.no/no/Stortinget-og-demokratiet/Storting-og-regjering/Saksgangen1-10-09/>). In addition to the publications mentioned in Figure 13, others are presented in this chapter. Circulars are publications with information from the ministry to affected parties about interpretations of laws and regulations; several reports are

referred to and are usually written by committees, external researchers, or the various directorates. They include reports, analyses, and surveys that the ministry has asked for; guidelines and brochures are information leaflets that publish the Ministry's politics and policies for a wider audience.

Governance of Norway's management of the environment is organized according to the model in Figure 14, in a typical hierarchical manner. The MD is at the top, and much of the work is delegated to five directorates: the DN, the Norwegian Polar Institute, the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, the Climate and Pollution Agency, and the Norwegian Mapping Authority. Much of these directorates' work is further delegated to the County Governor's department for environmental protection.

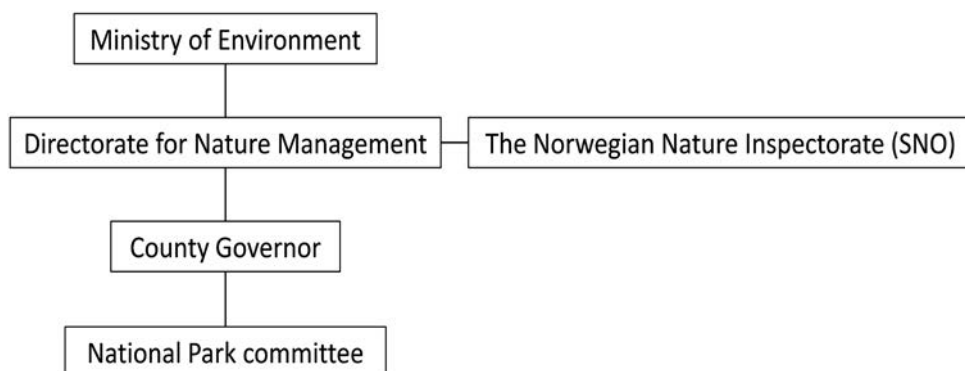


Figure 14: Governance of Norway's protected areas.

4.2 POLICY DECISION INTRODUCING A CONSERVATION-AND-USE PATH

Policy decisions relate to the formalization of the policies (Hill 2005, 2009), in this case, the revised budget document, the Mountain Text (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003)) (see English summary in Fact Box 1 and Norwegian full text in Appendix 1). This phase represents a publication of the policy: the strategy for how to achieve one or several goals, aims, and objectives, which measures, means and tools to use, and who is responsible for carrying out the policy. Allocation of resources has also been included as essential in this phase (May 2003). When establishing the revised budget document as a policy decision, I consider it a document representing several decisions and presenting the policy and implementation of it. Thus, it is the central document that states the policy and how we should act in order to reach the goals defined in the policy.

At the turn of the millennium, the population in general, and the politicians started to show an interest in developing tourism in protected areas, as stated by

one of the informants from the DN: "My opinion is that it [tourism in protected areas] is a question that has been on the agenda for a long time, but was brought up to date and given political interest around 2000" (counselor, DN). In 2002, the Standing Committee on Business and Industry (with the majority of members from the Progress Party, the Conservative Party, the Norwegian Christian Democratic Party, and the Liberal Party) proposed the following:

Norway is a country with a unique nature and natural landscapes. It is important that natural experiences in our country are ensured for future generations. The majority base this on the principle "conservation through sustainable use." Restrictions on activities in, for example, national parks must only be imposed to prevent damage to nature. In other words, restrictions must not be imposed on activities that aim to increase accessibility and use of protected areas without causing harm to nature.

The majority refers to several trials on establishing environmentally friendly businesses in protected areas. Such businesses aimed at tourists can contribute to establishing important jobs in rural areas. The majority has noticed that initiatives come to a halt due to restrictions in the conservation regulations.

The majority proposes the following:

Storting asks the Government by October 1, 2003, to report back to Storting regarding sustainable use of outfields and mountainous areas in Norway. In that connection, the question regarding regulations for increased tourism use of these areas should be more closely examined, for areas both outside and inside larger protected areas established after the Nature Conservation Act. Initiatives that contribute to developing quality tourism, while acknowledging the natural, economic, social, and cultural environments in mountainous regions, should be pursued and given support. (Finanskomiteen 2002: 22)

The government (coalition government comprised of the Christian Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, and the Liberal Party) responded to this, and gave their report through the proposal for additional grants and re-order prioritizations for the budget document May 15, 2003. The proposal, referred to as the Mountain Text, covers 14 pages of the Revised National Budget for 2003 (see Appendix 1) and is the first political document clarifying that there is a foundation for economic development and local livelihood in rural areas, and that it is possible to choose a path other than the conservation path. Thus, this is the policy decision focusing on nature-based tourism, and the first policy decision following IUCN's New Conservation Paradigm (discussed in Section 4.4.1).

The fact that the decision came in a Revised National Budget might be questioned since there are other ways to present such decisions that might have had more power. However, the majority of the Standing Committee was composed of the same political parties as the government, and the choice to reply through the Revised National Budget was the quickest way to reply, and to gain a majority in Storting. Thus, there was an aim to lower the transaction costs (North 1990), and a belief that a quick process would make it easier to move away from the prevailing conservation path. During my interviews with counselors in the DN, it became clear that one of the challenges of implementing the decision was the fact that it was formulated in a Revised National Budget: "I believe that both the committee [The Standing Committee on Business and Industry] and municipalities wanted a Report to Storting, and not a restricted part of a revised national budget" (counselor, DN). Thus, the formulation in a revised budget has less power than a Report to Storting according to this counselor.

The reasons why such a strategy was aimed at mountainous areas are the unique natural and cultural resources in mountains. These areas are characterized as coherent wilderness areas with possibilities for experiencing quiet, listening to nature, and experiencing smells, species, and more. In addition, these areas represent Norway's cultural heritage and show signs of resource extraction, access, and settlements. Further, there was (and still is) an increasing interest in natural and cultural experiences due to the fact that more and more people live in cities and the desire people have for recreation and outdoor life. Protected areas cover these values and represent much of the most magnificent and diverse nature in Norway. These areas have an extra advantage since they are labeled national parks or protected landscapes, and are recognized as having both national and international values. Hence, the Mountain Text aims to develop mountainous areas and protected areas.

An interesting aspect is that it was the Standing Committee on Business and Industry that asked for a report regarding Norwegian outfields and mountainous areas, and not the Standing Committees on Energy and Environment and on Municipalities. The aims of the Mountain Text to increase local livelihood traditionally would fit better under these two standing committees, but when suggested by the Standing Committee on Business and Industry, it appears that the focus should definitely be on business development and increasing tourism. Furthermore, the government chose to give the MD the responsibility to answer, proving that this was looked upon as that ministry's responsibility and not the responsibility of the Ministry of Local and Regional Development. Thus, in deciding on which ministry should be responsible for developing the reply to Storting, it is clear that the government was giving priority to the environmentalist

side, and conservation was still the main goal. This serves as an example of how lock-out appeared (Greener 2005) to aim at sustaining the conservation path.

As shown in Appendix 1 (full text in Norwegian) and Fact Box 1 (summary in English), the main focus in the Mountain Text is to make visible the potential for increased nature-based tourism in mountainous areas both inside and outside protected areas (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003): 140). The measures are all aimed at accommodating for increased activity in national parks. The concrete measures formulated in the Mountain Text are as follows (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003) 2003):

- Opening up three national parks for commercial tourism that earlier had been prohibited¹⁹
- Adapting for increased small-scale, nature-based tourism in accordance with the purpose of conservation
- Prioritizing and speeding up work with new and adjusted management plans for the conserved areas in the mountains
- Adjusting for combining both conservation and development in the communities near conserved areas during conservation processes
- Facilitating increased local political contribution and influence in conservation processes

The main objective, as formulated in the Mountain Text, is to increase tourism and local economic growth in connection with protected areas:

But there are accessible areas for more people in the mountains, and it is desirable that more people are given the possibility to experience the mountainous areas, of consideration for both health and welfare for the individual, out of consideration for business development in the mountain villages, and to establish increased legitimacy for the necessary measures taken to take care of these values. (St.prp. nr 65 (2002-2003): 142)

My understanding of the main goal, objectives, sub-objectives, and activities in the Mountain Text is presented in Table 3. The distinction here in three objectives and various sub-objectives is made by me based on the Mountain Text and illustrated in the excerpts above. The activities are categorized according to my understanding of which activity suits which aim.

The first activity identified—removing the ban on commercial tourism—was undertaken immediately in the regulations for the three national parks that had such a ban. This ban was in some cases perceived as an obstacle for increased

¹⁹ Saltfjellet-Svartisen National Park, Jotunheimen National Park, and Reisa National Park.

business activity, and for natural values it was not decisive whether the activities were commercial or not (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2006). The second activity—accommodating measures—is intended to ensure that smaller, nature-based tourism operations are undertaken, aligned of course with the conservation purpose. Examples that are mentioned in the Mountain Text are

- Concentrate on developing thematic trips, nature- and culture-based trips and unique travelling experiences
- Use a selection of national parks in marketing of tourism in general in Norway
- Facilitate more and longer visits in and close to a selection of national parks
- Facilitate varied experiences in visiting national parks within a selection of national parks
- Increase the number of environmentally certified businesses

The third activity mentioned relates to developing management plans. It is emphasized that there is a need for prioritizing and speeding up the work with new and adjusted management plans for protected areas in mountains. The thought is that more management plans will also ensure the development of more tourism and adapted conservation values, and direct traffic to certain areas (and away from other areas). Further, a wider look at protected areas is necessary, and combining protected areas and developing buffer zones in larger area planning processes, but leaving larger infrastructural measures (larger tourism installations etc.) outside protected areas. Other measures promote increased local contributions and influence in conservation processes, in accordance with Norway's tradition of corporatism (Røiseland and Vabo 2008a), as discussed in Section 2.3.3. I am not able to identify any suggested measure to reach the sub-objectives related to health and well-being, but of course assume that reaching some of the other sub-objectives might in turn lead to increased health and well-being as well.

Table 3: Goal, objectives and activities in the Mountain Text.

Main goal	Objectives	Sub-objectives	Activity
Increase tourism and local economic growth	Business development	Provide foundation for employment and economic growth Make visible potential	Remove the ban on commercial tourism
			Accommodating measures
			New and adjusted management plans Combining protected areas and developing border areas
Health and well-being	Increased legitimacy	Experiences and practice with culture and nature Increased knowledge about and understanding of the importance of preserving these values	New and adjusted management plans
			Increased local contributions and influence
		Outdoor recreation To love nature	

The Mountain Text generated high expectations among non-governmental organizations and rural communities. A declaration from 17 NGOs in cooperation with a mountain region cooperative in southern Norway demanded that the Mountain Text be implemented, and put forward five claims that must be put into practice (World Wildlife Fund et al. 2004). And according to one informant in the MD, ministry employees sometimes referred to the Mountain Text as "The Sermon on the Mount." This metaphor is used to emphasize that people had an understanding of the Mountain Text as a new path, a conservation-and-use path that Norway should follow in their nature conservation policy from then on.

But inside the MD, the internal governmental responsibilities of implementing the Mountain Text remained unclear: "There has been a discussion regarding who the actors are in this. Is the Ministry of Environment now responsible for spreading business development money to the rural areas? It is not like that. The Ministry of

Environment is not a business ministry, we already have a business ministry" (public authority, MD). From this attitude we see that interpretation of the organizational structure was used as an excuse and explanation for self-reinforcing the conservation path (Page 2006).

These reflections show that the policy decision came before important clarification discussions inside both the government and the MD. Thus, formulation of the policy followed the policy decision, and not the other way around, as suggested in the literature regarding policy studies (Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009). Implementation of the policy decision might then be more complicated due to the unclear character of the policy itself (Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009).

The introduction of the Mountain Text is here understood as a policy change aimed at breaking away from the prevailing conservation path and introducing a conservation-and-use path. The conservation path has been path dependent, as I discuss in the following section, and it seems that it has been difficult to reverse or change this path.

4.3 WHY A CONSERVATION PATH?

Several authors have reviewed the development of environmentalism and nature conservation in Norway (Backer 1986; Berntsen 2011; Jansen 1989). My review focuses on the conservation path in Norwegian environmental politics. I give a short review of the historical process of nature conservation in Norway, focusing on public documents and institutional changes. This includes a focus on the debate between nature protection and resource extraction. I then present the Nature Protection Act of 1954 as a turning point that set a path for the developments that follow. Several decisions and actions since 1954 are then presented as self-reinforcing for this new conservation path.

4.3.1 Initial discussions between conservation and resource extraction interests

Early nature protection in Norway aimed at preserving certain species or objects for future generations, but utility maximizing and resource allocation were equally important. Thus, there were two possible outputs from these discussions; either a conservation act or a new policy for extracting resources. The debates regarding this were important as starting points for a decision on which path Norway should follow, and the decision would be very hard to reverse (Pierson 2000).

Throughout the Romantic Movement visual values became increasingly important, opening up the potential for protecting nature (Berntsen 1994). The huge population growth from 900,000 in 1815 to 1,800,000 in 1875 led to more

areas being cultivated and used. Priority was given to economic growth, which caused concerns for nature and natural resources (Berntsen 1994). Thus, there were discussions between proponents of conservation and careful use of natural resources, and proponents of extraction of the same natural resources already during 19th-century Norway.

While Norway aimed at protecting certain plants and animal species (and their habitats), other countries worked on protecting larger areas. The breakthrough came in the USA in 1872 with the establishment of Yellowstone National Park. Much of the reasoning behind establishing that park was the same concerns as in Norway: a need for stronger protection of natural resources from exploitation. Still, Norway took longer to reach the same development, and focused mainly on economic development by extracting its white coal, hydropower (Thue 2003).

During meetings of the Norwegian Trekking Association in 1904 and the Norwegian Geographical Society in 1905, Yngvar Nielsen and Johan Nordal Fischer Wille, respectively presented the ideas of protecting larger areas. However, it was a speech Wille gave in 1909 that is considered as the starting point for the creation of an act on nature preservation. Wille put forward a demand to also protect forests and plants. As a biologist, he emphasized nature's scientific importance and also that it was important to increase youths' interests in nature.

The first formalization of these ideas came with the first Nature Conservation Act presented July 25, 1910, hence making work on nature protection a state responsibility (Berntsen 1994; Jansen 1989). Several smaller areas were protected during the following ten years. A revision of the Act in 1916 aimed at protecting larger areas, but it did not succeed. Nature conservation was put on hold while the rights to white coal were clarified (Thue 2003). At the time, choosing watercourses for development of hydropower was considered more important than protecting nature.

From 1920 to 1945 nature protection in Norway made progress, but mainly botanical and geological monuments were preserved (Berntsen 1994; Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008c). The first half of the 20th century was characterized by intense discussions related to the rights to Norwegian watercourses and waterfalls. During the late 19th century, waterpower became increasingly important in Norway, as well as internationally. Hydropower went from being pure mechanical energy to electricity, and thus its area of application was expanded. Norway had very good natural conditions for hydropower, and this was recognized by "water fall speculators" who understood that waterfalls represented an esteemed natural resource for developing heavy industries. From

the 1890s these speculators started buying the rights to exploit the hydroelectric potential, often supported by foreign partners, and in 1906 foreigners owned over three-quarters of the developed waterfalls. As a response to this development, which was considered as a threat to national control of these natural resources, Storting decided to implement concession laws the same year. From then on anyone who wanted to buy the rights to exploit hydroelectric potential had to apply for a concession to the government (LOV 2008-09-26-78; Thue 2003).

In 1909 and 1917 changes to the concession laws juxtaposed Norwegian and foreign interests, and introduced a fee that went to the state and the affected municipalities, and ensured that the power plant also delivered electricity to the municipalities. One of the most controversial issues was the reversion system that was introduced in order to limit foreign capital's future rights over Norwegian waterfalls. This meant that when waterfalls, power plants, and industrial plants had been owned by more than one-third private or foreign entities for 60 to 80 years, they were automatically given to the Norwegian state (Thue 2003). Hence, waterfalls were considered a national good (LOV 2008-09-26-78).

Just after the Second World War, Norway experienced strong economic growth related to increased hydropower. Priority was given to rebuilding the country and its industries with hydropower as the central provider of electricity, thus with a very important role and an increase in the tensions between proponents of nature and resource extraction (Berntsen 1994; Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008c). The late development in the field of nature conservation might be explained by the development of watercourses. The government prioritized development instead of conservation until the mid-1960s, but in 1960 Storting asked for a national plan for conservation of watercourses against development of hydropower. The first overview of watercourses worthy of preservation was presented in 1963, and this work led to several conservation plans against hydropower. In 1969, The Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate (NVE) was asked to compile an overview of which watercourses should not be developed due to recreational, natural, and environmental interests.

In Norway, a committee had been nominated in June 1947 to work on a proposal for a new act on nature protection. Their proposal was delivered in 1949, suggesting an expansion of the notion of "nature conservation." The proposal included a new understanding, including social factors, and the aim was to make it possible to protect areas. The government presented its proposal in 1953, and Storting enacted the Nature Protection Act on December 1, 1954. This new Act finally gave guidelines for establishing larger protected areas not only due to scientific or historic values but also for aesthetic reasons (Backer 1986).

The period from the Romantic Movement up to 1954 was around 100 years. This period was characterized by discussions between proponents of conservation and resource extraction, and the new Act was the first formalization putting conservation of larger areas on the agenda. Thus, after around 100 years of battles, conservation was prioritized and established as a path in which there would be considerable costs connected to breaking away from (Greener 2005; North 1990), and it took almost 50 years before the first attempts were made to do this.

4.3.2 Maintaining the conservation path

When the conservation path was established, it was important to self-reinforce it (Page 2006), and several decisions and institutional developments contributed to it. I review here some of these actions.

As a direct result of the new Act, the State Council for the Conservation of Nature was established in 1955, and immediately started working on a national park plan, which was published in 1966 (St.meld.nr.64 (1965-1966)). In 1962, Rondane National Park was established as Norway's first national park, followed by Børgefjell National Park in 1963. The 1966 National Park Plan acknowledged that Norway was behind other countries in developing and clarifying scientific interests connected to proposed protected areas. The plan also recognized that Norway was one of few European countries that still had a large degree of untouched nature and suggested preserving 16 areas.²⁰ In 1967, general regulations on national parks were added to this plan, and a national park was defined as a larger preserved area on state-owned land (Berntsen 1994). Junkerdal National Park was not mentioned in this plan.

Even though Norway established the Nature Protection Act in 1954, claims were rapidly put forward by the State Council for the Conservation of Nature and the Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature/Friends of the Earth in 1963 to revise it. They thought the Act was too narrow and started to report their ideas, supporting an earlier report published in 1954 by the legal committee of the Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature/Friend of the Earth. Their report was finished in 1968 and was clearly dominated by conservation interests (Berntsen 1994). Internationally, IUCN had become a success and had established

²⁰ Øvre Pasvik, Øvre Anarjokka, Stabbursdalen, Øvre Dividal with Havgavuobmi, Ånderdalen, Saltfjellet, Børgefjell (protected in 1963), Gressåmoen, Grytdalen, Kongsvoll-Hjerkinn, Femundsmarka, Gutulia, Rondane (protected in 1962), Jotunheimen, Ormtjernkampen and Hardangervidda.

(and contributed to) several programs that remain active today²¹ (Holdgate 1999). IUCN's development went toward more focus and emphasis on conservation, and one of the aims of its general assembly in 1969 was to "provide advice to governments and organizations concerning the conservation of nature and natural resources" (Holdgate 1999: 108). Thus, there was a turn toward strengthening the lobbyism of purer conservation values.

The new Nature Conservation Act was enacted in Norway in 1970, and distinguished between classical nature protection and the protection of landscape, with the latter as the new element in this Act (Berntsen 1994; LOV 1970-06-19 nr. 63). Nature conservation was then defined as "the management of natural resources on the basis of the close interdependence between mankind and nature, and the need to maintain the qualities of the natural environment for posterity" (LOV 1970-06-19 nr. 63. §1). The Act of 1970 has been revised several times, in 1972 to allow for temporary conservation, in 1989 and 1999 to change the rules of procedure (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2001; LOV 1970-06-19 nr. 63 ; Rundskriv T-3/99 1999; Rundskriv T-4/90 1990), and in 2009 when it was replaced by the Nature Diversity Act (discussed in Section 4.5.2). The Nature Conservation Act of 1970 states that only undisturbed areas may be designated as national parks, and areas shall be protected against development, construction, pollution, and other disturbances (§3). Further, these areas have to be distinctive in their beauty (§5) (LOV 1970-06-19 nr. 63).

The MD was founded in 1972 as a result of an idea from conservationists toward the end of the 1960s. It was the first ministry of the environment in the world. The Norwegian name of the ministry (Miljøverndepartementet) emphasizes conservation, and the direct translation is Ministry of Environmental Protection. But the formal translation excludes its conservation focus. The ministry's main task was defined to gain the best possible balance between extracting resources for economic gains, and protecting the same resources for the common good and future generations. At the same time, a public report discussed questions regarding distribution of responsibilities and authorities in central administration. This report also suggested establishing a ministry of environment (Berntsen 1994; Jansen 1989).

²¹ The World Wildlife Fund in 1961, the UN list of national parks from 1961, World Conference of National Parks in 1962, Animals and Plants Threatened with Extinction, leading to The Red List for Endangered Species in 1962, World Heritage Convention in 1972.

Throughout the 1970s, Norway started extracting oil, and two major events proved that economic development might happen at the expense of the environment with the uncontrolled oil blowout on Ekofisk in 1977 and Alexander L. Kielland platform tipping over in 1980. Thus, at the beginning of the 1980s there was a growing concern regarding the consequences of economic development. This was natural due to the rapid economic and social growth Norway had undertaken since 1972. In 1972 a decision was made that the "black gold" should be managed as a Norwegian good, ensuring that the state should have parts of the income, as well as establishing its own oil company, Statoil. The opposite was the case with hydropower development, in which finally the first conservation plan (Conservation Plan I) came in 1973 and included preservation of 95 watercourses (St.prp. nr 4 (1972-1973)). It was followed by Conservation Plans II (1980) including 145 watercourses, III (1986) including 195 watercourses, IV (1993), supplementary plans (2005) including 48 new watercourses, and final supplementary plans (2009) including 3 new watercourses. Today, a total of 388 watercourses are preserved against development of hydropower.

In 1981 the first report to Storting regarding the work with nature conservation in general was approved in a Cabinet meeting March 13 (St.meld.nr.68 (1980-1981)). The reasons why such a wide approach was chosen are, according to the report, the many and great challenges facing nature conservation. The report also admitted that Norwegian policy so far had not succeeded in developing satisfactory principles and routines for balancing conservation interest on one side, with development interests on the other side.

The 1966 National Park Plan was fulfilled with the 1989 decision to establish Hardangervidda National Park. Norway had established 18 national parks on the mainland, and 3 on Svalbard (Berntsen 1994). The Nordic Council of Ministers had in 1977 (revised in 1984) presented a report that divided Nordic countries into regions according to their geology, climate, phytogeography, and landscape. This resulted in 75 regions and more sub-regions. Norway covers 29 regions and 73 sub-regions, and by fulfilling the 1966 National Park Plan Norway covered 14 regions and 31 sub-regions (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992)).

But the Norwegian system of protected areas had one major disadvantage internationally: Norway had mainly conserved mountainous areas (see Figure 1 for a map of national parks as of today), and hence omitted various nature types²²

²² Norway has around 44.4% plains and mountainous areas, 38.2% forests, 7% lakes and glaciers, 5.8% wetlands and swamps, 3.2% agricultural areas, and 1.4% developed areas

such as forests, coastal areas, and wetlands.²³ Even in 2011, mountainous areas still dominate the protected areas, and many important nature types are not covered. Coastal and marine areas have not yet been conserved to a satisfying degree, and Norway has an international obligation to protect these areas to which there is no international equivalent.

In the Official Norwegian Report NOU 1986:13, 26 new national parks and 14 protected landscapes were presented, including Junkerdal National Park. In the following report to Storting (the 1992 National Park Plan), 46 of the proposed areas were pursued: 20 national parks, 16 protected landscapes, 1 nature reserve, and expansions of 9 existing national parks (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992)). The Standing Committee on Local Government and Environment wrote in its proposal for resolution in Storting that in choosing suitable areas they had emphasized the following criteria (Innst. S. nr. 124 (1992-1993)):

- represent various and representative nature types in our national park system based on the division of natural geographical regions in the Nordic countries;
- secure greater ecosystems and wilderness areas;
- secure flora and fauna and their habitats;
- secure valuable water systems, marine areas, and cultural heritage;
- secure the possibilities for outdoor recreation and natural experiences;
- reflect Norway's international commitments and responsibility in securing the country's unique or rare nature types and species of flora and fauna.

The first criterion was a direct effect of the aforementioned critique toward Norway, and the next three were then a natural followup on this. Storting decided upon both the new National Park Plan and the Conservation Plan IV against hydropower at the same time, and could thus combine the work in order to secure water systems. The last point, regarding Norway's international commitments and responsibility, is a reflection of the Standing Committee's beliefs that Norway, with this plan, would be able to fulfill IUCN's objectives for conservation of nature. At the same time, there was an understanding in the Committee that the proposed areas did not cover all the natural geographical regions developed by the Nordic Council of Ministers, and they expected that the government would supplement this plan later.

(Statistisk Sentralbyrå 2006). This means that around 95% of the country is characterized as uncultivated land (in relation to the Right of Access).

²³ As mentioned earlier, Conservation Plan III against hydropower was decided upon in 1986.

Together, these decisions show how Norway worked on institutionalizing the field of nature conservation, and on maintaining the conservation path they had chosen. This review has presented only those decisions and actions that helped sustain the path, and thus are considered self-reinforcement of that path. After the 1954 Act, the conservation path had led to a situation in which the new policies and institutions introduced followed on, and further developed, the conservation idea. During this time, the conservation path manifested itself and made it difficult to move away from it. Time has passed, and it appears that efforts to stay on the path have increased as well (Hacker 2002; Page 2006; Pierson 2000). But there are other forces working on changing the conservation path, mainly as an outcome of the 1992 National Park Plan and the changes it presented (discussed in Chapter 5).

I will now turn to discuss the background for the policy change, and will show how some decisions and actions were efforts to change the conservation path.

4.4 FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO A POLICY CHANGE

The policy change in 2003 came after a prolonged process of introducing a conservation-and-use path, both internationally as well as in Norway. However, the efforts were not successful until the policy decision, and I therefore characterize the Mountain Text as the decisive action for introducing this new path. Later I will say more about how successful it has been, and if we can truly talk about a policy that leads to institutional changes as well.

I first discuss some international developments that contributed to the policy change. This is an illustration of the multilevel aspect of the policy, and a focus on the interaction and linkages between international and national policies (Andersson and Ostrom 2008; Blomquist and deLeon 2011; Clement 2010; McGinnis 2011b). I then discuss the background for the Mountain Text, starting with the Outdoor Recreation Act, which was decisive for the policy change. Then I discuss other developments promoting the policy change, before turning to the second lock-in event: conservation of private property. Together these factors contributed to a situation in which the government had no other choices but to carry through a policy change, and it thus illustrates that there is a limit on how long existing institutions can prevent change. I therefore claim that policies and certain paths have a limited time span, that there is a point in time in which policies and paths will always renew themselves according to the pre-existing policy paths, and that these institutional changes are incremental changes in existing rules (North 1990, 1993; Ostrom 1990; Page 2006; Torfing 2001).

Section 4.5 will then turn to the conservation-and-use path, and discuss how the policy change has been implemented, and how measures seem to be deliberately locked out (Greener 2005).

4.4.1 International influences

Tensions between conservation and resource extraction have been common around the world, and were reflected in the establishment of UNESCO (1945) and IUPN²⁴ (1948) (referred to as IUCN²⁵ from here on). IUCN had a very strong ecological focus to begin with, and based its work on science conducted by ecologists. In some cases, this relationship was so strong that human needs were put aside and those ecosystems without human interventions were given priority.

The last 40 years' increase in the number of protected areas internationally (Zimmerer 2006a) has led to over 120,000 protected areas covering around 21 million km² of both land and sea in 2008. This means around 12% of Earth's land areas (Biodiversity Indicators Partnership 2010). There are several reasons for this expansive growth: establishment of protected areas is considered an important tool to secure biodiversity; several organizations with international or global reach have worked for promoting protected areas; conservation has become the dominant discourse; and there is an interface between conservation and agriculture and other types of livelihood and resource use (Zimmerer 2006a).

The first national park in the world was established in the USA in 1872 (Yellowstone National Park). Legendarily, the Washburn Expedition was concerned with the natural wonders' future due to increased exploitation (Anderson and Anderson 1998; Yellowstone 2007): "This great wilderness does not belong to us. It belongs to the nation. Let us make a public park of it and set it aside ... never to be changed, but to be kept sacred always" (Anderson and Anderson 1998: 4). This American idea of national parks was characterized by keeping the parks separate from human residency but keeping them open for visitors. This is the idea that has spread to most of the world, and has dominated the development of protected areas since then (West and Brechin 1991) with various results. In Africa, people were displaced from protected areas in order to guarantee hunting and fishing possibilities for outsiders. This idea of fortress conservation/parks as islands/"fences and fines approach" (Gurung 2010; Hutton

²⁴ Changed to International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) in 1956.

²⁵ The organization as of 2011 is the largest global environmental network with more than 1.000 government and NGO member organization, almost 11.000 volunteer scientists from more than 160 countries.

et.al. 2005; Murphree 2002; Sanderson and Bird 1998) dominated the protected areas agenda for a long time.²⁶

Britain had a different development that did not displace people. There, protected areas were more similar to protected landscapes. Internationally, however, the American idea had the most impact (Harmon 1991). Japan and Korea followed the British idea, and in many cases Norway also followed it, as will be discussed later.

The early debates when establishing IUCN were characterized by a distinction between "protection" and "conservation" of nature. When they first decided to focus on protection of nature, it was viewed in relation to an ecological focus, and a desire mainly to conserve areas without human residents. But gradually another side took over, and influenced the name change from IUPN (protection) to IUCN (conservation) as well, from then on focusing more on human influence and hence leaving the more negative and sentimental notion of "protection" behind (Holdgate 1999).

In the work of the World Conservation Strategy (IUCN et al. 1980), conservation and development were joined to a greater extent than before, and consideration of human well-being was considered as important as conservation (Holdgate 1999; IUCN et al. 1980). Thus, IUCN worked on sustainable development throughout this time period, influencing the work in Norway at the same time.

Throughout the 1980s there was an international acknowledgment of the need of implementing conservation policies in cooperation with local populations²⁷ (Castro et al. 2006). Attempts at community-based management as well as developing of tourism were undertaken to move away from fortress conservation and to ensure that local populations could sustain in these areas. The whole agenda of people and parks was reset, and a need to move away from fortress conservation became clear. Social movements coincided with environmental concern, and this was reflected in international protected area policies.

²⁶ It fell under the first wave of environmentalism from around 1864 to 1966 in which conservation was a way to secure areas from development and resource extraction, and make them open to the public (Zimmerer 2006).

²⁷ The second wave of environmentalism lasted from 1967 to 1986, and the ruling idea was that nature should be preserved for its own sake. The last wave started in the late 1980s and is characterized by a focus on sustainability and the fact that there is an interface between protected areas and agriculture and resource use (Zimmerer 2006).

During The Fourth World Parks Conference in 1992 a decision regarding greater integration of protected areas in national strategies was adopted. This was done in light of the World Conservation Strategy with the aim to improve the condition of the world's people by integrating conservation with development. During that 1992 conference a decision was made to not see parks and protected areas "as islands set aside from human use but as positive values to the communities living in and around them, and to the nations in which they were situated" (Holdgate 1999: 212). Thus, this was the start of the process leading to *The Durban Accord* and the New Conservation Paradigm in 2003.

The fifth World Parks Congress, held in September 2003 in Durban, South Africa (arranged by World Commission for Protected Areas), was called "Benefits beyond Boundaries." This Congress identified several challenges, including the costs of protected areas being borne locally while the benefits accrue globally. Under the umbrella of "a new paradigm for protected areas" (often referred to as the New Conservation Paradigm). *The Durban Accord* proposed to integrate conservation goals with sustainable development in an equitable way (World Parks Congress 2003).

The maintenance and enhancement of our core conservation goals, equitably integrating them with the interests of all affected people. In this way the synergy between conservation, the maintenance of life support systems and sustainable development is forged. We see protected areas as vital means to achieve this synergy efficiently and cost-effectively. We see protected areas as providers of benefits beyond boundaries—beyond their boundaries on a map, beyond the boundaries of nation-states, across societies, genders and generations. (World Parks Congress 2003)

The 3,000 participants urged for more focus on cross-sectoral development agendas, integral relationships of people with protected areas, involvement of local communities, indigenous and mobile peoples, ensuring equal distribution of costs and benefits, and alleviation of poverty, among other ideas. In these ideas lies an understanding of tourism as a tool for conservation which also might provide opportunities for local employment (Bushell et al. 2007). This was followed up at the IUCN World Conservation Congress in Barcelona, Spain, in 2008, in which 8,000 of the world's conservation leaders gathered. One of the workshops was devoted to developing the IUCN Protected Areas Categories Guidelines that emphasized that enhancement of livelihoods of people is one of the important management objectives of protected areas, as long as they do not negatively affect biodiversity. The new Guidelines had been developed since the fifth World Parks Congress in Durban in strong cooperation between IUCN and World Commission on Protected Areas.

The discussions in the 1990s and early 2000s proved that what earlier was labeled "fortress conservation" was no longer the dominant perspective globally (Hutton et al. 2005). Projects such as the Community Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe worked on enabling rural communities to sustainably manage their own natural resources (CAMPFIRE ASSOCIATION Zimbabwe 2011; Murphree 1991). These initiatives were diverse, and included management of protected areas, wildlife, natural resources in general, and integrated conservation and development programs (Hutton et al. 2005; Murphree 1991). Since its official establishment in 1989, CAMPFIRE has engaged more than a quarter of a million people in management of wildlife and sharing of the benefits. Thus, there was a growing acknowledgment internationally that local people had to be involved in management of protected areas. This was also reflected in IUCN's work in the early 1990s, where both improving the conditions of the world's people and integration of conservation and development were central ideas.

The most recent wave of environmentalism coincides clearly with Norway's focus on nature-based tourism, and is a follow-up of the New Conservation Paradigm in Norway. Recent developments internationally imply that we are once more moving towards a new era for conservation in which there is a focus on nature-based solutions in society in general, and an aim for developing a green economy (IUCN World Conservation Congress 2012). This is discussed more in Chapter 7.

4.4.2 The Right of Access as a lock-in event for development of nature-based tourism – allowing commercial use of outfields

With the institutionalization of the right to roam in 1957 through the establishment of the Outdoor Recreation Act, the government not only contributed to clarifying the relationship between landowners and outdoor life, but also provided the legal framework for developing nature-based tourism activities by including both organized and commercial activities in the act. This is the main reason why this Act stands as a lock-in event.

The aim of giving access to outdoor recreation in national parks came as a natural development in another policy field: recreation. This was the first sign of how two policy fields mutually interact and that institutional changes in one field affect the other field (overlapping institutions) (Andersson and Ostrom 2008; Hill 2005; Kvalvik 2011; McGinnis 2011b; Ostrom 2005; Pülzl and Treib 2007; Young 2002). Thus, institutionalizing the right to roam in outfields automatically provided more opportunities in protected areas, and these areas have traditionally been important for Norwegians for recreational purposes, so it was decided to continue to keep them open, even though they became protected.

The Right of Access is historically a strong right, and dates much farther back than 1957. Originally it was based on two cases of customary law (Germanic legal traditions), wanderers' roads (tjod-veg/folkeveg) and the right to "innocent use of nature" along the way (Sandberg 2006). The former means the right to roam on "beaten paths" for the members of a tribe or clan. With the growth of royal powers, there was an increased demand for safe passage for everyone in relation to trade and military operations. The Right to Passage developed into a right in which the kingdom protected people from reprisals from collectives such as clansmen, country road bandits, and village commons. This development took place at different times across the country, and during the late 15th century there was still a need for a passage permit (*verloff*) from Sámi siidas to travel through some territories in northern Norway (Fedreheim and Sandberg 2008; NOU 1993:34 1993). The latter customary law is the right to "innocent use of nature," which includes the right to stay and use nature. When all travel was undertaken by horseback or on foot it was of utmost importance to find food, firewood, and fodder for the horses, to rest when necessary, and to use water for drinking and bathing (Fedreheim and Sandberg 2008).

The so-called "split property rights" and traditional village commons created a system that is quite different from the view we have today of the origin of the Right of Access (Knut Robberstad 1963 cited in NOU 2007:14). What we do know is that historically members of a certain family or tribe had the right to roam freely inside their own territory. But as society grew larger, the need for access to and safe passage through other territories developed. The King therefore decided that free passage was a right not only on his own roads, but also on classified roads and on paths and trails (Fedreheim and Sandberg 2008; Knut Robberstad 1963 cited in NOU 2007:14; Rundskriv T-3/07 2007; Rundskriv T-6/97 1997; Sandberg 2001).

With the Norwegian society growing in both population size and area usage, and with an increasing number of cabins being built, a need for formalizing the customary law was put forward. Prolonged discussions led to an inclusion of the right of access in the Outdoor Recreation Act established in 1957. This Act took into account the cases of customary law, and tried to balance the public's interests and the property owners' interests. The law's preamble states the following regarding the right of access:

The purpose of this act is to protect the natural basis for outdoor recreation and to safeguard the right of access to and passage through the countryside and the right to spend time there, etc, so that opportunities for outdoor recreation as a leisure activity that is healthy, environmentally sound and gives a sense of well-being are maintained and promoted. (LOV 1957-06-28-16: §1)

The right of access is regulated through the distinction between cultivated and uncultivated land,²⁸ and in its pure form, the right of access only applies to uncultivated areas. Here non-motorized access is legal throughout the whole year. On cultivated land, full access is only allowed during winter, and during summer it has to be restricted only to paths and roads, and not on land owners' fields. The activities people are given permission to undertake in outfields without having to pay anyone are roaming on foot and skis, picnicking and staying overnight, riding/biking on paths and tracks, swimming, canoeing, rowing, sailing, picking berries, mushrooms and flowers, and fishing saltwater fish (Directorate for Nature Management 2007). There are also several duties connected to the right of access. The most important one is that access needs to be done in a sustainable manner, without harming a land owner's resources.

The directives regarding the Outdoor Recreation Act (Rundskriv T-3/07 2007; Rundskriv T-6/97 1997) specify that both organized and commercial activities on the basis of the right of access are allowed, meaning that commercial recreational activities are legal on a person's own property as well as on other people's property. However, the precautionary principle has to be applied.²⁹ In that sense, there will be no distinction between different land ownership categories when it comes to accessing, staying in, or harvesting from nature. When the Act was

²⁸ Cultivated land: "farmyards, plots around houses and cabins, tilled fields, hay meadows, cultivated pasture, young plantations and similar areas where public access would unduly hinder the owner or user. Small uncultivated plots of land lying in tilled land or hay meadows or fenced in together with such areas are also considered to be equivalent to cultivated land. The same applies to areas set aside for industrial or other special purposes where public access would unduly hinder the owner, user or others." Uncultivated land: "land that is not tilled and that is not considered to be equivalent to cultivated land in accordance with the preceding paragraph" (LOV 1957-06-28-16: §1a).

²⁹ The law states that for a "larger" activity one has to obtain permission from the property owner: "Outdoor meetings, sports arrangements (e.g. skiing or orienteering competitions) and similar arrangements that may entail significant damage or inconvenience may not be held without the consent of the owner or user of the land that is cordoned off, or where competitors assemble or the start or finish of the competition takes place, or other areas where crowds may be expected to gather" (LOV 1957-06-28-16: §10).

revised in 1996, some of the property owners expressed a desire for making a boundary line between commercial and non-commercial use of the Right of Access. This had not been taken into account in the law, but was included in the directives from the MD (Brox 2001; Rundskriv T-6/97 1997). The discussion of commercial use of other people's land is not the most controversial issue in relation to the right of access, and has thus not been included in recent revisions of the Act (Prop. 88 L (2010-2011)). This revision has limited landowner's rights to exclude recreationists even more, and made access to uncultivated land easier by opening the use of roads and trails on cultivated land. Further there was a clarification that pastures are cultivated and newly planted forests are uncultivated, thus access is permitted in the latter and forbidden in the former (Prop. 88 L (2010-2011)).

Norwegian national parks are established on uncultivated land, and the Right of Access is in general valid in protected areas. The Right of Access might be restricted due to the protection of flora and fauna, but these areas are usually conserved as nature reserves, and not as national parks. The distinction made by Harmon between the American and British traditions of establishing protected areas (1991 and discussed in Section 4.1.1) might also be explained in relation to the development of the Right of Access. According to Williams (2001), New Zealand and the USA have a "new-world" land-management context, which means that these countries are dominated by public lands. Further, they have contested indigenous rights, and serve as a frontier or pioneer culture. Britain and Scandinavia, on the other hand, have a history in which there is no sharp distinction between cultural and natural landscapes, and Scandinavia has a history of common ownership with a universal Right of Access to both public and private lands (NOU 2007:14; Williams 2001). Donnelly (1993) also relates this to land tenure, explaining that the right of access is evident in liberal and democratic societies with public ownership of land.

Even though the Right of Access has strong political and public support (as discussed in Section 6.3), there are several challenges to it. Commercialization is considered one of the major challenges in the on-going process of securing the Right of Access. There are many overlapping effects and concerns related to commercialization of the Right of Access and the development of nature-based tourism. In most cases, commercialization is the development of nature-based tourism, and thus the Right of Access serves as a prerequisite for nature-based tourism.

Commercialization of the Right of Access might create new jobs and thus contribute to less depopulation of rural areas, strengthening the economy, and

lowering the threshold for recreational activities (Teknologirådet 2006). Many of the newer activities are undertaken by youths, and thus commercializing them might also give more job opportunities for younger people, which in turn might lead them to return to their home places after finishing their education. Identified challenges related to commercialization are of course also related to the ecological side and a fear that the whole foundation (the green gold) might evaporate as a result of too much traffic. A growing need for businesses to have exclusive access to certain areas is in direct conflict with the original idea of the right of access. Further, a demand for accommodating the tourists can lead to changed character of the area, and a possible change in a rural area's identity. These factors might in turn also lead to depopulation (Teknologirådet 2006). Thus, management authorities must in some cases prioritize between local identity and depopulation and new business possibilities. Class distinctions between municipalities might also be a problem since some might have exclusive resources and areas they can develop, whereas a neighboring municipality might have nothing that can be developed, thus contributing to inequalities between neighboring municipalities. Another factor is noise-more traffic, more development, and more people will lead to more noise, and thus threaten one of the core values in the Outdoor Recreation Act: nature's quietness. This is characterized as the "honey-jar effect" (Teigland 2002).

When managing the Right of Access these concerns have to be considered, and the main question is What does society want? The right is individual and is based on an assumption that individuals will act according to precautionary principles. But the total pressure on nature can still be unacceptable. Decisions regarding which types of commercial recreational activities should be allowed have not been undertaken, and neither have discussions on acceptable activities. Evidently there are varying opinions regarding these topics. Norway also lacks rules regulating access to this CPR; who should have access and under which regulations? And what about people with second homes in rural municipalities (recreational homes), should they have anything to say in decisions related to these municipalities? Should they contribute by paying taxes and so on, or should they be "guests" without any decisions rights? The rules-in-use thus produce dilemmas related to management of the Right of Access, and contributes to a governance problem. The challenge lies in what to do to solve these dilemmas: change the rules, or govern more actively on a day-to-day basis?

Nature is for many Norwegians an inseparable part of their lives and provides an important learning arena for kids. Many skills are learned by using nature, not only more physical skills, but also knowledge of nature, of relations in nature, of distances, seasonal variations, and so on. These are skills that in many cases are

necessities for being able to survive in nature, and for tourists the best learning conditions might be given in organized groups. Thus commercialization contributes to a safer use of nature.

The reason institutionalizing the Right of Access is considered a lock-in event is the lack of clarifications as to what exactly an "organized" or "commercial" recreational activity is, and the decisive effect it has had on the conservation path. The Act was designed to regulate the relationship between recreationists and the traditional agricultural sector, represented by landowners (Reusch 2007), and was therefore not directed toward the growing businesses related to nature-based tourism.

With the formalization of the Right of Access commercial interests could use outfields and, with the Mountain Text, protected areas. Since everyone has the Right of Access it is difficult to exclude and separate individual access from organized and commercial access. Thus the Outdoor Recreation Act led to a path in which commercial use of other people's property was allowed, giving the foundation for increasing nature-based tourism also in protected areas. Thus, besides being a right to roam freely, the Right of Access is also a right to earn money on other people's land. The solution not to include limitations on commercial use of the Right of Access has proved difficult to change juridically, and hence it represents an example on how lock-in appears. However, in terms of the discussions during the 1950s, today's conditions were unforeseen, thus allowing for nature-based tourism by everyone today. And the Right of Access is crucial in Norway today in order to use protected areas for these new types of businesses.

The Right of Access, which came early along the conservation path, opened up protected areas for more use, and thus gave promises for a conservation-and-use path in discord with the then prevailing path. Seen from a conservationist's perspective this might have been an undesired outcome (Nee 2005), even though formalizing the right to roam was desirable. In that case, this lock-in event may have unintentionally (Hill 2005; Hill and Hupe 2002) contributed to a slow process of moving away from the conservation path.

4.4.3 Sustaining the conservation path by locking out other ideas

Even though the earlier discussions focused on how the conservation path came into existence and how it was maintained, there were still ongoing policy battles aimed at introducing other ideas. These efforts were locked out (Geertz 1973) most of the times until the Mountain Text was introduced. Coinciding events (the lock-in effect of the Right of Access, and the lock-in effect of conservation of

private property) promoted the policy change, and represent the background for the conservation-and-use path.

The first identified effort to put nature-based tourism on the conservation agenda came in the 1966 National Park Plan (St.meld.nr.64 (1965-1966) 1966). Nature protection was then mentioned as one of the necessary means in developing tourism, a business that was expected to grow from 1966 forward:

It is a distinctive feature with our nature compared with many other European countries that it is still relatively untouched by the work of man. It is likely that this feature makes it valuable, and worthwhile to preserve ... Thus this plan aims at ensuring typical and beautiful examples of Norwegian nature, both for our descendents and foreigners who want to travel in our country. In this way, nature protection is also important for developing tourism and the travel businesses." (St.meld.nr.64 (1965-1966): 5)

Another interesting element in the 1966 National Park Plan is a distinction between nature parks and national parks where the former is protected in order to preserve nature for scientific purposes and the latter is protected in order to ensure "that as many as possible have access to outdoor activities and recreation in free and untouched nature" (St.meld.nr.64 (1965-1966): 9). The regulations for both nature and national parks also specify that motorized transportation is prohibited and that hunting, pasturing, fishing and harvesting are still permitted. In national parks, measures to improve access, building of cabins, and hunting for economic purposes were allowed. Even though there was a clear focus on the importance of tourism in protected areas, there were no concrete measures suggested, and no followup on these formulations. Thus it appears that the idea was deliberately kept out of the ensuing discussions, and did not influence the conservation path.

In St.meld.nr. 68 (1980-81) tourism was mentioned, but only in relation to outdoor recreation. Both tourism and outdoor recreation are considered activities that will lead to nature damage. Traditional activities (roaming, bathing and overnight stays) are mentioned as those causing less harm, but accommodating for these activities might be more harmful on nature. To prevent such a development, the report states that the authorities will work on diverting tourism to areas that can tolerate such activities. Still, nature-based tourism activities (even though the notion is not used) are mentioned as activities that might continue in protected areas. But again, no concrete measures were suggested.

The foundation for the first report to Storting (St.meld.nr. 68 (1980-81) regarding the work with nature conservation, NOU 1980:23, focuses more on tourism and in connection with outdoor activities. Traditional outdoor activities are considered less damaging to nature than newer outdoor developments. International tourism is not mentioned in any particular sense, apart from using the USA as an example on how it is possible to restrict access to protected areas. The report states that an expected growth in tourism and outdoor activities demands impact assessments and more coordinated planning in order to decrease damaging effects on the natural environment. Further, the report claims a need for a coordinated purpose with both outdoor recreation and tourism where both conservation and development are balanced. But as already seen, these suggestions were not implemented.

NOU 1986:13 which led to the 1992 National Park Plan, discussed various user interests in the suggested protected areas. In general, "tourism has both advantages and disadvantages with national parks. Advantages because of the status of the areas as beauty spots and destinations, and disadvantages as a consequence of restrictions in development and commercial use of these areas" (NOU 1986:13: 84). The report suggests choosing some national parks for profiling with tourism purposes, in order to spare other areas from increased pressure. Tourism measures were not allowed inside national parks, but were suggested for border zones of the protected area and after coordinated planning, e.g. municipal planning. These were new ideas, but once more these measures were not given priority in subsequent work.

The 1992 National Park Plan also took into account protection's impact on outdoor interests and tourism, admitting that the areas suggested were of great importance for outdoor recreation, nature experiences, and nature-based tourism. The report to Storting stated that securing areas for nature experiences and outdoor recreation was one of the main purposes with conserving nature. "Within this lies a more indirect, but yet essential utility for tourism, since tourists constitute a large part of those who use national parks in outdoor recreation" (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992): 45). The report also stated that commercial activities were still supposed to be organized and developed outside the national parks, and acknowledged the importance of good management practices in order to use national parks for more economic purposes in future. The MD also focused on three steps towards using the national park system in tourism: first to use a selection of national parks in marketing general tourism in Norway; second, to accommodate more and longer visits in and near a selection of national parks, and third, to accommodate for richer experiences in a selection of national parks (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992)). There was clearly a stronger focus on tourism in

relation to protected areas in the 1992 National Park Plan, than earlier in the nature conservation policy. Not only had the notion "sustainable development" become the major effort internationally after the report *Our Common Future* (WCED and Brundtland 1987), but another influential aspect of that report was the focus on people and their role in protecting nature, following on the New Conservation Paradigm as discussed earlier. During the discussions around the 1992 National Park Plan, tourism and business development were emphasized as important, and had been discussed in the Municipal and Environmental Committee (Innst. S. nr. 124 (1992-1993)). However, there were no new initiatives undertaken during the next years to increase nature-based tourism: thus, the promises were still empty.

Apart from the 1992 National Park Plan, the 1990s were characterized by work on environmental agendas other than nature protection, such as pollution and recycling. Internationally, much happened, and in 1993 Norway ratified the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) (United Nations 1993). The CBD was followed in 1997 by a report to Storting regarding environmental policy for a sustainable development (St.meld.nr.58 (1996-1997)). Here, nature protection and establishing protected areas were considered tools for conserving biodiversity. In 1999, the first report on the state of the environment was published (St.meld.nr. 8 (1999-2000)). The *Government Environmental Policy and the State of the Environment in Norway* reflects what we have seen happen throughout the 1990s: less focus on nature protection and on carrying through the 1992 National Park Plan and the aims stated there. Tourism is only mentioned in the first and second reports on the state of the environment, in relation to diffusion of unwanted species and environmental impacts from tourism at Svalbard (St.meld.nr. 8 (1999-2000) ; St.meld.nr. 24 (2000-2001)). The third report on the state of the environment mentioned tourism only in relation to Svalbard (St.meld.nr. 25 (2002-2003)). But this report, in addition, focuses on finishing the 1992 National Park Plan as one of the most important measures in order to meet environmental challenges.

With these first steps toward broadening the focus on tourism in protected areas, Norway followed international developments on using tourism as a mitigating effort to resolve the tensions and conflicts in protected areas. Norway had conserved areas without human settlements this whole time, but with traditions for livestock pasturing as well as restrictive human uses (following the British tradition as explained earlier).

4.4.4 Conservation of private property as a lock-in event – national parks on private property

The second lock-in event that I recognize as important for understanding why Norway chose to develop nature-based tourism in protected areas is the inclusion of privately owned land in national parks. This section discusses this decision as well as the discussions regarding economic compensation. Mainly, this decision made conservation more controversial, and this path also led to several mitigation measures, including introducing nature-based tourism.

The main reason why Norway protected mainly mountainous areas in the 1980s and 1990s was that the land was state property.³⁰ The Nature Conservation Act of 1970 stated that national parks might be established on state-owned land and on private land when it bordered the state land (but only in exceptional cases). For protected landscapes and nature reserves this regulation was less strict, and opened up to also protect private land.

The 1966 National Park Plan focused on the "national" element of the national park: "national parks should be the 'nation's property'" (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992): 49). In this lies economic and political assumptions that it is easier to restrict user rights on state-owned land,³¹ and thus avoided conflicts with landowners. To respond to the criticism and conserve nature types other than mountainous areas,³² it was necessary to also consider private land for conservation. In 1982 the State Council for the Conservation of Nature was asked to compile a new plan that also included other areas, thus areas that were on

³⁰ Apart from Hardangervidda National Park, where around 52% of the land area was private property (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992)).

³¹ Today, around one-fifth (around 60,000 km²) of mainland Norway is state-owned land (Fageraas 2009), but this changed dramatically in 2006 when the area in Finnmark County was transferred from the state to a legal entity, the Finnmark Estate, and thus changed the landowner situation there. At a national level, this meant that the amount of state-owned land went from one-third to one-fifth. However, the Finnmark Estate has to deal with the same ambiguity in the relationship between public ownership and real collective and individual property rights that the state had to deal with earlier (Sandberg 2008).

³² A recent evaluation confirms the critique toward Norway even today. The report by Framstad et. al. (2010) shows that 35% of the area 900 m above sea level is protected, and only 5% of the area under 300 m above sea level (sea area excluded). In addition, this means that 6.8% of forests, 27% of mountains, and 72% of glaciers are protected. The report concludes that Norway has protected too little of its lower areas, warmer vegetation zones, productive forests, coniferous forests, and mire forests with less than 5% of the area protected (ibid.).

private property. Inclusion of various nature types was emphasized, and two elements were central: nature quality and diversity.

The MD had three options when discussing the 1992 National Park Plan; remove the demand in the Nature Conservation Act that protected areas should substantially be established on state property, open them for expropriation, or implement a compensation scheme. The demand about state property was in accordance with international traditions for establishing protected areas as well (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992) 1992). The MD did not find it suitable to remove the formulation in the nature conservation act, but rather wanted to open the areas for expropriation. The Expropriation of Real Property Act (Oreigningsloven) of October 23, 1959, regulates expropriation of real property (LOV 1959-10-23-3). However, it does not give legal authority to expropriate for the purpose of nature conservation, but it gives nevertheless permission to expropriate out of consideration for recreation and cultural heritage (NOU 2004: 28). Neither did the Nature Conservation Act allow for expropriation, but the question had been discussed several times (a majority expressed in NOU 1980:23 that expropriation should be considered; and the MD responded in St.meld.nr.68 (1980-1981) 1981 that they should return to this question at a later occasion). It came up again in the discussions around the 1992 national park plan, which said that:

some of the proposed national parks in this plan are partly, or entirely, on private land. Current legislation does not give the opportunity to establish national parks in these areas. The government considers it appropriate to introduce expropriation of property with conservation purposes and to change the Nature Conservation Act, and aims to present a proposal on this as soon as possible. The final evaluation will take place in conjunction with the presentation of the work on the Act. (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992):7)

But again, the proposal was turned down by Storting: "The majority cannot see that the justification given by the Ministry for expropriation of land, namely compensation, caring, and management measures require a solution like this" (Innst. S. nr. 124 (1992-1993):10).

Another proposal from the Norwegian Centre Party and the Progress Party that said involved parties should have full compensation was voted down (Innst. S. nr. 124 (1992-1993)). The various acts on nature conservation had mentioned compensation earlier, but there are no decisions related to this formulated in the Acts of 1910 and 1954 (NOU 2004: 28). The Act of 1970 said that economic losses might be compensated, and in 1985 a distinction was introduced between national parks and protected landscapes and other protected areas. The former

would apply to regulations for restrictions on public rights, while the latter would be compensated according to the rules in place for expropriation in general. This yielded a situation where establishing national parks or protected landscapes only in exceptional cases lead to compensation, while the government had to immediately compensate for other types of protected areas (Ot.prp.nr. 52 (2008-2009)). The legal reasoning behind this was that loss of rights to manage your own property must be understood as part of the nation's right to govern the development in society, and establishment of national parks and protected landscapes was thus a restriction, not expropriation, in the right to manage (Ot.prp.nr. 52 (2008-2009)). This meant that it was not the degree of the restrictions that determined payment of compensation, but rather the protected area category, a reasoning that might have contributed to the negative attitude toward national parks.

With these clarifications the MD opened a path for conservation of private property without the right to expropriate, and with a clear expectation that compensation schemes were to be introduced. This decision led to a solution that proved difficult to exit from (Hacker 2002; North 1990; Page 2006). Not only did this lead to more private land becoming protected, and a fear among affected landowners of losing their ownership rights to their own land, it also led to a continuation of the prolonged discussions regarding the compensation payments. The question remained unresolved until the introduction of the Nature Diversity Act in 2009. The 16 years that had passed since the introduction of the 1992 national park plan had not led to any decision, nor any compensation given for the national parks established as part of this plan. Thus the changes presented in 2009 had retroactive effects. First, similar compensation rules were introduced for all protected area types. Compensation is only given for restrictions on today's use of private land, and not for planned use (LOV 2009-06-19 nr. 100):

A landowner or a holder of rights in property that is wholly or partly protected as a national park, protected landscape, nature reserve, habitat management area or marine protected area is entitled to compensation from the state for financial losses incurred when protection makes current use of the property more difficult. (§ 50 LOV 2009-06-19 nr. 100)

Following these clarifications in the Nature Diversity Act a letter was sent out to all affected landowners and the process started. This also led to increased budgets for compensation payments in the following years (Prop. 1 S (2011-2012) 2011; Prop. 1 S (2012-2013) 2011).

The fact that private property could be conserved, and that there was no compensation scheme in effect, contributed greatly to the negative attitudes toward national parks throughout the 1990s and thus far in the 21st century (Bay-Larsen et al. 2006; Bay-Larsen and Fedreheim 2008; Daugstad et al. 2006; Fedreheim 2003; Kalland and Rønnow 2001; Skjeggedal 2007). Conserving private property also meant that more people were involved when areas became protected. Now, 20 years later, it is clear that opening up for conservation of private property and avoiding the proposal of economic compensation were decisions that have proved difficult to move away from. Areas have been established following the regulations, exemplified by Sjunghatten and Lomsdal-Visten national parks in Nordland consisting of 75% and 41% private land, respectively. The choice to implement compensation schemes was considered the best solution of the three alternatives (changing the Act or expropriating private land were the other alternatives).

However, the lock-in event here was the choice to conserve private property where desired. This decision put the MD in a position in which they had to try to legitimize their conservation policies, especially since the process on developing compensation schemes was so prolonged, lasting almost 20 years. Thus, the choice represents an irreversible commitment (when a national park is established it is established "forever" and cannot be removed) and contributed to a path that became locked in. Thus, since 1993, Norway has had to settle this issue over and over again, trying to mitigate the tension between conservation and use, and constantly trying to find other ways to increase the legitimacy of protected areas.

4.4.5 The conservation-and-use path revisited

Until now we have seen that two lock-in events shaped the context under which the idea of nature-based tourism developed. Additionally strong counterforces in relation to hydropower and oil have constantly influenced decisions on nature conservation. The environmental debate has been strongly connected to struggles against developing white coal and black gold, with less focus on Norway's green gold. This contributed to the period of inaction in implementing the 1992 National Park Plan, since the government first had to clarify which rivers should be developed and which should be given permission to flow freely. Hence, we have seen that the field of nature conservation (including a focus on increased use) could not move forward before reaching decisions related to development of hydropower. We have also seen that nature conservation as a policy field has expanded to include outdoor recreation and tourism. But so far in the analysis, tourism has been an independent policy field with no real interactions with the field of nature conservation. There are, however, closer interactions between

outdoor recreation and nature conservation, as proved by the inclusion of outdoor recreation in the nature conservation act.

It is in this context that the policy change was introduced, and it was introduced as a measure to help increase protected areas' legitimacy (see Section 4.2). We have seen that the first lock-in event, the Right of Access, provided the foundation for commercial and organized activities in outfields and on other people's properties, and that the second lock-in event, conservation of private property, created a situation in which the government was "trapped" dealing with all the negative tensions towards protected areas. In this situation they had to do "something" to show those strongly affected by conservation decisions that they were aware of them, and that there were positive effects of protecting land areas. Thus, these events shaped a path for future development, and this was a path that focused on use more than on conservation, and I thus consider this the conservation-and-use path.

I will now turn to the situation following the policy decision, and discuss what happened during its implementation. This includes a discussion of how the two paths—conservation and conservation-and-use—were further developed and combined. This also includes a focus on developments in other policy fields, such as agriculture and health, and how these also contributed to formulating the policy.

4.5 MEASURES AIMED AT ESTABLISHING A CONSERVATION-AND-USE PATH

At the beginning of the 21st century Norway was still behind other countries in regard to management of protected areas. While many protected areas internationally combined local management with tourism development and thus had quite aggressive programs working promote tourism research, education, and development (for example USA, Australia, and UK) (Eagles 2002), Norway entered the 21st century with state (expert) management and no strategy for developing nature-based tourism in protected areas. This was the case even though four pilot projects³³ of local management had been undertaken (see Falleth and Hovik 2008, 2009, and Vistad et al. 2006 for evaluations of these projects). But international developments (as presented in Section 4.4.1) and in particular the New Conservation Paradigm had paved the ground for a stronger focus on how protected areas could promote local livelihood in the policy decision, and in the implementation phase of the policy-making cycle.

³³ Setesdal Vesthei-Ryfylkeheiane, Dovrefjell-Sunndalsfjella, Forollhogna and Blåfjella-Skjækerfjella.

Even though there was strong political consensus on the aims of the Mountain Text, there were still many factors that remained unsettled in the aftermath of the policy decision. This section will focus on measures that have been undertaken since the policy decision. I will focus on measures that are directly connected to implementation of the Mountain Text, as well as measures in parallel policy fields, but with effects for the policy of increasing nature-based tourism and then the conservation-and-use path. The implementation phase shows clearly that the policy formulation phase was not used to give the policy its content (May 1991), but rather that the content was developed simultaneously with the implementation (Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009), thus in accordance with my understanding of a policy cycle. Even though some objectives, and sub-objectives were presented in the policy decision with defined activities, there are other activities complementing these, thus the policy's measures were developed throughout the implementation phase as well. All these factors contributed to the notion of a policy cycle as developed by Hill and Hupe (2002) and presented in Section 2.3, and supports my understanding of the policy formulation and implementation as two processes undertaken at the same time. This section will look at implementation as what happens between the policy decision and its impacts (O'Toole 2000).

This section begins with a discussion of the developments in the fields of agriculture and health, as they interfered with and influenced the work on nature-based tourism in protected areas and promoted the conservation-and-use path. Following from that, I present the measures aimed at implementing the Mountain Text.

4.5.1 Developments in overlapping policy fields

Norway, as other countries, has experienced long-lasting agricultural changes, and throughout the 1990s the government aimed at improving subsidiary incomes for farms. Dynamic villages and rural livelihoods have traditionally been an aim in Norway. In 1999, the government reported to Storting that economic utilization of outfields was one of several measures for securing rural livelihoods (St.meld.nr. 19 (1999-2000)), particularly related to the development of farm tourism. A plan of action had been developed with the aim to increase the knowledge of subsidy schemes, and to combine them with the measures for increasing tourism (St.meld.nr. 19 (1999-2000)). That approach was clearly a change in agriculture toward tourism, thus combining these two policy fields to a larger degree. The most recent report regarding agriculture focuses on food production, and has also turned to focus more on culture than nature (St.meld.nr. 9 (2011-2012)).

The agricultural negotiations in 2001 initiated a strategic plan for business development in outfields, and the Norwegian Business and Rural Development Fund (SND) presented it in March 2002. In April 2003, SND was asked by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food to follow up their strategy and to further develop it into a plan of action. A working group³⁴ introduced the following measures related to protected areas: (1) establishing a management and business development fund, (2) revising the conservation regulations emphasizing use of protected areas, (3) revising regulations related to use of outbuildings for tourism, and (4) improving cooperation among the agricultural, environmental, and tourism sectors (Statens Nærings- og distriktsutviklingsfond 2003). Of special interest is the second measure, which aims directly at adapting the regulations to the agricultural field and thus improving value creation based on farms. However, as of 2012, such changes have yet not been undertaken, and such changes in operational rules (discussed in more detail in Section 6.2) might have improved the status of the policy.

Agriculture Plus (*Landbruk Pluss*) was initiated in 2003 during the agricultural negotiations, and aims to accommodate for increasing farm-based innovation through three measures: (1) revising and simplifying the juridical measures related to business development, residencies, and area and resource allocations in rural areas; (2) increasing the focus on effects of regulatory and economic measures in agricultural policies in promoting new business activities; and (3) increasing innovation in rural areas by commercializing existing knowledge and producing new knowledge as the foundation for a strengthened business development and residency policy (St.prp. nr 70 (2002-2003)).

Many of the targets in this project are similar to those in the Mountain Text: stimulating local foundation, understanding and acceptance of important agricultural targets, and increasing local democracy in the agricultural field (St.prp. nr 70 (2002-2003)). In a handbook published in 2005, the MD and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food emphasized the use of the Planning and Building Act in area planning to facilitate new businesses and residences in rural areas (Miljøverndepartementet and Landbruks- og matdepartementet 2005).

During the agricultural negotiations in 2004, a strategy for business development was created, and tourism was identified as one of six target areas in which

³⁴ This consisted of members from The Norwegian Forest Owners' Federation, The Norwegian Farmers' Union, Norwegian Farmers' and Smallholders' Union, SND, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. Two researchers from NINA were hired as the secretariat.

business development was the aim (the others were value creation on food, forests, reindeer, bioenergy, and rural development funds) (St.prp. nr 66 (2003-2004)).

Following the Landbruk Pluss strategy, a business strategy was developed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food in 2005, and revised in 2007 (Landbruks- og matdepartementet 2005, 2007). The main targets were to increase profitability based on agricultural and rural resources, and to use the diversity of resources in new ways (Landbruks- og matdepartementet 2005: 31). Outfields and protected areas are mentioned to have exceptional potential, and there are clear references to the Mountain Text without mentioning it directly: "Outfields are a unique resource for tourism and recreational experiences. There is also large potential for increased business and tourism use of mountainous areas, both inside and in connection to protected areas" (Landbruks- og matdepartementet 2005: 31).

Several of the informants in the PROBUS project emphasized the possibilities these changes in agriculture have given for developing side incomes for traditional farming. The fact that the incentives for maintaining agriculture in Norway are that strong also means that measures are strong to help small farms to maintain their livelihoods. Thus, some informants in the PROBUS project stress that all these possibilities for additional funding helped them change their activities to focus more on new farming, including tourism. Research has showed that this has positive effects on household incomes and that tourism is considered important for the household economy (Haugen and Vik 2008; Rønning and Kolvereid 2006).

Recent approaches to develop tourism in relation to farms involve interactivity (Sørensen and Torfing 2005), here exemplified with the establishment of a committee for promoting tourism organized by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food through Innovation Norway, and with representatives from a range of businesses and organizations.³⁵

The first half of the first decade in the 21st century yielded nine new protected areas in Norway, and thus a prolonged and a rapid process of implementing national parks began. In addition, 2005 brought the first supplementary plan for conservation of watercourses against hydropower.

³⁵ The Norwegian Farmers' Union, The Norwegian Forest Owners' Federation, Norwegian Rural Tourism, Norwegian Farmers' and Smallholders' Union, The Norwegian Trekking Association, Norwegian Forestry Association, municipal representative, The Norwegian Hospitality Association, The County Governor's agricultural section Hedmark, two farms, LMD and NHD.

From these developments it might seem as if the Ministry of Agriculture and Food had taken over the initiative from the MD since several strategies were developed based on farms, and since these measures were evaluated and determined to have had positive effects. Thus, these developments influence the conservation-and-use path and contribute with positive feedbacks from overlapping policy fields, helping to build and maintain the conservation-and-use path (Page 2006). This also shows the importance of studying the horizontal dimension as well as the vertical dimension (Kvalvik 2011; Young 2002) in order to understand how policies interact and overlap. In addition, it shows that the choice of policy tools in the implementation phase in adjacent policy fields might have consequences for the policy field under study (H. Ingram and Schneider 1990; McGinnis 2011b; Schneider and Ingram 1990, 1997), since it is obvious that the tools directed toward farmers have impacts on implementation of the policy under study here. Thus, the policy formulation phase in adjacent policy fields has effects on the conservation-and-use path.

I now turn to another policy field that shares the same characteristics when it comes to influencing the implementation of the Mountain Text as just described above. However, these developments are rather recent, and have therefore not yet had the same effects as the developments in the agricultural field. So far, we have seen that the measures initiated have been mainly related to the first two sub-goals³⁶ I identified in Table 3. However, recent efforts have also focused more on public health, a process that was led by the Ministry of Health and Care Services. There is no direct connection with the Mountain Text, but the New Norwegian Public Health Act, which entered into force January 1, 2012, focuses on municipalities' responsibilities for ensuring natural areas that might help promote recreation and public health (LOV 2011-06-24 nr 29). Further, the Act emphasizes that public health policy development must be integrated in planning and administration processes in general. The Act states clearly that protected areas are important in securing recreational areas, and thus in promoting better public health. This implies that the third sub-goal of the Mountain Text (see Table 3) related to increasing people's health and well-being now has been related to nature conservation. Clearly this has been a prolonged process since this Act was enacted in 2012, nine years after the Mountain Text policy decision.

³⁶ To increase business development and to increase the legitimacy of protected areas.

4.5.2 Measures introduced when implementing the policy decision – aiming to establish the conservation-and-use path

Even though the Mountain Text focused on some activities, not much happened during the next several years, and the period was one of policy inaction (Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009). In 2005, the government reported on its Environmental Policy and the State of the Environment in Norway (St.meld.nr. 21 (2004-2005)). The government referred to international developments and the 7th Meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity in Kuala Lumpur in 2004, where voluntary guidelines for tourism and tourism development in protected areas were decided upon (United Nations 2004). These guidelines were also instructive for the continued work with business development in connection to protected areas, and the Mountain Text can be a representation of implementation of these guidelines. Particularly interesting is that the Mountain Text is mentioned only in a chapter related to conflicts in work with nature conservation, hence considered as a measure to solve these conflicts (St.meld.nr. 21 (2004-2005): 39). The work with alternative businesses in relation to protected areas in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food is also emphasized. Apart from this initiative in cooperation with the Ministry, there are yet no concrete measures introduced to achieve the goals of the Mountain Text, which contributes to why I characterize this period as a period of policy inaction.

In 2005, Norway had a new coalition government comprised of three political parties: the Norwegian Labor Party, the Socialist Left Party, and the Centre Party. In their joint declaration and goals for the period 2005 to 2009 they included that

the Government will present a plan of action for sustainable use and management of national parks and other protected areas. The commenced work on developing national parks as a resource for local societies and for local economic development should continue. (Arbeiderpartiet, Sosialistisk Venstreparti, and Senterpartiet 2005: 54)

We can clearly see that tourism ideas have started to manifest themselves in the political platforms, differing from the ones that had comprised the government during the policy decision. However, initiatives and measures are rarer, and for the time being there are more words than actual measures, which implies that policy implementers are still performing poorly (Winter 2003a) and are still working on formulating the policy (Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009). The joint declaration aimed at developing a tourism strategy based on proximity to nature and culture, acknowledging that Norway has attractive resources in its natural and cultural heritage, thus recognizing value creation on Norway's green gold. In addition, a voluntary certification scheme was suggested. Other goals in the

declaration include ensuring that management plans are established for all new protected areas, at least for national parks. In connection with economic development, the declaration also emphasized that municipal business foundations might be established in municipalities affected by nature protection.

In September 2006, the Office of the Auditor General³⁷ published a report evaluating authorities' work with mapping out and monitoring biological diversity and management of protected areas from 1997 to 2005. The report criticized Norwegian environmental authorities for not managing protected areas in order to make sure that conservation values were maintained, or in accordance with goals and indicators described in the budget documents since 2000; and it asked whether established practices for developing management plans and quality assurance of these were sufficient. The report concluded that 31% of Norwegian protected areas were threatened (Riksrevisjonen 2006). Thus, the report goes directly into one of the activities identified in the Mountain Text: focusing on new and adjusted management plans. Further, the report summarized that Norway had focused too much on establishing protected areas instead of managing them.

Even though there were few clear measures suggested by the MD and the DN, there were still some processes that had started. One counselor from the Directorate expressed this in the following way: "For us it was a clear change and a desire for prioritizing it [nature-based tourism] in documents and steering documents the following years" (counselor, DN). In early fall 2004, the Cooperation Committee on Environmentally Friendly Tourism was established in the DN consisting of organizations as well as political entities,³⁸ thus, aiming to combine horizontal integration (Røiseland 2010) with vertical integration. The work started in 2005. The aim of the project was based on DN's two prioritized areas in relation to tourism in protected areas: management and use, and use of Norwegian culture and cultural landscapes for tourism. Thus, the project aimed at accommodating for environmentally friendly tourism through increasing use, understanding, and support for area conservation.

³⁷ The office of the Auditor General (Riksrevisjonen) has as its purpose to audit and control the State values, and ensure that they are utilized and managed in accordance with sound financial principles, following on decisions and intentions stated by Parliament (Stortinget 2009).

³⁸ With members from the Sámi Parliament, the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the Ministry for Business and Trade, Norwegian Agricultural Authority, Utmarkskommunenenes Sammenslutning (USS), Nordland County council, County Governor of Sogn and Fjordane, the Ministry of Environment, and the Directorate itself.

The project ended in 2008, and according to the counselors in the DN, they continued working with the ideas from the project. "There is nothing that says that we are supposed to work less on it [nature-based tourism], on the contrary. But ... it is basically an internal question on how to organize it" (counselor, DN). During the project however, the DN established an internal communication plan regarding nature-based tourism. The project worked on clarifying what is meant by environmentally friendly and nature-based tourism, and what can take place in protected areas.

The Cooperation Committee also contributed to developing criteria for ecotourism (as discussed later in this section). The committee cooperated with the Cooperation Forum for Development of Environmentally Friendly Tourism,³⁹ which they established with members representing recreational, conservational (including cultural heritage), and business interests. What is particularly interesting is that the representative from KS never showed up, and the organization was invited in order to promote area planning in buffer zones where municipalities have the main responsibility. The Cooperation Forum's only concrete result was a letter directed toward the environmental authorities presenting the different organizations' experiences with tourism.

All together, the counselors in the DN are satisfied with the work on the Cooperation Committee:

It is not the world, but ... the activities we have had, and the fact that we have contributed at various occasions and forums ... and that we have focused on management plans and made contacts with those who conduct activities in buffer zones, with authorities and organizations ... I think the totality ... and the quality ... I think we meet other attitudes on how to use protected areas ... and people look differently now at the possibilities and what you might do and not do. (counselor, DN)

But the same counselor also sees that the DN has some limitations, which are connected to their role as a specialist authority in management of nature in Norway:

³⁹ With members from DNT, NJFF, NN, NFU, NORSKOG, Statskog SF, Skogeier, IN, SLF, LMD, NRL, KS, and USS.

I see that those who want to influence the conditions and who want political changes, they do not come to us. They go to the political forums or other ways to reach the politicians. That is how it is to be a specialist authority. Thus, some of the actors we would have liked to contribute stronger rather call on other forums since they think there is more to get there. (counselor, DN)

Following from this, we see that even the specialist authority has problems in coordinating public and private actors, something that complicates the aim of including various actors in decision making (Pierre and Peters 2000; Rhodes 1996). Another limitation is that the DN, as an agency under the MD, still acts at the national level, and not in each protected area. Thus, there are clear expectations that their work will have to be implemented at other management levels, but there is not much focus on the vertical dimension of the implementation (Young 2002).

The "Plan of action for sustainable use and management of national parks and other protected areas," as suggested by the coalition government, was finished in December 2006. The plan has as its main aim to ensure high-quality management of protected areas. The Cooperation Committee contributed to this work as a reference group, and the report from the Office of the Auditor General framed the sole foundation for the plan, namely to follow up and increase the quality of management of protected areas. Additionally, a working group⁴⁰ contributed to the development of the plan of action.

The plan is the first government document actively presenting concrete measures to increase nature-based tourism and strengthening management of protected areas (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2006). Also, this work was led by the DN, organized as a working group. This plan was the most important document thus far in shaping the policy for nature-based tourism in protected areas. After a thorough examination of both the current status and challenges related to management and monitoring of nature, several measures, divided into three groups without giving a prioritized list, were presented in the plan (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2006):

⁴⁰ Comprised of the Sámi Parliament, LMD, MD, NHD, DN, SLF, USS, Nordland County council (Cultural Heritage Department), and Sogn and Fjordane County Governor (Environment Department).

1. Strengthening management of protected areas (650 million NOK 2008-2012)
 - a. Developing management plans for larger protected areas
 - b. Strengthening management of protected areas
 - c. Strengthening the Norwegian Nature Inspectorate
 - d. Management measures in protected areas
 - e. Increasing adaptive management
 - f. Establishing a national monitoring system for protected areas
 - g. Increased use of nature information centers
 - h. Knowledge competence
2. Measures toward local societies, local and regional authorities
 - a. Use of public grants
 - b. Area planning in buffer zones around protected areas
 - c. Partnership as a remedy in buffer zones
 - d. Increased use of local services
3. Follow-up measures from national and regional authorities
 - a. Economic incentives to municipalities who attend to national environmental goals of protecting nature
 - b. Strengthening the juridical foundation

The first group, *strengthening management of protected areas*, represents enormous growth in funding compared with the numbers for 2006. Some of the measures are a direct follow-up of the activities suggested in the Mountain Text. For instance, the focus on management plans. In 2006, around 30 of 100 of the largest protected areas had management plans, which meant that there was a need to focus on them. Such plans were believed to contribute strongly to balancing development and conservation; however, in Chapter 6 I show how one such management plan has not been followed.

Related to tourism, the report recommended that adaptive management be tested in some larger protected areas in connection with activity-based tourism that does not demand any technical interventions and is reversible. The report suggested increasing the use of nature information centers, and developing them as centers of expertise for local economic development. In addition, these centers should act as local junctions and meeting places to impart local nature and culture history.

Clearly this is a plan focusing on management of protected areas, but it was also the first document to view tourism not only as a sub-goal itself, but to include it in other goals, which is evident from the first group of measures. Hence, the policy

for increasing nature-based tourism shifted to being implemented in other policies, and this is a sign that tourism was being accepted and focused on as important in management of protected areas, and on how activities started to contribute to self-reinforcing (Page 2006) the conservation-and-use path. With the Mountain Text as the policy decision, the real change happened with this plan of action, thus it took three years from the policy decision to the real change, three years which were characterized as a period of policy inaction.

The second group, *measures toward local societies, local and regional authorities*, involves four suggested measures. The first includes use of public grants, and a suggestion for an examination of them to ensure that their use in protected areas was not harming nature values. The report suggested that the Ministry of Agriculture and Food should examine agricultural grants to ensure that they were also being used for business development and management in protected areas and buffer zones. With the second measure, the aim was to avoid increased pressure on buffer zones that in turn would have negative effects on protected areas. Therefore, it is important to see the connection between protected areas and buffer zones. Partnerships, "national park villages," and "national park municipalities" were suggested activities.

The third group of measures suggested in the plan includes responsibilities for national and regional authorities. One suggested measure is to establish a similar program inspired by "Value creation on the Cultural Heritage Sphere."⁴¹ The aim of such a program on nature rather than cultural heritage is to show that nature protection might be beneficial for local societies, and hence contribute to better local foundation and acceptance of the protection regime.

This plan represents the development of the Mountain Text's policy tools and gives instructions about who should do what in the implementation phase (H. Ingram and Schneider 1990). The report was handed over to the MD, and has to a large extent shaped succeeding developments, and is central in the conservation-and-use path in how it unifies, organizes, and regulates the measures in this particular policy field (Torfing 2001). The report was therefore also the first tipping point to increase movement along this path (Bennett and Elman 2006). This was already reflected in the government's Environmental Policy and the State

⁴¹ The Directorate for Cultural Heritage and the Ministry of Environment initiated this program in 2006. The background is a desire for more use of cultural heritage and cultural environment as resources in the development of vibrant local communities, and as basis for new economic activities.

of the Environment in Norway for 2006–2007, when several of the suggested measures were activated (St.meld.nr. 26 (2006-2007)).

According to the counselors in the DN, the main focus following from the plan of action has been on tourism and on value creation from natural heritage. This quote from a DN counselor—"I have understood that the main reason why the MD has not followed up the whole plan is that it has not been given economic support to do so"—shows that there have been internal battles on the choice of policy tools and on developing and formulating the policy (H. Ingram and Schneider 1990; Pülzl and Treib 2007). And then we see a horizontal interplay in which other policy fields have contributed in shaping the prioritizations (Young 2002), as discussed earlier: "Agriculture was occupied with this [tourism] case. Agriculture and the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development especially, wanted to focus on tourism, and the MD was very interested in the value creation programs ... So then there are other things that contributed to what has been focused on" (counselor, DN). The fact that tourism then is one of these "other things" shows that it had become an overarching idea in several ministries, and that it was considered important enough at the time to be included both in the proposed plan of action and in subsequent work, thus the policy decision had started to influence other policies, and vice versa. The joint effect from these overlapping policies helped maintain the conservation-and-use path.

Even though several of the measures in the plan have been followed up, the plan has been criticized by the NFU for being too vague and unclear in how to implement the ambitions of the Mountain Text (Norges Bondelag n.d.).

In January 2008, a certification scheme for ecotourism—Norwegian Ecotourism Certification—was presented. This scheme was developed uniquely for Norway with a focus on natural heritage and cultural heritage, and had been developed through an MD-funded project led by GRIP (The Norwegian Foundation for Sustainable Development). The project started in 2005, and had cooperation with the Cooperation Committee on Environmentally Friendly Tourism. As of today, the certification scheme is less successful, according to one adviser in the MD, due to how it was organized. The Pollution Division in the MD was responsible, and thus it had no contribution from those working on tourism or area protection. Hence, it also was not connected to the Mountain Text, and not a natural follow up of that. The scheme did, however, apply the principles developed by the International Ecotourism Society, and the Norwegian scheme defines ecotourism as "enriching nature and cultural experiences, organized by responsible tourism companies with consideration for their guests, the environment, and the local community

that they are a part of" (Ecotourism Norway 2007: 4). Today, 18 businesses are certified. After GRIP went bankrupt during summer 2008, Innovation Norway took charge of the certification scheme, but the slow development in certified businesses implies that the certification scheme is neither well-known nor applied.

In 2007, the Ministry of Trade and Industry published the government's tourism strategy, called *Valuable Experiences: National Strategy for the Tourism Industry* (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet 2007). The work on the strategy was based on a close dialogue with the tourism businesses through meetings in the Committee for Tourism⁴² organized by the Ministry of Trade and Industry, and with seven regional deliberations (in Alta, Bodø, Trondheim, Bergen, Arendal, Lillehammer, and Oslo). The strategy tries to balance the desire for economic growth with a focus on sustaining Norway's main attractions: scenery and nature. Acknowledging that tourism creates values for local communities, companies, employees, the environment, and guests, the strategy's vision is "valuable experiences." The three main goals in the strategy are

1. Greater wealth creation and productivity in the tourism industry
2. Sustainable rural communities through year-round jobs in tourism
3. Norway – a sustainable destination

To reach these goals, 72 measures are identified, including prioritizing work on management plans and the "Plan of action for sustainable use and management of national parks and other protected areas,"⁴³ introducing the notions of national park municipalities and national park villages (see later in this section), and motivating cooperation with a selection of municipalities to study the possibilities for including national parks in tourism (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet 2007). In its 2009 status report *Valuable Experiences*, the Ministry of Trade and Industry concluded that they were making progress (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet 2009). Moreover, a continued focus on measures for increasing nature-based tourism was needed (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet 2007, 2009).

The strategy gained wide political support, and immediately led to establishment (2008) of an intraministerial work group on tourism in protected areas. Members

⁴² Representatives on the committee consisted of Trysil Ferie og Fritid, HRAF, The Norwegian Forest Owners' Federation, Color Line, Selje Hotell, LO Reiseliv, Innovation Norway, Din Tur, Finnmark Tourism, Nordland Tourism, Magic North, NHO Reiseliv, Telemark Travel, Forum for reiseliv, NFU, SAS Braathens, Fjord Norge, and Bjerkem Natur og Kultur.

⁴³ The Plan of action was actually presented in 2006 as noted earlier.

from the MD, Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, and the Ministry of Trade and Industry discussed how protected areas could be more accessible leading to increased use. They also had inspections in some protected areas, and met with affected business interests and organizations.

Many of the introduced measures had already been initiated by MD and DN. Consequently, this was not a new strategy for the counselors from MD and DN, as the following quotes clearly emphasize: "There is nothing revolutionary about the report [from the intraministerial work group]. You can just continue your work as if this report did not exist!" (public authority, MD) and "The discussions of the measures [for increasing nature-based tourism] that are related to our work, has clearly been influenced by our activities We believe that we have contributed heavily here!" (counselor, DN). Thus for MD and DN, this process served more as information dissemination that contributed to creating shared ownership of the ideas.

The work with the proposed "national park municipalities" and "national park villages" was intensified during the end of 2006 and in 2007. Municipalities lobbied such ideas strongly, lead by Lom municipality⁴⁴ (public authority, MD). After a public hearing regarding the criteria in January 2007, the first "national park villages" and "national park municipalities" were chosen in February 2008. These distributive measures were the first (Lowi 1964) to be directed toward those affected by protected areas, and the first measures that were concrete and not on a planning level.

"National park villages" are used as the idea for more developed areas that are important gateways to the national parks (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2009a). Five⁴⁵ villages were awarded the status as "national park villages." The status is awarded for a period of 10 years, when a new evaluation will confirm that these villages still qualify as "national park villages." The MD and the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development granted funding to preliminary work for 2008 and 2009. And Innovation Norway contributed with 1.8 million NOK. Besides having a logo for use by these villages, the status involved nothing

⁴⁴ Lom municipality was invited to participate in the reference group that developed the selection criteria, together with the Directorate for Cultural Heritage, Oppland County Council, the County Governor of Oppland, the Regional Council of North Gudbrandsdal, USS, and Namsskogan municipality.

⁴⁵ Fossbergom in Lom municipality, Geilo in Hol municipality, Jondal in Jondal municipality, Storslett in Nordreisa municipality and Vingelen in Tolga municipality.

more. Thus, developing the content of the label was left to the five villages: "The job now is to fill this [the label] with content. They were in many ways developed without knowing what they should become" (public authority, MD). This is therefore an illustration of how the ideas were not thoroughly thought through, but rather implemented as soon as possible to show political effort as a follow-up of the Mountain Text. "The work is going now, and it is important with active persons. We had these municipalities here for a meeting There were big differences in their approaches, some just waited for information to fall in their laps, while others were more persistent and wanted to figure this out themselves" (public authority, MD).

The criteria for "national park municipalities" are less strict; hence this status is easier to achieve than "national park village." The main criteria is that at least 30% of the municipalities' area or at least 300 km² must be protected as national park, or having a whole national park inside the municipality. Eighty-five (85) municipalities were qualified and invited to participate. Thirty-three (33)⁴⁶ have been awarded the status of "national park municipality." In 2009, 27 of the municipalities formed a network aimed at developing a common meaning with the status, thus focusing on joint measures such as quality criteria, putting up signs, graphic design, and joint responses to the authorities. The status and labels represent another tool for municipalities that are affected by nature conservation, and as yet another measure to try to mitigate the tensions and negative attitude toward protected areas and to self-reinforce the conservation-and-use path.

In January 2009, the planned program for value creation on natural heritage was initiated. The program was inspired by "Value Creation in the Cultural Heritage Sphere,"⁴⁷ is called "Value Creation from Natural Heritage," and will last five years from 2009. Today, 15 projects are included. Funding is provided by the MD and the Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Dovre, Engerdal, Folldal, Gausdal, Hol, Lesja, Lierne, Lom, Luster, Midtre Gauldal, Målselv, Nordreisa, Odda, Oppdal, Rana, Røyrvik, Saltdal (one of the municipalities in the case area studied in this dissertation) Skjåk, Snåsa, Stryn, Sunndal, Tinn, Vinje, Nore og Uvdal, Vågå, Norddal, Rauma, Sørfold, Sel, Vardø and Vadsø municipalities.

⁴⁷ Several programs under the Ministry of Agriculture and Food have the same focus (food, forests, reindeer), and it is therefore reasonable to think that they also influenced the program on natural heritage. Additionally, the business strategy of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food since 2007 has included the notion of "creating values" in its aim (Landbruks- og matdepartementet 2007).

⁴⁸ The program plan was developed by DN and MD, with contributions from KR, NHD, LMD, IN, business and environmental organizations, the Norwegian Research Council, and the Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

The program was influenced by the program on cultural heritage: "We have had people from there working with us, and we have used many of the same templates. Since the program was so successful we could just as well adapt it to nature" (public authority, MD). The quote illustrates the strong connections between nature and culture, and shows how the program on cultural heritage is evaluated. But there are differences between the programs: the natural heritage program is open to more use than the cultural heritage program. "We, on the other hand, want a differentiated use, we do not want uncontrolled use of national parks, so there are many control mechanisms built in the program as compared with the cultural heritage program" (public authority, MD).

Funded projects must concentrate on using local resources and involve municipalities, landowners, regional municipalities, and organizations. The idea is that nature protection contributes to giving rural areas more economic possibilities. Protected areas are recognized as valuable, simultaneously representing unique nature and providing valuable experiences for guests and having great potential for making a profit. The program aims to accommodate measures that tourism operators might use, and cooperation with other public grants is implied. Areas that might qualify are protected by the Nature Diversity Act with buffer zones, and other nature areas with certain qualities (e.g. World Heritage sites, regional nature and culture parks and areas under consideration for nature protection).

An interesting finding from the interviews is that the broad notion of values (as described in Section 1.1) is not shared by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. For them, values relate to economic aspects, and thus the informant expressed that "the Ministry of Environment includes too much on the idea of [value creation]" (public authority, NHD). This shows that there are divisive traditions related to value creation, and reflects a challenge since clearly more work must be undertaken to reach a common understanding of the broad concept of value creation. Even though NHD supports the program officially, the quote implies that NHD does not share the same understanding unofficially. This might influence the implementation and maintenance of the conservation-and-use path since the implementers might not share the same understanding of the goals and measures (Lipsky 1980; Winter 2003a). This is also reflected in the same informant's understanding of the natural heritage program as a new management strategy:

The program on cultural heritage is much better than the one on natural heritage. This is because the cultural heritage program is more closely connected to creating values, while the natural heritage program is more like a management program. And in the start-up phase of the cultural heritage program there were more meetings between the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Trade and Industry; this has not even happened in the natural heritage program. (public authority, NHD)

The initiation of the program came as a result of the increased focus on nature-based tourism and value creation in protected areas. Fifty-five (55) applications were submitted to the first round, and 10 projects were given funding (P. Haukeland and Brandtzæg 2011). Later, six projects were given funding. The projects that have received funding are from all over the country, and not all of them are directly connected to protected areas, but they are all connected to valuable nature in some manner.⁴⁹ The national park villages have taken advantage on this opportunity, and have received funding for a project on promoting a common background and foundation for the villages.

After developing intraministerial cooperation through earlier work, the Ministry of Trade and Industry was left out again later in the program. This might be related to the MD feeling that they now had enough intraministerial support to continue by themselves, or that they needed to make sure that they, as a conservation authority, set the agenda for this program: to conserve areas and to maintain the conservation path or ensure that they had the lead role in developing the conservation-and-use path.

The prolonged work on the new Nature Diversity Act came to an end in 2009, when it was enacted July 1st (LOV 2009-06-19 nr. 100). With this Act, Norway stated that all threatened nature had to be attended to with directed measures. For area conservation, the protection categories were reduced to five, complying with IUCN's recently revised protected area categories (Dudley 2008; Ot.prp.nr. 52 (2008-2009)). The Norwegian definitions of national parks and protected landscapes are greatly influenced by the categories developed by IUCN. Their guidelines are not legally binding, but they were developed with an international perspective and, if applied, they might contribute to building a common understanding of protected areas around the world. According to one of my informants, Norway has followed IUCN's guidelines more than other countries to the effect that Norwegian protected areas do not have roads and settlements within their boundaries. In contrast, however, there is a more restricted view of

⁴⁹ More information on the projects can be found at <http://www.dirnat.no/content/500041355/Projektene-i-naturarven-som-verdiskaper>

permitted activities in national parks internationally than in Norwegian national parks. Grazing, hunting, and fishing are central parts of Norwegian traditions, and are thus not considered threats to the ecosystems as long as they are carried out in accordance with the established regulations.

Apart from changing the area protection categories, there was a change in the priority on management plans, stating that a draft must be ready when the conservation decisions are made. Further, the new Act emphasizes that conservation plans must be coordinated with county or municipal area planning in buffer zones in order to promote sustainable use of protected areas. The Act does not say much in relation to tourism, but the explanations for the Act state that

All persistent activity will be prohibited in a national park, apart from some types of harvesting, considerate facilitation for tourism directed toward experiencing natural and cultural heritage in the national park, and in some cases haying and grazing. Considerate facilitation means smaller measures such as marking of trails, and change of usage of existing buildings. It is still prohibited to build new buildings and motorized transportation in connection with this. Tourism installations shall not be inside national parks. (Ot.prp.nr. 52 (2008-2009))

The Nature Diversity Act did not have negative implications for the ongoing work on nature-based tourism.

In 2010, a new governance model for protected areas was introduced. This new model gives municipalities or groups of municipalities (regions) the management responsibilities of protected areas by establishing an intermunicipal national park board. The board's main responsibilities are to develop and revise management plans, evaluate the need for specific management measures, evaluate applications for exemptions from the regulations, inform and put up signs, supervise the areas, and so on (Solheim 2009). The daily responsibility is given to several national park inspectors. I discuss this new model more thoroughly in Chapter 5.

A review of the budget documents for budget years 2004 to 2012 shows the same development as described above. This is logical since the budgets follow the measures and recommendations reviewed earlier. One of the informants from the DN emphasized lack of funding as one of the reasons why the Mountain Text had not gained much attention: "It demands much more active management, and many more resources to manage. So it is a question related to the budget as well. And it has for sure not been followed up in the budgets" (counselor, DN).

From 2004 to 2012, the budgets have increased substantially, and focused on various sides of nature conservation: further establishing national park centers (2004-2006) (St.prp. nr 1 (2006-2007)), strengthened management of protected areas including extra funding to SNO (Prop. 1 S (2009-2010); St.prp. nr 1 (2003-2004); St.prp. nr 1 (2006-2007); St.prp. nr 1 (2007-2008)), fulfilling the 1992 National Park Plan (St.prp. nr 1 (2003-2004)), focusing on local business development and value creation (2005) (St.prp. nr 1 (2004-2005)), climate change policies and conservation of biological diversity (St.prp. nr 1 (2008-2009)), developing management plans (Prop. 1 S (2009-2010) ; St.prp. nr 1 (2008-2009) 2008), economic compensation schemes (St.prp. nr 1 (2008-2009) 2008), and the new management model (Prop. 1 S (2010-2011) 2010; Prop. 1 S (2011-2012) 2011; St.prp. nr 1 (2008-2009) 2008).

The largest increase came in the budget for 2009 (around 25% increase from 2008). The main focus was on setting aside money for economic compensation in relation to establishment of protected areas, management and caring measures, management plans, supervision of protected areas, national park centers, and other information centers. An increase of 63 million NOK was given to strengthen management of protected areas (among these are national park villages and municipalities, and the value creation program mentioned). In many ways, 2009 was the year when measures under the Mountain Text were financially initiated through the most generous budget in years (St.prp. nr 1 (2008-2009)).

Funding directly related to value creation came with 26 million NOK for 2010 (Prop. 1 S (2009-2010)), and 22 million NOK in 2011 (Prop. 88 L (2010-2011)). This shows that value creation has been given priority in the budgets, and that there is a focus on nature conservation (particularly since 2009). However, even though nature-based tourism is considered important for economic development, governments around the world have not invested enough in training of the staff and infrastructure to support nature-based tourism (Eagles 2002).

This review was important for several reasons: first, it shows what has been introduced to ensure a conservation-and-use path. Second, it shows how the ideas presented have contributed to self-reinforcing this same path and how implementers' performance varies. Third, the review provides examples of how several efforts were undertaken to involve more actors in developing these ideas. And fourth, it is an illustration of how formulation of a policy has happened during implementation, supporting my assumptions from Section 2.3.2 that policy formulation, policy decision, and implementation happen in a cycle rather than in separate phases.

Another important lesson from this section is that it appears as if we have two separate paths: the conservation path and conservation-and-use path. Even though the policy decision was supposed to be the turning point for the conservation path, forcing it to change in another direction, it appears that too many forces have worked against the policy decision, deliberately or unintentionally. This is further elaborated in the following chapters in order to see if the policy decision led to institutional changes. The next section summarizes this chapter and discusses to what extent any changes in the constitutional rules relate to nature-based tourism.

4.6 CONSTITUTIONAL RULES FOR CONDUCTING NATURE-BASED TOURISM IN PROTECTED AREAS – DOES HISTORY MATTER WHEN ESTABLISHING NEW POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONS?

This chapter has showed that history matters. As North (1990: 100) states, "We cannot understand today's choices without tracing the incremental evolution of institutions," and he shows that lock-in and path dependence are two of the properties that help us understand today's changes and the evolution of institutions. I have identified two such events: institutionalization of the Right of Access, and conservation measures on private property. These are decisive, since the former opens other people's land for commercial activities, and the latter created a general discontent toward establishing protected areas, which the government had to relate to. Thus, the Right of Access was decisive for the business actors, and allowing for private land in protected areas was decisive for landowners. Since conservation of private land turned out to be controversial, and with the connected and unresolved question of economic compensation, several measures, including the Mountain Text, were undertaken to increase the legitimacy of protected areas. Both events represent solutions that have proved difficult to get away from (lock-in effects), and that have led to particular paths toward working on increasing nature-based tourism. These events are causal explanations for why we have a conservation-and-use path, and have contributed to maintaining this path. Hence, when studying how Norway has ended up with today's situation, it was necessary to go back and study how the history of events was shaped, who asserted their influence on these changes, and which changes were most ground-breaking. Thus far, this is what has been covered in Chapter 4.

There were also other forces that promoted the Mountain Text. The intentions of the New Conservation Paradigm to avoid fortress conservation also influenced the development in Norway, even though Norway followed the British tradition rather than the American tradition (as discussed in Sections 4.2 and 4.3) for regulating

use of protected areas. Internationally, the late 1980s reintroduced the people and parks debate in preparation for the Rio meeting, and later for the CBD, and then local involvement and local benefits were accentuated. The same argument was used in Norway throughout the 1990s, starting with the claim for local participation in conservation processes and local management of protected areas.

We have now seen how Norway followed up the New Conservation Paradigm. Other countries have chosen different approaches. For example in Central and Eastern Europe it seems that local deliberation is absent or underused, and people are only given information about conservation measures. Hence, the main challenge there lies in increasing public involvement (Niedzialkowski et al. 2012), which is not unfamiliar in Norway either (discussed in Section 5.1). Further, it appears that the changes in decision making were a follow-up more of the democratization process in these countries than of the New Conservation Paradigm.

Today's situation, with increasing international tourism and thus the expectation of more visitors in Norwegian protected areas, coincides with a larger focus on adaptive management of the same areas. Thus, a policy for increasing nature-based tourism must be developed along with policies for stronger management of these areas, policies for increasing outdoor recreation, policies for improving farmers' and landowners' livelihoods, and health policies. This means that various interests are present today that create management challenges on securing cooperation between these different policies, thus avoiding games that might lead to overuse of the protected areas: Norway's green gold.

A timeline reviewing implementation of the policy decision is presented in Figure 15, with different colors to illustrate the different ministerial approaches, and other approaches. What we can read from this figure is in fact that several ministries work on promoting nature-based tourism, and the measures under the Ministry of Agriculture and Food were undertaken very early after the policy decision. This is of course due to a stronger focus on subsidiary incomes for farmers, and we might therefore say that these developments to a large degree were independent of the Mountain Text. The two policy fields touched each other more strongly in 2005 with the handbook published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food and the MD, but, as discussed earlier, there are no clear connections. Thus there are two policies from two different ministries and in some cases also overlap throughout the first decade of the 21st century.

The reason there are no arrows between the various documents and measures illustrating the influences is because it is difficult to separate out the causal

relations between them. It makes more sense to illustrate this along a timeline. However, we already know that policies arise from a process over time (Hill 2005; Pülzl and Treib 2007; Torfing 2001) and that there are possible connections between all events. Another challenge is to state whether the new measures came as a result of the policy decision or developments in adjacent policies, or as a result of external developments. As illustrated in Figure 15, the New Conservation Paradigm was formalized more or less at the same time as the Mountain Text, and we have already seen that international developments promoted more tourism in protected areas even before the Mountain Text. And with the huge increase in tourism, the Mountain Text was a natural followup to open more areas to tourists. Norwegian nature is the main attraction for tourists visiting Norway, and particularly important are benefits such as fresh air, clean water, untouched surroundings, and peace and quiet (Haukeland et al. 2010). Separating out the Mountain Text as a causal driving force for increased nature-based tourism to Norway is therefore not possible, but we know that it might be considered a turning point in which the conservation path changed into a conservation-and-use path. We can confirm that the Mountain Text is the policy decision in a policy for increasing nature-based tourism in protected areas.

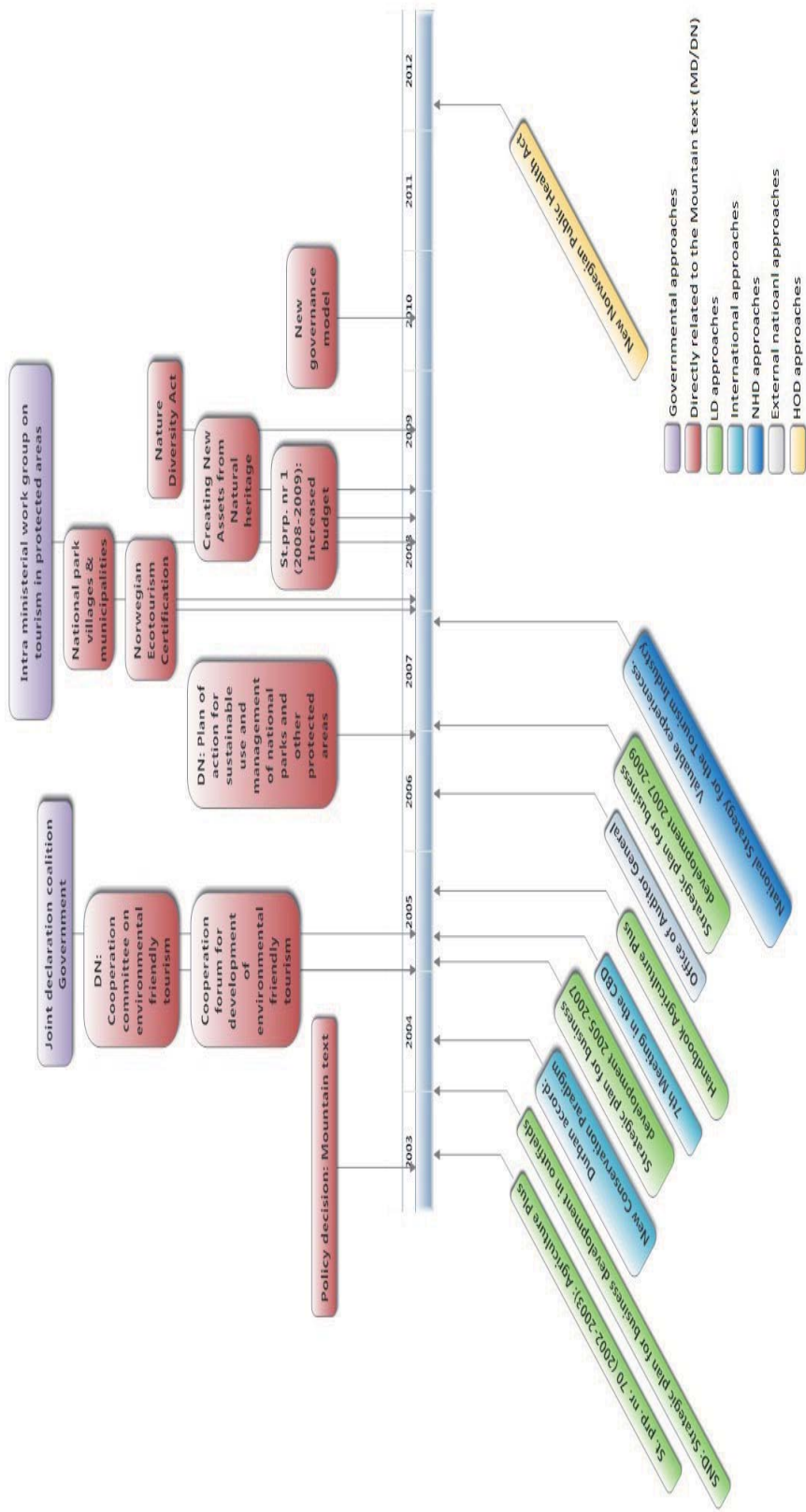


Figure 15: Timeline of measures and strategies following the Mountain Text.

We have seen that juridical changes in the Nature Conservation Acts of, 1954, 1970, and 2009 have changed the perception of nature from the perception in the Act of 1910, when preservation of nature was the purpose, through conservation as the purpose (1954, 1970), and finally the focus on biological diversity. Thus there have been changes in the formal institutions as well as in the ecological theories (the epistemology of nature), but these changes have only self-reinforced the conservation path.

What I have argued here is that the idea of nature-based tourism in Norway followed from both international influences and from an effort to break away from the conservation path and the lock-in event of conservation of private property. The driving forces for this was twofold: first, the international change in perception of protected areas as a resource for tourism development came as a response to the fortress conservation paradigm, and was first introduced in developing countries. The ideas expanded internationally and materialized through international reports, and then influenced Norwegian developments. Second, the discontent toward establishing protected areas in Norway was strong, and claims were put forward for more local involvement in establishing and managing protected areas. Such juxtapositioning of policies could happen since their main aim was to mitigate tensions and negative attitudes, thus they shared a common objective. The policy change was then introduced as a tool to mitigate these tensions, showing that there had been a change in perceptions of what protected areas really should be. In many ways, tourism was also a tool in the agricultural sector. Farms have grown from focusing on agriculture to inclusion of tourism, thus a change from traditional agriculture to new agriculture in accordance with the multifunctional agriculture in EU.

The constitutional analysis has resulted in identification of several constitutional rules. These are used to define who is eligible to make decisions at the collective-choice level, and are thus rules that frame the collective-choice rules, but not the rules themselves (Dolšak and Ostrom 2003; Kiser and Ostrom 2000; Ostrom 2005; Ostrom et al. 1994). This means that actions at the constitutional level establish and authorize governance structures.

We have seen that the Mountain Text came as a response to international trends as well as a way of legitimizing Norway's conservation policies. The main change with the Mountain Text was a change in one operational rule: opening protected areas for nature-based tourism by removing the ban on commercial tourism in the areas that previously had a ban. It did not lead to changes in constitutional rules by itself, but it contributed to the change in the governance model (under the sub-goal "Increased legitimacy" in Table 3), which also changed who should make

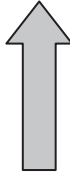
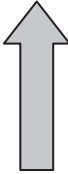
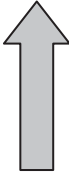

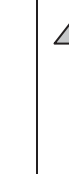

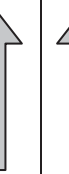
decisions at the collective-choice level from the County Governor to local/regional national park boards. Thus, the governance change was rather a change of structure than a change of content, since the operational rules remained the same (as discussed more in Chapters 5 and 6).

The two lock-in events—Right of Access and conservation of private property—also led to changes in the constitutional rules. The Right of Access meant a change in a landowner’s ability to restrict use of his/her property, and its formalization was therefore a constitutional change, in which landowners then had control over decisions (aggregation rules). Conservation of private property meant that decisions about protected areas had been moved from the operational level to the constitutional-choice level. Constitutional rules are rules that determine how rules are made at the collective-choice level.

Constitutional arenas are generally formal arenas (Ostrom 2005) such as courts or within a legislature. The policy decision and the governance change were formal changes occurring within a formal arena, even though the actions were strongly influenced by actions in more informal arenas. What is evident is that non-governmental interests have been invited to participate in several committees related to implementation of the Mountain Text, following from the strong system of corporative governance in Norway. But the arenas where constitutional rules have been decided upon have been formal. Thus, the way that governance has been undertaken is by delegating decision making to public-private partnerships that have mainly been led by some type of government body. We are still quite far from co-management but on another side of a governance scale in which the government aims to retain control over the subject issue (Dudley 2008). This is further elaborate in Chapter 5.

Table 4 summarizes today’s situation in managing the Right of Access, conservation of private property, and managing protected areas. The focus is on how these rules are managed today, and thus aimed at understanding them as constitutional rules. Through conservation, landowners have lost some of their authority to make decisions, and decisions are instead made by the management authority. This means that no rules are presented for the lock-in event of opening private property for conservation; they are presented as part of the governance change.

Table 4: Horizontal approach: constitutional rules in relation to the policy for increasing nature-based tourism.

Rules	Lock-in: Right of Access	Lock-in: Conservation of private property	Governance change
Position rules	Specified; five recreation bodies according to Norwegian political system		Specific positions according to predefined number of participants
Boundary rules	For the five bodies: entry rules evident, no exit rules. For people in the positions: entry and exit rules specified		Local politicians and other stakeholders Specify selection process Exit by withdrawal or elections
Choice rules	Specified for each of the five bodies Specified precautionary principles for every "user" of the Right of Access		Decision making and restricted agenda setting
Aggregation rules	Specified; all five bodies can make decisions to restrict use Landowner entitled to restrict organized and commercial use		Authority might be delegated to national park rangers Regulations shape the boards' scope of action
Information rules	Specified both in the Act and in the Public Administration Act. Open and equal information		Information flow assigned Channels and limitations to be discussed by the boards
Pay-off rules	Specified; mainly fines		No pay-off rules
Scope rules	Precautionary principles		-

The corporate element of Norwegian society includes a broad range of private and non-profit organizations involved in policy formulation and implementation, even though they have restricted power. A summary of these organizations' involvement related to several of the reviewed actions during the implementation phase of the Mountain Text is presented in Table 5 (a more detailed version with the different organizations' and public authorities' names is presented in Appendix 7). However, this overview only presents the formal participation, thus inclusion of various interests in formal processes, like committees, as bodies entitled to comment, and so on. In that sense, this overview does not include lobbying and contact in more informal arenas. What is evident from the overview is that nature/culture conservation organizations, recreation organizations, and businesses are represented to only a small degree in these formal arenas. On the other hand, businesses are represented through their umbrella organizations, labor unions, and networks, which comprise a more reasonable organizational level to include, since too many individual businesses would otherwise be involved.

Before turning to the next chapter, which focuses on the collective-choice level, I will end this part with a quote from one of the counselors in the MD who expressed satisfaction with the state of the realization of the Mountain Text (in 2009):

I think that in a historical perspective, the Mountain Text came in 2003 and we are now in 2009, which is six years, that we have come a long way, and especially the last two-three years. We have started to give content to it. We have been given some money, we have some documents that clarify the regulations, and we have initiated projects like the program Value Creation from Natural Heritage, which is a little lighthouse. We have big expectations there, and we are working on other projects as well now. (counselor, MD)

This quote shows that my conclusion that the prolonged implementation of the Mountain Text also gained support from those working on implementing it. In Chapter 5, I discuss actions undertaken at the collective-choice level to implement the Mountain Text and the governance change, since it was a major change in overlapping policy fields and thus important when it came to implementing the Mountain Text.

5 COLLECTIVE-CHOICE ARENAS – THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY DECISION

I will now turn the focus to the collective-choice level of the analysis, studying collective-choice rules. These are rules that are used by authorities to make policies and/or operational rules. Michael McGinnis (2011a: 173) has defined collective choice as a process where "institutions are constructed and policy decisions made, by those actors authorized to participate in the collective decisions as a consequence of constitutional choice processes, according to the procedures as established by constitutional choice processes." Thus, in this chapter I study more closely the governance change for protected areas in Norway, and try to say something about how this change included changes at the collective-choice level and how various collective-choice arenas from overlapping policy fields influenced the scope of action for nature-based tourism businesses (Hill 2005). Hence, I focus on the vertical dimension (in addition to horizontal interplay) of policies and institutions following Kvalvik (2011) and Young (2002). Also, this chapter focuses on past decisions and actions (Greener 2005; Hacker 2002; Page 2006), including a focus on collective-choice rules (E. Ostrom 1990, 1999, 2005; Ostrom et al. 1994). These factors are important when implementing a policy change, as already discussed in Section 2.3. Moreover, I focus on governance here, and on the new model introduced in Norway in 2010. Østerud, Engelstad, and Selle (2003) have showed that parliamentarism in Norway has weakened, and other channels for influence and participation have arisen, thus moving from long-term organizations and political parties to short-term action groups and associations with more immediate concerns. This has resulted in a restructuring of corporativism and establishing several collective-choice bodies.

One important clarification remains. I have already defined governance as a shift to society-based rules and decision making. Distinguishing between various types of governance of protected areas can be done on the basis of "who holds management authority and responsibility and is expected to be held accountable according to legal, customary or otherwise legitimate rights" (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2008). These types of governance are presented according to a continuum that allows for analysis of the degree of stakeholder participation: The stronger

the involvement of various stakeholders, the closer we get to collective (commons) or private governance and/or governance by indigenous peoples and local communities (Borrini-Fereyabend 2007). But I also introduce another coinciding notion: management. Here this will be understood as the day-to-day decisions made in relation to managing protected areas, and as part of the governance system.

5.1 GOVERNANCE CHANGE – FROM STATE TO REGIONAL/LOCAL MANAGEMENT OF PROTECTED AREAS

As briefly discussed in Section 4.5, a change of governance model for protected areas was introduced in 2010, delegating the management authority to regional/local national park boards (see Appendix 8 for details of all national park boards). This came as a result of a prolonged process where claims for local management of protected areas were put forward. Formal changes already had occurred: In 1984, the authority to manage protected areas was transferred from the MD to the newly established Department of Environment of the County Governors around the country. And in 1998, the right to decide who should manage protected areas was decentralized from the MD to the DN. The change in 2010 was to further decentralize the right to manage to new local and regional national park boards (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008b). In this section, I first review how these discussions occurred and the main activities that led to the new management model of 2010. Following from that, I introduce the new governance model using the National Park Board of Central Nordland as an example. At the end of this section, I discuss which changes in the collective-choice rules could be observed after this governance change.

5.1.1 Background and reasoning for the new governance model

During the discussions in relation to the 1992 National Park Plan, claims for local management were put forward in the hearing responses from organizations for landowners at both county and municipal levels. This issue has gained as much attention since then as issues related to conservation and the sizes of the proposed protected areas (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008b; St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992) 1992). Local management has also been on the international agenda and was emphasized in the Convention of Biological Diversity (United Nations 1993), Dudley (2008) focuses on involving stakeholders in management, and the ILO Convention 169 requires that indigenous people be consulted on issues of importance for them (ILO 1991). Sweden has experienced the same claims for more stakeholder influence on management of protected areas (Hovik et al. 2010; Zachrisson 2007) as Norway, but the stakeholders there are not included in

management as they are now in Norway, and Sweden has not ratified the ILO Convention 169 either.

The discussions in Storting's Standing Committees in relation to the 1992 National Park Plan and the Act regarding the State Nature Inspectorate signaled that state responsibility should be combined with more local participation (Innst. O. nr. 64 (1995-1996); Innst. S. nr. 124 (1992-1993)). Following these discussions, three protected areas (Setesdal Vesthei, Verdalen-Snåsa-Lierne, and Gauldalsvidda/Forollhogna) were chosen as pilots for local management. And in a 1996 speech, the Minister of the Environment focused on nature as a state responsibility and at the same time emphasized that local communities had to be included in the work on management, monitoring, and information, and should be active partners in developing management plans (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008b). Further, the minister opened up for decentralization of management rights under certain conditions.

In a letter from the MD in 1998, the authority to decide who should have the right to manage was transferred from the MD to the DN (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008b). The MD also started municipal management of nature reserves, protected landscapes, natural heritage, and biosphere areas in 1998. Of 400 recipients, 200 responded positively to the letter, and around 100 were interested in the task (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008b). Under the prerequisites that municipalities had sufficient ecological knowledge, 70 municipalities were chosen, and 27 of them were involved in the four trials for national parks that operated from 2001 through 2008 (Prop. 1 S (2009-2010)). The common thread was that management responsibility was passed from the County Governors to some kind of local and/or regional boards, but with variances among these models. It is important to note that we still talk about the management authority, which implies that we might speak of a co-management model or other types of shared governance in which management authority and responsibility are shared by both governmental and non-governmental actors. However, the conservation objectives are determined by government bodies who control the protected area in that sense, and the management body only has some kind of delegated responsibility that is more in line with another type identified by Dudley (2008): governance by government. The distinction made in the introduction to this chapter between governance and management then partly contradicts Dudley's distinction in various governance types, since we see that the Norwegian model falls under both governance by government and shared governance. In that sense, my distinction is not valid under Dudley's governance types.

The trials were given responsibility to develop a management plan for the area, to decide on applications for exemptions from the conservation regulations, to consider the need for care and information, and to report and denounce illegal activities (Falleth and Hovik 2008), without the right to make collective-choice decisions (Ostrom 2005). An evaluation of the four trials shows that local councils prioritized local development rather than serving as local implementers of state policies (Falleth and Hovik 2008, 2009). Hence they focused more on promoting socioeconomic factors rather than on ecological factors. However, the government's guidelines and norms were followed in principle, and the evaluation concludes that local management formally followed the framework for the trials, but with certain local adaptations (Falleth and Hovik 2008, 2009). None of the trials initiated formal arenas or procedures to involve stakeholders and to reach acceptable solutions for all involved parties, thus there was no form of shared governance. Also, the municipal political and administrative systems slowed down the executive work compared to the sectoral bureaucracy, and cooperative work across municipal borders contributed to a slower process as well (Falleth and Hovik 2008).

The evaluation of the trials was followed by a discussion regarding the findings. The headline of the DN's news article is a good illustration of this: "The State should manage protected areas" (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008d). The DN concluded that the trials had not worked as desired (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008b; Falleth and Hovik 2008). However, Falleth et al. (2009) did not recognize the conclusions of the Directorate as a true representation of their findings, and emphasized this in a feature article:

The Directorate is of the opinion that the result of the pilot projects implies that the local management of protected areas should not be continued. This cannot be substantiated by the conclusions from our evaluations.

Other researchers supported Falleth et al. on this: "The Directorate is lying in its summing up of the work of municipalities in the trials of local management of national parks" (Arnesen 2009: 6), and USS also reacted strongly: "The country board finds the Directorate's interpretation of the evaluation reports from the independent researchers erroneous and in violation of the real situation" (Utmarkskommunenenes Sammenslutning 2008).

The evaluation suggested several measures that would help improve the negative effects from the trials (Falleth et al. 2009). They included clarifying the rules, improving cooperation between different authorities, and giving the state the possibility to decide on complaints and overrule decisions. In the DN's response, they expressed an undisputable claim regarding the establishment of park

rangers' jobs, preferably hired by the County Governor, and in strong cooperation with some kind of advisory committee. Thus, the DN went against a purely municipal management:

On the basis of the experience from the pilot studies, the Directorate will advise against a purely municipal management for protected areas that comprise more than one municipality, as coordination across municipal borders has proved difficult to achieve. (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008b: 43)

When the decision from the MD came, they did not follow on the DN's skepticism toward municipal management, but followed the DN's claim for national park rangers, employed by the county governor. Thus a compromise was established (Miljøverndepartementet 2010), which to some extent disregarded the objective of involving local stakeholders.

The report from the Office of the Auditor General (discussed in Section 4.5.2) regarding Norway's work on mapping out and monitoring biological diversity and management of protected areas also influenced the process of developing a new management model. This report concluded, as mentioned, that Norway had not succeeded in preserving conservation values, that protected areas had not been managed in accordance with described goals and indicators, and that work on management plans had not been prioritized (Riksrevisjonen 2006). Also, meetings with KS, USS, and stakeholders (business, landowner, nature conservation, and recreational interests) were undertaken, thus aiming at involving their knowledge in developing the new model.

The new management model was introduced in the budget proposal for 2010 (Prop. 1 S (2009-2010)), and suggested establishing intermunicipal national park boards. National park rangers were to be hired to establish the boards' secretariat and ensure stakeholder participation in professional advisory committees (Solheim 2009). The model was to be based on the following principles: local and consistent⁵⁰ management, knowledge-based management, and clear reporting, control, and sanctioning mechanisms (Prop. 1 S (2009-2010)). The text in the budget proposal clearly shows an understanding of protected areas as a responsibility of the state, while at the same time acknowledging that participation is important:

⁵⁰ Implies that management conditions, purposes, and restrictions are specified and clear.

Local societies' participation is the foundation for an effective democracy. It is also desirable to have local elected bodies connected to parts of the central government's management in cases that clearly are state matters, but still are best solved with knowledge of local relations. Management of protected areas is a task where local knowledge and experience can contribute positively ... It is necessary to increase local "ownership" to protected areas. Management of national parks and other larger protected areas should therefore be rooted locally. (Prop. 1 S (2009-2010): 222)

The understanding of protected areas as mainly a state responsibility is also evident when reporting, control, and sanctioning routines are discussed. The reasoning states that since management implies compliance with national and international obligations, "governmental authorities should intervene if management is not undertaken in accordance with the Nature Diversity Act and the purpose of the conservation" (Prop. 1 S (2009-2010): 223). Thus, the County Governors will still have the right of appeal on decisions taken by the national park boards, and this fits with the category of governance by government as mentioned earlier (Dudley 2008). In accordance with the Nature Diversity Act this means that the government might withdraw the delegated authority if management is not aligned with national aims and international obligations.

Management plans are an important tool for ensuring consistent management and to safeguard against arbitrary decisions that reduce conservation values. Thus management plans should include specific regulations regarding applications for exemptions, use, maintenance, information, management, accommodations, and rules of procedure. The budget document distinguishes between management plans and plans for management measures in the protected areas. The latter are part of the management plan, but include agreements with landowners and rights holders regarding implementation of measures in the protected areas. They might also include measures such as restoration and repairing, which are necessary to maintain or restore conservation values.

What is particularly interesting in the budget proposal's focus on management plans is that nature-based tourism is not mentioned. This is strange because the policy decision is still valid, and is still being implemented. Also, the fact that the Mountain Text is not mentioned in relation to the new management model of protected areas could imply that it is no longer emphasized but still falls under the sub-goal of increasing legitimacy (see Table 3) and is then a followup of the policy decision. However, several of the Mountain Text measures that have been implemented are stressed as important, and given continued funding in the budget proposal discussing the new governance model.

The introduction of the new management model proved that they were taking a step from establishing protected areas to focusing on managing them. As of today, Norway has fulfilled its 1992 National Park Plan (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992)), and when reaching the stated goals, Norway also meets IUCN's aim of protecting 15% of its nature. Further, the new model is considered a tool to increase the legitimacy of protected areas (which is one of the identified sub-goals of the Mountain Text). Hence, by giving local communities more decision-making power (but still under the same conservation regulations, management plans, and legislation), it is believed that the tensions will decrease, but this is far from shared governance in which stakeholders and indigenous people are participating in changing the collective-choice rules.

Further, increasing local knowledge of the protected areas (through providing regional/local management) is also believed to contribute to strengthening their legitimacy among locals. Another aspect of this is that the new management model might be seen as a response to the Finnmark model of devolution of "rights to land and water" and a preparation for what will come in Troms and Nordland. In those two counties, two constitutional changes have recently been undertaken as a step toward recognizing that Sámi, as indigenous people, also have rights to land and water (LOV 2005-06-17-85; NOU 2007:13 Bind A, Bind B). In Finnmark County, the Finnmark Estate was established in 2006, giving the management responsibility for 95% (46,000 km²) of the land area in Finnmark. In Nordland and Troms counties, a similar process is going on now but most probably making these former state areas commons for all people living there (thus the proposed title is "Hålogaland commons").

5.1.2 The National Park Board of Central Nordland (Midtre Nordland nasjonalparkstyre) – an example and an illustration

The first National Park Board established in Norway was in Nordland County, and is called the National Park Board of Central Nordland (Midtre Nordland nasjonalparkstyre, hereafter referred to as the Board). The Salten Region acted proactively upon the introduction of the new management model, after an initiative from Nordland National Park Center. In a letter dated April 29, 2009, to Salten Regional Council, the Center asked for the Council's support for an idea to locate local national park management managers at this Center. The thought was that if Nordland was early at this stage, it might be chosen as a pilot board, depending on regional agreement. The working group of Salten Regional Council discussed this May 25, 2009, and unanimously gave the following recommendation:

Salten Regional Council acknowledges the need for a new governance model for protected areas, and it is positive to the development of this. Salten Regional Council supports co-locating these functions at Nordland National Park Centre, thus securing both local participation and a strengthening of the professional competence at this centre. (Salten Regionråd 2009)

The formal invitation from the MD came in a letter dated December 14, 2009 (Solheim 2009), for which Salten Regional Council was already prepared and could positively reply to as soon as January 21, 2010. In its letter, Salten Regional Council also included a presentation of the elected representatives for the Board (Miljøverndepartementet 2010). As a result of the work undertaken in the Salten Region before the formal invitation from the MD, Salten could respond quickly, and was thus the first national park board in Norway. Hence, in June 2010, the State Secretary visited the National Park Center and formally established the Board (Antonsen 2010; Friberg 2010).

The Board manages seven protected areas (four national parks, two protected landscapes, and one nature reserve) (Figure 16) covering eight municipalities and will, in addition, manage one national park under establishment⁵¹ (Miljøverndepartementet 2010). The Board has 13 members: 8 municipal politicians (1 from each affected municipality), 4 representatives named by the Sámi Parliament, and 1 representative from the County Council.

⁵¹ The proposal for Láhku National Park lies with the Ministry of Environment awaiting final decision.

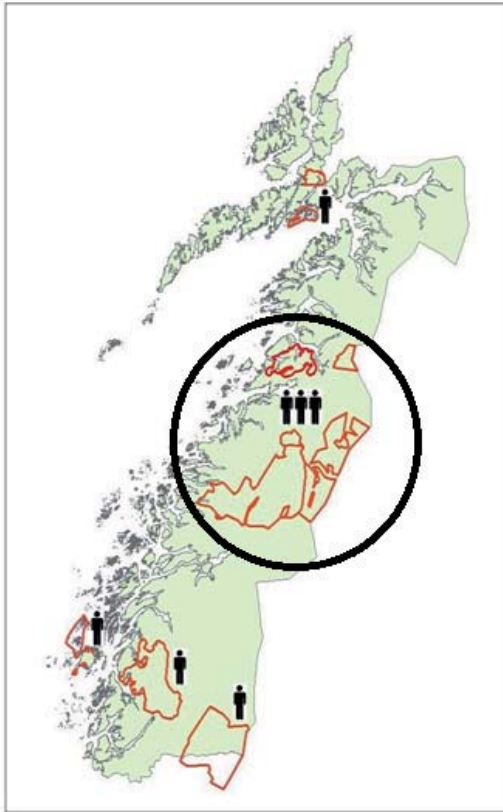


Figure 16: Map of protected areas (outlined in red) and park rangers (figures in black) in Nordland County; the circle represents the area of responsibility of the National Park Board of Central Nordland.

Since the Board manages a variety of protected areas, many municipalities to cover, and great distances to cover, three park ranger positions were established. And it is expected that one more will be hired to cover the area of the recently established Láhku National Park (December 14, 2013). These rangers are hired by the County Governor and are members of the County Governor's staff, thus part of the state environment management bureaucracy. The rangers will be located at Nordland National Park Center at Storjord, in accordance with the aim specified in the budget proposal to establish professional communities located at functioning national park centers or other information centers.

As of June 30, 2011, the Board of Central Nordland was the largest of the 25 established boards in Norway, had the largest number of affected municipalities and thus the largest number of representative politicians, covered the most

national parks, and had the most park rangers (see Table 6). However, when we divide the various boards according to how many areas they manage (1, 2, and 3 or more) we see that for the multi-area boards, the Board of Central Nordland has fewer representative politicians than the average (Table 6). The Board does have four Sámi representatives, and is one of ten boards with Sámi representation (Appendix 8).

Table 6: Central Nordland National Park Board compared with the other national park boards in Norway as of June 29, 2011 (Source: Fedreheim and Sandberg 2011).

		Number of members	Number (percent) of member politicians	Number of national parks within jurisdiction	Number of affected municipalities	Number of park rangers
Central Nordland National Park Board (multi-area board)		13	8 (61.5)	7 (4)	8	3
Whole selection	Mean	6.68	4.36 (64.66)	2.92 (0.96)	4.16	1.2 ^a
	Min-Max	4– 13	2–8 (40-87.5)	1–12 (1–4)	1–8	0.5–3
One-area boards (n = 11)	Mean	6	4.09 (67.35)	1 (0.5)	3.82	1.1 ^b
	Min-Max	4– 12	2–8 (50-87.5)	1–1 (0–1)	1–8	0.5–2
Two-area boards (n = 6)	Mean	5.17	3 (56.91)	2 (0.84)	2.67	1.2 ^c
	Min-Max	4–7	2–5 (40-80)	1–5 (0–1)	1–5	1–2
Multi-area boards (n = 8)	Mean	8.75	5.75 (66.78)	6.25 (1.63)	5.75	1.29 ^d
	Min-Max	6– 13	4–8 (50-83.34)	3–12 (0-4)	4–8	1–3

^a This number represents the mean of the 20 national park boards who have already hired park rangers.

^b This number represents the mean of the 8 national park boards who have already hired park rangers.

^c This number represents the mean of the 5 national park boards who have already hired park rangers.

^d This number represents the mean of the 7 national park boards who have already hired park rangers.

Stakeholders are not represented in the Board. But the four members appointed by the Sámi Parliament are all reindeer owners rather than politicians and hence by perceived many as stakeholders with certain rights and a particular interest in national parks and the reindeer grazing areas. This is a factor that might cause some challenges in the future (Fedreheim 2011b). Many farmers graze sheep in the same areas as reindeer, but they are not represented in the Board, and hikers and anglers are not directly represented. The reason Sámi are given priority is that they are recognized as an indigenous group, and thus have certain rights in accordance with the ILO Convention 169.

To ensure cooperation by management authorities, public bodies, landowners, business actors, idealistic organizations, Sámi interests, and so on, establishment of professional advisory committees was stressed in the budget proposal (Prop. 1 S (2009-2010)). Among the many purposes of such committees are to strengthen local foundation, direct deliberation from those groups and interests who operate inside the protected areas, find more effective solutions, and start processes that will benefit the local societies. However, the suggested plan says that meetings between the national park boards and the professional advisory committees should take place once a year. It is doubtful that the professional advisory committees will help strengthen the local foundations, since annual meetings are too infrequent to ensure deliberation from stakeholders and for the committee to act as advisors to the boards. But it is too early to evaluate, and it depends on how cooperation will be organized, and on whether the committees will be used only as information channels, or if they will have real participation in formulating the work of the boards.

In the National Park Board of Central Nordland, stakeholders like farmers, landowners, anglers, and hikers are represented in the Professional Advisory Committee.⁵² The composition of this Committee was discussed during the Board's second meeting. The proposal from the working group of the Board suggested another compilation in which the landowner interests were stronger at the expense of farmers. Initially, the suggestion was to have eight landowners (one from each municipality) and two from farmers' organizations. Discussions during the meeting also led to an increase in tourism interests, and recreation and conservation interests were strengthened.

However, tourism as a subject was discussed first during the sixth meeting, and then only in response to discussions related to prioritizing measures in the

⁵² The Norwegian Farmers' Union (2 representatives), the Norwegian Farmers and Smallholders Union (2), landowners (4), FNF (3), tourism (3), reindeer herding districts (4), and Statskog SF (1).

protected areas. One of the representatives proposed that a report be written about the possibilities for value creation related to protected areas, arguing that this had not been focused upon so far, even though it was written into strategies. The reason for the proposed report was the fact that the park rangers' backgrounds were in natural sciences:

The park rangers lack experience with innovation and value creation. The added value we were supposed to get with these new local boards ... [was] to use the protected areas for value creation in the local communities, and extend [the] effects locally ... We have to get funding to do these things, and it must be placed with the rangers. This is not to criticize the ranger, but you are not from the business sector. (representative, Board)

The response from one of the rangers was that they should not use their funds on this, but rather search for other types of funding for developing tourism. "Our assets are so restricted. We are not there. We are more on the classical approach [of management of protected areas] in which we fund measures in the parks" (park ranger, a national park board). The discussion continued with a response from another representative on the Board:

We must use our assets reasonably. The County Council has funding for this [tourism]. They are supposed to make a county plan for the areas surrounding Sjunghatten. This is where we have possibilities for this [tourism]. The County Council has funding for such activities ... Should we not aim at developing county plans around the other protected areas as well? The County Council, as the regional development actor, aims at improving business development. (representative, Board)

The person who raised the question continued to push for an increased focus on tourism, and asked where they would get funding to carry out the planned seminar on value creation and business development, but did not get a thorough answer. The discussion was summed up by one of the park rangers as follows: "It is possible to take this seminar further, and to discuss it with the County Council. However, I doubt that it is tactical to bring it to the Directorate now" (park ranger, Board). This quote illustrates reluctance from the park rangers to focus on tourism and business development, and eagerness on ensuring conservation values and securing successful implementation of measures in the protected areas. This result is also in accordance with one of the challenges identified in developing nature-based tourism in protected areas globally. Eagles (2002) states that there is a lack of capability to manage tourism among park management, which appears also to be the situation here.

Another example of reluctance correlated to developing nature-based tourism is related to a particular project that is part of the program Value Creation from Natural Heritage. The project had applied to the Board for an exemption from the regulations to create a bike trail. The secretariat's response was to ask for more detailed plans, and to encourage cooperation between the bike trail and the plans for fencing along the railroad to decrease the number of reindeer hit by trains. During the discussions with the National Park Board, the representative from the municipality that had applied for the exemption stated that the project was already part of the value creation program that the DN was responsible for. The representative asked if they really had to take a coordinated view. Another representative responded that the assets program only had 25 million NOK to spread over several projects.

What we learn from these examples is unwillingness from the park rangers to focus on innovation and business development related to nature-based tourism. However, they aim at securing the conservation values, following on the tradition of the state management authority (Bay-Larsen 2010, 2012) as well as self-reinforcing the conservation path (Page 2006). But nature-based tourism is a policy with strong political support in the country, and it is one of the purposes in the Board's mandate. For the Board, it might be too early in the work yet to succeed with combining conservation with use.

In the period from the initiation of the Board and today (February 2013), two meetings of the Board and the Professional Advisory Committee have been held. The lessons learned from the first meeting is that they are not sure that organizing the stakeholders in one group is the right way to do it, so they will evaluate this after some time. As seen from the description of the Board and its responsibilities, there is a geopolitical issue here. The 19 members are supposed to represent and know the situation in eight protected areas, which is a challenge in this rather large region. Thus, there might not be a representative from each municipality. There is also a question of attendance at these meetings. At the first meeting, 13 representatives came, but only 7 attended the second meeting. And the tourism sector (which has three representatives) did not show up at either meeting (Midtre Nordland nasjonalparkstyre 2011, 2012).

Obviously, the first meeting discussed channels of information, and the role of the Professional Advisory Committee (Midtre Nordland nasjonalparkstyre 2011). The demand from one member of the Committee for a Web page on which the Board's decisions should be published does not give encouraging promises for a proactive Committee. However, there were several contributions to the Board on issues that should be mentioned in the budget negotiations with the DN. Other discussions were related to the relationship between funding and responsibility,

in which some members expressed a clear opinion that they will not fund anything that the government had laid upon them: "[Setting up] the Board was a state decision, so the state must take the responsibility as well ... we cannot put ourselves in a position on the Board where municipalities must cover all the bills. The State must take much of the responsibility; smaller municipalities cannot cover the bill!" (member of the Board).

This first meeting proved that the Committee was more interested in discussions of the more organizational aspects related to cooperation between the Board and the Committee than issues related to management of the protected areas. This implies that the thinking at the constitutional stage might have been unclear and overlooked regulating the cooperation. On the other hand, this was the very first meeting and they were assessing their responsibilities.

In the second meeting, the Board had some information to discuss, and opened up for contributions and ideas for the budget negotiations with the DN (Midtre Nordland nasjonalparkstyre 2012). Additionally, they had asked some of the representatives to contribute with presentations related to, among other subjects, value creation in protected areas and buffer zones. The last part of the meeting was devoted to group work. Hence we see that the national park boards are collective-choice arenas in which decisions regulating day-to-day, internal actions are made.

5.1.3 Changes in collective-choice rules

Regarding management of protected areas, three major changes, already mentioned, have occurred since the establishment of the MD in 1972. The two changes in 1984 and 2010 appear as collective-choice changes in which the authority to make decisions regulating the operational level were transferred from the MD to the DN, and from the County Governor to local and regional national park boards, respectively. The change in 1998 was a constitutional change since it was a change in the right to make decisions affecting the collective-choice level. However, the most recent change is also a constitutional change (as described in Section 4.6) in the sense that it changes the right to make collective-choice decisions. But it is also a collective-choice change since it affects the right to make decisions at the operational level, regulating the use of the protected area for recreation and tourism. This illustrates how a change might influence decision making at both the collective-choice and operational-choice levels. Thus, as discussed in Section 2.3, there is no clear connection between the three analytical levels introduced by Elinor Ostrom (1999, 2005) and the administrative levels. This means that the Norwegian political and administrative systems' delegation authority is not reflected in the analytical levels and vice versa. Additionally, and as seen from this example of the recent management

change, one such institutional change might imply several rule changes at various decision-making levels. Hence there is a clear combination of rule changes at both the horizontal and the vertical dimensions, and a strong degree of interplay between them (Young 2002). Ostrom (2005) has stated that no matter how well designed a governance system is, it will all be vulnerable to threats. Research has showed that several factors have contributed to a robust governance system, including collective-choice arrangements that ensure those affected by the protected area may contribute to modifying the rules for it. This chapter has shown that this is not the case in Norway, and maybe the governance system is not robust against threats.

Regarding the most recent change, which is what is actually studied here, it is evident that even though the new boards have some power and influence, there is still reluctance from the central expert conservation system to wholeheartedly delegate the authority and responsibility to manage protected areas (as seen from the debates around the evaluations of the management trials). This is also evident from the control mechanisms incorporated in the whole new model since the County Governors are to be informed of all decisions reached by the national park boards and the executive committees, reports and formal complaints are to be reported to the County Governors as well as the SNO and the DN, and the boards have to report yearly to the County Governors on management. Further, the County Governors have the right to express complaints on decisions reached by the boards. And as mentioned earlier, the rangers are hired by the County Governors as well. Thus, there is a mixture of responsibilities and an organizational model that some representatives on the boards experienced as problematic, while it is also a compromise between local demands and the state's need to ensure sustainable management of conservation values.

The lack of will to give the new national park boards "real" power implies that the governance change is only a shift of workload for the County Governor from doing executive work to a new focus on inspection and supervision instead of an approach that ensures stakeholders' rights to make decisions. However, IUCN has not even recommended that stakeholders should participate in actual decision making. Fauchald and Gulbrandsen (2012) explain this by citing the many conflicts over nature conservation because it is of national and international importance. And since there are no changes in the operational rules for nature-based tourism in protected areas, as discussed in Chapter 6, this study concludes in Chapter 7 by asking if the shift is a real institutional change for those involved, or simply a "change in words." Typically, we talk about three types of governance: market, hierarchy, and network (Pierre and Peters 2000). Røiseland and Vabo (2008a) show that these three types differ according to the degrees of dependence between the various actors—*independence* characterizes markets, *dependence*

characterizes hierarchies, and networks are characterized by interdependence. Thus in situations like the one related to management of protected areas in Norway, we see that the state plays a central role, make priorities and define the overall objectives (Pierre and Peters 2000), and we therefore see that the governance model is closer to the hierarchical one than the network version. Røiseland and Vabo (2008a) claim that "samstyring" (governance) involves a horizontal structure in which no one has sufficient knowledge or capacity to dominate the situation.

To relate these discussions to the aims of the Mountain Text, this study has some preliminary conclusions on the new management model's effect on the objectives and sub-objectives of the Mountain Text, as understood and presented in Table 3. Local management is expected to contribute to more business development, but this remains to be seen since there are no changes in the operational rules related to nature-based tourism (discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 6).

An element that might contribute to more tensions in protected areas relates to the ambiguity of the boundary rules (as discussed in Sections 2.3.1, 5.2.3, 5.3.1, and shown in Table 6). These rules appoint the positions for the national park boards. These boards were intentionally designed to have political representatives, but the Sámi Parliament has chosen Sámi representatives who are business actors to serve on the boards in which they are represented. Consequently, there is a de facto mixture of stakeholders and politicians in the boards which other stakeholders might react against and determine as unfair representation (Fedreheim 2011b).

Yet another element that might influence the work of the boards is the fact that they are not the only collective-choice arena making decisions related to protected areas. This is further discussed in the next section.

5.2 INTERACTING COLLECTIVE-CHOICE ARENAS IN PROTECTED AREAS

I stated earlier that policies interact, overlap, and interfere with each other and are influenced by pre-existing policies (Section 2.3). This is well illustrated by the range of collective-choice arenas related to protected areas. I now discuss how regional carnivore management boards (*regionale rovviltnemnder*) and reindeer herding area boards (*områdestyrer*) interact. Future regional outfield boards (*regionale utmarksstyrer*) will also be collective-choice arenas that will make decisions affecting the protected areas. The decisions made by these groups influence the areas that the national park boards are responsible for managing without the national park boards having any input.

5.2.1 Regional carnivore management boards

The Wildlife Act regulates carnivores in relation to wildlife and wildlife habitats (LOV 1981-05-29 nr 38), as does the Nature Diversity Act. Regulations regarding when, where, and how hunting might be undertaken are specified in the Wildlife Act, while conditions and precautions are regulated through the Nature Diversity Act. Today's management builds on a government report as well (St.meld.nr.15 (2003-2004)), on discussions related to this, and on Storting's settlement of June 17, 2011 (Stortinget 2011). The MD has the overall responsibility for all wildlife, and manages through budgets, legislation, and planning. The MD also appoints the members to the regional carnivore management boards and acts as the appeals court on decisions taken by these management regions. The DN is the central expert agency for management of wildlife. Its responsibility includes bureaucratic work related to the Wildlife Act, gathering of knowledge and information about wildlife, and the appeals court for decisions made by the County Governor. The State Nature Inspectorate is the executive branch in the field. That agency has local offices spread around the country, with local carnivore contact persons. Their responsibility is to assist livestock owners in gathering documentation of injuries on domestic animals from carnivores, preventing and stopping environmental criminality, supervising the stock, and carrying out measures initiated by the DN. The County Governor is responsible for the Golden Eagle, funding of damage prevention efforts, as well as decision making related to quotas and licensed hunting for all carnivores. Additionally, the County Governor guides the regional carnivore management boards and acts as their secretariat.

There are eight regional carnivore management boards with five or six members each⁵³ (FOR 2005-03-18 nr 242). The boards are responsible for setting the yearly quota for hunting lynx, wolverines, and brown bears in the regions, and the yearly number of lynx hunters and licensed hunters of wolverines and brown bears. Further, the boards are responsible for developing detailed guidelines for use of funds for damage preventive efforts, for funding the County Governor's joint measures related to plans and application, and funding of measures implemented during the grazing seasons. Interestingly, the boards have been given the responsibility to decide by themselves on when management plans are to be updated, and what kinds of procedures they should implement to ensure local participation (St.meld.nr.15 (2003-2004)).

The appointees to the carnivore management boards are authorized through procedures and regulations in the constitutional choice processes. They make decisions that interfere with the operational level, since the number of carnivores affect livestock to a huge degree. The close interaction between livestock and carnivores in Norway is illustrated by the fact that 59,000 sheep and 80,000 reindeer disappear every season, and owners receive economic compensation for 32,000 sheep and 65,000 reindeers (Directorate for Nature Management 2011). The economic aspect of this is important, as the loss of livestock is also a loss of income. And the government-funded compensation was almost 22,500,000 USD nationally in 2008 (Directorate for Nature Management 2011).

Regional carnivore management boards are relevant to nature-based tourism in several ways. First, the boards represent another collective-choice arena in protected areas since protected areas are part of carnivore management regions. Second, people fear carnivores, particularly when wolves and bears are sighted in their local area (Andersen et al. 2003). Thus, there is a sense of loss of exploitation and recreational values of nature when activities such as hiking, berry picking, hunting, and other recreational activities become restricted due to worries of interaction with carnivores (Andersen et al. 2003). Third, and contrary to the second point, observing carnivores or traces of carnivores is a positive experience for others, and contributes to a greater experience of Norwegian nature. Taken together, these factors might contribute to a fear of using the protected areas and to farmers quitting and instead aiming at developing nature-based tourism activities since the loss of livestock leads to less income and more worries.

⁵³ Members are suggested by the respective County Council and appointed by the MD. In the four regions overlapping with the reindeer herding areas, the Sámi Parliament appoints members.

Thus, carnivore management might indirectly affect development of nature-based tourism activities and influence the choice of suitable areas for developing such activities. Moreover, these boards make decisions that affect the same ecological systems that are used as the resource for developing nature-based tourism—Norway’s green gold. Also, if hunting is intense in a specific carnivore management region, it might negatively affect the number of tourists to a protected area. And the other way around, too many tourists in a specific area might affect the carnivores and force them to withdraw from a certain area.

5.2.2 Six reindeer herding area boards

The Reindeer Herding Act regulates reindeer herding (LOV 2007-06-15 nr. 40).⁵⁴ Reindeer herding is allowed in about 40% of Norway’s land area, and the country is divided into six regional reindeer herding areas. The right to own reindeer is connected to the right to graze, and the latter is strictly regulated according to seasons and other aspects. Reindeer herding is regulated by three administrative levels: state, regional, and local. The state level includes the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, which is responsible for the reindeer herding policy, the reindeer herding agreement and act, and serves as the appeals court for decisions taken by the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry Board (Reindrifststyret), also at the state level. Executive work is undertaken by the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry Administration (Reindrifstforvaltningen), and this state office also serves as the secretariat for the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry Board. The administration has its main office in Alta, Finnmark, and its regional sub-offices in the six areas, each with its own board. Most of the work, however, is delegated to the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry Board, whose seven members are appointed by the Ministry (4) and the Sámi Parliament (3).

The husbandry board serves as the appeals court for decisions reached in the six regional boards (*områdestyre*). The regional boards have five to seven members appointed by the Sámi Parliament and the County Council. At the local level, 89 reindeer districts are responsible for managing internal affairs, deciding on land-use plans (*bruksplaner*), and predicting reindeer numbers. In each district, *Siida*⁵⁵ units are responsible for practical work in a given area. Sámi who fall outside a *Siida* are not allowed to undertake reindeer husbandry.

⁵⁴ This review is based on the ruling Reindeer Herding Act, and not on the proposed changes which recently had a hearing (deadline January 15, 2012) (<http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/dep/lmd/aktuelt/nyheter/2011/sept-11/endringer-i-reindrifstloven-pa-horing.html?id=657008>).

⁵⁵ One or several groups of reindeer owners, understood as families.

The six reindeer herding area boards can restrict use of a certain area for nature-based tourism purposes whenever there is potential for disturbances to reindeer. The boards decide on the conditions for, and might restrict, events, sports meetings, hunting dog tests, etc. (Landbruks- og matdepartementet 2009). Further, the boards control Siidas, and act as expert councils over controversies. They also give exemptions from grazing rules, and decide grazing times.

These reindeer herding area boards make collective-choice decisions. They have considerable influence on the scope of action for reindeer owners, and act as control mechanisms as well as being the ruling decision makers regarding the number of reindeer. The regional boards are also best known for the different management bodies (Landbruks- og matdepartementet 2011). Thus, decisions taken by the reindeer herding area boards structure future actions at the operational level.

5.2.3 Future regional outfield boards under the proposed Hålogaland Commons

The establishment of the Finnmark property organization Finnmark Estate (FeFo) in 2006 (LOV 2005-06-17-85) marked a deep institutional change leading to devolution of property rights to the regional level in Finnmark. The proposed Hålogaland Commons (HA) (NOU 2007:13 Bind A, Bind B) will, if passed by Storting, contribute to a new situation in Troms and Nordland, and thus contribute to a new situation in northern Norway. It is unclear today if any ministry will be responsible, which might further complicate the situation.

Historically, these areas were the "borderless North," "clan land" (Sámi Siida), and Norse Commons (later "King's Commons"), until the entrenchment of national borders around 1750. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Finnmark was claimed as the King's Estate, while the King sold "his part of the Commons" in Nordland and Troms in 1666, 1750 and 1761⁵⁶, respectively. These sales were illegal, but made possible by the dominating doctrines of sovereign rule. Even if these lands were bought back by the state in the late 19th Century, the local people's rights to the commons were lost, according to the state. This explains the use of the label "state land" and the current arrangement where Statskog SF holds the property rights to this area (Ravna 2008; Sandberg 2008, 2009).

After a long-lasting process of improving the situation for the Sámi, several constitutional changes occurred: Constitutional Amendments and a Sámi Act were

⁵⁶ The land was sold to three private landowners; Joachim Irgens (Helgeland, Salten, Senja, Andenes, Tromsø, Lofoten and Vesterålen in Nordland and Troms) in 1666, Petter Dass (Rana and Vefsn) in 1750, and Johan Vid (Troms) in 1761. (NOU 2007:13 Bind B)

passed in 1987 (ACT-1987-06-12-56), the Sámi Parliament was established in 1989, and Norway ratified ILO Convention 169 on the Rights of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent States in 1990 (ILO 1991). And finally FEFO was established in 2005 (LOV 2005-06-17-85).

In the counties of Troms and Nordland, a similar process is going on, but with another starting point. Here Sámi rights and the reindeer pasturing rights are less dominant, while there is ample evidence of rural communities with commons rights dating from a long time ago. The mandate for the Sámi Rights Commission II therefore included considerations of these "commons rights" (lost or not) and the relationship to the general commons legislation in Norway, like the Act on the Mountain Commons (ACT-1975-06-06 nr 31). The major recommendation from the Commission was to create a new ownership body for these areas: Hålogaland Commons (NOU 2007:13 Bind A). A board comprised of six members will lead the new Commons, with members appointed by the Sámi Parliament and Nordland and Troms county councils.

The recommendation further suggests establishing Regional Outfield Boards where stakeholders from Sámi reindeer herding, farming communities, and hunting/fishing and outdoor recreation interests would sit together with municipal representatives and govern the large mountain and forest areas. Since work continues on this arrangement and no final decisions have been reached, we do not know yet if the proposed regional outfield boards will be implemented (NOU 2007:13 Bind A, Bind B).

The proposed Hålogaland Commons is only a landowner body, and the boards will be responsible for managing the user rights. Six such boards⁵⁷ are suggested for the two counties, and seven members are to be appointed by the municipal councils to ensure local participation. Agricultural and reindeer herding interests are given priority as "rights holders" with two representatives each on the boards, and thus will form the majority. Other stakeholders are "interest holders." The boards will not be intermunicipal, but rather independent entities governed by neither the Hålogaland Commons nor the municipalities that appoint the members. The overall aim is that geographical representation must apply to the composition of the board, and there is a requirement that members be settled in the region. The board's main authority still remains unclear, but the sole aim is to manage user rights on the property of the Hålogaland Commons. Income from this should be directed back to the region (NOU 2007:13 Bind A, Bind B).

⁵⁷ Northern Troms, Central Troms, Southern Troms/Northern Nordland, the Lule- and Pite Sámi area, Central Nordland, and Southern Nordland.

The future regional outfield boards are interesting here since the boundary rules are different from those for the national park boards. Stakeholders are invited into these outfield boards, and will have a formal decision-making role, and pasturing businesses will be the majority on these boards. Thus, these regional outfield boards represent yet another collective-choice arena that will also make decisions related to operational rules in protected areas. Such decisions might be related to hunting and fishing licences, renting out cabins, selling property, and so on. Thus, crucial decisions might affect the protected areas as well, for example related to pricing and regulating hunting and fishing. So altogether there will be four different governing bodies with partially overlapping authority. The challenges related to this are discussed in section 5.3.

5.2.4 Toward network governance?

The European understanding of network governance is strongly connected to sectors and policy areas to explain how public authorities participate in policy cycles alongside civil society and other actors (Røiseland and Vabo 2008a). In a case like that, the four collective-choice arenas discussed above might be understood as comprising a sector, and thus meet the demand that network governance needs organization (Røiseland and Vabo 2008a). As of today, these collective-choice arenas contribute to a more complex and nested administrative system, which promotes interacting policies and policy implementation that in turn might both postpone or promote more policy implementation and thus influence the Mountain text policy's success. In a polycentric system, people are able to organize several governance models, and will have some authority to make some of the rules related to use of a specific resource (Ostrom 2005). However, due to misunderstandings between the different collective-choice bodies, conflicts may arise. Information spreading is therefore very important in avoiding such conflicts.

A special issue on "Nordic environments" in *Local Environment*, focusing on management of protected areas, concludes that Finland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway all try to move away from the more hierarchical mode of governing (Hovik et al. 2009). But the examples from each country show that it is difficult to establish institutions that ensure participation from stakeholders (Falleth and Hovik 2009; Grönholm 2009; Zachrisson 2009b). The same debate has been going on in India, where they recently started developing some pilot projects on collaborative approaches in protected area management (Torri 2011).

It seems that the different roles of the collective-choice arenas are unclear, and that there is a lack of communication between them. When such collective-choice boards are established, they are difficult to shut down when institutional layering makes a policy area ungovernable. These boards can become path dependent and

contribute to quite ungovernable situations with various collective-choice arenas affecting the same geopolitical area. Østerud, Engelstad and Selle (2003) show that the new decision-making bodies that have grown forward as part of the governance of a certain policy field can be considered supplemental to democracy, but will never be able to replace it. The overlapping policy arenas contribute to some joint consequences that might be unexpected, as I discuss in the next section.

5.3 JOINT CONSEQUENCES OF SEPARATE POLICY EXPERIMENTS

In this chapter I have discussed three established arenas and one proposed collective-choice arena: national park boards, regional carnivore management boards, reindeer herding area boards, and the proposed regional outfield boards. These boards were introduced or proposed at various times—national park boards in 2010, regional carnivore management boards in 2004, reindeer herding area boards in 1979, and regional outfield boards remain on the decision block. Each of these boards was a policy experiment in their separate fields, and it is reasonable to believe that joint consequences were not discussed or considered. I will now address some of these joint consequences with the purpose of showing how overlapping policies might produce unintended consequences, and how various governance models might lead to overlapping responsibilities and a complex situation of vertical interplay.

5.3.1 Political, stakeholder, and mixed collective-choice arenas

The four collective-choice arenas presented are deliberative and include stakeholder representation to various degrees. However, none of these four collective-choice arenas are represented in the administrative map of Norway. They are neither municipal nor county councils, nor are they intermunicipal.⁵⁸ Thus, they all represent varieties of ministerial governance models (Sørensen and Torfing 2005). Consequently, the collective-choice arenas are not intermunicipal but rather cooperative bodies. Thus, there are no formal rules attached to them, and the municipalities might feel less obliged to implement decisions taken by the collective-choice arenas compared with decisions made by intermunicipal boards. The situation is further complicated by their varying representation, and I choose to categorize the four collective-choice arenas based on their political, stakeholder, and mixed compositions. This is an important distinction to make since it reflects an important detachment between policy makers and stakeholders.

⁵⁸ This is a rather new (1999) organization form for companies in the public sector with several municipalities and/or county municipalities as the owner. The participants in the inter-municipal company are responsible for a part of the firm's commitments.

The objective of the national park boards was to make political boards comprised of politicians from municipalities, county councils, and the Sámi Parliament. As already discussed this has not been the case with the National Park Board of Central Nordland since the four representatives appointed by the Sámi Parliament are also de facto reindeer owners, and thus represent one of the stakeholders in the protected areas. In this mixed collective-choice arena this means that *one* stakeholder has decision-making authority while others only are consulted through the Professional Advisory Committee that meets only once a year. The Committee is comprised of representatives of various stakeholders. This mixture of roles leads to an undesirable double representation, which might influence the relationship between reindeer owners and other stakeholders. Further, it might also complicate the situation for the four representatives, since they might have to make decisions regarding their own businesses, and in some cases will have to support and publically defend decisions they disagree with.

Also, the Regional Carnivore Management Board shares the aim of establishing political bodies, and succeeds with this. All six members are politicians, two appointed by the Sámi Parliament and four from Nordland County Council. Hence, the board is a political board. The reindeer herding area board has five members, two reindeer owners (stakeholders) appointed by the Sámi Parliament, and three politicians appointed by Nordland County Council. Thus, the Reindeer Herding Area Board has the same challenge related to mixed representation in a collective-choice arena as the National Park Board. On the other hand, this is restricted to the interests of one particular stakeholder—reindeer owners.

What the proposed regional outfield boards might succeed with is to establish boundary rules to ensure that *all* stakeholders, both right holders and interest holders, are represented together with elected municipal politicians. This provides a situation in which stakeholders will have the same say, and in which there is a formal cooperation between stakeholders and politicians at a more frequent level than with the National Park Board and the Professional Advisory Committee. Further, this implies an acknowledgment of stakeholders as policy makers, a decision and development that is more in line with the focus in the literature on co-management. Real co-management refers to shared decision-making power and responsibility between governments and local resource users and is referred to as a partnership of equals (Berkes et al. 1991). And including local stakeholders in governance gains high support in the literature (Berge and van Laerhoven 2011).

Figure 17 gives an overview of which bodies appoint members to the various collective-choice arenas. It also summarizes what kind of collective-choice arena we are talking about, whether it is a mixed or a political model.

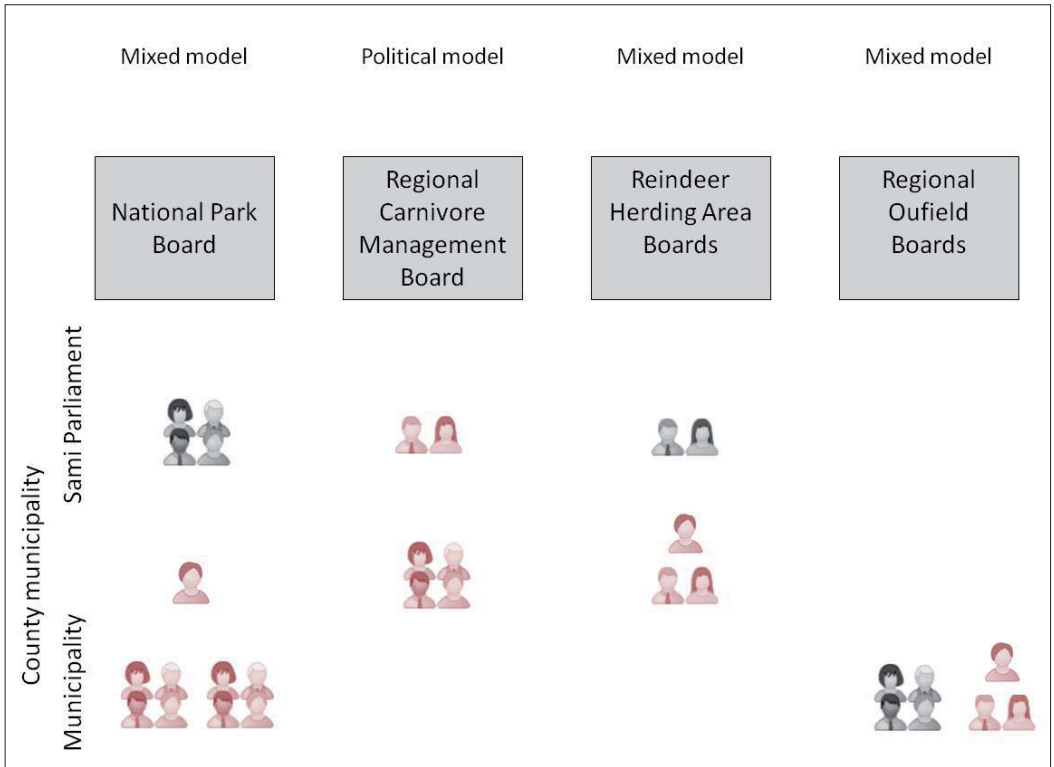


Figure 17: Overview of representation in the collective-choice arenas (red: elected politicians; grey: stakeholders).

The regional outfield boards, as well as the national park boards, will not have the power to change rules, but rather must manage according to the already decided upon rules (the new Act, which will enter into force). Pinkerton (1989) and Berkes et.al. (1991) have argued that co-management contributes to increasing the economic and social development in local communities. Since the boundary rules for the regional outfield boards secure equal representation and support establishing a mixed collective-choice arena, there are reasons to assume that their work will be closer to shared governance than in the other collective-choice arenas. Further, the fact that the national park boards form a mixed collective-choice arena with weaker boundary rules might influence how co-management will be undertaken there.

In general, what we have seen here is that these collective-choice arenas have various ways of ensuring stakeholder representation. However, it appears that when stakeholders are to take an active role as policy makers this should also be reflected in formal regulations, ensuring that stakeholders are represented equally with politically appointed representatives.

5.3.2 The challenge of representation

Norway has a tradition for inviting stakeholders to participate in decision making, and a strong practice of ensuring a corporative society formally at the state level. Such participation is a central condition for democratic and effective problem solving (Vabo et al. 2004), and a good approach to ensure what Scharpf (1997) calls the input-oriented authenticity of the political system: that political choices are derived from citizens' authentic preferences. In order to achieve this aim and ensure a legitimate process, Vabo et. al. (2004) suggest that there should be stronger connections between the networks and the already established political system, and that mechanisms should be in place to open the possibilities for participation.

The relatively new development in the environmental field is to ensure local participation directly rather than through national organizations. In the more rural and less populated areas, as in the county of Nordland, representation might be a challenge by itself. Nordland has around 240,000 inhabitants. Of these, around 200 are active reindeer herders, and around 3,000 are employed in the agricultural sector. Finding representatives to the different boards and committees participating in decision making, not only related to environmental questions, have in some cases proved difficult, and therein lies the challenge of the representatives having to balance various roles. Particularly, reindeer owners are concerned about the multitude of boards they are represented in and who those members really represent in particular cases, and they recognize that representation is very important for them. Two quotes illustrate their concerns:

Those representing us in the national park board, the executive committee, and the professional advisory committee have been given several hats. They have rules to follow ... They might get an extra hat which must be considered. They must serve reindeer husbandry, the reindeer herding area, and other areas ... Positions are important, but very difficult to deal with. (reindeer owner)

As a reindeer owner, I disagree with the conservation regulations ... I have been in situations in the national park board complying with these regulations, and suddenly I am in quarrels with other reindeer owners who have acted on the edge of these regulations. At the same time am I in the reindeer herding area board and represent all the reindeer owners in Nordland. How can I deal in such cases? In my heart I am a reindeer owner. (reindeer owner)

From these quotes we see a concern that the representatives have to make decisions that are against their firm beliefs and their interests, and that they later have to defend these decisions. If this is related only to one board or committee, this might not be confusing, but when you are represented in more than one

collective-choice arena this might be problematic. A common finding in the literature is that dependence on a resource is important for successful management of CPRs (Ostrom 1990, 2002; Pérez et al. 2011). In this argument lies an understanding that the higher dependence on the resource, the more likely better governance will succeed. The distinction made by Chhatre and Agrawal (2008) in commercial and subsistence dependence might also help explain reindeer owners' engagement in several boards and committees, since their subsistence indirectly depends on pastures.

Yet another aspect is that, for example, each national park board covers several protected areas distributed among several municipalities. With representatives from all the affected municipalities, this might lead to a situation in which involvement in decision making varies according to whether they are affected by the decision or not. This is illustrated by the fact that one of the meetings of the National Park Board discussed cases from only two of the four national parks. And the representatives from municipalities that were not affected did not participate at all in the discussions. The same concern relates to the professional advisory committee. With limitations on the number of participants all stakeholder groups are not represented in all municipalities, contributing to an uneven spatial distribution of stakeholder representation in the professional advisory committee. A better solution might have been to establish one professional advisory committee for each protected area to ensure competence and sufficient knowledge about each area.

5.3.3 Overlapping policies and strategies and their influences on implementation of the Mountain Text

This chapter has discussed several aspects of governance, i.e. a governance change that decentralizes the right to manage protected areas and aims at incorporating stakeholders in decision making, and governance at a more overarching level related to several collective-choice arenas making decisions that affect the same spatial area—protected areas. As McGinnis (2011b) states, it is important to study also adjacent action arenas since we may have several action situations at each level of analysis. Thus, simultaneously occurring decision-making processes interact with each other and influence policy implementation as well as governance models. As we have seen in this chapter, the national park boards are not the only collective-choice arena that makes decisions affecting protected areas. Regional carnivore management boards make decisions related to hunting of carnivores that roam in protected areas, reindeer herding area boards endorse the maximum reindeer number and decide on grazing times, and the proposed regional outfield boards will decide on land use. Thus, all of these arenas have overlapping interests and strategies for the same protected area, and the outcome from one of the collective-choice arenas might influence the others.

However, there is a problem of interplay here in the lack of sectoral and cross-sectoral cooperation (Young 2002), evident in the lack of horizontal commitment and cooperation across these policy fields. For some of the representatives in the National Park Board of Central Nordland, this is a paradox, and they questioned if they were able to ensure an ecologically sound management of protected areas when they have no decision-making power over, for example, grazing times for reindeer and hunting of carnivores. In Finland, management of hunting and fishing rights is the responsibility of Metsähallitus,⁵⁹ and decisions are made alongside recreational decisions and decisions affecting management of protected areas (Metsähallitus 2012).

When establishing protected areas, socially constructed borders are applied to ecological systems. These borders separate different management approaches, measures, and implementation. The same principle is evident when it comes to carnivore management regions, reindeer herding areas, and regional outfields. Thus, the geographical scope of these collective-choice arenas varies, and their responsibilities have social borders. These borders are not physical in any sense; there are no fences, gates, or other physical interventions. Thus, animals roam freely across these borders, as do humans. On the other hand, the protected area border is of great importance for tourists, and crossing the border might be attractive enough for some.

The challenge with overlapping policies as such lies in the joint outcomes from decisions made within the different collective-choice arenas. Even though the outcomes in each policy field are in accordance with their respective goals and measures, they might threaten goal achievement in other fields. For example, increased tourism in certain areas might represent threats to the reindeer, particularly during calving periods; it might also threaten the carnivore stock. Further, decisions to increase cabin building at the border of a protected area might force reindeer to leave a good pasture land, and might lead tourists to other parts of the park, thus contributing to a range of negative impacts in other areas that traditionally have not been used by tourists. Thus, unintended consequences might be an outcome of overlapping decision making if there is a lack of communication between the different collective-choice arenas. As of today, communication and information flow between these arenas is not evident, and the question remains unanswered on how they can act together in the best possible manner. Governance in such complex fields might have benefited from a stronger focus on meta-governance and on accommodating coordination

⁵⁹ Metsähallitus is a state-owned enterprise that administers more than 12 million hectares of state-owned land and water areas. Metsähallitus manages and uses these areas with the aim of benefiting Finnish society to the greatest extent possible.

processes between the involved actors (Sørensen and Torfing 2007), in this case between the different collective-choice arenas. Typically such measures to ensure coordination are incentive based and encourage coordination rather than use authority and power to enforce it (Røiseland and Vabo 2008a).

For end users, several collective-choice arenas will influence their perceived scope of action as well as the real scope of action. This is important when it comes to developing nature-based tourism, and earlier research has showed that those affected by protected areas in many situations feel that the conservation regulations are more strict than they actually are (Fedreheim 2003; Stoll-Kleeman 2001). Lack of knowledge of the real regulations might thus indirectly affect the development of nature-based tourism. The same idea applies to the other collective-choice arenas as well. A possible outcome might be that people choose no action because of confusion related to the many collective-choice arenas and representatives, and because of the poorly coordinated collective-choice processes. Further, the fact that there are several arenas might increase bureaucracy since applications might be directed to an irrelevant board/committee, leading to unnecessarily long times from application to implementation. Thus, for entrepreneurs the task of separating the various collective-choice arenas from one another can be difficult, and this might lead to a choice of no action as well. In that manner, the lack of communication and information flow between the collective-choice arenas discussed in this chapter can contribute to weaker implementation of the Mountain Text.

The important question here is whether path dependency will further contribute to this fragmented governance. As of today, the characteristics of the collective-choice decisions made seem to imply that the regional outfield boards might take over the responsibilities of the other boards, including the national park boards. The various ministries involved will then probably fight against this development, aiming to keep their sectoral responsibilities for governance of outfields, thus creating a path dependency related to outfields that will prove difficult to break away from.

Norway aimed to overcome conflicts and conflicting interests related to protected areas by introducing the Mountain Text, but at the same time these individual policy experiments (the four collective-choice decision-making arenas) might contribute to more ambiguity and conflicts in the same area. The paradox of governance relates to this; its aim is to avoid and overcome conflicts, but conflicts are also the major obstacle for successful governance (Røiseland and Vabo 2008b). Governance is in that case considered a strategy to be chosen when things are going well, but we have only some knowledge of what happens in more conflicting cases, as reviewed in this chapter. The knowledge within this

dissertation needs to be synthesized with other efforts to study conflicting cases, and this dissertation is a beginning point for that big task.

The effort here to study adjacent collective-choice arenas shows that it is valuable to look at governance and discuss it as it relates to IAD's analytical levels. Traditionally studies at one analytic level and one specific situation have been undertaken independently, but recently, focus on horizontal interplay, or the adjacency of various action situations, and how they may create joint outcomes has also increased. This is what this chapter has done, and I therefore also propose that governance studies in the future may benefit greatly from applying IAD's analytical levels and focus on various action situations.

The underlying question is whether the governance change and the establishment of national park boards is a "real" change of power. The control mechanisms applied by the state are strong, and will ensure correction if the National Park Board chooses a direction of work that the state disapproves. Implementation of the Mountain Text will in large part be the responsibility of these new national park boards, and their task will be to try to balance development with growth. The fact that overlapping policies exist in protected areas might further complicate the aim to increase nature-based tourism. We have seen that a major institutional change related to the question of who should manage protected areas has created yet another collective-choice arena, i.e. the national park boards, and so far has not given the promised results related to increasing nature-based tourism. We will now turn to discuss the operational rules, and to see if entrepreneurs' conditions for establishing and carrying through nature-based tourism activities have improved or not.

6 POLICY IMPLEMENTATION – LOCAL RESPONSES TO NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICIES

In this chapter, I look more at the individuals and their scope of action for, plans for, and operation of nature-based tourism. It will also include some conclusions related to the implementation of the Mountain Text. I evaluate how the Mountain Text relates to the other operational rules, and conclude that it will be difficult to succeed with the Mountain Text's goals if the operational rules are intact and not changing (see discussion in Section 2.3.2). With this strategy I aim to show how the Mountain Text has been followed up in real life, how local realities are matched with national and international policies, and how they jointly create an action arena that complicates implementation of the policy decision.

Operational rules guide individual decisions and thus affect the physical world. Analysis at this level generally assumes these rules and the environment are givens, and studies thus focus more on rational individuals' actions and strategies, and how the rules established at the constitutional (Chapter 4) and collective-choice (Chapter 5) levels are monitored, enforced, and sanctioned. I focus here on obstacles to nature-based tourism (which institutions come into play) additionally since these are important as well as the operational rules. Hence, for policy implementation to succeed, actors' expected benefits must be higher than the costs.

This chapter focuses on Junkerdal National Park (the choice of which is discussed in Section 3.3.2), and will first briefly present the protected area and some characteristics of the park as well as the communities surrounding it. From there, I turn to the operational rules regulating activities in Junkerdal National Park and follow with an examination of local and regional responses to the rules, both as a followup of the Mountain Text and as one of the steps toward more nature-based tourism. Thus, I am able to say something regarding the actual consequences of the policy change and what has been delivered to the citizens. I then focus on the policy's outcome as defined by Lane and Ersson (2000). Finally, I summarize this chapter and discuss how nature-based tourism can be increased in protected areas when operational rules remain unchanged.

6.1 JUNKERDAL NATIONAL PARK - AREA CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

Junkerdal National Park was established in 2004 and covers an area of 682 km² in Nordland County (Figure 18). The area received its name from a well-known valley in the south of the park, Junkerdalen Valley, which is one of Norway's best known botanical localities. The first proposal to protect Junkerdal came in the Official Norwegian Report of 1986 (NOU 1986:13). This was also the documentation for the 1992 National Park Plan, and the area was pursued in the plan (St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992) 1992). In order to understand fully the role of the national park rules in relation to tourism development I will give a brief introduction to Junkerdal focusing on its significance, the protection preamble, geography, and history.

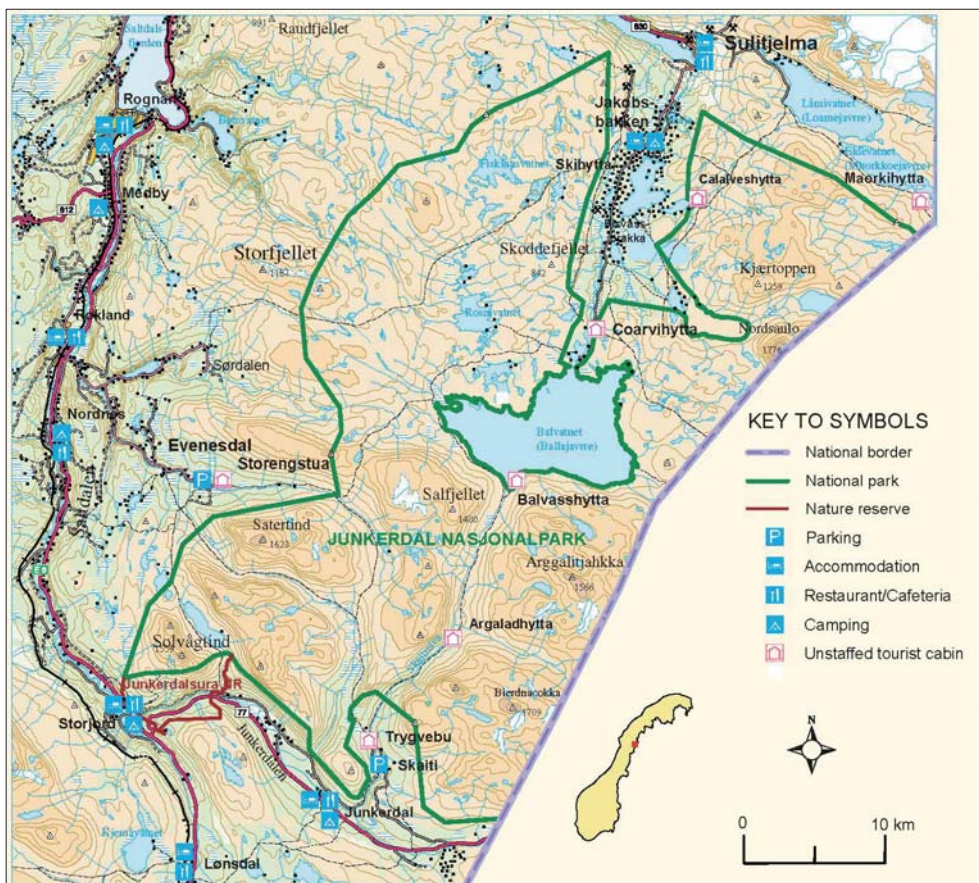


Figure 18: Map of Junkerdal National Park (source: www.dirnat.no/Junkerdal).

Three percent of Junkerdal National Park is private property. The size of the total protected area that includes Junkerdal is under the national average⁶⁰ (918 km²) for national parks, and is the 18th largest as of 2012. Two municipalities have areas inside the national park: Fauske and Saltdal municipalities with 93 km² and 589 km², respectively. All together, almost 15,000 people live in these municipalities, 9,480 in Fauske and 4,710 in Saltdal. Both municipalities have experienced a population decrease during the past years. The major villages surrounding Junkerdal National Park include Sulitjelma (upper right on the map in Figure 18) and Fauske (beyond the upper left side of the map in Figure 18) in Fauske Municipality, and Rognan (upper left on the map in Figure 18) in Saltdal Municipality. The two municipal centers Fauske and Rognan have around 6,000 and 2,500 inhabitants, respectively.

Fauske has been highly dependent on natural resources. From 1887 to 1991, Sulitjelma was build up around mining industries, but production has ended and population has decreased, and the area is now a popular leisure/recreation area. Fauske is also known for its marble. Other important industries are hydropower and services (Bay-Larsen and Fedreheim 2008; Elvestad and Sandberg 2011; Fedreheim et al. 2008, 2009; Rønning and Fedreheim 2009).

Saltdal municipality has traditionally based its industrial activities on woodwork and has the largest cabin producer in Norway (Saltdalshytta). Nowadays, a cable factory and ecological plastic production are also important industries, as well as agriculture (Bay-Larsen and Fedreheim 2008; Elvestad and Sandberg 2011; Fedreheim et al. 2008, 2009; Rønning and Fedreheim 2009).

The area was shaped during the last Ice Age and is characterized as both interesting and important from a geological perspective. The northern part of the park has a rolling plateau with numerous lakes of various sizes. The western part is characterized by mountains and valleys in which rivers run toward Saltdal. The southern part has long u-shaped valleys between high mountains. Balvatn Lake is at the center of the protected area, but since it is regulated it is not part of the park. Two monumental mountains portray the area: Nordsaulo, the highest frontier mountain in Norway at 1,776 m, is in the northeastern part and distinctive Solvågtind (1,561 m) is in the southwestern part. A wide variety of both rare and endangered birds, butterflies, and plants are found inside the national park. Wolverines and lynx live in the area year-round, and bears roam regularly there. Reindeer graze throughout the year (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2007).

⁶⁰ My own calculation based on numbers from <http://www.dirnat.no/nasjonalparker/>.

The national park and surrounding areas contain traces of human life from early Stone Age (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2009b), but the most significant traces are from around the 16th century from Sámi reindeer herders. There are traces of tents, sites of turf huts, mountain caves, fireplaces, and traps inside the national park. Along the timber line there is also evidence of permanent Sámi farming settlements (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2007). The rare botanical values were one of the main reasons for protecting this area, and thus shaped the rules regulating the national park. In this lies also a realization of how natural values influence policy making, and there is thus a path dependency between the reason for conservation and the regulations.

The aim of protecting this area, according to the conservation regulations, is to

conserve a larger, substantially untouched area that secures biodiversity with ecosystems, species and stocks, geological occurrences, and cultural heritage. Of special importance is the unique flora. Further, to stimulate nature and landscape experiences without interventions through performing traditional outdoor life activities. Securing the natural basis inside the National Park is important for Sámi culture and economic activity. The area might be used for reindeer husbandry. (FOR 2004-01-09 nr 08: §2)

The conservation regulations for Junkerdal National Park specify both the extent and the content of the conservation status for landscape, vegetation, fauna, cultural heritage, traffic/access, motorized traffic, and pollution and noise. The regulations are detailed and distinguish between what is allowed, what requires application for dispensation from the regulations, and what is prohibited (FOR 2004-01-09 nr 08). I will not refer here to those rules related to access. In general, the regulations specify that all vegetation, flora, fauna, and cultural heritage are conserved, and introduction of new species is forbidden. The area can, however, still be used as pastures, for harvesting berries and mushrooms, and for hunting and fishing. Restoration of buildings might be permitted after application. Motorized traffic is forbidden on both land and water, and in the air below 300 meters. Necessary traffic by police, military, rescue teams, fire brigades, and monitoring authorities is allowed. Transportation of hurt or sick cattle is permitted when management authorities are notified. Management authorities might allow motorized traffic on bare ground, mainly for livestock and reindeer owners (FOR 2004-01-09 nr 08 2004; Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2008).

The main principle related to traffic and access is that it must take due care and take vegetation, flora, and fauna into consideration. Guided hikes arranged by trekking associations, universities, schools, day cares, and idealistic groups and organizations are permitted. In the case of expected damaging effects of

organized access, one must get permission from the conservation authorities. The regulations do not refer to the Right of Access, but earlier, in Section 4.4.2, I showed that one also needs permission of a landowner for organized access to a certain extent.

6.2 POSSIBLE SCOPE OF ACTION – OPERATIONAL RULES IN PLACE IN JUNKERDAL NATIONAL PARK

In order to discuss the actors' scope of action, we need to know more about the structure of the situation (as discussed in Section 2.3.1). This will give insight into the situation that boundedly rational individuals experience. Further, by discussing what is new with the operational rules, we will see if any real institutional changes have occurred for the actors, and discuss some possible outcomes of the policy decision and implementation. In this chapter, I discuss the operational rules for nature-based tourism activities in Junkerdal National Park, and will focus on the two lock-in events (the Right of Access and conservation of private property) identified in Chapter 4, as well as the conservation regulations and management plan for the park, as introduced in the preceding chapter.

The operational rules are summarized in Table 7 according to the following distinctions: whom the rules are valid for, what is permitted, required, and forbidden (based on Ostrom's *deontic*, which separates what actors may, must, and must not do (Ostrom 2005)), and if any preceding actions should or might be undertaken.

With the Right of Access, tourism operators are permitted to have organized and commercial activities on other people's property, but must show due care to the landowner and the resources on the land. They are encouraged to write contracts with landowners specifying what is arranged, and relate it to the Right of Access. The contract should also include an overview of how potential damages and inconveniences can be compensated. However, no agreement on payment related to use of the Right of Access is allowed, but landowners are permitted to take payment for renting out equipment such as canoes, skies, fishing rods, and for activities that are based on the Right of Access like canoeing, skiing, and transportation of equipment. This means that they cannot demand payment if they have prepared a ski trail or made simple footbridges on a trail. These improvements are considered open as part of the Right of Access (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2008a).

Table 7: The operational rules for nature-based tourism in Junkerdal National Park.

	Right of Access	Private property	Conservation regulations	Management plan
Valid for	Everyone	Everyone	Everyone	Everyone
Permitted	Organized and commercial access in outfields Get paid for renting out equipment and activities based on use of the Right of Access	Use protected area even though it is private land	Guided and organized hikes Maintenance of existing buildings, cultural heritage, signs, trails and so on ^a Harvest and withdrawal of berries, mushrooms, windfall, and so on Fishing and hunting ^b	Zone management according to the conservation regulations
Required	Show caution to landowner Inform your guests of the Right of Access	Not distinguished between private and public property	Show caution to natural values and to avoid pollution and noise	Show caution to natural values Show caution to reindeer
Forbidden	Use of infields Get paid for use of the Right of Access Exclusive rights	(see information under Right of Access, Conservation regulations, and Management plan)	Use of motorized transportation	According to the zone management and the conservation regulations
Preceding actions	Permission from landowner Contract with landowner	Related to the Right of Access, the Conservation regulations, and the Management plan	Apply for dispensation from the conservation regulations Inform and make agreements with landowner	Apply for dispensation from the conservation regulations Inform and make agreements with landowner

^a New developments might be permitted after application to the management authority

^b According to ruling legislation and the rights holders' rules

Conservation of private property has only limited effect on the scope of action for business actors, and must be viewed together with the conservation regulations. Basically, there is no distinction between private or public land, the property regimes are treated equally. Regulations on private property are related by both the Right of Access and the conservation regulations.

The conservation regulations and the management plan for a particular protected area must be studied together in order to gain a clear understanding of the operational rules. The regulations present the operational rules, and the management plan might add some more information. The main principle in conservation regulations is not a distinction between types of access, but rather the consequences of the access. This principle is difficult to manage since it is based on hindsight more than on a precautionary principle. However, the conservation regulations permit guided and organized hikes, maintenance of existing buildings and installations, and harvesting and withdrawal of berries, mushrooms, etc., and fishing and hunting. As stated, people who use the Right of Access should keep in mind the natural values and biodiversity, and show caution to them. Motorized transportation is prohibited (FOR 2004-01-09 nr 08 2004).

The management plan for Junkerdal National Park distinguishes three zones (Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2008): the conservation zone, the use zone, and the accommodation zone. The regulations are stricter for the conservation zone and least strict in the accommodation zone, thus altering the basis for choices made by rational actors (see Section 2.2.2). The conservation zone comprises almost half of the area in the national park, mainly the northwest and eastern sides of Balvatn Lake. The use zone comprises the other half of the area, and is mainly the western and southwestern sides of Balvatn Lake. In between there is one accommodation zone, east of the dam at Balvatn Lake on the Sulis side. The management plan regulates the types of activities permitted in each zone. In the conservation zone, new developments are not permitted, and in the use zone, information measures and building of bridges might be permitted. The accommodation zone is also open for new measures such as boat bays, trails for wheelchair users, and so on (Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2008).

Yet another distinction made in the management plan is related to those activities that require applications for exemption. Such activities include unorganized use of horses, pack animals, and bikes in the conservation zone and organized use of horses, pack animals, and bikes in the whole national park between May 1st and October 1st, use of vehicles pulled by dogs, organized dog tests, sports arrangements, and organized tent camping (Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2008). The reasoning behind this is related to the possible environmental damages to the soil during summer—an example on how ecological considerations are the basis for

societal decisions on use of these areas (McGinnis and Ostrom 2011; Ostrom 2007a, 2009; Ostrom et al. 2007). The activities allowed in Junkerdal National Park and the rules that regulate business actors' scope of action, which I described above, are summarized in Table 7.

During the overall interviews for my research, I learned that lack of knowledge regarding the conservation regulations and the management plan lead to a perceived scope of action that is stricter than the actual permitted scope of action. Thus, many informants thought they could not undertake several activities which they in fact could undertake. Interestingly, my interviews in Junkerdal showed that this was not the situation here; the interviewees had good knowledge of what was allowed in the national park. It is difficult to identify why the perceived scope of action is closer to the real scope of action in Junkerdal National Park than some of the other protected areas. It might be that the process that led to the conservation decision and the management plan process together made people more aware of the national park, and increased the general knowledge of prohibitions and possibilities. This is illustrated by a quote that focuses on increased knowledge as one of the results of deliberative processes (which are discussed more thoroughly in Section 6.3):

In the beginning, I do not think people understood. It is typical that you are protective of your area. You are afraid that you can no longer do what you used to do. You are afraid that someone will take something from you, something you feel ownership over ... But after we had more meetings and people understood what this involved and how we handled it, that we wanted to learn of every aspect of use, then people understood. (public authority, Junkerdal National Park)

If the operational rules identified here are not followed, there are some sanctions available. For the Right of Access, these sanctions are identified in the Outdoor Recreation Act and include ticketing and removal of physical barriers, as well as stricter judicial measures (prison) when necessary (LOV 1957-06-28-16). For private property and in the conservation regulations, no sanctions are identified (FOR 2004-01-09 nr 08 2004), even though violating the conservation regulations means violating the Nature Diversity Act, thus enforcement and sanctions relate to this (LOV 2009-06-19 nr. 100). The management plan for Junkerdal National Park does not focus on sanctions either, apart from just stating that supervision is undertaken by Statskog SF and SNO. However, the regular jurisdiction related to pollution, water courses, etc. is valid also inside protected areas.

I now turn to discussing local and regional responses to the Mountain Text, and thus start with reviewing the conservation and management plan processes.

6.3 LOCAL AND REGIONAL RESPONSES – ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN TO IMPLEMENT AND FORMULATE THE POLICY

We have now seen which formal institutions set the limits and create the obstacles for people's actions (Ostrom 2005; Popper and Notturmo 1994) in Junkerdal National Park. But we still do not know how people actually act, and if the policy decision had any influence on people's actions. In Section 4.5, we learned that several measures were undertaken in an effort to implement the Mountain Text, but we also saw that it was a prolonged process. I will now discuss some of the actions undertaken in Junkerdal National Park to follow up the Mountain Text, and as a response to the claim for more local involvement. This includes a focus on challenges and obstacles as well.

6.3.1 Deliberative conservation and management plan processes

The work toward protecting Junkerdal started during spring 2000. Then the County Governor contacted Saltdal and Fauske municipalities to discuss alternative ways to organize the process rather than the more typical hierarchical top-down processes. Saltdal chose to combine it with municipal planning, thus merging planning according to the Planning and Building Act (LOV 2008-06-27-71) with the Nature Conservation Act (LOV 1970-06-19 nr. 63) and the openings in the circular letters related to the latter (Rundskriv T-3/99 1999; Rundskriv T-4/90 1990). Fauske chose to follow the regular planning process. For the municipal planning process, the mayor of Saltdal was chosen to lead a steering group that was also comprised of representatives of landowners, Nordland County Governor, the Norwegian Reindeer Husbandry Administration, and Nordland County Council (Godal et al. 2003).

The planning area included 1,247 km², hence almost double what was eventually decided upon. The purpose of the municipal planning was to focus on the relationship between conservation and use, and consideration of interests such as agriculture, tourism, minerals, recreation, natural values, and cabin and house building. This included consequence analysis of various subjects: cultural heritage, landscape, natural environments, outdoor recreation, cabins and building of cabins, power resources, minerals and mineral deposits, soil and forest resources, hunting and fishing, Sámi culture, reindeer husbandry, and tourism (Barlindhaug 2001; Ekanger and Eggen 2002; Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2002a,b,c,d,e; Riseth 2002; Sandstad 2002; Vistnes and Nellemann 2002; Øy 2002).

The combination of municipal planning and conservation planning in Saltdal municipality aimed to

- develop a use and conservation plan for a larger, naturally limited area;
- balance use and conservation interests in a naturally connected area;
- make the municipality responsible for and open to stronger local deliberation;
- create an agreement on future areas to be managed through the Planning and Building Act and the Nature Conservation Act; and
- include the population through good local, open, and inclusive processes. (Godal et al. 2003: 4)

By combining these processes they expected to ensure the best possible foundation for making decisions, secure good participation, stimulate innovation and creativity regarding use and conservation, ensure that area use in a naturally connected area is treated as a whole, and build up competence and improve the quality of planning processes (Godal et al. 2003). These processes are also a step in the direction of the more modern forms of governance (ref. discussions in Section 2.3.3), and a move away from the more hierarchical decision-making processes (Hovik et al. 2009; Røiseland and Vabo 2008a).

Evaluations of these processes earlier concluded that the solution reached gave greater utility for society, and that even though the processes were more expensive than usual it was believed that the effort would yield a quick⁶¹ and good process (Bay-Larsen and Sandersen 2005). Further, Bay-Larsen and Sandersen (2005) ask if a traditional conservation process would not have given a larger protected area. On the other hand, they conclude that the Junkerdal process probably led to a higher degree of conformity to the conservation regulations, which in turn will decrease the need for surveillance, control, and sanctioning. Unfortunately in this connection, the work with business development was given less attention during the municipal planning process, according to the authors, because municipal planning had been part of the conservation process, and not the other way around. Thus, the tradition from earlier conservation processes had decided the agenda. However, the process marked a paradigm change in the established routines and practices in the nature conservation work in Nordland, and in Norway in general. The process was followed in other areas such as Sjunghatten and Lomsdal-Visten national parks (Bay-Larsen 2006, 2010), and informants from Troms and Finnmark pointed to the importance of Nordland's very proactive role and the good reputation these processes have given the County Governor.

⁶¹ The County Governor in Nordland has concluded that this was the fastest conservation process until then in Norway (Bay-Larsen and Sandersen 2005).

Local people were very satisfied with how the processes had run, and the researchers who evaluated the processes had problems finding informants with negative attitudes (Sandersen and Stornes 2004). The steering group had nine members, the project group had five members, the advisory group on nature/culture/recreation had eleven members, and the advisory group on business had nine members. Additionally, many informants had been involved in the four area groups (Godal et al. 2003). Thus, numerous people were actively participating in the process in addition to those who gave an informational hearing aimed at answering questions and ensuring that the decisions were as well anchored in citizen's preferences as possible (Scharpf 1997). This model also shows a good example of the importance of focusing on the horizontal aspect of governance, since a whole range of organizations contribute to decision making (Pierre and Peters 2000; Rhodes 1996; Røiseland 2010). This horizontal type of integration of various actors has become increasingly important during the past several years, and encourages a kind of institutional development (Røiseland 2010), in this case, establishing new organizational forms comprised of stakeholders (Østerud et al. 2003).

After establishing Junkerdal National Park on January 9, 2004, the work on a management plan commenced late summer 2005. Also this work was undertaken in a more participatory manner. An advisory committee was established for this work, including representatives from both municipalities, the County Council, reindeer owners, private landowners, Statskog SF, and the recreation and conservation interests (Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2006). The purpose of the advisory committee was not only to participate in developing the management plan, but also to engage in management of the national park. The aims of the management plan include a focus on nature-based tourism, and the plan should contribute to development of sustainable nature-based tourism in the national park. The Mountain Text is also mentioned as one of the provisions for the work with the management plan. And it was emphasized that nature-based tourism must not affect the natural values (Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2006). The management authority has stated as their aim that they will have a positive attitude toward nature-based tourism in the work on the management plan, while simultaneously giving priority to conservation values over user values. The chain of priorities is stated as follows: natural values over recreation and reindeer interests, and recreation and reindeer interests over other interests (Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2006: 17). Thus, nature-based tourism comes at the very end in the list, and recreation and reindeer interests are put on equal footing.

Twenty-four (24) responses to the hearing were given on the proposal (Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2008). Access for organized groups was one of the themes given attention. Salten Regional Recreation Committee (Salten friluftsråd) wanted a clearer focus on the effects of access rather than on whether it is organized or not. Three local tourism companies asked for more positive views on organized access since this would provide a better overview of use of the national park, as well as a stronger focus on conservation, since the companies are local. They also wanted companies from other regions to use local guides/local companies (Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2008). The guidelines for tourism that were written in the proposal received some attention as well. The general comment was that management should ensure that value creation and business development is emphasized. Eight guidelines related to tourism are specified in the management plan and expected to be the foundation for tourists and companies (Fylkesmannen i Nordland 2008: 36-37):

1. Care for the natural values and ensure that businesses share their knowledge regarding Junkerdal National Park
2. Disturb the environment as little as possible
3. Respect the local traditions and culture
4. Increase visitor's knowledge and appreciation of nature and culture
5. Encourage visitors in both physical and mental recreation
6. Contribute to positive extended effects for local economy and employment
7. Work for good and responsible information and marketing
8. Encourage cooperation to plan and organize activities

Three measures are presented in the plan: establish a cooperation committee where tourism actors, management, surveillance authorities, and others can meet to exchange experiences; establish guidelines and principles for sustainable tourism inside Junkerdal National Park, including a strategy for information dissemination to tourism actors; and last, to carry through a pilot project of "Leave No Trace." Some of these measures were supposed to be carried out between 2008 and 2011 by the DN and the County Governor (measures 1 and 2) and by two businesses (measure 8). As of January 2012, these measures were still not implemented, and this might serve as a sign that there are lock-out actions at the operational level aimed at sustaining the conservation path (Greener 2005).

The lack of implementation of the measures related to tourism in the management plan implies less priority given to such measures. The question is if this is a conscious strategy of disregarding tourism development, or if these measures are given less priority related to other conservation and restoration measures inside Junkerdal National Park, and thus lose the attention of the

bureaucrats? Bay-Larsen (2012) argues that Norwegian environmental bureaucrats in general are skeptical of giving stakeholders and local authorities too much power due to their belief in natural sciences and scientific knowledge as the best way to handle environmental problems. Her arguments are thus confirmed by the lack of implementation of development aims in the management plan, because the bureaucrats at the County Governor's office are most able to work on developmental issues.

During the interviews it became clear that the differences between the processes chosen in Saltdal and Fauske municipalities have led to disappointment among people in Fauske municipality, and particularly in Sulitjelma. The main reason why Fauske decided to follow the more traditional conservation process was that they had recently reviewed the area plan: "When that process started we had already evaluated the area plan. And we were almost done with this review in Sulitjelma. So in order not to stop that process we chose to say no to participate fully, and participated on other terms" (public authority, Junkerdal National Park). However, the impression among people was different:

And that was a big disappointment for many, that the chosen solution in Fauske, because they had a bureaucrat who decided that "we do not have time." And thus it all failed. And we could have had the same process, or a joint process with Saltdal ... Fauske's process was the old one, and then you do not have anything to say. (public authority, Junkerdal National Park)

It was a tragedy that Fauske did not participate in the process, and that is partly to blame [for the result]. If some of us had participated the result would have been different. (tourism operator, Junkerdal National Park)

The fact that Fauske chose a different process was also emphasized as the main reason why the name of the national park changed from the suggested Junkerdal/Balvatn to Junkerdal. For the interviewees from Sulitjelma, this is a controversial and incomprehensible decision that resulted in "a personal insult for many that the national park is called Junkerdal" (public authority, Junkerdal National Park). Further, this might also cause problems in developing nature-based tourism on the Sulitjelma side of the park, since people there will not use the name Junkerdal National Park for the area, but rather refer to it as "Sulis." As one interviewee explained,

There is one thing I would like to say, which has been hard for me and still remains important ... it is a provocation with the name of the whole park which I feel has been forced upon us, in a way they baptized our area. We have never called it Junkerdal here up in the mountains ... but I know why it ended like that, and that was because of Fauske ... Saltdal was the active municipality. Even though most of the area is in Saltdal, the Sulis part of Saltdal has never been given any consideration. For example, the ski trails from here are driven by Fauske and not Saltdal. But of course for them it was important to get a name where the access point proved to be from the Saltdal side, and when Fauske was absent in all kind of preparatory work here, this is the result. But they will never get me to say that I am visiting Junkerdal National Park. (tourism operator, Junkerdal National Park)

For people in Sulitjelma the name decision was outrageous, and this was reinforced when the national park was officially opened with a ceremony in Saltdal:

When the national park was opened we had a festival here ... It is quite ironic that during a big festival in Inner Salten, all the politicians gathered in the neighboring municipality to open a national park which they could not even see from where they were. We could see the park from the window! (public authority, Junkerdal National Park)

Some of the reasoning behind the name discussion might stem from how the border between Saltdal and Fauske municipalities was initially staked out. Since both municipalities wanted access to the ore deposits, there were intense and difficult discussions. Many of the contested areas were given to Saltdal, but still people in Sulis feel that these areas are theirs, and belong to Sulis.

However, people in Saltdal were more satisfied with the planning process, and with the results from combining the conservation processes with area planning. One of the results was that the work on the management plan was easier and with fewer disputes:

It [the conservation process] resulted in less work with the management plan, to get it accepted. And there were meetings during the work with the management plan, there were meetings in every hamlet, where the County Governor and we were present, and, I felt that conflicts were reduced. (farmer, Junkerdal National Park)

Two interviewees address why Saltdal and Fauske had different processes and various results stemming from them, and they explain it by focusing on the prevailing discourse in the two municipalities. The fact that Fauske is closer to the regional center and that it is more of a small town than Rognan is one explanation why there are fewer conflicts between reindeer owners and other nature users in Saltdal than in Fauske, and illustrates the differences between the two places:

Fauske is a small-town society, while Saltdal is an agricultural village. We can tell the difference there. You have a different view if you are raised with agriculture and used to experience it. I hope more farmers will move to Fauske as well. (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park)

This quote might also serve as an explanation why Saltdal engaged more in the process than Fauske did, since rural areas appear to be of greater importance for Saltdal than for Fauske. Another explanatory factor is provided by a tourism operator:

Here in Saltdal we have high team spirit, and cooperation. This is the difference between Fauske and Saltdal. They argue open in the media at Fauske, and they do not work together, there are various constellations. Here we might have disagreements, but we work for "it" ... and have the same direction at least. (tourism operator, Junkerdal National Park)

We have now seen that the choices taken in Saltdal and Fauske municipalities regarding how they should participate in the conservation process have influenced people's opinions and their attitudes toward the protected area. This is in accordance with the results from the survey. Here both landowners/business actors and recreationalists agree with the statement that participation in conservation processes has led to increased knowledge of permitted activities in the protected area (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009: 60).

I will now turn to discuss the role of municipalities in promoting nature-based tourism, and will focus on their actions in the national parks and with developing nature-based tourism.

6.3.2 Municipal actions – the role of municipalities in increasing nature-based tourism

Municipalities are important in accommodating for nature-based tourism, a role that is specified in the Planning and Building Act (LOV 2008-06-27-71). This Act regulates conservation and use of resources and their development. Thus, the Act balances conservation with area development, and aims at promoting "sustainable development in the best interests of individuals, society and future generations" (LOV 2008-06-27-71: §1). There is also a focus on long-term solutions, including a description of environmental and social impacts. Municipalities are thus very important in planning, management, and use of the buffer zones in relation to protected areas, and they are emphasized several times in the work on promoting nature-based tourism when encouraging cooperation between municipalities, conservation authorities, and the tourism industry (Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning 2006). However, recent trends for municipalities include loss of some power, while also being given more responsibilities (Østerud et al. 2003).

The respondents in the survey were asked to evaluate whether their municipalities worked actively related to the protected areas (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009). Answers were given on a Likert scale ranging from their municipalities participate to a high degree (= 1) or to a small degree (= 5). The numbers presented in Figure 19 show how landowners and business actors evaluate municipalities' roles in their work related to nature-based tourism in protected areas.

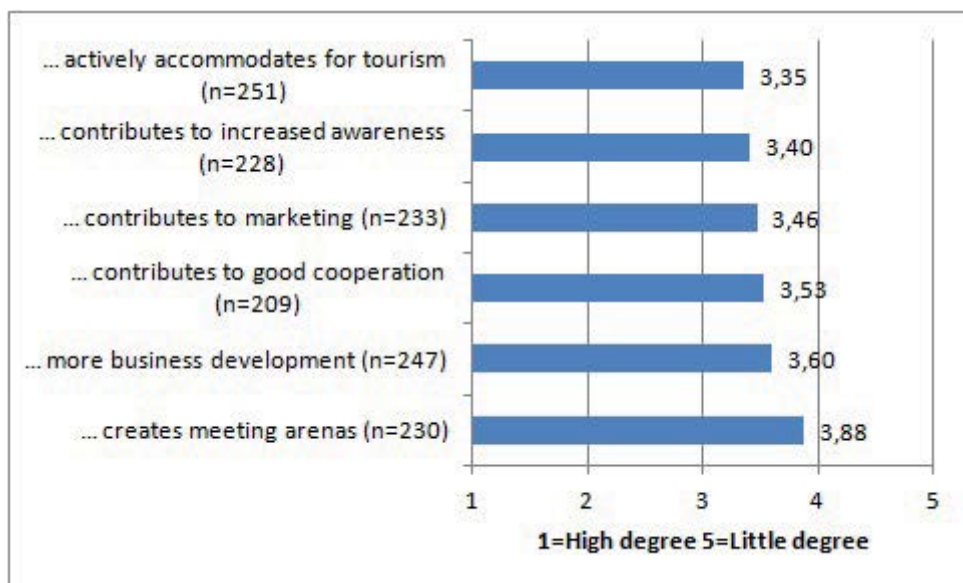


Figure 19: Evaluation of municipalities' work related to protected areas.

The general tendency is that municipalities are perceived as inactive in promoting nature-based tourism, and we see that respondents state that municipalities are minimally active in creating meeting arenas and cooperation, and with contributing to business development and marketing of protected areas. Thus, the survey showed that municipalities have a huge potential when it comes to actively working on developing protected areas as tourism destinations.

The findings from the survey are supported by the interviewees, as we have already seen. The different approaches chosen by Saltdal and Fauske during the conservation process have continued in subsequent work. Saltdal aimed to proactively develop nature-based tourism related to Junkerdal National Park, and in 2005 a project was initiated to develop business in protected areas. The project was funded by the County Governor, the County Council, Statskog SF, and Saltdal municipality. The project had start-up problems related to technical equipment and the start date of May 1st, when the tourism companies were in peak season without time to devote to the project. But when it finally got started, a gathering was arranged with participants from tourism-related businesses. They organized the work in various working groups, but these dissolved when they were supposed to start working. The project's steering group also dissolved in real life, but was formally still working. Consequently, the project leader was the only one working on the project, feeling that everyone expected him to do all the work. All in all, the project idea gained support but its development ended in failure. This means that the project failed in reaching the identified goals, and thus did not contribute more to developing nature-based tourism.

Fauske municipality has not implemented any measures related to nature-based tourism in their part of Junkerdal National Park but has engaged actively in the conservation process for another national park, Sjunkhatten, which encompasses around 88 km² of Fauske's area, thus a smaller area than Junkerdal. Fauske advertises Sjunkhatten National Park on its webpage, but not Junkerdal. Further, Fauske announced a competition for developing an access point to Sjunkhatten, but has not contributed to developing the information room at Balvatn Lake (one of the access points to Junkerdal). The different approaches might be explained based on Fauske's participation in the conservation processes, and the fact that it was more active in establishing Sjunkhatten, thus more engaged in activities there. Another explanation might be related to demographics. Sulitjelma, with its approximately 440 inhabitants, is near a popular winter tourist resort in Sweden and has had a decrease in population and labor. Valnesfjord, which is in Sjunkhatten's buffer zone, has around 1,550 inhabitants, is located not far from the regional center of Bodø, and has a health-building sport center as its main workplace with around 120 jobs. Therein lies a potential for positive interactions between Sjunkhatten National Park and the health-building sport center. Thus,

the environment in Valnesfjord is more vibrant, and more dependent on the national park than Sulitjelma.

However, Saltdal as a national park municipality has not yet succeeded in developing nature-based tourism activities. Some businesses were established partly as a result of the conservation decisions, but some of them have closed down already, and two of the mentioned bureaucratic obstacles within the municipality were one of the causes. This is illustrated well by a quote from one of the public authorities who emphasized that municipalities should have a more active and innovative role:

When developers or entrepreneurs come, they [municipalities] have to show every card, present what they have to [offer] and what the limitations are, everything. In a way, help them and provide them with as much information as possible rather than letting them eventually experience these "bombs" [obstacles] themselves. (public authority, Junkerdal National Park)

In both situations, the business actors felt that the municipalities did not actively participate in mitigating conflicts over area use, and that they did not regulate the buffer zones to target them for tourism. The business actors said that they do not know if these decisions were part of a strategic process in undermining nature-based tourism activities, or if they simply followed the ruling traditions. Any way we look at it, it is an example on how municipalities have to choose between different interests in their area planning, and how tourism activities related to protected areas are given less priority:

The municipality's role has been inert and not helpful I think. They have not understood their own role as a national park municipality. And we still have the same problems ... of what should a national park municipality do? There is no point in being a national park municipality if it is not used in any manner. (public authority, Junkerdal National Park)

Thus, even though business actors have good intentions and try to establish nature-based tourism activities related to protected areas, it appears that area planning processes oppose such developments due to reluctance in making more radical planning changes. Business actors have tried to work strategically and to influence bureaucrats, but the responses have so far been little: "In cooperation with the business executive we have tried to push those bureaucrats, but ... they act according to their own meanings and thoughts" (public authority, Junkerdal National Park). Hence, it seems that bureaucrats are influenced by their professional training and "trained incapacity" to focus on increasing use of protected areas (Bay-Larsen 2012). The same applies to a discussion of today's situation in India, in which there is clearly a top-down approach, and where Torri

(2011) states that there is a need for institutional measures to change the mentality of the conservation authorities.

Decisions about area planning are mainly political decisions, and bureaucrats have to comply with them. Thus, politics as well as bureaucrats' own preferences, norms, and institutions guide their actions (Elster 2007). In this setting, the bureaucrats follow on the traditional decision making and the ruling norms, and show little initiative to change them, thus sustaining the same path. The challenge then lies in establishing the Mountain Text as a policy that must be followed, and in order to succeed with the policy implementation, the ruling preferences, norms, and institutions will have to change (North 1990, 1993). But as North (1990, 1993) states, these processes are more time demanding than changes in formal rules. In this particular situation, this means that nature-based tourism in protected areas must become an area of commitment not only for politicians, but also for bureaucrats, thus there must be a change from the conservation path to a conservation-and-use path. The institutional framework is still based on conservation, which increases the obstacles for the individual business operator.

Another factor that might have been important in the decision to close down one of the businesses is the lack of trust between the business actor and other people in the village (Coleman 1990; Ostrom and Ahn 2009). As a foreigner, the business actor might not have known the area's traditions, and might not have been a part of the networks there. He was not a farmer either, and could not apply for agricultural funding. Hence, this business actor was an "outsider" who had problems becoming part of the already established network.

As discussed here, we see that one limitation with the Mountain Text's implementation so far relates to the municipalities' actions and roles. Even though municipalities and business actors claim more funding and stronger commitment from the government related to increasing nature-based tourism, it still depends on the municipalities' role in encouraging and accommodating for the individual actors—the entrepreneurs. The municipalities can contribute to a change in the operational rules, but when they are reluctant to do this, business entrepreneurs still have the same limited scope of action as before. Further, both the business actor and the bureaucrats who regulate area planning in the buffer zones are dependent on each other and must cooperate in order to succeed with increasing nature-based tourism.

6.3.3 Development of nature-based tourism activities – strong acceptance for organized access for groups

I earlier identified the Right of Access as a lock-in event and essential in developing nature-based tourism in Norway. As discussed in Section 4.4, the question of organized access is one that has been very important for landowners, and one of the cases related to the Outdoor Recreation Act, which is commonly discussed. The Right of Access in mountainous areas is not very controversial, but there have been several disputes related to the Right of Access along the coastline, particularly in southern Norway (Reusch 2012). The issue related to *organized* access has been discussed in relation to accessing mountainous areas. This section will focus on people's opinions regarding organized and commercial access, showing that such use of the Right of Access has high support.

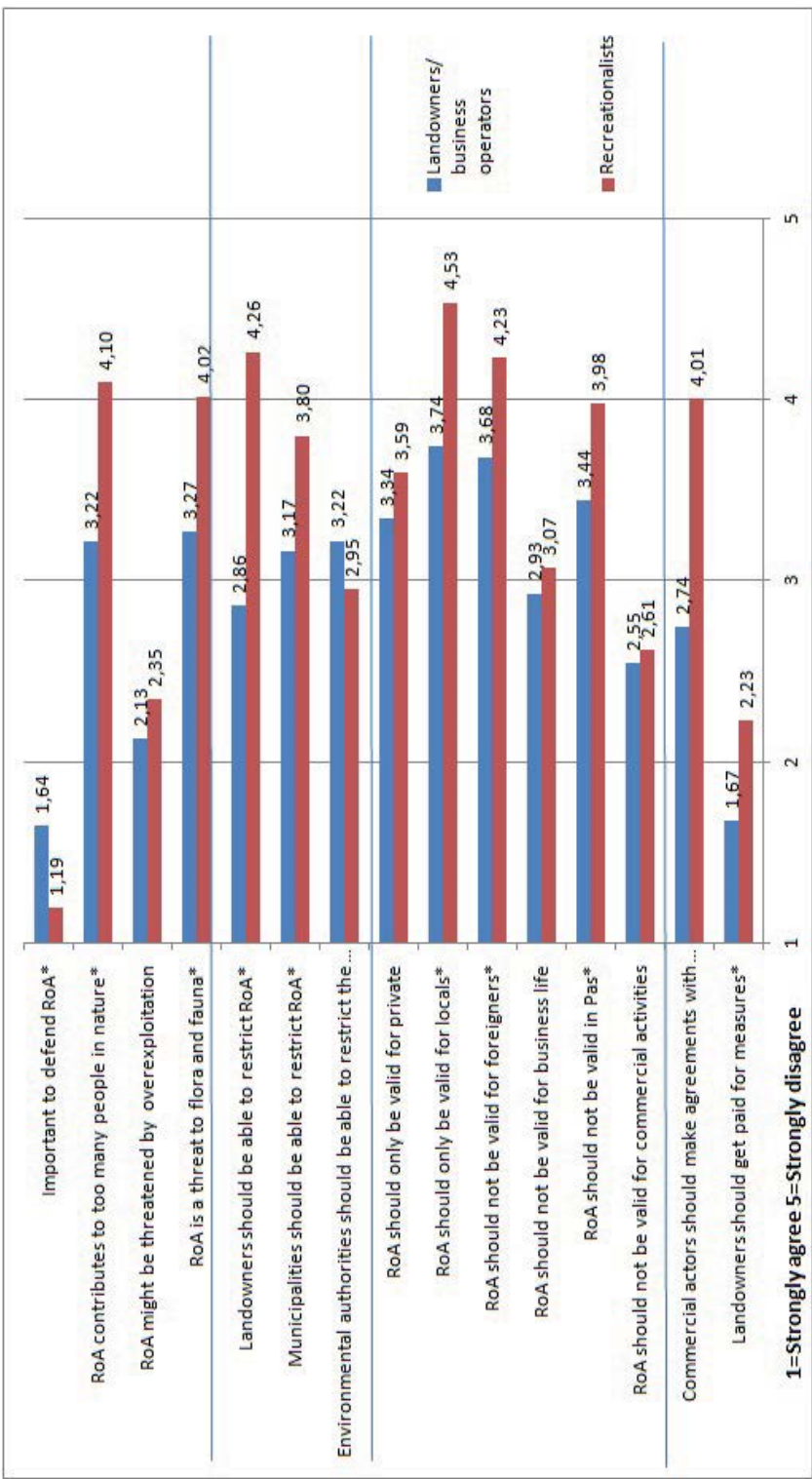
In the survey undertaken in 2008, the respondents were asked for their opinions related to several statements regarding the Right of Access. The responses presented in Figure 20 show that the Right of Access has very strong support, even among landowners and business actors.⁶² The answers were given on a Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (= 1) to strongly disagree (= 5). And the respondents are categorized in two groups: landowners and business actors, and recreationalists visiting these areas by themselves.

First we see that both groups strongly support the Right of Access since they place themselves between agree and strongly agree on the question of defending the Right of Access. This result proves that the Right of Access is accepted and considered important for both recreationists and landowners/business operators. Further, both groups disagree with the statement that the Right of Access contributes to a situation of too many people in nature; recreationalists disagree more than landowners/business actors. Both groups worry that overexploitation might be a threat to the Right of Access, and they disagree that the Right of Access is a threat to flora and fauna.

The survey asked if some groups should be able to restrict the Right of Access, and here we see some clear differences between recreationalists and landowners/business operators. The general tendency, however, is that neither group agrees that landowners, municipalities, or environmental authorities should be able to restrict the Right of Access. However, recreationalists disagree more than landowners/business operators on statements that landowners and municipalities should be able to restrict the Right of Access.

⁶² Note that the questions go in different directions so that each statement must be read carefully.

The next category of statements asks if the Right of Access should be valid only for a group of users or activities. Here we also see the same tendency; both groups disagree with making the Right of Access valid only for private, locals, or foreigners, and recreationalists disagree more strongly than landowners/business operators. The survey also asked if the Right of Access should not be valid for business life; here the response was close to neutral. Both groups move toward disagreement with the statement that the Right of Access should not be valid in protected areas. On the last statement in this set—if the Right of Access should not be valid for commercial activities—both groups moved slightly toward agreement.



* significant difference between the groups = 0.05

Figure 20: Respondents' opinions related to the Right of Access (mean).

The answers to the last set of statements show that the two groups diverge in their opinions. The first statement is that commercial actors should make agreements with landowners, a statement that gains some agreement from landowners/business operators, but where recreationalists disagree. This disagreement is probably related to a concern that such activities might harm or disturb the more traditional recreational activities. The last statement is if landowners should get paid for measures they undertake related to the Right of Access. Here both groups agree, and landowners/business operators are between agree and strongly agree, while recreationalists share a weaker agreement.

Thus, even with some small variations, Figure 20 shows that the Right of Access has strong support among the respondents, that there is a broad agreement on keeping the Right of Access open for everyone to use, that no groups should have priority over other groups, and that commercial activities are accepted as part of the Right of Access. Sweden has more or less the same understanding of this as Norway, while Denmark and Iceland have some specific regulations emphasizing that landowners must give their permission for commercial activities (Reusch 2012).

These survey results I interpret as giving nature-based tourism operators the needed legitimacy for developing activities on other people's properties. These findings agree with other researchers' findings regarding the Right of Access. Support for the Right of Access is explained with the densely populated areas in Scandinavia, the tradition of freedom for the farmers, and the Germanic legal tradition of split property rights. And landowners' support might be explained by the fact that even though land ownership is an individual right, it also means that everyone has the right to access the land (Colby 1988).

Through my in-depth interviews, I found various understandings of the formulations regarding organized access and the various strategies for how to cope with this regulation:

Problems related to organized access. Since this is restricted we have asked how it is if we enter in groups with some meters between us [laughing] if we then are considered individuals? ... We cannot arrange trips for one or two persons unless they are wealthy. At least not with a guide. (tourism operator, Junkerdal National Park)

I will never apply for accessing with a group ... If asked, I would have said that we incidentally met and joined together. (public authority, Junkerdal National Park)

Those two quotes show that there is a need for clearer definitions of access for organized groups that are easier to comprehend for those who use the national park. The first quote gives an example of how the application procedure might complicate the process. That procedure is also problematic for reindeer owners, and the quote below is another illustration of how actors develop strategies to cope with the regulations:

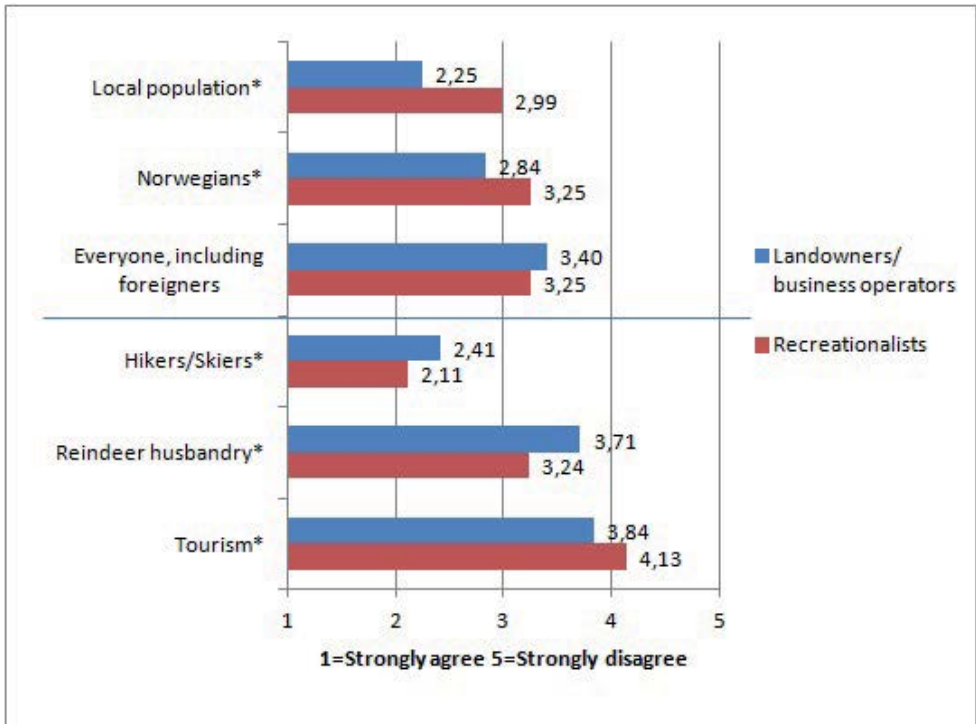
Applying for exemptions [for using motorized transportation] is a conflict that might develop. All districts will oppose the exemption arrangements. We might even test it legally before the districts are forced [to use them]. (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park)

The survey supports accepting organized activities such as horseback riding, dog sledding, skiing, and hiking, and both groups agree on this (landowners/business operators' mean score was 1.83 and recreationalists' mean score was 2.05 on a Likert scale where strongly agree = 1 and strongly disagree = 5).

The question related to commercial activities was also asked in relation to protected areas. We asked if some activities and organizers should have priority in protected areas. The answers were given on a Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (= 1) to strongly disagree (= 5) with the respondents grouped into landowners/business actors and recreationalists. The results are presented in Figure 21 and shows that tourism is the least prioritized activity in protected areas, in accordance with the formal prioritization in the management plan.

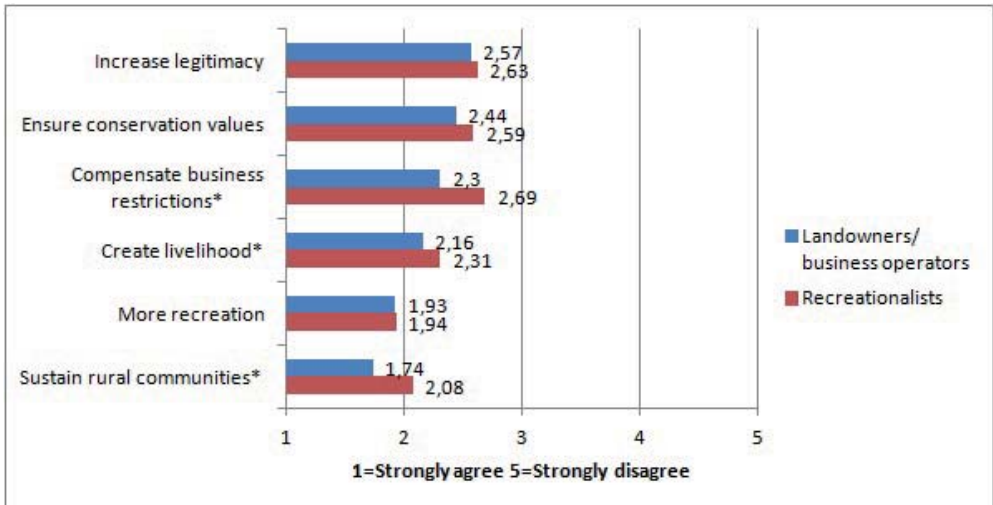
The results show that landowners/business operators are more open to restricting the right to arrange commercial activities to local populations. The second set of statements asks if some kind of activity should have priority in protected areas, and we see here that both groups slightly disagree on giving tourism priority. On the other side, both groups slightly agree that hiking and skiing should have priority. Reindeer husbandry falls between those activities.

In Figures 20 and 21, we see that organized and commercial activities are accepted in protected areas as long as they are not given priority over other uses of protected areas. Thus, for tourism businesses there is an acceptance that they can undertake their activities. In Figure 22, I present respondents' opinions on whether nature-based tourism would be the correct strategy for increasing legitimacy, ensuring conservation values, compensating for business restrictions, creating livelihood, more recreation, and sustaining rural communities.



*significant difference between the groups (0.05)

Figure 21: Respondents' opinions regarding giving priority to specific types of activities in protected areas (mean).



*significant difference between the groups = 0.05

Figure 22: Respondents' opinions regarding nature-based tourism as the correct strategy for contributing to local development (mean).

The results show that nature-based tourism gains support in general, and that there are small differences between the two groups. The two factors that gain the most support are to contribute to more recreation and to sustain rural communities, thus in accordance with the sub-objectives in the Mountain Text as identified in Table 3. To increase the protected areas' legitimacy and to ensure conservation values were given the least priority jointly, while both groups agreed more strongly that to compensate for business restrictions and to create local livelihood are important results of nature-based tourism.

In summary, this section shows that the Right of Access and commercial use of protected areas have support. These findings are important since they might contribute to increasing the legitimacy of the policy decision, thus add to a growing acceptance of nature-based tourism in protected areas. However, it seems that succeeding with nature-based tourism is still difficult, and the next section will therefore discuss some of the identified challenges and obstacles for developing nature-based tourism.

6.3.4 Identified challenges and obstacles for developing nature-based tourism

I now turn to Junkerdal National Park again, and present some of the findings related to plans, challenges, and obstacles to developing nature-based tourism activities. They are based on the in-depth interviews, and include geographical aspects, strong discourses, increased bureaucracy, and farm-based entrepreneurship.

Internationally, many parks are not equipped to handle increasing tourism, particularly international tourism. Obstacles that are presented include the lack of tourism management capability, sufficient staff, and infrastructure (Eagles 2002). The challenges and obstacles presented here are somewhat different, and might contribute to factors suggested by Eagles (2002).

Sulitjelma is on a dead-end road while the other villages are connected to thoroughfare roads. This means that Sulitjelma faces more challenges than the other places in attracting tourists, even though it has many regional tourists. But on the other hand, as expressed by one of the interviewees, Sulitjelma has an "enormous potential when it comes to accessing Sarek, Padjelanta or Stora Sjøfall⁶³ since it is a much shorter distance to enter from Sulis than from the access points in Sweden" (public authority, Junkerdal National Park). Thus, the great Swedish national parks might help attract people to Sulitjelma. This is

⁶³ The large, old Swedish national parks that are now part of the World Heritage Area "Laponia."

connected to a history of cooperation with the Swedish side, and one company prefers to cooperate with business actors on the Swedish side rather than local businesses:

We have tried to cooperate with the new companies, and we think they are a bit frightened ... We have to cooperate here in this small village. It is easier to cooperate with actors on the Swedish side, they are professional with tourism. (tourism operator, Junkerdal National Park)

Another tourism operator stated that they are not sure if Junkerdal will be the targeted national park or if they will work toward the Swedish national parks instead: "We have some ideas [on future developments], but if they will be implemented in Junkerdal or not, or if we move across the border to Padjelanta or Sarek, Sarek is a more exciting national park" (tourism operator, Junkerdal National Park). The tourism operator presented several ideas, but came back to the fact that they have to be discussed in relation to the conservation regulations first, and that they are still working on figuring out what to develop.

One identified problem for tourism in Sulitjelma is the fact that there is already a snowmobile trail there, which attracts many people, and which is considered the best possibility in developing tourism. This was well illustrated by one of the interviewees: "Sulis [Sulitjelma] has been a community of men with a macho culture, which makes me breathless when I think of it ... I mean, recreation is to have an engine between your legs" (public authority, Junkerdal National Park). Thus, based on the interviewee's comment, local people have difficulty realizing that hikers and skiers also leave money behind while travelling, and that accommodating for them might be an option:

People in Sulis and those who call themselves mountain people and who aim to develop tourism and such ... they say that those who hike or ski in the mountains do not leave any money. It is announced and approved. And we have no arguments to answer them with. (public authority, Junkerdal National Park)

On the other hand, one tourism company experienced that visitors to the national park were mostly self-sufficient, and did not need their payable services:

Those who visit the national park do not come here. They ask for a glass of water, walk around in hiking boots, and are supposed to be without water and such. Dreamers. They collect national parks because it gives them status. (tourism operator, Junkerdal National Park)

This reflects an opinion that individual tourists might not be the target group for nature-based tourism companies, a finding that was emphasized in the PROBUS project. Several firms market their activities only abroad based on an assumption that Norwegians do not need and would never pay for activities, or participate in organized activities. This is probably a result of Norwegians' history of nature use, and the strong socialization process related to outdoor recreation. One of the interviewees said that he doubted local people would care about the national park status in their choice of recreational area, thus they would not pay for activities either.

One of the common strategies in developing tourism now is to focus on "packages" that include travel, accommodation, food, and a guide. One such effort was cooperation between a tourism company and a hotel. The first year ended with heavy discussions related to income, and how to share it. Since the tourism company provided the activity and the hotel provided the guests, they were unable to agree on how to share the profit. Thus the next year they broke the agreement, and the hotel arranged their own activities and bought new equipment, thus making major investments. The same efforts were undertaken in Saltdal as part of the tourism project there, but the initiatives ended there as well: "It has been like 'no, that is not how we thought we would do this because we have always done it like this' and then they protect their own little business or activity" (public authority, Junkerdal National Park). Another view came from one farmer: "We who live here, we have not done anything like that [establishing tourism businesses], so it is almost so that it must be people from outside who see the possibilities." Consequently, innovation meets not only bureaucratic obstacles, but might also face challenges because it represents a break with the traditions, and a move away from the Law of Jante.⁶⁴

For the reindeer owners, the increased bureaucracy also had effects on their way of life:

We must maneuver between all kinds of departments, and I feel that, somehow, you better be careful ... You must maneuver between so many departments, you feel so small. Theoretically there are possibilities for this and that, but what we experience in real life is totally different, and incredibly strenuous. You feel so powerless. (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park)

⁶⁴ In his novel *En flyktning krysser sitt spor* (1933), Aksel Sandemose described the Law of Jante as group behavior toward individuals being a negative reaction to individuals' success and achievement, thus a criticism of a mentality that discourages those who stand out from the group.

Also, tourism businesses experience challenges with the bureaucracy, and this contributed to one business closing down. This was a dog sledding company that states that they closed their business due to municipal inefficiency. After they started as a tourism company, the owner believed they had more obstacles than if they had started as a farm, and had built their tourism business on that. According to the owner, they would then have fallen under agricultural development, and would have had a stronger position with the municipality and their neighbors. This also relates to the discussion earlier regarding the municipalities' role, and it seems that a municipality is better prepared to deal with agricultural developments and innovation in the agricultural field rather than to change area plans. This agrees with what informants in PROBUS have emphasized, that it is easy to develop tourism as a subsidiary income to an existing farm due to the subsidiary schemes introduced by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food (as discussed in Section 3.2).

Further, "We are worried that we become swallowed by the state's regulations. We cannot live a real life, a nomadic life. The youth have a totally different stressful situation now" (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park). In the survey, bureaucracy was identified more as the main negative effect of conservation by those with business activities outside the protected area, and as the second most negative effect by those conducting business activities inside a protected area (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009: 29). But the conservation decision is by itself identified as a problem for reindeer owners, especially in summer:

During winter it [the conservation status] does not have any influence, not a direct influence. The only thing that makes a difference, even during winter, is that it is a national park. Everyone wants to ski in the national park ... you get more traffic. And on bare ground there is a totally different rule set with a national park related to motorized bare ground driving. (reindeer owner)

One of the reindeer owners expressed a desire that reindeer husbandry should have the same priority as the conservation values by protecting it alongside nature:

What we desire is that reindeer husbandry be conserved the same way as protected areas. That reindeer husbandry gets a conservation status. It must have that so that it might withstand other interests. There will always be new ways to try on something. (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park)

However, the desire for conserving reindeer husbandry is not related to conservation of the traditional reindeer husbandry, but rather related to giving priority to reindeer husbandry in protected areas (in opposition to the findings presented in Figure 21). Thus the desire for conservation of the reindeer

husbandry by reindeer owners seems to be a desire for conservation of the freedom to further develop it according to their standards and desires.

Another identified challenge relates to the fact that there are multiple uses of a protected area, hence nature-based tourism is only one of several activities undertaken there. This is discussed in the following section.

6.3.5 Nature-based tourism related to other uses of protected areas

Throughout the interviews, various examples of conflicts between users of protected areas were presented (Bay-Larsen and Fedreheim 2008). Examples given in Junkerdal are related to dog sledding and skiing, and reindeer owners and recreationalists. The former is an example of a misunderstanding of the concept of a multi-use trail going to Balvatn Lake. "We have had occasions where people have stopped straight across the trail so that the person concerned had to drive across a lady's skies, with the dog team and the sledge, right?" (tourism operator, Junkerdal National Park). In the latter example, between reindeer owners and recreationalists, reindeer owners worry about the lack of knowledge about reindeer by people in general. They are concerned that people in the Junkerdal area are not aware of their disturbing effect on reindeer, and rather seek out reindeer:

Related to recreation there are different people here than in Finnmark. They are totally different. Another attitude or rather another understanding. In Finnmark if you see grazing reindeer you do not scare them. Nobody does that. Neither skiers nor snowmobile drivers nor those hunting grouse. They turn around. But that attitude is not apparent here. Nobody understands that you should turn around here if you see reindeers ... And this is not valid only for individuals, but also for the public authorities, and in particular Statskog [SF], or the environment authorities. (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park)

However, another reindeer owner distinguishes between local people and other people in how much knowledge they have of reindeer herding:

It gets crowded. They come from outside and do not know us, the reindeer husbandry, and who we are. Villagers have always hiked there, and are part of the Sámi population without reindeer. Then city people come, Europeans, who do not know anything. They become very interested in arctic animals, and seek out the reindeer. Try to get good pictures of this animal, which they can present when they get home. Norway makes their national parks into recreation areas. (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park)

The lack of knowledge about reindeer husbandry was one of the themes in the focus group interview, and the reindeer owners shared a common understanding that they had a problem there, and that they had to improve their skills on imparting knowledge in order to improve the relationship between them and recreationalists. Reindeer husbandry is more common and more noticeable in Finnmark than in Nordland, and this requires a more active approach from the reindeer owner's side in Nordland. Thus, the reindeer owners acknowledged that they had to reach out and ensure that local people, as well as guests to the area, possess or obtain the necessary knowledge regarding reindeer husbandry, disturbances, the effects of traffic on the reindeer, and how to behave around reindeer. This understanding relates to the fact that they acknowledged protected areas as important in safeguarding their pastures, but at the same time protecting areas lead to a worse situation in the border areas: "If it is a national park, the area is preserved against development. But worse, areas surrounding the national parks will be even more developed [since all developments will have to happen there]" (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park). Thus new borders for reindeer pastures must be created since, for example, cabin development takes place in the buffer zones. Other threats for the reindeer are kiting and dog sledding, and these activities force reindeer to move from those areas. The following quote shows how important communication and increased knowledge will be for accommodating the various uses of protected areas: "There must be a possibility to arrange it so that dog sledding is not undertaken where we have reindeer ... since we graze systematically" (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park).

In the case of Sulitjelma, I have already discussed how motorized transportation might be an obstacle for nature-based tourism development since it shapes the plans and thoughts of what might be developed. The question of motorized transportation is increasingly controversial in protected areas as well as outfields in general. In the survey, we asked what disturbed recreationalists' experiences in a protected area, and almost 16% answered driving with snowmobiles or ATVs. Between 6% and 8% answered encroachments, reindeer husbandry, noise (from airplanes, motorized transportation, dogs barking, etc.), and garbage as disturbing factors (Rønning and Fedreheim 2009). Thus, motorized transportation is not permitted in protected areas. In Sulitjelma, there is a need for a change in the belief that nature-based tourism must include motorized transportation: "As long as they are on the motorized idea there is not much to gain from the national park, then it is more bother than a possibility" (public authority, Junkerdal National Park). For reindeer owners, restrictions will mean that "you can have the reindeer in the area, but you cannot access it yourself!" (reindeer owner, Junkerdal National Park). Thus, the reindeer owner has a clear understanding of motorized transportation as necessary for tending to the reindeer, even though they also see possibilities with GPS monitoring (as mentioned in Section 3.2).

6.4 THE LACK OF JOINT ACTION TO INCREASE NATURE-BASED TOURISM IN PROTECTED AREAS

In Section 1.1, I identified the social dilemma that shapes the background for this dissertation. This dilemma is the fact that natural values are protected in order to safeguard biodiversity, while at the same time there is a stronger focus on providing the potential for personal economic gains that might contribute to overusing the protected areas. The Mountain Text did remove a ban on commercial tourism in some protected areas (see Section 4.2), and hence allowing nature-based tourism. This, however, is a change in operational rules, which was not effective for Junkerdal National Park, since the policy decision came before the conservation decision. Thus, for Junkerdal the policy decision has not led to any changes, which implies that the lack of change in operational rules here contributes to solving a potential social dilemma. Then it remains to conclude whether implementation of the policy decision and defined measures has led to changes and other possibilities for nature-based tourism operators in Junkerdal. This section discusses this while summarizing the previous discussions of operational rules and local and regional responses.

In Table 3, I made a distinction of the main and sub-objectives of the Mountain Text, and the activities identified in the policy decision. These objectives and activities were unclear and vaguely defined, leaving room for interpretation. Figure 13 presented a timeline of measures and strategies implemented following the Mountain Text, separating measures directly related to the policy decision from others related to nature-based tourism in general. What is evident from Table 3 and Figure 13 is that both objectives and measures are more structural and directed toward ensuring that the structures for nature-based tourism are in place rather than assuring individual motivation. Some policy studies restrict their focus to these structures (e.g. H. Ingram and Schneider 1990), but there is more to gain from including a focus on how boundedly rational individuals act and contribute to policy implementation. Hence, this chapter has also focused on how individuals have tried to cope with policy objectives and measures, and which factors have prevented the policy from succeeding. From this we learned that these individuals' actions are very important for success of the policy. Thus, when there is a lack of motivating measures that might encourage individuals to change their actions, there is also poorer implementation of the policy.

In the Mountain Text, the focus on the individual is not clear, nor is the focus on other operational rules regulating the same spatial area (as discussed for collective-choice arenas and overlapping policies in Section 5.3). The consequence we see from this is that the measures and strategies do not reach the individual, which also complicates policy implementation and goal achievement. However, in

the agricultural field we have seen that the situation was somewhat different with several measures directed toward the individual. Thus, measures directed toward development of subsidiary jobs have been successful and are highly valued. This might also imply that there is a stronger focus on the target group in the agricultural sector than in the environmental sector. In the Mountain Text, there is no defined target group, a factor which might further complicate implementation. This, however, is an understudied issue, and there is a need to understand more about the connections between successful policies and positive target reactions (Kiviniemi 1986; Schneider and Ingram 1993; Schneider and Sidney 2009; Winter 2006).

We have seen that the policy decision did not change any operational rules, nor did it have the power to change other operational rules such as those related to motorized transportation, encroachments inside a protected area to accommodate visitors, and so on. Thus, the argument from Chapter 5 that overlapping policies complicate policy implementation is also valid when studying operational rules.

The fact that the policy decision was announced widely and gained strong support increased attention to and confidence in it, and made individuals believe that something would happen. The declaration from 2004 (as presented in Section 4.5) is a clear example of the expectations and optimistic attitudes shared by numerous organizations that the policy decision would influence development locally (WWF et al. 2004). Individuals, however, do not know much about the Mountain Text, and we have seen that many of the measures discussed here did in some degree contribute to development, but many efforts failed as well. The questions that remain to be answered, then, are why has it had restricted impact and why were the implemented measures mainly organizational and structural when the policy appeared to be commonly accepted and supported?

There are several answers to these questions that will be addressed in Chapter 7, but I will give some preliminary answers here as well, based on the discussion of operational rules and local and regional approaches. We have seen that more deliberative conservation plan and management plan processes led to improved structures for business development. This is reflected by the different attitudes in Fauske and Saltdal municipalities, and the different approaches to Junkerdal and Sjunghatten national parks by Fauske. However, even though these processes provided a good foundation in Saltdal, they still did not produce the project aimed at increasing value creation from protected areas, and several businesses closed. In those cases, we saw that the municipality did not accommodate these businesses, and thus did not give the Mountain Text priority.

Policy measures must, according to H. Ingram and Schneider (1990; Schneider and Ingram 1990), rely on authority, incentives, capacity building, appeal to symbols, and learning. So far, I conclude that the Mountain Text has not had well-suited measures and tools to motivate the actors involved in policy implementation to contribute to achieving the policy's objectives. This is a topic that demands more research in the future.

It is still difficult to target measures toward individuals, since they are different and have "complex motivations including narrow self-interest as well as norms of proper behavior and other-regarding preferences" (Ostrom 2005: 191). Thus prioritization must be done in order to decide on which motivations and preferences should be given priority over others. The statement that "institutions matter" has gained support by the studies and analysis in this dissertation, and we have seen that numerous institutions have provided a good foundation, but that individuals' actions have not yet been in accordance with the policy's objectives, thus there is still a good potential for nature-based tourism to develop in protected areas.

In a situation as described in this dissertation, nature-based tourism is only one of several strategies applied in protected areas. First, this type of tourism is supposed to encourage value creation in a protected area. Thus, in order to succeed there should have been changes in some of the adjacent operational rules to make conditions better for the business actor. This has not occurred so far. Second, value creation is only one of several policies in force in the same area, and there is a lack of communication between these policies. Even though the Mountain Text has contributed to development of several structures and institutions, no structures have been developed to ensure communication and cooperation horizontally, between the different collective-choice arenas. Also, the more vertical approach has just recently been developed, and I doubt if the National Park Board will prove capable of contributing to the development of nature-based tourism in the next several years.

As shown in the discussion above, it seems like the policy has a low probability of success even though there clearly is a high potential for this, which implies a negative view on the successful implementation of the policy (Hill and Hupe 2009). This is to some extent true, but it is related to the dilemma between conservation and tourism, which will be discussed more in Chapter 7. However, the structures for developing nature-based tourism are in place: organized and commercial access of outfields, including protected areas, is legitimate and is gaining support; the conservation path has started to manifest itself as the sustaining path; there is an increasing focus on development of tourism packages;

and the market for nature-based tourism activities is global, without borders. Thus, the potential is evident, and there are many positive trends.

So what should policy makers do then, in order to succeed with the implementation of this policy, and which concrete recommendations can be given to them? And how can the focus be turned from explaining why things did not work as intended to discussions of what did function? And how can research assist those who are involved in policy formulation and implementation? In order to answer such questions a field of research has emerged focusing on policy recommendations (Hill and Hupe 2009), emphasizing that such recommendations must be knowledge based. This dissertation does not give concrete recommendations to policy makers, but rather summarizes the factors that in the situation discussed here might have contributed to more value creation on Norway's green gold.

First, we have learned that structural changes were not followed by institutional changes, and we can therefore state that *policy decisions should specify the expected changes in institutions* (in both related policies and those with overlapping interests). This is necessary for the policy to increase its legitimacy and power related to other policies. Second, and this is related to the first principle—*policy implementation should include a focus on changes in the prevailing path*—a policy decision will in many cases also include an institutional change related to a certain path, a break from the prevailing path, but we have seen here that there has not been enough emphasis on dissemination of this new idea. Third, *policy measures must be directed toward the target group*, not just toward changing the organizational aspects. With a stronger focus on the individual entrepreneur, both end users and target group will also contribute to a greater understanding and possible acceptance of the policy. Fourth, formulating a policy should emphasize more the necessary tools for implementing a policy, thus *policy formulation should involve more detailed descriptions and plans of the measures and tools for implementing a policy*. And the last point relates to the complex nature of making policies, and the multilevel society in which it is implemented: *policy decisions should include evaluations of the focal action arenas, as well as adjacent action arenas, and establish communication and possible decision channels between them*. This would have contributed greatly to a better situation in Junkerdal National Park, and ensured sound and informative communication between the different actors in the protected area.

7 POLICY MAKING AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

In Chapters 4 to 6, I conducted constitutional, collective-choice, and operational analyses of the policy cycle. This chapter summarizes these discussions, and I discuss what I have learned from studying several interacting policies. The emphasis has been on understanding how the policy came into existence, and if the idea manifested itself in the Norwegian setting. Further, the emphasis was on investigating which constitutional, collective-choice, and operational rules have changed during policy formulation and implementation in complex settings, and how these changes have affected the actors at the operational level. Following from this, I discussed to what extent a policy decision can lead to an institutional change, which will be summarized in the first section of this chapter.

In the second section, I focus on what I call "policy dilemmas," which is a notion I apply to describe how policies affect one another, and in some ways compete with and either weaken or strengthen one another. This is more than a political choice, and touches on deeper structures in which the consequences are evident during implementation. A dilemma is defined by *Oxford Dictionaries* as "a situation in which a difficult choice has to be made between two or more alternatives, especially equally undesirable ones."⁶⁵ But it might also mean a difficult situation or problem, which is more in line with the social dilemma related to overuse of protected areas discussed in the introduction to this dissertation. There is, then, a difficult situation related to how personal economic gains might threaten biodiversity. In the introduction, I stated that in order to avoid this social dilemma, strong regulations must be in place to prevent individuals from increasing their own short-term interests to the detriment of the resources, which in fact is what has happened in Norway during the last years. Thus, even though there was a policy decision that stated the opposite, the Norwegian government still focused on maintaining the conservation path, rather than on developing guidelines for opening protected areas to tourism under certain restrictions to promote the conservation-and-use path. This will be summarized here in a discussion of five policy dilemmas: the conservation dilemma, the tourism dilemma, the rural livelihood dilemma, the management dilemma, and the legitimacy dilemma. Put together, these dilemmas make the

⁶⁵ http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american_english/paradox?q=paradox.

Mountain Text appear as a paradox that is self-contradictory, since it introduces ideas aimed at increasing use in areas with high natural values.

One of the aims of this dissertation was to apply the analytical tools from IAD on a Norwegian setting, and to study both vertical interplay between the different levels as well as horizontal interplay between adjacent policy areas and decision-making arenas. The third section of this chapter summarizes these efforts, and discusses the usefulness of integrating these various frameworks and theories.

The last section of this chapter aims at providing some policy recommendations for how actors might cooperate to achieve a common good, which here means nature-based tourism in protected areas. Consequently, I end this dissertation by discussing what should be done in order to increase business development, legitimacy, and people's health and well-being (see Table 3).

7.1 POLICY CYCLE AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

In Chapter 4, I discussed the origin of the idea of nature-based tourism and the conservation-and-use path, and its relation to the development of a nature conservation idea in Norway manifested in a traditional conservation path. Two major institutional changes led to the Mountain Text and were identified as lock-in events: Right of Access and conservation measures on private property. The former institutional change shaped a path that provides access to the green gold for commercial actors, and the latter yielded a situation in which conservation became more controversial and there was a need for mediating measures. Additionally, institutional changes related to both nature-based tourism in protected areas and the nature conservation idea were also presented and discussed to provide the foundation (developing the green gold) for the new conservation paradigm. What we learned from these discussions was that the Mountain Text was not an institutional change in itself, but it did promote changes in the constitutional rules for some protected areas when the ban on commercial tourism was removed. We also saw that the policy decision led to a stronger emphasis on nature-based tourism in protected areas, but that it did not contribute to changes in institutions or a real change from the conservation path to a conservation-and-use path. However, the change in the prevailing discourse might be interpreted as a change in norms and shared values and the conventions guiding the management practices related to use of protected areas, and this is reflected in several initiatives as described in Sections 4.5 and 4.6.

The timeline presented in Figure 15 in Chapter 4 illustrates the discussions regarding implementation of the Mountain Text. What is evident is that measures aimed at implementing the Mountain Text were prolonged, and that there were more measures introduced simultaneously as part of agricultural policies. Thus, in many ways the initiative was taken over by the agricultural field, which in turn might have contributed to making utilization of the green gold more difficult for non-farming entrepreneurs, for example foreigners as mentioned in Section 6.3. Development of nature-based tourism connected to farms in the agricultural sector has proved easier, and some informants emphasized the access to economic incentives as the major promotional factor for establishing tourism as part of a farm. Thus, even though the Mountain Text can easily fall under the agricultural sector as well, it seems like membership in agriculture might be a precondition for successful implementation of the Mountain Text. Consequently, developing nature-based tourism activities in protected areas in one way appears to be dependent on ownership of a farm.

Another interesting aspect discussed in Chapter 4 is related to interacting policies. Clearly, developing nature-based tourism can be the responsibility of not only the MD but rather the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which is responsible for the Norwegian tourism strategies (Nærings- og handelsdepartementet 2007, 2009, 2012). Tourism is thus also related to increased efforts in the agricultural sector, in the tourism field, in business development, etc. Thus, institutional changes in these fields might also influence implementation of the Mountain Text. Furthermore, we have seen that various measures introduced after the Mountain Text, but not directly related to it, have led to other conditions for increasing nature-based tourism. As discussed in Section 5.3, we also learned that the newly introduced National Park Board of Central Nordland has until now not worked strategically with nature-based tourism. Accordingly, based on the Board's work, it seems like the new governance model is not capable of fulfilling one of its major aims: to contribute to local development related to the green gold. But as said, it is still too early to judge, since the change in governance happened recently.

Another aspect of the complexity of the interactions among policy fields was discussed in Section 5.2. Here I presented four collective-choice arenas that all make decisions related to protected areas: national park boards (following the new governance model), regional carnivore management boards, reindeer herding area boards, and the proposed regional outfield boards. One commonality among these boards is that they all have rules regulating uses of protected areas: management based on conservation regulations, management of carnivores, management of reindeer, and management of land property rights (Schlager and Ostrom 1992). Thus, they have overlapping interests in the same spatial area, but without rules regulating communication and cooperation among

them. Following from this, it appears that many collective-choice arenas have divergent interests in the protected areas, without incentives to promote cooperation among them. This might lead to operational rules going in opposite directions and to a more complicated situation for those working on developing nature-based tourism. Apparently then, the vertical institutions are functioning and well-organized, but there is a lack of incentives for horizontal cooperation and institutional interplay (Young 2002).

In Chapter 6, I discussed how Junkerdal National Park has responded to developing nature-based tourism under specific operational rules. One of the conclusions from there was that the measures introduced following the Mountain Text have had a strategic and structural character, but not targeted toward the individual actors. Thus, we have learned that the policy decision did not lead to any changes in institutions, not even in operational rules, and the policy has failed to motivate actors to act in accordance with the policy's objectives (Schneider and Ingram 1997).

Moreover, the Mountain Text did not lead to changes in operational rules in other policy fields either. So nothing changed for the business operator, apart from an increased focus on developing nature-based tourism, a focus that in many cases is not yet fully known among the policy's end users and target groups. So even though the incentives for developing nature-based tourism are strong, including strong support for organized use of other people's property, the type of tourism one might develop is restricted by several other operational rules. Important implications from this relates to the policy's purpose: was increasing nature-based tourism the real purpose, was the policy simply a tool for legitimizing controversial conservation decisions, or are the identified challenges proof of a poorly designed policy? Winter (1994) has argued that there is a clear connection between well-designed policies and the potential for achieving desired policy outcomes. What might be the case here is that the policy formulation did not take into account the specific rules (Hill and Hupe 2002, 2009), and hence failed in developing a strategy of how to change them.

Another important lesson from this dissertation is related to policy formulation. As discussed in Section 4.5, the policy decision was presented in a revised budget proposal, and included only vaguely defined measures. This implies that policy implementation was not initially thought through in 2003. Instead, it was done during the work on the "Plan of action for sustainable use and management of national parks and other protected areas," which was presented in December 2006 (discussed in Section 4.5.2). This might mean that the political initiative (the Mountain Text) was rephrased administratively as part of the work undertaken by the DN, but with strong organizational and ministerial participation. Thus, as part

of implementing the policy, (new) measures were developed and introduced. This process proves that it does not make sense to separate policy formulation from policy implementation, but that these processes are ongoing and interdependent on each other as well. Such playoffs have occurred during the implementation phase, introducing new measures and goals that were connected to the Mountain Text, and contributed to clearing the boundaries between policy formulation, policy decision, and policy implementation. This also implies that several lock-out events have occurred during the implementation phase in which proponents of the conservation path have actively worked to sustain it.

What we have seen is that the Mountain Text has had minor effects, and is not well-known outside the bureaucracy. The policy decision did not promote institutional changes, which might have contributed to a less successful implementation. Based on that, if a policy decision also includes institutional changes, will it have more impact, and thus contribute to change in a more fundamental way? This argument holds for both formal and informal institutions, and when there have been no changes in the formal institutions, it is also difficult to promote change in people's norms, values, and beliefs. Changes in jurisdiction are in many cases the predecessors of changes in informal institutions, and sometimes promote those changes. Changing people's norms, values, and beliefs is commonly a prolonged process, and often influenced by changes in formal institutions. A decade after the policy decision, only small signs of changes in people's norms, values, beliefs, and perceptions are evident (see Chapter 6). There is a need for clearer changes and a strengthened focus on the possibilities related to protected areas in order to strengthen implementation of the Mountain Text. Indeed, we have seen in this dissertation that policy implementation became more difficult due to vaguely defined measures and the lack of changes in both operational rules and informal institutions following the policy decision.

Yet another important element that contributes to delayed implementation is related to the whole idea of the policy. Utilizing something that is protected means trying to commercialize something with restrictions. This is discussed in more detail in the next section, where this management challenge is characterized as "balancing the policy dilemmas."

7.2 BALANCING THE POLICY DILEMMAS

The Mountain Text falls under the New Conservation Paradigm, as already mentioned. Making more and broader use of protected areas is not only a Norwegian development; similar developments happen all around the world. As discussed in Chapter 4, Norway was late in implementing this idea, compared to several other countries. The policy decision was to a large extent a compromise between the interests of the state's central expert conservation system and the local government (municipal) interests for managing their own local resources. Nature that had been set aside for future generations has proved to be more and more valuable due to area pressure and increased scarcity of these valuable natural resources. Going back more than 100 years and to the suggestions from Wille and Nielsen (Section 4.3.1), this is probably not something that had been foreseen, but it is one of the results from their actions: contributing to making Norway's granite boulder into Norway's green gold. As the value of these resources increases, there is increased interest at the local level for utilizing this "green gold" for creating employment, profit, and an increased municipal tax base. At the same time there is increasing fear in the central expert system that more commercial utilization of protected areas will devalue the "protected nature values" of these areas. However, as seen from this dissertation, there is so far little awareness of how Norway's green gold can contribute in a greater way to local and regional development. The balance between conservation interests (the state) and use interests (local government) is therefore a discussion between the central expert system and the local self-governing ambitions. And this was the central element in the constitutional process leading up to the present institutional setup and the Mountain Text.

Norwegian protected areas are established on uncultivated land, and are thus not easily accessible for mass tourism. For local people, the protected areas have been valuable for centuries, and used actively as pastures and recreation areas, and for harvesting. With the decisions to conserve these areas, the natural values are lifted from local importance to an acknowledgment of their importance nationally and internationally, thus a change to a characterization of these areas as Norway's green gold, a national resource in a global context. A parallel development has been seen with the white coal and the concession laws from 1909 and 1917, and Parliament's decision related to ensuring the state's role in extracting the black gold in 1972 (as discussed in Section 4.2). In a European setting with higher demands for electricity and more focus on developing renewable energy, Norway's hydropower will be even more valuable as a resource. This probably was not expected by those behind the concession laws of 1909. The governance model related to oil has been copied by several countries in the world. Put together, the state has taken an active role in further developing

these resources. The danger involved relates to the efforts to copy the policy experiments. "Blueprint thinking" occurs when policies are copied and used on a variety of problems without taking the particular setting, various experiments, and different ecological factors into consideration (Ostrom 2005, 2007a, 2009; Ostrom et al. 2007).

The same discussions are still going on related to the recently discovered mineral deposits (apatite, iron ore, copper, talc, graphite, lead, gold, silver, and antimony) in northern Norway, and in particular in Nordland (NRK 2012). Claims have been made to the Norwegian state that access to these resources should be regulated so the state and Norwegian mining companies are guaranteed the anticipated income.⁶⁶ Thus, there is a need for juridical changes along the same line as what happened with the white coal and the black gold. Utilization of these resources will often include technical encroachments that might be in conflict with conservation interests, but also with other user interests in these areas. Decisions related to this probably will be influenced by the New Era of Conservation, Sustainability and Nature-based Solutions, as emphasized by the IUCN (2012). The recent JeJu declaration from this congress still focuses on the sharing of benefits and equitable governance of the use of nature and natural resources. The new development is an expanded focus not only of protected areas but of genetic resources and ecological functions of biodiversity. This is a followup of the economics of ecosystems and biodiversity (TEEB) that aims to make nature's values visible, or to evaluate the costs connected to the loss of biodiversity. The Nagoya Protocol of 2010 aims at sharing the benefits and taking into account rights to the resources, executing appropriate funding, and then contributes to conservation of biological diversity. Thus, with the New Era it is evident that the focus has expanded from protected areas to protecting biodiversity and preventing the loss of biodiversity.

This wraps up the discussion about the future, and I now focus on how the Mountain Text's implementation might have been influenced by developments in other policies as well. I use as the center point the discussion about five identified dilemmas: the conservation paradox, the tourism paradox, the rural livelihood paradox, the management paradox, and the legitimacy paradox. These paradoxes are discussed separately, but they are interdependent and influence one another.

⁶⁶ Calculated to be 1,500 billion NOK (NRK 2012), around 59.6 billion USD using the conversion rate on April 12' 2012.

7.2.1 The conservation dilemma

The first dilemma is the conservation dilemma, which was introduced above. This dilemma has two aspects: first, whether user interests should be prioritized over conservation values, and second, whether we are certain that biodiversity will be sufficiently secured when developing nature-based tourism.

The Mountain Text aims to develop nature-based tourism in protected areas, thus the dilemma is how to conserve and use something simultaneously. This is the same as the paradox of the Mountain Text as described in Section 1.1—the central expert conservation system had to prioritize use, which, as we have seen from this dissertation, has been done only in a limited manner. Additionally, we have seen that the National Park Board of Central Nordland has not focused on tourism, but rather prioritized conservation values and constitutional discussions. Thus, prioritization of conservation values has delayed implementation of the Mountain Text; and the lack of institutional changes encouraging use values led to extra challenges in developing nature-based tourism in protected areas. Another aspect is that the Mountain Text is the responsibility of the MD, which was considered strange by the informant from the Ministry of Trade and Business, who argued that it should be that ministry's responsibility. A concern was raised during this interview that the MD would not profile or prioritize the Mountain Text since they did not appreciate and acknowledge the potential of the policy decision. The question is why the informant had this opinion, and I believe it relates to the fact that the regulations and institutions in the environmental sector still mainly focus on conservation values and on sustaining the conservation path, thus prioritize them (Bay-Larsen 2012). Hence, as discussed in Section 6.3.2, the institutional framework is still based on conservation, and this creates problems for the business entrepreneurs.

The second aspect relates to how much development is desired, and how much a diverse nature can tolerate before being threatened. If the main aim with protected areas is to secure biodiversity, then the fact that the policy did not promote institutional changes is a positive result. This means that motorized transportation will still be prohibited, noise will be undesired, technical developments will be restricted to refurbishment or restoration of existing constructions (except for the reindeer herding industry), and harvesting will be regulated. Thus, the institutional framework and the prevailing path complicate developing the necessary infrastructure for nature-based tourism. A discussion that should be undertaken, in order to follow up the policy decision, is if it is possible to open up for more developments and accommodating measures in certain areas, and ensure as few damaging effects as possible.

Opposite to development, the recent increases in efforts in and funding to management and supervision of protected areas contribute to securing biodiversity in a greater way, and in many instances to more strict enforcement of the existing conservation regulations. On the other hand, this is connected to the next dilemma: the tourism dilemma, since the effects of tourists in protected areas in northern Norway are still minimal, and some tourism operators have no desire for further growth as it would compromise conservation values.

Another challenging aspect for the Mountain Text policy is related to recreational interest's strong position in the Norwegian society. Many national parks include designated areas for recreation as part of their purpose, and thus place recreation at the same level as protecting biodiversity. This is reflected in the strong position of Norwegian recreation organizations, and the fact that organizations working on promoting recreation interests are permitted to mark trails in outfields. With the development of new activities, it is also necessary to ask if they are in accordance with the conservation regulations. The lack of attention to newer activities in conservation regulations and management plans might lead to threats to the conservation values.

7.2.2 The tourism dilemma

The tourism dilemma involves a realization of what kind of tourism is acceptable in protected areas. Under the operational rules regulating activities in protected areas, it appears that the potential for nature-based tourism is restricted to non-motorized access with restricted possibilities for accommodation and food services. Thus, the prospective for developing mass tourism is constrained by the institutions and the environmental bureaucracy. Also, the fact that protected areas are established on uncultivated land influences the potential for mass tourism because only foot traffic is currently allowed and more liberal policies for use of motorized vehicles will change this dramatically. This means that crossing into a protected area requires some effort to begin with.

Another limitation on the potential for mass tourism is related to the desires of the business operators. Since many of them have tourism as their subsidiary income, they emphasized that the effort in developing tourism is a way of self-realization in which they can share their own joy of being in nature with others. Through the PROBUS project, it became clear that these entrepreneurs are not aiming at unlimited growth, and that they put restrictions on their own use of the protected areas in order to ensure their "product." They sell untouched and quiet nature, which implies that they need to restrict the number of groups visiting protected areas, and how they visit these areas. Consequently, they do not want too many other visitors there either. The same applies in Sweden, where Lundberg and Fredman (2011) identified that nature-based tourism entrepreneurs

also are driven by non-monetary objectives, which in turn means that they have different management priorities than other businesses.

When it comes to target groups for tourism operators, the willingness-to-pay principle comes into play. Some of the tourism operators target their activities toward foreigners, and exclude Norwegians as a target group since the latter act individually outdoors, and trust their own skills and knowledge for surviving in nature. Hence, tourism operators know that Norwegians are not interested in paying for guided tours or activities in the same way foreigners are. One informant stated that if they target their activities toward a specific country (e.g. Germany or Britain) they are able to earn money, which they could not do with only Norwegian visitors.

A specific challenge related to tourism is the delicate balance between commercial and non-commercial use of protected areas, and the discussions related to the Norwegian Trekking Association. This organization is acknowledged for promoting recreational interests during the last 150 years, and can mark trails in outfields according to §35 in the Outdoor Recreation Act. What has become controversial is the organization's development toward becoming a commercial actor along the same lines as other tourism operators. The Norwegian Trekking Association has around 250,000 members who volunteer more than 175,000 hours per year to maintain around 20,000 km of marked trails and around 7,000 km of marked ski tracks. Additionally, they work on managing and maintaining around 460 cabins (DNT 2012). Local entrepreneurs claim that the Norwegian Trekking Association destroys their own efforts, since their own courses, guided tours, and accommodated activities lose in competition with the organization with "their subsidized prices, volunteer guides, and marketed arrangements" (Kolderup 2010). The discussion between the Norwegian Trekking Association and business operators was illustrated by several feature articles and readers' letters in *UTE* in early 2010 (Bell 2010; Bertelsen 2010; Bjørhusdal 2010; Holm et al. 2010; Kjernsholen 2010; Planke and Habberstad 2010; Reinertsen 2010). The discussion illustrated an important point: What is the distinction between tourism and outdoor recreation? The policy decision did not succeed in clarifying this distinction, since recreation is one of the sub-goals of the Mountain Text (Table 4).

The last factor in the tourism dilemma is that tourism in many cases is introduced as a panacea aimed at solving economic challenges (Rothman 1998). Rothman (1998) claims that tourism can create seeds of its own destruction and transform culture into something different, and thus not rescue economies. Internationally, tourism has contributed to conflicts and changes in land-use rights, failed to deliver the promises of community-level benefits, had damaging effects on

environments, and caused other social impacts (West et al. 2006). Thus, tourism might also be, as Rothman (1998) claims, the "Devil's Bargains."

7.2.3 The rural livelihood dilemma

The rural livelihood dilemma relates to the tourism dilemma in how the importance of tourism is emphasized. Securing local livelihoods is one of the aims of the Mountain Text, but are we sure that tourism is suitable for this? As seen from one of the other protected areas studied in the PROBUS project, many tourism operators were using the protected area only for skiing, and did not spend money in the municipality. In fact, the whole business was run from the regional centre, and the visitors were accommodated on sail boats travelling around the protected area. Thus, their use of the green gold did not contribute to any income to the local economy, and rather increased local people's skepticism toward developing nature-based tourism in the area. Securing local livelihoods was important for people here, but they did not acknowledge this specific form of tourism as a sufficient tool for that.

Centralization is one of the major challenges in rural parts of Norway, and many municipalities struggle with making themselves attractive for potential employees. Even though many measures are introduced by the state to reduce living costs in rural (northern) areas, it is still difficult to attract enough skilled people. One of many arguments why people migrate out is the amount of protected areas in rural municipalities, but simultaneously the protected area status is used in advertisements to attract people. A common opinion is that people move since they cannot utilize outfields like they used to. Even if difficult to prove, the idea that conservation makes people move complicates implementation of the Mountain Text. The prevailing discourse appears to be very strong, and there is therefore a need for a major change in the negative attitude towards protected areas before people realize that the green gold might be a resource rather than an obstacle for development.

The last aspect of the rural livelihood dilemma relates to the already mentioned characteristic of the tourism operators. Since tourism is reckoned as a hobby and subsidiary income, it is not economically sustainable either. The willingness to make tourism an area of commitment is not evident as of today, and the aim is therefore not to secure local livelihood. Thus, even if tourism should contribute to the local economy, the smaller tourism operators are not determined to focus only on tourism, and the economic results might therefore be limited. The fact that the protected areas are in rural areas with very low population density further complicates implementation of the Mountain Text, since for people living in these areas the actual potential given by the protected areas might appear to be very restricted. However, in one of the protected areas studied in the PROBUS-

project we saw that one tourism operator acted as a local "lighthouse" which proved to the others that it was possible to succeed (Fedreheim, Bay-Larsen, and Ojala 2008; Rønning and Fedreheim 2009). According to the other (smaller) tourism operators this was the determinant factor for why they chose to concentrate on developing nature-based tourism.

7.2.4 The management dilemma

The management dilemma relates to who are responsible for governing protected areas. As discussed earlier there was a change in this, and we now have national park boards. These boards are comprised of politicians, and stakeholders are represented in professional advisory committees. When the claims for local management were put forward by landowners and municipalities, the demand was that they (the landowners) and local people should manage protected areas (Fedreheim 2010). Further, when the same question was asked to people in general, it appears that they prefer the County Governor as government body (Fedreheim 2010). Consequently the chosen solution with locally elected politicians was not the highest prioritized solution for any group, and as such represents a compromise as discussed in section 5.1.

It is interesting that the state decentralizes the management responsibility for protected areas to local politicians. One of the aims was to increase local development, which might threaten the national and international values that have been conserved. However, due to the lack of change in operational rules together with the supervision authority of the County Governor, this change does not have any negative impacts on the conservation values so far. The national park boards will have to comply with the same regulations and laws as did the County Governor, without the power to change these, thus it is highly unlikely that establishing national park boards will compromise the conservation values. Hence, the decision to delegate management responsibility might have been undertaken in conviction that "everything" will develop more or less in the same way as before. Thus, the risk at stake is limited, and does not compromise with the delegation decision.

Another interesting fact with the new governance model relates to the way stakeholders are represented only in professional advisory committees and not in the day-to-day management or in the national park board. This is, as said in Chapter 5, in discordance with the claims put forward during the 1990s in particular. The claims for local management included a focus on stakeholder representation in managing protected areas. Through representation in professional advisory committees stakeholders are invited to meet annually with the national park board. In order to secure active participation annual meetings are not sufficient, and it is therefore a need for closer cooperation between

stakeholders and politicians. So far this has not been discussed in the national park board, and it still remains to be seen how it will be solved in the future. Yet another aspect relates to reindeer owners, and how they de facto are represented both in the national park board and in the professional advisory committee. The Sámi Parliament was entrusted to choose politicians to the national park boards, but chose mainly reindeer owners. Thus, reindeer owners are the only stakeholders who are represented both in the professional advisory committee, and in the national park board. This might cause challenges not only because of a perception of an unfair representation, but also for the reindeer owners who must make decisions related to their own families, relatives, and businesses (as discussed in Section 5.2).

The most serious aspect of the management dilemma is the fact that different collective-choice arenas are responsible for various areas in the same geographical area and with overlapping competence, and that there so far are no cooperation between these. Thus, they are all responsible for managing parts of the protected area, but have not formalized communication and cooperation between them. This is particularly crucial if the national park boards start focusing more on developing nature-based tourism, since those activities might threaten and contribute to displacement of carnivores and reindeers. This fragmented way of managing protected areas might as such contribute to negative impacts on parts of the ecological system outside the national park boards' control. As discussed in Section 5.3.3 I therefore questioned the collective decision making level in this situation, and asked if not the future regional outfield boards easily might replace the other collective-choice bodies.

7.2.5 The legitimacy dilemma

The last dilemma relates to one of the three identified sub objectives in Table 3; increased legitimacy. It is argued that the Mountain Text will improve legitimacy of protected areas. However, as argued above there are numerous other factors at stake related to protected areas and the Mountain Text. The question is whether the right measures have been selected if the aim is to increase legitimacy? For example, since there have been no changes in the operational rules, business actors have the same scope of action as they did before the policy decision. Further, with the Mountain Text's restricted knowledge among target groups and end users, how can it contribute to increasing legitimacy? Even though some projects have been initiated, the knowledge about these is limited, and there has been no "campaign" or other measures to improve people's knowledge.

The new management model was also expected to contribute to increased legitimacy. However, the County Governor's office expected that the national park board would have to struggle with the same negative attitudes as they did

when they were the management body. Thus, the protected area and its regulations remain the same, but the people responsible for managing this have changed, and supposedly the target for complaints and negative comments have also moved from the County Governor to the national park board. Further, the boards struggle with constituting and settling itself, which has prolonged the application process for those applying for exemptions from the conservation regulations. This does not contribute to increased legitimacy either.

Another challenge related to increasing legitimacy is the fact that Norway conserves private property. Landowners generally feel that they lose the full rights to their land, and this is related to the prohibitions on cabin building and logging. However, also here the lack of knowledge is an important barrier since many landowners feel they have more restrictions than they actually have. Thus, the attitudes could have become more positive if people were more well-informed of what the conservation decisions actually means for them personally. This is connected to three major questions in resource governance; who owns the resources, who has the rights, and who is responsible for management of these areas? In protected areas with private landowners the answers would be; landowner, everyone, and national park boards respectively. Thus, when the landowner cannot contribute in managing the areas it is understandable that it is difficult to close the knowledge gap and to increase the protected area's legitimacy.

7.2.6 When dilemmas lead to a policy paradox

I have now discussed several dilemma related to implementing the Mountain Text. The aim with this exercise was to show how the idea of increasing nature-based tourism meets other policy aims and measures, and how this interplay in some cases might lead to implementation failures. The degree of these dilemmas will of course vary, and not all of them will influence policy implementation in all cases. Here they represent some of the challenges related to nature conservation in general in Norway, and thus provide the context in which formulation and implementation has occurred following the policy decision. Putting all the dilemmas together; conservation, tourism, rural livelihood, management, and legitimacy, what might happen is that the results of the policy implementation diverge from the intention and contribute to a policy paradox, as described in Section 1.1. Such a paradox give many reasons for why policy implementation succeeded only to a small degree, as described above. When put together into a paradox it seems difficult to solve, but when decomposed into solvable dilemmas there is hope anyhow. This dissertation is thus a contribution on how to solve these dilemmas. Hence, a broad understanding of these dilemmas provide a broader foundation for understanding why the policy decision did not lead to

institutional changes, since these changes would imply dealing with the various dilemmas.

I now turn to reviewing the usefulness on applying the IAD framework both on policy studies and on the situation in Norway.

7.3 ANALYTICAL LEVELS, POLICY STUDIES, AND ORGANIZATIONAL LEVELS IN NORWAY – THE USEFULNESS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS AND DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

Application of the IAD on policy studies is not new as such, but the way the analytical levels have been used in this dissertation is more rare, since the IAD in general has been applied on studies of rule making at the operational level, and not in multilevel settings (Clement 2010). Further, this dissertation has emphasized that policies are not independent of each other, but rather interact in various ways (Andersson and Ostrom 2008; McGinnis 2011b; Pülzl and Treib 2007) and can produce joint results which may influence policy implementation in several ways. The IAD framework proved useful in identifying rule makers at various analytical levels in a Norwegian setting, and thus provided new knowledge related to this. It also helped understand the complexity of Norwegian rule making, and provided knowledge of how a policy in some cases does not lead to institutional changes. The framework helped identifying that institutional changes stemming from the policy did not occur, and that adjacent institutional changes such as the governance change have overlapping aims (increasing legitimacy and ensuring local deliberation) with the policy decision studied here. Thus, adjacent policies can both contribute to successful implementation, but also act as disturbances on implementation. What we also saw was that developments in the agricultural field may have "taken over" the policy idea, and worsened the potential for entrepreneurs without farms.

Since the approach to study a policy cycle was not on the different stages, but rather on the various rule-making levels, I avoided separating out policy formulation from policy implementation. Thus, applying the IAD framework on policy studies as such might help overcome the stages approach of implementation studies, and thus give a more realistic picture of how policies are formulated during implementation (Hill 2005; Hill 2009; Hill and Hupe 2006; Hill and Hupe 2009). We saw here that the Mountain Text as a policy decision did not present concrete measures and incentives, and did not include a specific plan for implementation. Thus, much of this was decided upon after the policy decision, e.g. after 2003, and further policy formulation was a natural part of implementation as well. We also learned that the play-offs were not mainly

political, but happened administratively, and thus were not related to intense political debates. This might have had an effect on why the policy was not well-known among end users and the target group, since media attention on these play-offs has been very low.

The approach undertaken here is rare in a Norwegian setting. The major challenge related to this is that the organizational levels in Norway does not have the same logic as the analytical levels of IAD, and thus demanded some translation of the Norwegian system. However tempting it might be to see the analytical levels and the organizational levels together, stating that the constitutional level is the national, the collective-choice level the regional, and the operational level the local level, I emphasized to avoid this and have tried to focus on the analytical levels. The same study would have appeared quite different if the focus was on the organizational levels rather than the analytical levels, since there would have been more emphasis on the County Governor's role than here, as well as on the vertical dimension. Hence, applying the IAD has changed the research's focus, and contributed to a larger focus on horizontal interplay and overlapping policies, and thus moved the dissertation more into the governance field as well.

It is more challenging separating out the constitutional, collective-choice, and operational choice arenas than the organizational levels in a Norwegian setting. But by applying these analytical levels, we gained valuable knowledge on Norwegian decision-making, and the fact that crucial decisions related to nature conservation and nature-based tourism are taken at all organizational levels in Norway. By studying the different constitutional, collective-choice, and operational rules, we learned that institutional changes were not a logic consequence or result of the policy decision, and we also learned that various collective-choice arenas are identified in each protected area. This complexity became clearer by discussing how various actors might change institutions, and I doubt if this had become that clear without combining policy studies with governance theories under the IAD framework.

Traditionally IAD studies have been undertaken in developing parts of the world, where rule making is one of the major on-going tasks. Of special interest in Norway is that it is a developed country with one of the highest living standards in the world, and one of the more developed democracies. In Norway the democratic organizational structures are already in place, and changing these is a process which demands active participation over a longer period from various actors. The finding that the policy decision did not lead to institutional changes is therefore interesting, since this might imply that the existing institutions and institutional framework have shaped a path which is too strong to be changed in this situation. In order to succeed with the policy then, one should also change

the operational rules, and this is where the challenge lies since Norway's structures are well established. How can people here self-govern and contribute to changes in the identified operational rules?

Another aspect which makes Norway special is the corporative element in decision-making. Norway has a long tradition with involving private and non-profit sectors in decision-making, which we have seen also here in this dissertation in how these actors are invited to participate in various projects and committees following the policy decision. This aspect has traditionally been missing in IAD studies (Blomquist and deLeon 2011), and I aimed at including it here both by showing to what extent this sector has participated in decision-making, and by following and observing at arenas where these participated. However, the analysis has been restricted to the official participation, which means that we still lack knowledge on how private and non-profit sectors actively participate in policy design and rule making before this happens at in official forums.

Clearly there is a challenge in studying the corporative element since observing and participating in other arenas than the formal processes mean that many arenas will have to be separated out based on time constraints. Thus we need to dig behind the documents, and study the discussions and reflections undertaken there, and ideally participate actively in the organizational life. The general learning related to this based on the work behind this dissertation is that it is easier to grasp the private and non-profit sectors' participation and informal actions through observation in an on-going process, combined with interviews with the actors. In order to learn more about this, studies in Norway are particularly useful since Norway already has a tradition for corporativism, as well as it is a small and relatively transparent country with quite few actors in the public sphere.

All in all I believe that application of the IAD framework strengthened the ability to answer the research question in this dissertation. I will now discuss future challenges for policy makers and research related to the policy making and institutional changes in the future.

7.4 OVERLAPPING POLICIES AND AGENDAS – HOW TO ENSURE COOPERATION FOR THE COMMON GOOD

In Section 2.1, I discussed how establishment of protected areas might be used to avoid tragedies, but in turn can contribute to new tragedies since the protection decision can lead to new and other social dilemmas. In the situation described in this dissertation the identified social dilemma (see Section 1.1) relates to how to use Norway's green gold while safeguarding the biodiversity at the same time. In order to solve the social dilemma there is therefore a need for securing strong regulations on the possibilities for individuals to increase their own short-term interests. Various policies have been introduced, and the one studied here aims at increasing nature-based tourism in protected areas. In Section 7.2 I discussed various dilemmas which both influence policy implementation, but also serve as characteristics on the context in which the policy decision is implemented. These dilemmas might also serve as determinants for new social dilemmas related to protected areas, such as imbalance between various user groups, changes in the ecological system due to increased use etc. In order to handle such social dilemmas I relied on studies of CPR which proved that communication and avoiding sanctions by cooperating were identified as important factors (Poteete, Janssen, and Ostrom 2010). I will, based on the findings in this dissertation, also add other factors as decisive for deal with social dilemmas in protected areas in Norway.

The two major factors relate to designing or changing institutions. First of all, since the policy decision did not lead to real institutional changes, it has limited power, and impact. Changes in operational rules are particularly important in this aspect, since the end users and target groups are those who will be responsible for carrying through the policy decision. This is strongly related to the second aspect, which is that since there are no guidelines or recommendations on improving cooperation between the various collective-choice arenas relevant in protected areas, I expect there will be even more social dilemmas in the future. Consequently, in order to overcome such dilemmas it will be necessary to consider relevant policies in protected areas at the same time, and focusing on the whole management regime at the same time. That means not dividing it in carnivore management, reindeer management and so on. This demands a more time and resource consuming approach, but will be beneficial in improving knowledge and cooperation between the different actors.

If the common good in protected areas is defined according to the focus in this dissertation, it would be to incorporate use interests in the conservation, while taking into account the dilemmas, knowledge gaps, and ensuring communication and cooperation. In the tradition of the institutional approach it is therefore at

place to ask how people (in a Norwegian setting) can contribute to changing the operational rules. Such changes are slow processes, and this is a field which demands more research in developed parts of the world with strong democratic traditions and organizational structures. Self-organizing will have to work alongside the already existing institutional framework, and there clearly is a strong degree of path dependency at place.

I have in this dissertation aimed at answering the following research question: *What facilitates or hinders whether a policy decision in the end leads to institutional change?* What we have learned from studies of a policy for increasing nature-based tourism in Norway is that the policy decision did not lead to great changes in operational rules, which in turn means that the policy has less impact. I will say that if the policy decision had been framed as an institutional change in the operational rules in protected areas, we would have seen a more powerful policy decision as well.

I have also showed, through application of the IAD framework, that policy formulation took place through policy implementation, and that ideas, measures and incentives were defined following the policy decision, and thus as a part of the implementation phase. This implies that studying policy cycles as stages would not be a fruitful way either in a Norwegian setting or under the IAD framework, and also means that the IAD can contribute greatly to policy studies which focus on formulation and implementation as two on-going and interdependent processes.

I have also discussed the origin of the idea of the Mountain Text, stating that Norway was falling behind other countries in conserving larger areas as well as developing nature-based tourism due to strong counter forces. We also saw that two events were particularly decisive for today's situation, and I therefore presented the Right of Access and decision to conserve private property as lock-in events that framed the conservation path Norway has followed. These events are still decisive, and will continue to be important also in the future with greater pressure on wilderness areas. Consequently, we saw how these institutional changes influenced the policy decision, formulation, and implementation and introduced a conservation-and-use path, since these factors have to be considered in policy making in the nature conservation field.

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APPENDIX 1: The Mountain Text

ningsanleggene videreføres ut året. Det vises til forslag til vedtak og nærmere omtale av dette i kapittel 2 om endrede skatte- og avgiftsregler.

I forbindelse med omleggingen av avgiften er et utkast til endringer i særavgiftsforskriften sendt på høring. Som følge av utsettelsen av omleggingen av avgiften for forbrenningsanleggene, vil endringer i forskriften bare bli gjennomført i den grad de har betydning for avgiften på avfall som leveres til deponier.

Fond til fremme av fiske i Mjøsa

Fond til fremme av fisket i Mjøsa ble opprettet ved kgl. res. av 8. august 1947 i forbindelse med en konsesjon til Glommens og Laagens Brukseierforening om en varig utvidet regulering av Mjøsa. I henhold til reguleringsvilkårenes pkt. 15 ble fondet opprettet ved at regulantene avsatte 75 000 kroner som fondsmidler. Fondets midler skulle anvendes etter bestemmelse av vedkommende departement, som nå er Miljøverndepartementet. Miljøverndepartementet har delegert til Direktoratet for naturforvaltning å forvalte fondet. Fondet er registrert som et statlig fond og er ført i statens kapitalregnskap. Avkastningen av fondsmidlene skal nyttes til tiltak som fremmer fisket i Mjøsa. Direktoratet for naturforvaltning har fastsatt vedtektene for fondene.

Det er ikke naturlig at et reguleringsfond av denne typen forvaltes av sentrale statlige myndigheter. Forvaltningen av tilsvarende fond knyttet til vassdragsreguleringer, er overført til kommunene som er berørt av de enkelte reguleringene.

I tråd med dette finner Miljøverndepartementet det naturlig at fondet overføres til Mjøsa Fiskeforvaltning (MF). MF er et organ bestående av strandeiere (grunneiere) og fiskeforeninger ved Mjøsa. Styret for MF består av tre medlemmer fra fiskeforeningene og tre fra strandeierne. Kommunene rundt Mjøsa er store strandeiere, og deres interesser forutsettes å bli ivarettatt gjennom strandeienes representasjon i styret.

På bakgrunn av det som er nevnt ovenfor, foreslår Miljøverndepartementet at Fond til fremme av fisket i Mjøsa føres ut av statens kapitalregnskap og overføres til MF for videre forvaltning. Miljøverndepartementet vil fastsette vedtekter for fondet i samarbeid med Direktoratet for naturforvaltning og MF. Etter overføring til MF vil fondet bli omgjort til en stiftelse og bli underlagt fylkesmannens kontroll.

Fondets kapital var ved utgangen av 2002 kr 564 211,44. Inntil overføringen til MF finner sted ca. 01.07.2003 vil det påløpe renteinntekter på an-

slagsvis 20 000 kroner. Miljøverndepartementet foreslår at 500 000 kroner avsettes som grunnkapital i stiftelsen. Den øvrige del av fondets midler vil kunne nyttes friere av MF til tiltak innenfor fondet formål. Det vises til forslag til romertallsvedtak.

Fjellområdene – bruk, vern og verdiskaping

A. Innledning og rammebetingelser

I forbindelse med budsjettbehandlingen høsten 2002 vedtok Stortinget 02.12.2002 etter innstilling fra Finanskomiteen følgende henstilling til Regjeringen:

«Stortinget ber Regjeringen innen 1. oktober 2003 komme tilbake til Stortinget med en sak om bærekraftig bruk av utmark og fjellområdene i Norge. I den forbindelse skal bl.a. spørsmålet om nærmere retningslinjer for økt turistmessig bruk av disse områdene utredes nærmere, både på arealer utenfor og innenfor større verneområder opprettet etter naturvernloven. Initiativ som bidrar til utvikling av kvalitetsturisme, med respekt for det naturlige, økonomiske, sosiale og kulturelle miljøet i fjellregioner, bør dyrkes frem og støttes.»

Regjeringen legger til grunn at «fjellområder» i denne sammenheng omfatter områder hvor verdier og særpreg i fjellet har betydning for næringsutvikling og lokalisering av bebyggelse. Regjeringen mener at en slik funksjonell avgrensning av «fjellområder» er det mest hensiktsmessige for å besvare Stortingets oppdrag.

I samsvar med Stortingets henstilling vil hovedfokus ligge på å synliggjøre potensialet for økt turistmessig bruk av fjellområdene både innenfor og utenfor verneområdene, uten at natur- og kulturhistoriske verdier ødelegges. Begrepene turisme og reiseliv brukes ofte om hverandre. I Norge benyttes begrepet reiseliv normalt om de tre elementene ferie- og fritidsreisende, ordinære forretningsreisende og kurs-, konferanse- og kongressdeltagere, mens begrepet turisme kun omfatter elementet ferie- og fritidsreisende. Begge begrep vil bli brukt i teksten nedenfor.

Videre vil følgende to begreper bli brukt: *miljøbasert reiseliv* og *miljøtilpasset reiseliv*. Begrepet miljøbasert reiseliv brukes om det substansorienterte og har utspring i de produktene reiselivet tilbyr med utgangspunkt i miljøet (natur og kulturminner), mens det miljøtilpassete reiselivet er konsekvensorientert og vektlegger ønsket om minst mulig negative konsekvenser for det ytre miljø.

Norge har unike natur- og kulturhistoriske ressurser i fjellområdene. Viktige elementer er større sammenhengende områder med villmark, mulig-

het for å oppleve stillhet og ro og naturens egne lyder og lukter og arter av planter og dyr som er sjeldne eller ikke finnes i andre land i Europa. Fjellandskapet er også rikt på viktige kulturminner knyttet til ressursutnyttning, ferdsel og bosetting. I fjellskogen finner vi et særegent kulturlandskap – fjellsetrene – som har utviklet seg gjennom flere hundre år.

Undersøkelser tyder på at interessen for natur- og kulturopplevelser – ikke minst i fjellet – er økende. Dette skyldes bl. a. at stadig flere mennesker bor i byer. Produkter som gir spesielle opplevelser, og rekreasjon og friluftsliv i tilnærmet urørt natur etterspørres i stadig større grad ettersom slike områder blir mangelvare ellers i Europa.

Med dette utgangspunktet ser regjeringen et potensial for økt miljøtilpasset turistmessig bruk av våre fjellområder. De natur- og kulturhistoriske verdiene er de to viktigste innsatsfaktorene for turisme i fjellområdene. Nasjonalparker og andre verneområder i fjellområdene har mye av den mest storslåtte og mangfoldige naturen i Norge. Det særegne ved nasjonalparker og andre verneområder gjør at disse områdene vil kunne fungere som «trekkplaster» for turister og dermed gi nasjonalpark-kommunene et ekstra fortrinn i reiselivssammenheng.

Regjeringen legger følgende rammer til grunn for en overordnet politikk for økt miljøtilpasset turistmessig bruk av fjellområdene:

- Vår unike fjellnatur skal bevares som kilde til friluftsliv, rekreasjon og natur- og kulturopplevelser, samtidig som disse ressursene skal gi grunnlag for sysselsetting og verdiskaping i fjellbygdene.
- Forvaltningen av fjellområdene skal ta utgangspunkt i de rammebetingelsene som den sårbare fjellnaturen setter, dvs. en økosystemtilnærming.
- Norsk fjellnatur og kulturhistoriske verdier i fjellet skal utvikles som merkevare for økt turistmessig bruk av fjellområdene.

For å kunne øke den turistmessige bruken av våre verneområder og den lokale verdiskaping vil regjeringen:

- Oppheve forbudet mot kommersiell turisme slik det er formulert i vernebestemmelsene for Saltfjellet/Svartisen, Jotunheimen og Reisa nasjonalparker.
- Sørgje for at det særlig innenfor landskapsvernområder legges til rette for mindre, miljøtilpasset turistvirksomhet innenfor rammen av verneformålet.
- Prioritere og forsere arbeidet med nye, og jus-

tere eldre forvaltningsplaner for verneområdene i fjellet.

- Legge til rette for at vern av områder og utvikling av nærliggende lokalsamfunn i større grad sees i sammenheng i forbindelse med verneprosesser.
- Så langt som mulig legge til rette for økt lokalpolitisk medvirkning og innflytelse i verneprosesser.

Regjeringen vil følge opp den vedtatte nasjonalparkplanen, og har satt i gang arbeid på en rekke områder hvor beslutninger og påfølgende prosesser og tiltak vil få betydning for en videreutvikling av fjellpolitikken. Regjeringen tar bl a sikte på å legge frem:

- En stortingsproposisjon om supplering av Verneplan for vassdrag og stortingsmelding om omlegging av Samlet plan for vassdrag ved årsskiftet 2003/2004. Retningslinjene for bærekraftig bruk som presenteres der vil også gjelde vann og vassdrag i fjellområdene.
- En stortingsmelding om rovviltpolitikken innen utgangen av 2003
- En stortingsmelding om kulturminnepolitikken i løpet av 2003.

Forslag til ny Finnmarkslov (Ot. prp. nr. 53 (2002–2003) om lov om rettsforhold og forvaltning av grunn og naturressurser i Finnmark fylke) ble fremmet 4. april 2003, og ligger nå til behandling i Stortinget. Videre vil det regjeringsoppnevnte Planlovutvalget som har arbeidet med forslag til revisjon av plan- og bygningsloven levere sin avsluttende innstilling i midten av mai 2003. Det regjeringsoppnevnte Biomangfoldlovutvalget skal utrede et nytt lovgrunnlag for en samordnet forvaltning av biologisk mangfold. Utgangspunktet for arbeidet er bl.a. de utfordringene vi står overfor med hensyn til interessen for økt bruk av naturressurser, og økt fokus på sammenhengen mellom vern og bruk. De forskjellige sektorlovene skal ses i sammenheng, og utvalget skal vurdere naturvernloven, herunder vernekategoriene. Regjeringens politikk for samordning av statlig virkemiddelbruk er for øvrig omtalt i St. meld. nr. 25 (2002–2003) *Regjeringens miljøvernpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand* som ble lagt frem 25. april 2003.

Samerettsutvalget 2 og Distriktskommissjonen vil også arbeide med problemstillinger og komme med forslag til løsninger som vil være viktige i forhold til bruk av fjellområdene.

Som bidrag til grunnlaget for å svare på Stortingets oppdrag, er det gjennomført utredninger som belyser potensialet for miljøbasert turisme og tu-

rismereletert næringsaktivitet i og rundt nasjonalparker, både i Norge og andre land¹². Det er avholdt møter med reiselivsorganisasjoner, naturvern-, friluftsliv- og kulturminneorganisasjoner og organisasjoner som representerer rettighetshavere og utmarks kommunene. De fleste av organisasjonene har også kommet med verdifulle skriftlige innspill.

B. Økt turistmessig bruk – muligheter og utfordringer

Stadig flere turister, både norske og utenlandske, vil ha produkter som gir spesielle opplevelser, og rekreasjon og fri natur er attraktivt for stadig flere. De unike natur- og kulturressursene i den norske fjellheimen representerer et stort potensial for fortsatt sysselsetting og bosetting i fjellbygdene. Ved i større grad å satse på temareiser, natur- og kulturbasert turisme og unike reiseopplevelser vil verdiskapingen innen reiselivet trolig kunne bli mye høyere enn i dag.

Mange nordmenn bruker fjellet, og friluftslivet står sterkt i Norge. På spørsmål om hva som er vesentlig med tanke på «det gode liv» nevner 19 av 20 nordmenn naturen (forskningsprogrammet «Miljøbetinginget livskvalitet»). Siden 1970-tallet er antallet fotturer i fjellet, både sommer og vinter, økt sterkt for. (spesielt i sommersesongen prosentandelen for en dagstur til fots i fjellet er mer enn fordoblet fra 1980 og frem til i dag. Undersøkelser gjennom forskningsprogrammet «Bruk og forvaltning av utmark» viser at mellom 80 og 90 pst. av de spurte mener at friluftsliv fører til positive verdier.

Men det er plass til flere i fjellet, og det er ønskelig at flere får anledning til å oppleve fjellnaturen, både av hensyn til helse og velferd hos den enkelte, av hensyn til næringsutvikling i fjellbygdene og for å skape økt legitimitet for tiltak som er nødvendige for å ta vare på disse verdiene. Friluftsliv gir folk mulighet til å bli glad i naturen, og opplevelser og erfaringer med natur og kultur gir grunnlag for økt kunnskap om og forståelse for betydningen av å ta vare på disse ressursene.

Undersøkelser tyder på at interessen for natur- og kulturopplevelser – ikke minst i fjellet – er hovedårsaken til at turister kommer til Norge. En undersøkelse¹³ gjennomført av MarkUp Consulting i 2000 for Norges Turistråd og 20 norske reiselivsbedrifter viser at 73 pst. av de spurte oppfatter Nor-

ge som et attraktivt ferieland. Fjordene, fjellene og den uberørte naturen ble oppgitt som hovedgrunner til dette. Undersøkelser Østlandsforskning (Vistad og Vorkinn) gjorde i 1995 viser at turistene, både nordmenn og utlendinger, legger stor vekt på natur og friluftsliv i ferie- og fritidssammenheng. I en undersøkelse av Nordkapp-turisten (bilturister på veg til Nordkapp) i 1993 oppgav 49 pst. naturen som den viktigste årsaken til å dra til Nord-Norge, og 90 pst. oppgav at de skulle utøve friluftsliv under oppholdet. Korte fotturer var den dominerende aktiviteten blant turistene. Andre undersøkelser foretatt av NORTRA, bl.a. i Tyskland, viser at «vakkert landskap» er en svært viktig faktor ved ferien i Norge. Når det gjelder "intakte omgivelser" viser tallene at betydningen av dette er betraktelig høyere i 1995 enn i 1988. Ettersom tilgangen til villmark ute i Europa blir stadig mer begrenset, forventer vi økende etterspørsel etter slik natur blant turistene som kommer til Norge.

Reiselivsnæringene er i dag Norges tredje største næring, og er verdens største og raskest voksende. Reiselivsnæringene gir verdiskaping og sysselsetting, og bidrar med viktige service-tilbud i lokalsamfunnene. Næringen har en klar distriktsprofil og gir grunnlag for bosettingen i mange utkantstrøk.

Det er natur- og kulturhistoriske verdier som er de to viktigste innsatsfaktorene for turisme i fjellområdene. De er attraksjoner i seg selv, og utgangspunktet for produksjon av de aktiviteter, opplevelser, varer og tjenester som reiselivet tilbyr og som markedet i økende grad etterspør. Å bevare natur- og kulturverdiene i fjellområdene er derfor en forutsetning, både for dagens turisme og for fremtidig økt turistmessig bruk av fjellområdene. Når merkevaren er norsk natur og naturbaserte ferieopplevelser, ligger det store utfordringer i å ta vare på naturen på en slik måte at merkevaren ikke ødelegges, eller får redusert kvalitet.

Nasjonalparker og andre verneområder i fjellområdene har mye av den mest storslåtte og mangfoldige naturen i Norge og omfatter slik sett "juvelene" i norsk natur. Nasjonalparkene representerer store ressurser og mangfoldige muligheter for opplevelser, samtidig som de er sårbare og spesielle. Her ligger en del viktige veivalg og innebygde utfordringer med langsiktige konsekvenser. Formålet med vernet har nettopp vært å sikre natur- og kulturminneverdier for å bevare områdenes funksjon som leveområde for planter og dyr og som opplevelsesområder for mennesker. Det er imidlertid nødvendig å fokusere sterkere på koplingen mellom verneområdene og omkringliggende lokalsamfunn og bosetting, og sette søkelyset

¹² VF-rapport 4/03 Næringsmessig potensiale for kvalitetsturisme og NINA Fagrapport 72 Bruk og forvaltning av nasjonalparker i fjellet.

¹³ 1 216 potensielle Norges-turister i Danmark, Tyskland, Italia, Storbritannia, USA og Japan ble intervjuet.

på de samfunnsøkonomiske fordelene ved å opprette et verneområde. Regjeringen mener at det særegne ved nasjonalparker og andre verneområder representerer store muligheter for lokalsamfunnene i fjellbygdene til å markedsføre seg i reiselivssammenheng.

For reiselivsnæringene generelt vil nasjonalparker og andre verneområder være et viktig element for markeringen av norsk særpreg og som ledd i markedsføringen av bredden i det opplevelsesspekter besøkende kan tilbys. Informantene i undersøkelsen til Vestlandsforskning anser generelt sett potensialet for økt turisme og verdiskaping i tilknytning til verneområdene som stort. Også i undersøkelsen til Norsk institutt for naturforskning (NINA) oppgir bedriftsledere at de oppfatter status som nasjonalpark som positivt for markedsføring.

For å kunne ta ut det potensialet for næringsutvikling og verdiskaping som ligger i økt turistmessig bruk av fjellområdene uten å redusere de natur- og kulturminneverdiene som den samme næringsutviklingen er avhengig av, står vi overfor en del viktige utfordringer.

Økt turistmessig bruk av verneområder kan føre til en viss forringelse av det vernede området fordi det normalt ikke vil være mulig å utøve en aktivitet uten at noe natur blir påvirket. På den annen side resulterer denne bruken i økonomisk aktivitet som gir økt velferd og mulighet for bosetting i fjellbygdene. Dette gir igjen grunnlag for skjøtsel av kulturlandskapet som er viktige elementer både i en verne- og reiselivsstrategi. Utfordringen ligger i å finne nivået hvor velferden faktisk øker slik som ønsket, samtidig som bruken ikke får utilsiktede eller uheldige konsekvenser for de natur- og kulturkvaliteter som danner grunnlag for velferdsøkningen. Dette innebærer å få til en balanse mellom vern og bruk på en slik måte at natur- og kulturverdiene bevares, samtidig som potensialet for verdiskaping blir utnyttet bedre enn i dag.

Det er videre en utfordring å skape større legitimitet og lokal opplutning om vern av områder som grunnlag for verdiskaping i lokalsamfunnet. Det blir i den sammenheng viktig å øke bevisstheten om nasjonalparkene som unike områder som kan tiltrekke seg turister, samtidig som natur- og kulturverdiene bevares. Det økte presset på arealene i fjellområdene setter store krav til god arealplanlegging basert på kunnskap om natur- og kulturminneverdiene, samt gode samarbeidsprosesser både lokalt, regionalt og på statlig nivå mellom landbruk, reiseliv og natur- og kulturminneforvaltning.

C. Dagens bruk av fjellområdene

Fjellområdene har vært utnyttet av mennesker i årtusener, og mange fjellområder er svært rike på kulturminner. En viktig basis for dagens bruk er retten til fri ferdsel i utmark, også i verneområdene. Restriksjoner på allemannsretten i verneområdene skal bare innføres når hensynet til natur- og kulturverdier gjør det nødvendig.

Jakt, fangst og fiske og andre høstingsaktiviteter er de viktigste formene for tradisjonell bruk av utmark i Norge. Jakt og fiske har utviklet seg fra å omfatte matauk og fritidsaktivitet for grunneiere og lokalbefolkning til å bli en mulighet for ny næringsvirksomhet for grunneiere og andre rettighetshavere. Ifølge SSB's jaktstatistikk ble det i gjennomsnitt for årene 1999, 2000 og 2001 felt i underkant av 8000 villrein per år. I omsetningsverdi tilsvarer dette ca 18 mill. kroner per år.

Friluftsliv har lange tradisjoner i Norge, og har delvis sine røtter i jakt, fangst, fiske og andre matauk-aktiviteter. Det storslagne i urørt natur og landskap, naturens egne lyder og lukter, fred og ro, frihet og mystikk er noen av de opplevelsesdimensjonene som oftest nevnes i forbindelse med friluftsliv. Opplevelse av kulturminner og tidligere tiders bruk av naturen er også viktige sider ved friluftslivet. Opplevelsesverdien er lagt til grunn ved opprettelse av en rekke verneområder.

Tall fra Den norske turistforening (DNT) viser at også friluftsliv i form av fotturisme bidrar til verdiskaping og sysselsetting i fjellbygdene. I løpet av et år er det ca 300 000 overnattinger på DNT's hytter. Dette har ringvirkninger i form av et betydelig mersalg i butikkene i bygdene opp mot fjellet. Eksempelvis er de lokale økonomiske ringvirkningene av 126 000 overnattinger på DNT Oslo og omegns hytter i 2001 beregnet til 100–110 mill. kroner.

DNT forvalter et landsdekkende rute- og løype-nett med sommerruter (20 000 km) og kvistede vinterløyper (6 500 km) både i og utenfor vernede områder. Norsk sti- og løypeplan fra 1990 og Mål og retningslinjer for stier og løyper i fjellet (DN-notat 1994–10) danner den nasjonale rammen for utviklingen av tilrettelegging i fjellet. Ferdelsregistreringer i regi av DNT viser at 90–95 pst. av fotturistene følger merket sti. Dette innebærer at dette nettet av stier og løyper bidrar til å kanalisere ferdelsen til bestemte områder, slik at mer sårbare områder i stor grad kan beskyttes.

Blant brukergruppene er det ulike holdninger til *tilrettelegging*. Briksdalsbreen er ved siden av Nordkapp og Geirangerfjorden blant de best besøkte naturattraksjonene i Norge. Vi finner en forholdsvis omfattende tilrettelegging i form av ser-

viceanlegg med kafeteria, souvenirbutikk m m, men dette er plassert ved parkeringsplassen, 2 km fra selve breen. Det tar ca 1 time å gå inn til breen. En undersøkelse i regi av Østlandsforskning i 1990 viste at kun 4 pst. av de spurte ønsket at det skulle bygges bilvei helt inn til breen¹⁴. En guidet fottur og gondolbane til toppen av breen fikk oppslutning fra ca halvparten av de spurte. De som var negative til bygging av bilvei og gondolbane begrunnet dette i hovedsak med at inngrepene ville ødelegge naturen og/eller naturopplevelsen.

En undersøkelse rundt Jostedalbreen i regi av Østlandsforskning viser at over halvparten av de intervjuede holdt seg på hovedveiene uten å kjøre noen av sideveiene inn mot breen. Den andre halvparten hadde friluftsliv i området rundt breen som motiv for å ta av fra hovedvegen. Blant disse var korte fotturer og fiske mest populært. Bare 14 pst. gikk en tur som var lengre enn fire timer. Hele 70 pst. var på dagsbesøk i Jostedalen, og nesten tre fjerdedeler oppga at formålet med turen var å se Jostedalbreen. Undersøkelsen viser at mange bruker forholdsvis kort tid i området, og at den fysiske utfoldelsen er relativt begrenset.

I mange fjellbygder er landbruksbasert turisme et viktig satsingsområde for å sikre inntektsgrunnlag og fortsatt bosetting. Gårds- og stølsturisme, nye typer produksjon basert på gårdens ressurser, bygging og utleie av hytter og nye aktivitetstilbud som f eks guidete rideturer er i dag grunnlag for miljøbasert næringsutvikling på mange fjellgårder.

Reiselivsnæringens bruk av natur- og kulturminneverdier i fjellområdene og den landbruksbaserte turismen utgjør i dag den største verdiskapingen i mange fjellbygder. Både reiselivsmyndigheter og næringen selv har gjennom flere år framhevet natur- og kulturminneverdier som turistnæsjonen Norges viktigste salgsvare.

Norges Turistråd har ved en rekke anledninger påpekt at turistindustrien er avhengig av bærekraftig turisme for å opprettholde sine merkevarer. En undersøkelse gjort av SNF (*Skalpe og Nysveen Markedsføring av norsk reiseliv, et naturvernproblem? SNF/SiR*, 1995) viser at 86 pst. av det brosjyrematerialet som norsk reiseliv benytter profilerte norsk natur med aktivitetsmuligheter. Fjell, som var mest brukt, fremgikk i vel 60 pst. av materialet. Naturbaserte aktivitetstilbud var markedsført i 71 pst. av materialet, og fjelltur, båttur og fiske var mest brukt.

Både gamle og nye måter å bruke fjellområde-

ne på har hatt, og vil fortsatt ha, effekter på natur- og kulturminneverdiene i disse områdene. De siste 50 årene har ulike former for inngrep og motorferdsel forandret fjellets karakter i mange områder. Det mest synlige tegnet på dette er reduksjonen i villmarkspregete områder. Rundt 1900 kunne ca halvparten av Norges areal betegnes som villmarkspregete områder (områder mer enn 5 km fra tyngre tekniske inngrep), mot 12 pst. i 1994 og 11,7 pst. i 1998. I Sør-Norge bestod kun 5 pst. av arealet av villmarkspregete områder i 1998. I dag finner vi de fleste gjenværende villmarkspregete områdene nettopp i fjellet. For områder som defineres som inngrepsfrie (områder mer enn 1 km fra tyngre tekniske inngrep) var det samlede arealtapet ca 4500 km² i perioden 1988–1998. Reduksjonen av inngrepsfrie områder skyldes i hovedsak bygging av landbruksveier, hvorav det aller meste er skogsveier. Også kraftproduksjon og bygging av overføringslinjer har ført til vesentlig reduksjon av inngrepsfri natur i denne perioden.

Det er et ønske om økt bruk av ulike motorkjøretøy i fritidssammenheng fra reiselivsnæringen og fastboende. Også transport i forbindelse med jakt og fiske har i stigende grad blitt motorisert. Dette har ført til at bruken av snøscootere, traktorer og andre terrenggående motorkjøretøy har økt sterkt de siste årene. I et utvalg kommuner med stor andel av fjellnatur har antall innvilgede dispensasjoner for snøscooter økt med 21 pst. fra vinterseasonen 1994/95 til sesongen 2001/02. Motorisert ferdsl er i ulik grad strengt regulert innenfor våre nasjonalparker med åpning for dispensasjoner knyttet til næringsmessig transport.

For mange dreier konflikter i forhold til motorferdsel seg om støy og fravær av stillhet og ro. Fravær av støy, mulighet til å oppleve naturens egne lyder og stillhet og ro er et av de viktigste karaktertrekkene ved urørt natur og en viktig grunn til at nordmenn og utenlandske turister oppsøker områder i fjellet. Barmarkskjøring fører også til slitasje og kjørespor som ødelegger vegetasjon.

For mange nordmenn er utøvelse av friluftsliv og tilgang til naturopplevelser den viktigste grunnen til å eie en hytte. Hytteliv er et positivt velferdsgode som er dypt forankret i den norske folkesjelen. Det er også et godt grunnlag for å få folk til å bli glad i naturen, og dermed øke bevisstheten om og viljen til å støtte tiltak for å bevare viktige natur- og kulturminneverdier. Tilveksten de siste tiårene har i gjennomsnitt vært ca 3000 hytter årlig.

Den lokaløkonomiske effekten av hyttebygging og hytteturisme er betydelig for mange kommuner. Det foreligger ikke landsdekkende undersøkelser av ringvirkningene, men flere regionale

¹⁴ Turistene ble intervjuet etter at de hadde gått, evt. kjørt med hestekyss opp og ned til breen.

undersøkelser er gjennomført. En undersøkelse fra Valdres-regionen (J.R. Onshus 1994) viser en beregnet etterspørsel fra hytteturismen på totalt 359 mill. kroner, hvorav 60 pst. beregnes dekket i Valdres. Sysselsettingseffekten av hyttene beregnes til 771 årsverk, eller nesten 11 pst. av total sysselsetting i Valdres.

De konfliktene som hyttebygging skaper er sammensatte og går mellom mange ulike interessegrupper som f.eks. lokalbefolkning, rettighetshavere, grunneiere, andre næringsinteresser, korttidsturister, natur- og kulturminnevern og etablerte hytteeiere. Det er økende bevissthet om miljøkonsekvenser av hyttebygging i kommunene. Gjennom kommuneplanen har de fleste kommunene innført restriksjoner mot nye hytteområder i snaufeltet. Hoveddelen av hyttebyggingen skjer i felt, og det er en tendens til at nye hytter får en høyere teknisk standard med større behov for tilknytning til moderne infrastruktur (helårsvei, vann, avløp, elektrisitet) og som følge av det trekkes nedover mot bygda eller bygges ut i sammenheng med annen reiselivsbygging som f.eks. alpinanlegg eller i etablerte reiselivsområder.

Turistrelatert næringsaktivitet i og rundt nasjonalparkene

NINA har kartlagt næringsaktiviteter knyttet til Dovrefjell-Sunndalsfjella, Femundsmarka og Reisa nasjonalpark (i verneområdet og i en 5 km sone utenfor verneområdene) i 2002.

Turismerelaterte aktiviteter i de tre nasjonalparkene omfatter hovedsakelig arealleie/festeavgifter/salg av hyttetomter, hytteutleie, overnatting, servering, jakt og fiske og andre opplevelsesbaserte aktiviteter som guiding/fjellføring, padling, klatring, ridning, hundekjøring, leirskole/undervisning og leiekjøring med snøskuter. Omsetning i forbindelse med planlegging og oppføring av hytter, turistenes bruk av penger utover overnatting, servering og kjøp av aktiviteter er ikke inkludert i undersøkelsen. Det er heller ikke råvareverdien av viltkjøtt og fisk. Med utgangspunkt i nasjonale beregninger (SND 2002) og det arealet undersøkelsesområdene utgjør, ville verdien for vilt og fisk være i størrelsesorden 5–6 millioner kroner for Dovrefjell-Sunndalsfjella nasjonalpark og omkring 1 million kroner for Femundsmarka nasjonalpark og Reisa nasjonalpark.

Brutto omsetning knyttet til turisme er på ca 40 mill. kroner i Dovrefjell-Sunndalsfjella nasjonalpark. Her utgjør overnatting sammen med servering den største omsetningsposten (ca 15 mill. kroner). Jakt, fiske og fotturisme er også grunnlag for

en stor del av omsetningen (ca 7 mill. kroner). I tillegg står ridning og guidete turer, spesielt moskus- og toppturer, for en viktig del av omsetningen (ca 3,5 mill. kroner). De guidete turene er, sammen med jakt, fiske og fotturisme, de næringsaktivitetene som helt eller delvis foregår inne i verneområdene. En stor del av de andre aktivitetene foregår i randsonene, hovedsakelig langs E6.

I Femundsmarka nasjonalpark er brutto omsetning knyttet til turisme beregnet til ca 5 mill. kroner. Her kommer nesten all omsetning fra tradisjonelle aktiviteter som jakt, fiske og fotturisme i form av kjøp av kort, overnatting, leie av hytter og båttransport på Femunden. I Reisa nasjonalpark er det liten aktivitet knyttet til turisme, beregnet til i overkant av 1 mill. kroner, og nesten alt foregår i randsonen utenfor nasjonalparken. Av dette utgjør elvebåt-trafikken ca 300 000 kroner. Ved å regne om brutto omsetning til omsetning per areal får vi for beite 21, 185 og 102 kroner per hektar for henholdsvis Dovrefjell-Sunndalsfjella, Femundsmarka og Reisa nasjonalpark. Tilsvarende tall for turisme blir 59, 67 og 11 kroner pr hektar. Tilsvarende brutto omsetning for utmarksarealer i Norge basert på tall fra Statens nærings- og distriktsutviklingsfond (SND) i 2002 gir en gjennomsnittsverdi på 33 kroner per hektar for beite og 68 kroner per hektar for turisme. Dette viser at brutto omsetning fra turisme i Dovre-Sunndalsfjella nasjonalpark og Femundsmarka nasjonalpark er i samme størrelsesorden som gjennomsnittet for utmark generelt i Norge. Brutto omsetning i Reisa nasjonalpark er en god del lavere enn landsgjennomsnittet.

I disse tre nasjonalparkene består turismen både av nye og etablerte bedrifter, og det er klare indikasjoner på at turismeaktiviteten har økt ved alle parkene, særlig såkalte aktivitetsbaserte tilbud og bedrifter. For mange typer turisme er det ofte et samspill mellom bruken av verneområdene og randområdene, og det er vanskelig å betrakte turisme innenfor og utenfor parkene hver for seg.

Fra undersøkelsen til Vestlandsforskning går det frem at det er de naturbaserte attraksjonene i Sogn og Fjordane som har klart størst besøkstall. I forhold til samlet besøkstall for alle attraksjonene utgjør de naturbaserte attraksjonene som har direkte tilknytning til verneområder ca 60 pst. Naturinformasjonssentra har langt høyere besøkstall enn de tradisjonelle museene.

I Jotunheimen nasjonalpark har fjellføring knyttet til turisthytter som Glitterheim, Spiterstulen og Juvasshytta vært en viktig aktivitet i mange år. På første del av 1990-tallet økte interessen for å starte opp med organisert fjellføring og opplevelsesturisme fra selskap som ikke var tilknyttet tu-

risthyttene. I 1994 ble det gitt 12 tillatelser, i 1999 ble det gitt 18 tillatelser til kommersiell fjellføring til enkeltpersoner eller virksomheter, og i 2002 var tallet på tillatelser til kommersielle aktører 28. Av disse er det 19 som har rapportert om aktivitet i 2002.

Totalt antall brukerdøgn i Jotunheimen nasjonalpark knyttet til kommersiell aktivitet var i 2002 ca 20 000 innenfor selve parken, føring til Galdhøpiggen utgjør mer enn halvparten av dette. Med en beregnet snittpris på 180 kr per person per døgn blir omsetningen knyttet til kommersiell aktivitet innenfor nasjonalparken på 3,6 mill. kroner. Mange av aktørene har også stor aktivitet utenfor nasjonalparken.

Offentlig forvaltning skaper også aktivitet og arbeidsplasser i fjellområdene. De ansatte i fjellstyrene utfører totalt ca 50 årsverk. Fjellstyrene får dekket 50 pst. av lønnsutgiftene til fjelloppsyn fra staten. De viktigste inntektskildene for fjellstyrene er salg av jakt- og fiskekort, inntekter fra storviltjakt, festeinntekter (50 pst. av inntektene som staten har av tomtefester for hytter og hotell går til fjellstyrene), beiteleie, hytteutleie og salg av tjenester til andre. Det meste av midlene går tilbake til lokalsamfunnet i form av tilretteleggingstiltak for allmennheten og lokal næringsutvikling.

Statens naturoppsyn (SNO) har pr i dag 26 oppsynsstillinger lokalt knyttet til tilsynet med verneområder, rovilvtiltaksforvaltningen og artsmangfoldet i fjellet. I tillegg kjøper SNO oppsyns- og skjøtselstjenester fra fjellstyrene for ca 3,5 mill. i året i Sør-Norge. I Nord-Norge kjøper SNO oppsyns-, registrerings- og skjøtselstjenester fra Statskogs fjelltjeneste for ca 7 mill. kroner årlig. Flere av våre store nasjonalparker og verneområder har fortsatt ikke statlig naturoppsyn, og det er behov for økt kjøp av oppsynstjenester fra fjellstyrene og Fjelltjenesten, samt fra bygdeallmenninger og andre lokale tilsynsordninger.

D. Dagens forvaltning – rammebetingelser for bruk Forvaltning utenfor verneområdene

Plan- og bygningsloven er det viktigste verktøyet for arealplanlegging i fjellområdene, og denne loven er også viktig for styring av bruk av randsone til områder vernet etter naturvernloven. Kommuneplanens arealdel er den viktigste arealplanen for å sikre store, sammenhengende og inngrepsfrie naturområder. Fylkesdelplan for Dovrefjellområdet er et eksempel på samordning av prosesser etter plan- og bygningsloven og naturvernloven. Parallelt med verneplanprosessen ble det gjennomført en fylkesdelplanprosess i samarbeid mel-

lom fire fylker som hadde til hensikt å avklare planstrategier og utfordringer i tilknytning til dette store verneområdet. Erfaringene fra arbeidet er at fylkesdelplanen engasjerte kommuner, fylkeskommuner og fylkesmenn til grundigere prosesser også rundt verneplanen, og konfliktnivået ble redusert. I stedet for å fokusere på konflikten ved vernet, ble fokus mer rettet mot hvordan vernet kan brukes til å få til bærekraftig utvikling. Et viktig resultat av planprosessen er opprettelsen av Dovrefjellrådet, som både skal ha ansvar for koordinering av forvaltningsplaner i verneplanområdet og for tilrettelegging for samarbeid og samordning av næringsutvikling, kommunal planlegging osv.

Motorferdsel i utmark og vassdrag reguleres ved lov av 10. juni 1977 og nasjonal forskrift av 15. mai 1988. Lovens hovedregel er at nyttekjøring er tillatt, mens kjøring uten nytteformål i utgangspunktet er forbudt. I Nord-Troms og Finnmark er det åpnet adgang for å fastsette løyper for «rekreasjonskjøring». Det er også fastsatt en særskilt forskrift med forbud mot helikopterskiing og lignende. Forskriften innebærer at det ikke er adgang til å legge ut landingsplasser på fjelltopper, utsiktspunkter, breer og andre liknende steder som bare har interesse i forbindelse med helikopterskiing, for kortvarig opphold, som utgangspunkt for dagsturer eller for liknende formål.

Forvaltning av verneområder etter naturvernloven

Vi har per i dag 19 nasjonalparker i fastlands-Norge og tre nasjonalparker på Svalbard. Alle disse inneholder en stor andel av fjellområder. Nasjonalparkene faller grovt sett i to hovedkategorier. Den ene er de nasjonalparkene som har som siktemål både å sikre store leveområder for planter og dyr og samtidig sikre allmennhetens mulighet til å drive friluftsliv og rekreasjon. I disse områdene var det allerede ved opprettelsen et omfattende nett av hytter og merkete stier, foruten et begrenset antall private hytter for jakt og fiske. Den andre kategorien består av nasjonalparker hvor hensynet til å bevare biologisk mangfold, og spesielt truede og sårbare arter, er høyere prioritert. Her er det i dag få eller ingen hytter, få merkete stier og ingen større, tekniske anlegg. Noen av nasjonalparkene har også vern av kulturminner som delformål. I tilknytning til nasjonalparkene er det flere steder etablert nasjonalparksenter. Nasjonalparksentrene har fokus på informasjon om nasjonalparken og sammenhenger mellom mennesker, natur og landskap (jf. Nasjonalparksentre, retningslinjer og prioriteringer, DN mars 1997).

I tillegg til aktiviteter som i liten grad er avhen-

gig av fysisk tilrettelegging, som for eksempel ski- og fotturer, er tradisjonell bruk knyttet til setring, slått, beiting, jakt, fiske og bærplukking tillatt i de fleste nasjonalparkene. Ved opprettelsen av nasjonalparker har det vært forutsatt at denne ekstensive bruken skal kunne fortsette i den utstrekning den ikke er i strid med verneformålet. I tre verneområder; Jotunheimen nasjonalpark, Reisa nasjonalpark og Saltfjellet/Svartisen nasjonalpark, er det i verneforskriftene fastsatt forbud mot kommersiell turisme. Bestemmelsen ble i sin tid innført for at vernemyndigheten skal ha kontroll med slik virksomhet innenfor nasjonalparken. Bestemmelsen har imidlertid av mange blitt oppfattet som en unødvendig hindring for utøvelsen av bærekraftig næringsutøvelse innenfor rammen av verneforskriftens formål.

De fleste av våre tidligste nasjonalparker ligger i sin helhet på statsgrunn. Vår største nasjonalpark, Hardangervidda nasjonalpark, omfatter imidlertid mer enn 50 pst. privat grunn, mens Jostedal-breen nasjonalpark har ca 23 pst. privat grunn.

Det er betydelig variasjon i brukerintensiteten mellom nasjonalparkene. Hardangervidda nasjonalpark utgjør det ene ytterpunkt. Her gjenspeiles bruksrettene i vernebestemmelsene, og motorisert transport for en rekke næringsformål er direkte hjemlet i vernebestemmelsene. Som en følge av dette og et høyt antall innvilgede dispensasjoner for barmarkskjøring er omfanget av motorisert ferdsel i denne nasjonalparken så stor at det har ført til betydelig terrengslitasje flere steder innenfor nasjonalparken.

Rago nasjonalpark i Nordland representerer den andre enden av brukerskalaen. Dette er en typisk «villmarkspark» der de eneste brukergruppene er reindriftsutøvere, fotturister og fiskere. Nærmeste vei ligger 4 km fra nasjonalparkgrensen, og de eneste kjente naturinngrep i nasjonalparken er et par mindre hytter og bruer.

Stortingsmelding nr. 62 (1991–92) *Ny landsplan for nasjonalparker og andre større verneområder i Norge* åpnet for en viss turistmessig bruk av de nasjonalparkene som tåler det under den forutsetning at de nasjonale rammene ble fulgt opp i *forvaltningsplaner* for det enkelte område. En forvaltningsplan skal være et praktisk hjelpemiddel for å opprettholde og fremme verneformålet ved å gi konkrete retningslinjer om bl.a. bruk, informasjon, skjøtsel og eventuell tilrettelegging. En forvaltningsplan utarbeides av miljøvernmyndighetene i nær dialog med eiere og brukere av verneområdet. Gjennom en slik prosess skal en avklare og ta stilling til hvordan ulike verne- og bruksinteresser skal håndteres. For å avveie ulike brukerinteresser

har det innenfor flere verneområder vært behov for en inndeling i soner med ulik målsetting for bruk, skjøtsel og tilrettelegging. De vanligste sonekategoriene har vært «vernesone», «brukssone» og «soner med spesiell tilrettelegging og tiltak». I vernesonen er naturvern hensyn overordnet andre hensyn. Brukssonen omfatter områder der forsiktede tiltak og inngrep for friluftsliv kan tillates, som f.eks merking av stier og bygging av selvbetjente/ubetjente turlagshytter innenfor et planlagt rutennett. Hytter og setre med og uten drift kan ligge i denne sonen, og noen områder kan være åpnet for hogst og enkle tiltak i tilknytning til reindrift og husdyrbeite. Den siste sonekategorien gjelder områder hvor en kan legge forholdene spesielt til rette for ferdsel og kan åpne for spesielle tiltak knyttet til reiseliv, reindrift m.v. Dette er ofte mindre områder.

Det er i dag utarbeidet forvaltningsplan for nasjonalparkene Jostedalbreen, Saltfjellet/Svartisen, Reisa, Jotunheimen, Øvre Dividal og Hardangervidda (godkjennes av DN vår 2003). For Forollhogna, Rondane, Dovre-Sunndalsfjella og Femundsmarka er forvaltningsplaner under utarbeidelse.

Fylkesmannen i det enkelte fylke (i flere fylker der verneområdet ligger i flere fylker) har som hovedregel forvaltningsmyndigheten for områder vernet etter naturvernloven, mens Direktoratet for naturforvaltning er tillagt det overordnede forvaltningsansvaret og er klageinstans for alle saker som angår verneområdene. Statens naturoppsyn er opprettet med hjemmel i naturoppsynsloven for å ivareta nasjonale miljøverdier og å forebygge miljøkriminalitet. SNO skal samordne og styrke det totale oppsynsarbeidet i Norge, og utvikle et mer helhetlig naturoppsyn. Det er i dag tilsatt 26 naturoppsyn ved lokalkontor i distriktskommuner, i hovedsak knyttet til nasjonalparker og store verneområder i Sør-Norge. SNOs viktigste oppgaver er kontroll i forhold til lover, forskrifter og annet regelverk, i tillegg til veiledning og informasjon. Ellers kan SNO utføre praktiske skjøtselsoppgaver i verneområder, foruten registrerings- og dokumentasjonsarbeid.

SNO kjøper oppsynstjenester av fjellstyrene. Over halvparten av det heltidsansatte personellet i fjellstyrene utfører i dag nasjonalparkoppsyn eller oppsyn i mindre verneområder, og utfører oppgaver både for SNO og Statskog SF.

I løpet av de siste 10–15 årene har det vært økende fokus på at berørte lokalsamfunn i større grad bør få innflytelse i forvaltningen av verneområder. I dag har 60 kommuner takket ja til delegert forvaltningsmyndighet for naturreservater og

mindre landskapsvernområder, og forvaltningsmyndigheten er i ferd med å bli overført. I noen av de største verneområdene er det etablert egne rådgivende utvalg som skal bistå fylkesmannen i forvaltningen. Dette gjelder verneområder i Jotunheimen, Jostedalbreen, Trollheimen, Øvre Dividalen og Reisa. I Hardangervidda nasjonalpark er forvaltningsmyndigheten delt mellom berørte fylkesmenn og fylkesvise tilsynsutvalg som er satt sammen av folkevalgte representanter for berørte kommuner.

I 2001 ble det startet et 5-årig prøveprosjekt med delegasjon av forvaltningsmyndigheten for verneområdene i Setesdal-Vesthei-Ryfylkeheiane til berørte kommuner. I 2003 vil det bli startet forsøk med ulike modeller for lokal forvaltning for nasjonalparkene med tilhørende verneområder i Forollhogna og Dovrefjell-Sunndalsfjella, og senere for Verdal-Snåsa-Lierne. Dette er en oppfølging av Stortingets anmodning i forbindelse med behandlingen av lov om statlig naturoppsyn.

Howdan bedrifter og næringsaktører oppfatter rammebetingelsene for næringsutøvelse

NINA-undersøkelsen fra Dovre og Oppdal kommuner viser at statusen som nasjonalpark i Dovrefjell-Sunndalsfjella oppfattes som positiv for markedsføringen av disse bedriftene så vel som for hele reiselivsnæringen i området¹⁵. Alle ga uttrykk for synspunkter om at naturvern er viktig og at de mener de innretter sin egen virksomhet etter dette. De fleste mener at restriksjonene i for liten grad er basert på kunnskaper om og forståelse for lokale forhold.

I Vestlandsforskings undersøkelse¹⁶ blir det presisert at det er naturen, enten den er vernet eller ikke, som trekker folk til Norge, mens fjord, bre, og fjell trekker turister til Vestlandet. Samtidig er det en generell oppfatning om at vernet gir området et kvalitetsstempel, og at dette gir produktene deres en merverdi. Vernet gir også et signal til omverdenen om at området blir ivaretatt for framtiden. Samlet sett mener informantene at dette har en positiv markedsføringsverdi. Enkelte av informantene mener at utlendinger i langt høyere grad

enn nordmenn er bevisste på den merverdi vernet gir. De fleste av informantene benytter områdenes vernestatus i sin markedsføring bl.a. på internett og i brosjyremateriell, spesielt i forhold til utenlandske turister. Flere av informantene peker på at balansegangen mellom vern og utnyttning av området til næringsaktivitet er vanskelig. Vern påpekes som viktig, men i den grad vernet ikke står i motsetning til forretningsdrift, bør kommersiell aktivitet tillates. Flere av informantene peker på at verneforskriftene legger hindringer i veien for omsetning og verdiskaping rundt og innenfor verneområdet. Forbudet mot kommersiell turisme innenfor Jotunheimen nasjonalpark ble bl.a. nevnt som eksempel.

Kort om dagens støtteordninger som er relevante for naturbasert næringsutvikling

Statens nærings- og distriktsutviklingsfond (SND) er myndighetenes sentrale organ for finansiering og iverksetting av tiltak innenfor nærings- og distriktspolitikken. SND yter landsdekkende og distriktsrettede tilskudd til prosjekter og tiltak som ikke er tilstrekkelig bedriftsøkonomisk lønnsomme på selvstendig basis, men som forutsetter å ha positiv samfunnsøkonomisk lønnsomhet. Fondet er administrativt underlagt Nærings- og handelsdepartementet. Midler til de ulike ordningene bevilges over følgende departementers budsjett:

- Nærings- og handelsdepartementet: Landsdekkende virkemidler og administrasjonstilskudd
- Kommunal- og regionaldepartementet: Distriktsrettede ordninger
- Landbruksdepartementet: Landbruksrettede ordninger
- Fiskeridepartementet: Fiskerirettede ordninger

Innenfor regional- og distriktspolitikken er det fra 2003 innført en ny ansvarsdeling for virkemiddelbruken ved at fylkeskommunene i kraft av å være regionale utviklingsaktører nå fordeler det vesentligste av de økonomiske virkemidlene innenfor dette feltet. Fylkeskommunene trekker opp mål og utvikler strategier for regional utvikling i sitt område. I samråd med regionalt partnerskap fordeler de rammer til innsatsområder og operative aktører som bl.a. SNDs distriktskontor. Det er dermed opp til fylkeskommunene om de vil prioritere en særskilt innsats for naturbasert næringsutvikling.

Utvikling av turisme i tilknytning til landbruk har de siste årene vært et eget innsatsområde. En del av de økonomiske virkemidlene i landbrukspo-

¹⁵ NINA har på oppdrag fra Miljøverndepartementet gjennomført en utredning som bl.a. omfatter intervjuer med 7 bedrifter i Dovre og Oppdal kommuner som tilbyr naturopplevelser i Dovrefjell-Sunndalsfjella nasjonalpark oppfatter vernestriksjonene.

¹⁶ Vestlandsforskning har på oppdrag fra Miljøverndepartementet gjennomført en delutredning som bl.a. omfatter intervjuer med 27 nøkkelpersoner i bedrifter og organisasjoner i områdene rundt Jostedalbreen nasjonalpark, Jotunheimen nasjonalpark og Utdalen og Nærøyfjorden landskapsvernområde om hvilken innvirkning vern har for reiselivsaktivitetene.

litikken har derfor relevans i et arbeid for økt turistmessig bruk av utmark og fjellområder. De relevante ordningene omfatter særlig tilskudd over jordbruksavtalen, herunder bygdeutviklingsmidler (BU-midler), tilskudd til spesielle tiltak i landbrukets kulturlandskap (STILK-midler), ordningen med områdetiltak for organisering av større prosjekter med flere interessenter og et eget seter-tilskudd som skal stimulere aktiv seterdrift. Videre hjemler fjelloven § 12 innvinning av grunneierinntekter til grunneierfondet, som etter gitte retningslinjer kan benyttes til næringsutvikling med grunnlag i naturressurser i statsallmenninger. Tilskudd til andre landbruks tiltak som landbruksveier kan også ha betydning i forhold til å understøtte utbygging av infrastruktur som gjør økt turistmessig satsing mulig.

E. Politikk for økt miljøbasert turistmessig bruk av våre verneområder

Reiselivsnæringen har gjennom en rekke år markedsført Norge som turistobjekt med utgangspunkt bl.a. i de store natur- og kulturhistoriske verdiene vi finner i fjellområdene. Turistene oppgir fjordene, fjellene og den uberørte naturen som hovedgrunner til å komme til Norge. Etter hvert som andelen av villmark reduseres ellers i Europa, har særpreg ved norske fjellområder som store sammenhengende områder med tilnærmet urørt natur og fravær av støy fått økt oppmerksomhet fra utenlandske turister.

Hvis vi klarer å ta vare på de natur- og kulturhistoriske kvalitetene som preger den norske fjellheimen, ikke minst i verneområdene, ser Regjeringen store muligheter for økt miljøbasert og miljøtilpasset næringsutvikling og turisme i våre fjellområder. Miljøtilpasset turisme knyttet til utnytting av våre fjellområder der større verneområder inngår kan, dersom den utvikles på riktig måte, både ivareta ønsker fra turistene om opplevelser av høy kvalitet og ønsker om verdiskaping i lokalsamfunn, samtidig som verdiene innenfor og utenfor verneområdene ivaretas og videreutvikles. Internasjonal erfaring viser at et sted eller en regions sjansje til å hevde seg i en stadig mer global utvikling er å dyrke frem det som er spesifikt stedsbestemt, med vekt på det som gjør den annerledes og særpreget. Nøkkelen ligger i samspeillet mellom natur, kultur og næringsliv.

Verneområder som grunnlag for merkevarebygging

Våre nasjonalparker og andre verneområder er opprettet for å ta vare på de mest verdifulle og flotteste naturområdene for oss og kommende generasjoner. De fleste av disse områdene har nettopp de særpreg som mange turister ønsker å oppleve, og har i mange år vært viktige reisemål og områder for friluftsliv og naturopplevelse både for nordmenn og utenlandske turister. Undersøkelser viser at nasjonalparkene bidrar til at turister ønsker å komme til Norge, og at de dermed er et viktig element i markeringen av norsk særpreg og som ledd i markedsføringen av bredden i det opplevelsesspekter besøkende kan tilbys.

Avhengig av verneformålet setter vern etter naturvernloven en del rammer for bruk av verneområdene. I tillegg til vanlige friluftslivsaktiviteter som ski- og fotturer, er tradisjonell bruk knyttet til setring, slått, beiting, jakt, fiske og bærplukking tillatt i de fleste verneområdene. Landbruksdrift som innebærer f.eks flatehogst, gjødsling, veibygging og andre varige inngrep er i utgangspunktet ikke tillatt.

Undersøkelser i et utvalg norske nasjonalparker viser at det foregår omfattende næringsvirksomhet knyttet til turisme i de fleste av disse parkene. Aktivitetene omfatter hovedsakelig ulike former for utleie, overnatting, servering, jakt og fiske og opplevelsesbaserte aktiviteter som for eksempel guiding/fjellføring, ridning, elvepadling og leirskole/undervisning. Regjeringen mener det er potensial for enda mer av denne typen aktiviteter så lenge de holdes innenfor rammen av verneformålet.

Økt turistmessig bruk av verneområdene

Regjeringen vil åpne for økt verdiskaping i fjellbygdene ved å legge til rette for økt aktivitet innenfor og rundt en del av nasjonalparkene, herunder bidra til

- at et utvalg av nasjonalparkene brukes i markedsføringen av reiselivstilbudet generelt i Norge
- tilrettelegging for flere og mer langvarige besøk i og nær et utvalg av nasjonalparkene
- tilrettelegging for varierte opplevelser ved nasjonalparkbesøk i et utvalg av nasjonalparkene

De verdiene som er grunnlag for vernet, vil også være en forutsetning for økt turistmessig bruk og verdiskaping i fjellbygdene. Geografisk avgrensning og verneforskrifter for nasjonalparkene skal

fortsatt regulere hvordan disse områdene kan brukes. Disse grensene er satt med utgangspunkt i kunnskap om biologiske og økologiske forhold i området og bør ikke overskrides hvis naturverdiene som finnes i området skal bevares. Samtidig skal vernet gi et kvalitetsstempel på området som gjør det attraktivt i turistsammenheng. Slik blir naturkvaliteten selve grunnlaget for næringsutvikling og verdiskaping.

Ved utforming av reiselivspolitikken i årene som kommer må det legges til grunn at nødvendige, tyngre infrastrukturelle tekniske tiltak så som større reiselivsanlegg med tilhørende aktiviteter, skal være lokalisert utenfor verneområdene. Verneområder skal være arena for bruk og opplevelser innenfor rammen av det enkelte verneområdets verneformål.

Reiselivstiltak som forutsetter betydelige infrastrukturelle tiltak og bruk av motorisert transport innenfor nasjonalparker og andre verneområder bryter med den tradisjon som Norge til nå har hatt som reiselivsnasjon, og er i strid med gjeldende nasjonalparkpolitikk. Slike tiltak vil forringe nettopp de kvaliteter som gjør disse områdene attraktive.

Regjeringen mener likevel at det er potensial for mer turistmessig bruk av våre verneområder, og vil åpne for økt miljøtilpasset turismevirksomhet som ikke kommer i konflikt med verneformålet i nasjonalparkene. Tiltrettelegging skal skje på naturens premisser, men med forvaltningstiltak som samtidig åpner for flerbruk. Regjeringen vil oppheve forbudet mot kommersiell turisme slik det er formulert i vernebestemmelsene for tre av våre nasjonalparker (Saltfjellet/Svartisen, Jotunheimen og Reisa). Tiltak innenfor nasjonalparker og landskapsvernområder i forbindelse med turisme skal selvsagt vurderes på samme måte enten tiltaket er av kommersiell eller ikke-kommersiell karakter. Det er tiltakets innvirkning i forhold til vernemålet som skal være avgjørende, ikke om tiltaket har næringsmessig betydning.

Også innenfor landskapsvernområder skal det foreligge mulighet for tiltrettelegging for mindre, miljøtilpasset turistvirksomhet innenfor rammen av verneformålet. Det vil som regel være lettere å få adgang til å gjennomføre nødvendige tiltretteleggingstiltak for slik virksomhet innenfor landskapsvernområder enn i nasjonalparker.

Forvaltningsplaner som grunnlag for tiltrettelegging

Grad og lokalisering av bruk innenfor verneområdene skal skje med utgangspunkt i en egen forvaltningsplan for området. Forvaltningsplanen skal gi

retningslinjer for vern og bruk. Planer om ulike tiltak, tiltrettelegging og dispensasjonspraksis skal klarlegges i forvaltningsplanen. Arbeidet med slike planer skal gjøres i samarbeid med lokale myndigheter og grunneiere/bruksberettigede.

Arbeidet med nye og justering av eldre forvaltningsplaner for verneområdene i fjellet, skal prioriteres og forseres for å kunne øke den bærekraftige turismen i våre fjellområder. I dette arbeidet vil en legge til grunn en soneringsmetodikk som innebærer at verneområdene deles inn i ulike bruks- og ferdselssoner. For de enkelte soner skal det settes mest mulig konkrete mål for miljøtilstand som bruksformer og omfang skal tilpasses. All tiltrettelegging skal baseres på god kunnskap om natur- og kulturverdier. Gjennom forvaltningsplanlegging og soneinndeling av verneområdene vil en kunne sikre en variert tiltrettelegging for friluftsliv, landbruksbasert reiseliv og turisme tilpasset verneformålet og innenfor de grensene som er nødvendige for å ta vare på natur- og kulturverdiene.

Opparbeiding av stier og løyper, samt god naturinformasjon bidrar til å sikre viktige kvaliteter ved at stor ferdsel og aktivitet kanaliseres til bestemte områder, mens omkringliggende områder skånes mot uheldige miljøbelastninger. Samtidig blir naturen lettere tilgjengelig for brukerne, og dermed bedres også grunnlaget for lønnsomme reiselivsaktiviteter. Som en oppfølging av Stortingets behandling av friluftslivmeldingen har Miljøverndepartementet oppnevnt et utvalg som skal vurdere de funksjonshemmedes tilgjengelighet til verneområdene, og komme med forslag til tiltak.

For Jotunheimen nasjonalpark og Utladalen landskapsvernområde ble det i 2002 satt i gang et arbeid med en «Handlingsplan for bærekraftig turisme» i regi av fylkesmannen. Her legges det vekt på verneområdet som ressurs for lokal verdiskaping innen reiseliv bl.a. ved at området omkring nasjonalparken utvikles, men med stor vekt på å bruke verneområdet som trekkplaster. Det er aktuelt å vurdere utarbeidelse av lignende handlingsplaner for bærekraftig turisme for flere andre verneområder.

Helhetlig arealplanlegging som grunnlag for økt miljøtilpasset turisme utenfor verneområdene

Fjellområdene utenfor verneområdene har også store naturkvaliteter, både i randsonen til verneområdene og i resten av fjellheimen. Det er tradisjon for at både lokalbefolkning og tilreisende kan nyte godt av disse områdene gjennom allemannsretten.

Lokaliseringen av tyngre kommersiell aktivitet bør skje i disse områdene – utenfor verneområde-

ne, men hvor verneområdene kan fungere som trekkplaster. Også her er det viktig at anlegg lokaliseres slik at gjenværende naturområder uten tynge tekniske inngrep og leveområder for truede og sårbare plante- og dyrearter bevares, og grunnlaget for friluftsliv og verdiskaping opprettholdes. Det er viktig at reiselivsanelegg utenfor verneområder lokaliseres slik at press mot sårbare deler av nasjonalparkene unngås.

Planlegging etter plan- og bygningsloven er det viktigste virkemiddelet for å finne faglig gode og omforente løsninger i områdene utenfor verneområdene. Praktisering av plan- og bygningslovens bestemmelser kan også understøtte utvikling av infrastrukturelle tiltak i områder som ligger nært til nasjonalparker og andre større verneområder, innenfor de rammer natur- og kulturhistoriske verdier setter. Det er viktig at kommunene benytter det handlingsrommet som plan- og bygningsloven gir når det gjelder bruk av arealene inntil verneområdene, slik at disse kommunene i større grad utnytter den muligheten til økt turistmessig bruk som et verneområde kan gi.

For å få til en mer helhetlig politikk for forvaltning av fjellområdene er det nødvendig at lokal planlegging og utnyttning samordnes over større regioner. Mange kommuner har utarbeidet kommunedelplaner for større, sammenhengende områder med turist- og hytteutbygging. Det er ønskelig at slike områder i større grad blir planlagt i sammenheng, uavhengig av om områdene går over flere kommuner eller fylker. Det er flere eksempler på slikt plansamarbeid i dag.

De gjenværende naturområdene i Norge uten tynge tekniske inngrep finnes i stor grad i fjellet. Bevaring av disse områdenes kvaliteter mot irreversible inngrep er å sikre den viktigste kapitalen for en fremtidig naturbasert turistnæring i Norge.

Mange kommuner har planer for økt hyttebygging, og med de store utmarksarealene vi har i Norge bør det ved gode prosesser være mulig å finne egnede områder for økt hyttebygging, uten å ødelegge viktige natur- og kulturverdier. Hyttebygging skal ikke svekke kvalitetene i et område, men heller bidra til å sikre dem, og tilføre nye kvaliteter. Ved lokalisering av hyttefelt må det legges vekt på natur- og kulturminneverdier.

Fravær av støy – en viktig del av merkevaren

Økende motorferdsel er i ferd med å redusere fjellområdenes kvalitet som turistobjekter, både innenfor og utenfor verneområdene. Undersøkelser viser at stillheten for mange fjellbrukere, ikke minst for utenlandske turister, er noe av det som er unikt

ved norsk natur. Det er derfor nødvendig å skjerme viktige friluftslivsområder mot støy fra kjøretøy på bakken, småfly og helikoptre.

Det pågår nå et forsøk i 8 kommuner for å prøve ut en ny modell for motorferdsel forvaltning med det formål å få bedre styring og kontroll med kjøringen. Forsøket avsluttes våren 2004. Regjeringen vil så evaluere forsøket.

Lov om motorferdsel i utmark og vassdrag regulerer start og landing med luftfartøy i utmark og vassdrag. Loven gjelder ikke landingsplass for luftfartøy når det er gitt konsesjon etter luftfartlovens § 7-5 eller når landingsplassen er anlagt eller drives av staten. Det kreves ikke konsesjon for landingsplass der det er eller vil bli foretatt ubetydelig rydnings-, anleggs- eller bygningsvirksomhet og antall flybevegelser er av et ubetydelig omfang, med mindre flysikkerhetsmessige eller støymessige hensyn tilsier at første ledd kommer til anvendelse. Luftfartstilsynet har lagt til grunn at det er nødvendig med konsesjon dersom antallet flybevegelser er mer enn 10–12 per uke. Konsesjonen til landingsplass må bare gis når det finnes forenlig med allmenne hensyn. I forbindelse med behandlingen av stortingsmeldingen om friluftsliv (jf. Innst. S. nr. 114 (2001–2002)) ba Stortingets flertall regjeringen vurdere å foreslå nødvendige lovendringer slik at regelverket for motorisert luftferdsel, herunder helikopter, omfatter selve flygingen – i tillegg til start og landing. Regjeringen legger til grunn at allmenne hensyn taler imot å gi konsesjon i nasjonalparker og andre viktige verneområder.

Større oppslutning lokalt om vern og miljøtilpasset bruk – grunnlag for verdiskaping

Det er en utfordring å skape større legitimitet og lokal oppslutning om vern av områder som grunnlag for verdiskaping i lokalsamfunnet. Et element i dette er å sette søkelyset på koplingen mellom verneområdene og omkringliggende lokalsamfunn og bosetting, og i større grad synliggjøre de samfunnsøkonomiske fordelene ved at nasjonalparkene som særpregete områder kan tiltrekke seg turister, samtidig som natur- og kulturverdiene bevares. Regjeringen vil legge til rette for at vern av områder i fjellet og utvikling av nærliggende lokalsamfunn i større grad sees i sammenheng i forbindelse med nye verneprosesser. Det er allerede gjennomført samordnede planprosesser for Setesdal/Vesthei/ Ryfylkeheiene, Dovrefjell – Sunndalsfjella og Naustdal/Gjengedal der det parallellt med verneplanarbeidet er utarbeidet fylkesdelplaner som også omfatter de omkringliggende områdene. På en slik måte har man fått fram opplysnin-

ger og planer om framtidig arealutnytting, herunder potensial for næringsutvikling og verdiskaping i områdene opp mot verneområdene. Regjeringen vil i forbindelse med oppstart av nye verneplanprosesser for større sammenhengende naturområder vurdere om det også bør settes i gang parallell planlegging av tilliggende områder, slik at hele området kan få en helhetlig vurdering med hensyn til vern og bruk.

Manglende dialog og medvirkning kan føre til svekket legitimitet for verneområdene lokalt, og kan også føre til liten kunnskap og bevissthet om hvilke muligheter og begrensninger vernet gir for reiselivet. Konsekvensen kan være at reelle muligheter for næringsutvikling ikke blir utnyttet, og konflikter og motstand mot vernet blir unødvendig forsterket. Prosjektet «Landbruk og verneområder i Møre og Romsdal» som kom i stand i 2002 i regi av Norges Bondelag, er eksempel på et prosjekt hvor målet bl.a. er å skape bedre samhandling mellom vernemyndigheter og grunneiere i forvaltningen av et verneområde. Prosjektet er knyttet til etableringen av Geiranger-Herdalen landskapsvernområde og Reinheimen nasjonalpark, og finansieres av Landbruksdepartementet og SND. Erfaringer så langt viser bl.a. et stort behov for kunnskap om hva vern vil innebære for de berørte og lokalsamfunnet, og hvilke begrensninger og muligheter vern gir for framtidig næringsvirksomhet. Tilsvarende prosjekter foregår også i Hordaland og Sogn og Fjordane i regi av fylkesmannen. Slike prosjekter gir verdifulle erfaringer med organisering av verneprosesser og næringsutvikling i forbindelse med verneområder.

Prosjekter som er gjennomført under Norges forskningsråds program «Bruk og forvaltning av utmark» har gitt en del kunnskap som gir grunnlag for bedre forståelse av konflikter og konfliktårsaker i forvaltning av utmark. Data herfra viser bl.a. at selv om enkelte konflikter i forvaltning av utmark er av fundamental karakter, så bør de kunne løses gjennom bedre plan- og utviklingsprosesser og bedre kommunikasjon mellom involverte aktører. For å få til en helhetlig forvaltning av fjellområdene er det nødvendig med arenaer for samarbeid mellom lokalsamfunn, rettighetshavere, miljøvern, landbruk- og reiselivet. De fylkesvise tilsynsutvalgene og de rådgivende utvalgene som er etablert for noen av de større verneområdene fungerer i dag som slike arenaer. Dette samarbeidet skal videreutvikles.

Kommunene står i en særstilling når det gjelder å kunne legge til rette for økt næringsutvikling og turistmessig bruk av fjellområdene. Kommunene forvalter gjennom plan- og bygningsloven stors-

teparten av landets arealer, og har myndighet på områder som påvirker fjellområdene etter ulike særlover. Kommunene har dessuten som lokalpolitisk aktør mulighet til å ta initiativ til samarbeid om næringsutvikling i forhold til fjellstyrene, lokale organisasjoner, næringsliv, grunneiere/rettighetshavere og statlige myndigheter.

Kommunen har i den siste tiden fått økt myndighet på miljøvernområdet. I tillegg til å ha fått delegert forvaltningsmyndighet for naturreservater og mindre landskapsvernområder, har kommunene fått myndighet til å foreta lokale tilpasninger i jakttidene for en del arter, og det vil også bli gjennomført forsøk i enkelte kommuner med ytterligere mulighet til å fastsette lokalt tilpassede jakttider. Videre tas det sikte på å overføre administrasjonen av jakt på bl.a. hjortevilt i statsallmenninger fra Statsskog SF til fjellstyrene. Dette, sammen med forsøk med delegasjon av forvaltningsmyndigheten i fire nasjonalparker, vil i sum gi økt lokalpolitisk handlingsrom for miljøbasert næringsutvikling.

Ulike organisasjoner som friluftsliv, naturvern og kulturminneorganisasjonene, Reiselivsbedriftenes landsforening, Norges Turistråd, Utmarks kommunenes Sammenslutning og organisasjoner innenfor landbruket er viktige aktører og samarbeidspartnere i arbeidet med å møte utfordringene knyttet til å utvikle en helhetlig politikk for forvaltning av fjellområdene.

Behov for økt kunnskap og informasjon

Kunnskap om utmarksressursene, kunnskap om bruk og brukere av utmarksressursene, kunnskap om forvaltnings- og reguleringsregimer, kunnskap om nærings- og rettighetsforhold og kunnskap om kulturelle forhold (verdisyn og meningssystemer) er viktige elementer som må ligge til grunn for arbeidet med å utvikle en helhetlig politikk for fjellområdene.

Kartleggingen av biologisk mangfold i kommunene bidrar til kunnskap om utmarksressursene. Miljøverndepartementet har dessuten gjennomført et fireårig program for å bedre dokumentasjonen av arealbruk og arealverdier i Norge. AREALIS, som er et nasjonalt prosjekt for å gjøre areal-, miljø- og planinformasjon tilgjengelig i kommuner og fylker, er det største prosjektet i programmet. Miljøstatus på nett gir både eiere/rettighetshavere, befolkning, kommunale myndigheter og andre beslutningstagere bedre oversikt over og informasjon om miljøtilstand og naturkvaliteter. Vegetasjonskartlegging og data for beitebruk gir også et viktig grunnlag for forvaltning av utmarksområde-

ne, og kan bidra til å unngå eller dempe arealkonflikter.

Utvikling av reiseliv innenfor rammen av miljøbasert turisme/kvalitetsturisme forutsetter at den enkelte reiselivsvirksomhet utøves forsvarlig. Det er behov for økt kunnskap om utfordringene, samt utvikling av holdninger og operative strategier på miljøområdet i den enkelte bedrift. Reiselivsbedriftene må kjenne krav som stilles både av markedet og av myndighetene. Det er nødvendig at næringen har kunnskap om naturkvaliteter og attraksjoners betydning for markedet.

Det er viktig at myndighetene, både nasjonalt og lokalt, gir god informasjon om miljøkrav og hvilke mål som settes. Ansvaret for å implementere må være bedriftenes eget. Stiftelsen GRIP – for bærekraftig produksjon og forbruk har utviklet en rekke veiledningsverktøy som gir nyttige innspill til dette.

I Nordisk sammenheng er det i dag voksende interesse for å miljøsertifisere ulike typer virksomheter som opererer i naturområder. Dette skjer enten ved å ta i bruk systemer for miljøledelse eller gjennom miljømerking av produkter og tjenester. Regjeringen utvidet i mars 2003 EUs system for miljøledelse (EMAS) slik at alle bedrifter og organisasjoner nå omfattes av ordningen. Regjeringen ønsker å fremme et miljøtilpasset reiseliv gjennom å øke andelen miljøsertifiserte virksomheter som opererer i norske fjellområder, og ser det som viktig at dette frivillige verktøyet nå tas i bruk også for å gjøre det naturbaserte reiselivet mer miljøvennlig.

I nasjonalparkmeldingen ble en utbygging av informasjons- og veiledningsapparatet sammen med utbygging av det mer organiserte opplevelsesstilbudet framhevet som en forutsetning for å oppnå økt turistmessig bruk. Nasjonalparksentrene har en meget viktig rolle i det informasjons- og veiledningsarbeidet som er nødvendig allerede i dag, og som blir enda viktigere etter hvert som bruken av fjellområdene øker.

3.14 Arbeids- og administrasjonsdepartementet

Kap. 1500 Arbeids- og administrasjonsdepartementet

Post 21 Spesielle driftsutgifter

På bakgrunn av den stramme budsjettssituasjonen foreslår Regjeringen å sette ned bevilgningen på kap. 1500, post 21 med 5 mill. kroner.

Kap. 4520 Statskonsult

Post 05 Inntekter for sentral opplæring

Post 06 Inntekter fra rådgivning

Det foreslås å øke bevilgningen under post 06 Inntekter fra rådgivning med 5 mill. kroner mot en tilsvarende nedsettelse av bevilgningen under post 05 Inntekter fra sentral opplæring.

Kap. 4522 Statens forvaltningstjeneste

Post 04 Inntekter – Norsk lysingsblad

Informasjonen som formidles gjennom Norsk lysingsblad er tilgjengelig både via elektroniske tjenester og abonnement i papirutgave. Inntektsgrunnlaget utgjøres av avgiftene for å kunngjøre i Norsk lysingsblad og av salg/abonnement av bladet. Papirversjonene av informasjonen er priset, mens den elektronisk tilgjengelige informasjonen er gratis. Fra 1996 til 2003 sank antallet abonnenter av Norsk lysingsblad fra 10 000 til 6 500. Årsaken til dette antas å være at mange av opplysningene i Norsk lysingsblad også finnes på Internett via Norsk lysingsblads hjemmesider og andre av Norsk lysingsblads elektroniske tjenester. Antallet kunder som kunngjør gjennom Norsk lysingsblad eller står som abonnent, har sunket mer enn man hadde lagt til grunn i budsjettet for 2003. På tross av prisøkningene foretatt i 2002 har en ikke fått høyere samlede inntekter.

På bakgrunn av dette foreslås bevilgningen under kap. 4522, post 04 satt ned med 8,0 mill. kroner til 48,5 mill. kroner.

Kap. 1530 Tilskudd til de politiske partier

Omfordeling av bevilgning for 2003

I St.prp. nr. 1 Tillegg nr. 9 (2002-2003) ble det under kap. 1530 Tilskudd til de politiske partier foreslått å videreføre ordningen i samsvar med prinsippene og strukturen vedtatt av Stortinget i forbindelse med statsbudsjettet for 2002. Forslaget innebærer at bevilgningen igjen ble fordelt på postene 70–76. Et beløp på 5,8 mill. kroner, tilsvarende den tidligere nominasjonsstøtten, ble foreslått overført fra post 70 Tilskudd til de politiske partiers sentrale organisasjoner til post 73 Tilskudd til fylkespartiene.

Stortinget vedtok 13.12.2002 å videreføre bevilgningen på kap. 1530 på samme nominelle nivå som i saldert budsjett for 2002 og økte derfor bevilgningen under kapitlet med 44,2 mill. kroner. Hele økningen ble imidlertid lagt på post 70. I et-

APPENDIX 2: Overview of informants and interviewee

Informants and interviewees are separated according to protected area, location where interview was undertaken, date, type of interview, if I have a summary or transcript, category *of* informant or interviewee, and his or her role as informant or interviewee.

#	Protected area	Location	Date	Type of interview	Tran./Summ.	Category							
						Tourism	Farmer	Reindeer owner	Landowner	Politician	Public authority	Informant	Interviewee
1	Sjunkhatten	Kjerringøy	09.23.08	Focus group	S						1	1	
1			09.23.08	Focus group	S		1					1	
1			09.23.08	Focus group	S	1						1	
2			09.23.08	Focus group	S				2			2	
1		Sjørfold	09.25.08	Interview	S					1		1	
1	Vega	Vega	11.06.07	Interview	S						1	1	
6			11.06.07	Interview	S	6						6	
1	Lomsdal-Visten	Vevelstad	12.06.07	Interview	S	1						1	
1			12.06.07	Interview	S					1		1	
1			12.06.07	Interview	S						1	1	
3		Brønnøy	06.13.07	Interview	S	3						3	
1			06.13.07	Interview	S		1					1	
2			06.14.07	Interview	S						2	2	
1		Grane	06.20.07	Interview	S					1		1	
1			06.28.07	Focus group	S	1						1	
1			06.28.07	Focus group	S						1	1	
2			06.28.07	Focus group	S		2					2	
2			06.28.07	Focus group	S							2	
1		Røyrvik	06.28.07	Focus group	S						1	1	

#	Protected area	Location	Date	Type of interview	Tran./Summ.	Category							
						Tourism	Farmer	Reindeer owner	Landowner	Politician	Public authority	Informant	Interviewee
1	Lomsdal-Visten / Bøtgefjell	Hattfjelldal	06.28.07	Focus group	S	1						1	
2			06.28.07	Focus group	S		2					2	
1			06.28.07	Focus group	S						1	1	
2			06.28.07	Focus group	S			2				2	
2	Junkerdal	Storjord	06.23.11	Focus group	S						2		2
8			06.23.11	Focus group	S			8					8
2			06.23.11	Focus group	S					2			2
1			06.23.11	Focus group	S							1	1
2		Sulitjelma	06.16.08	Interview	S						1		2
1			06.16.08	Interview	T								1
1			06.16.08	Interview	T						1		1
1			06.17.08	Interview	T					1			1
1		Fauske	06.17.08	Interview	T					1			1
1			06.17.08	Interview	T								1
1			06.17.08	Interview	S					1			1
2		Rognan	06.18.08	Interview	T						2		2
1			06.18.08	Interview	T					1			1
2		Junkerdal	06.19.08	Interview	T							2 ^a	2
1		Lønsdal	06.19.08	Interview	T						1		1

#	Protected area	Location	Date	Type of interview	Tran./Summ.	Category							
						Tourism	Farmer	Reindeer owner	Landowner	Politician	Public authority	Informant	Interviewee
1	Lyngsalpan	Lyngen	06.04.08	Interview	T						1	1	
3			06.04.08	Interview	T	3						3	
1			10.04.08	Interview	T			1				1	
1		Tromsø	05.04.08	Interview	S							1	
1	Reisa	Nordreisa	08.04.08	Interview	T	1						1	
2			09.04.08	Interview	T	2						2	
2			10.04.08	Interview	T	2						2	
1	Øvre Pasvik	Sør-Varanger	06.02.07	Speech/conversation	S						1	1	
5			06.02.07	Speech/conversation	S	5						5	
1	Varangerhalvøya	Vardø	01.09.08	Interview	T	1						1	
1			02.09.08	Interview	T						1	1	
1			01.09.08	Interview	S				1			1	
1		Vadsø	09.03.08	Interview	T						1	1	
2			08.02.08	Interview	T	2						2	
1			09.03.08	Interview	S						1	1	
1			09.03.08	Interview	T	1						1	
2	National level	Alta	09.04.08	Interview	T						2	1	1
3		Oslo	11.02.09	Interview	T						3	3	

#	Protected area	Location	Date	Type of interview	Tran./Summ.	Category									
						Tourism	Farmer	Reindeer owner	Landowner	Politician	Public authority	Informant	Interviewee		
1			12.02.09	Interview	T					1				1	
1			12.02.09	Interview	S						1			1	
6		Trondheim	06.09.08	Interview	T								6		6
101					39/62	40	10	12	3	3	33	63	38		

^a These two farmers are also landowners.

Note: **Red** represents interviews I did not participate in (N = 6); **green** represents interviews I did together with other members of the PROBUS project team (N = 16); **pink** represents interviews I did together with a fellow PhD student (N = 13); **black** represents interviews I did by myself (N = 66).

APPENDIX 3: Paper-based survey form

Undersøkelse om næringsaktivitet i vernede områder

Nordlandsforskning, Høgskolen i Bodø, Bioforsk Tjøtta og Salten Friluftsråd gjennomfører en spørreundersøkelse om næringsaktivitet i vernede områder i Nord-Norge. Undersøkelsen er en del av PROBUS, et forskningsprosjekt finansiert av Norges Forskningsråd. Prosjektet ser på hvordan vernede områder kan brukes som en ressurs i næringsutvikling. Formålet med PROBUS er å øke forståelsen av hva som påvirker mulighetene for næringsutvikling i vernede områder.

Forskningsprosjektet startet opp i 2006 og avsluttes i 2009. Denne spørreundersøkelsen er en stor og viktig del av prosjektet der vi trenger din hjelp. Ved å svare på undersøkelsen, hjelper du oss med å få nyttig kunnskap om bruken av vernede områder i Nord-Norge.

Deltakelsen i undersøkelsen er frivillig, men for at undersøkelsen skal bli vellykket, er vi avhengig av at så mange som mulig deltar. Besvar så mange av spørsmålene som mulig. Hvis det er spørsmål som du ikke kan eller vil svare på, kan du likevel hoppe over disse.

Vi er svært takknemlig om du kan returnere ferdig utfylt spørreskjema i vedlagt svarkonvolutt innen: 22. oktober 2008.

Opplysningene vil bli analysert og rapportert på en måte som gjør at enkeltpersoner ikke kan identifiseres. Undersøkelsen er i henhold til regelverket meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS, og gjennomføres i tråd med gjeldende lover og regler for sikring av personopplysninger.

I forhold til personvern gjelder følgende:

- Data fra undersøkelsen behandles konfidensielt og personer ved Nordlandsforskning som innhenter informasjon har taushetsplikt vedrørende disse opplysningene.
- Det er frivillig å delta i undersøkelsen.
- Det er mulig å trekke seg fra undersøkelsen også på et senere tidspunkt.
- Data fra undersøkelsen lagres atskilt fra navneopplysninger og kontaktinformasjon.
- Ved prosjektets slutt blir navneliste med kontaktinformasjon makulert. Etter dette er alle opplysninger fullstendig anonymisert.

På forhånd tusen takk for hjelpen!

Hvis du har spørsmål kan du kontakte:

Gunn Elin Fedreheim
Forsker
Tlf. 92856500
gef@nforsk.no

Lars Rønning
Seniorforsker
Tlf. 90772701
lar@nforsk.no

A. Om deg selv

A1. Hvilket år er du født? _____

A2. Er du?

- 1 Kvinne
2 Mann

A3. Din sivilstatus?

- 1 Enslig
2 Gift/samboer
3 Skilt/enke/enkemann

A4. Her ber vi deg krysse av hvis du vil karakterisere deg selv som (flere kryss er mulig):

- 1 Etnisk norsk
2 Samisk
3 Kvensk
4 Europeisk innvandrер
5 Ikke-europeisk innvandrер

A5. Antall barn under 18 år i husstanden? _____

A6. Hva er ditt postnummer? _____

A7. Hvor lenge har du bodd i den kommunen du bor i nå?

(Svar i kolonne A hvis du er født og oppvokst i kommunen, eller B hvis du er tilflyttet kommunen)

A. Født og oppvokst i kommunen	B. Tilflyttet kommunen
<input type="checkbox"/> Har alltid bodd her	
<input type="checkbox"/> Har bodd borte mindre enn 5 år	<input type="checkbox"/> Har bodd i kommunen under 5 år
<input type="checkbox"/> Har bodd borte mer enn 5 år	<input type="checkbox"/> Har bodd i kommunen over 5 år

A8. Hva er din og eventuelt din samboer/ektefelles høyeste utdanning?

	Du selv	Samboer/ ektefelle
a) Grunnskole	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Kurs/fagopplæring med kortere varighet enn ett år	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Videregående skole	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Høgskole/universitet, 3 år eller mindre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Høgskole/universitet, mer enn 3 år	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

A9. Hvilke lag og foreninger er du medlem av? (flere kryss er mulig)

<input type="checkbox"/> Norges bondelag	<input type="checkbox"/> Lokallag av Den norske turistforening
<input type="checkbox"/> Norges bonde- og småbrukarlag	<input type="checkbox"/> Norges Røde Kors hjelpekors
<input type="checkbox"/> Grunneierlag	<input type="checkbox"/> KFUK-KFUM speiderne
<input type="checkbox"/> Bygde-/ungdomslag	<input type="checkbox"/> Norges Speiderforbund
<input type="checkbox"/> Elgjaktlag	<input type="checkbox"/> Norges Padleforbund
<input type="checkbox"/> NHO Reiseliv	<input type="checkbox"/> Norges Naturvernforbund
<input type="checkbox"/> Din Tur	<input type="checkbox"/> Norges Klatreforbund
<input type="checkbox"/> Norske Reindriftsamers Landsforbund	<input type="checkbox"/> Forbundet KYSTEN
<input type="checkbox"/> Destinasjonsselskap (f.eks. Visit Nordland, Troms Reiseliv og Finnmark Reiseliv)	<input type="checkbox"/> Lokallag av Norges jeger- og fiskeforbund
<input type="checkbox"/> Lokal næringsforening (f.eks. Vega næringssselskap, Lyngen næringsforum, Vardø næringsforening)	<input type="checkbox"/> Hest (Norges rytterforbund, Foreningen til Kjørehestens Fremme, Hest og Helse m.fl.)
<input type="checkbox"/> Trekkhundklubb	<input type="checkbox"/> Scooterforening
<input type="checkbox"/> Skogeierlag (Allskog)	<input type="checkbox"/> Fiskerlag / kystfiskarlaget
<input type="checkbox"/> Fiskeoppdrettslag	<input type="checkbox"/> Annet: _____

A10. Hvilken tilknytning har du til disse verneede områdene? (flere kryss er mulig)

	Grunneier	Nærings- utøver	Friluft- utøver
a) Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Reisa nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Lyngen landskapsvernområde	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Sjunghatten nasjonalpark *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Junkerdal nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Vega verdensarvområde	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Dette verneområdet er under opprettelse

A11. Forsøker du i dag å etablere en ny næringsvirksomhet med tilknytning til noen av verneområdene som nevnt i spørsmål A10?

1 Ja, vennligst spesifiser verneområde og type virksomhet: _____

2 Nei _____

B. Spørsmål til grunneiere

Med grunneiere menes her personer som har eiendom som gårdsbruk, utmarkseiendom, boligtomt m.m.

Hvis du **ikke** er grunneier, hopp til spørsmål C1 side 5.

- B1. Hvilket år overtok/kjøpte du eiendommen? _____
- B2. Hvor lenge har eiendommen vært i din families/din ektefelles/samboers families eie?
- Første generasjon: Jeg/vi kjøpte eiendommen fra noen utenfor nær familie
 - Andre generasjon: Eiendommen ble kjøpt av mine foreldre/min ektefelles/samboers foreldre
 - Eiendommen har vært i min families/min ektefelles/samboers families eie i mer enn to generasjoner tilbake
- B3. Hvordan er eierskapet til eiendommen?
- Jeg eier eiendommen alene/sammen med ektefelle/samboer
 - Jeg eier eiendommen sammen med andre
 - Eiendommen er uskiftet (dødsbo)
- B4. Hva er eiendommens totale størrelse i dekar? _____ da
- B5. Hvor stort areal eier du/dere i et vernet område? _____ da
- B6. Har eiendommen bruksretter inne i det vernede området?
- Ja, hvilke: _____
 - Nei
- B7. Bor du selv på eiendommen?
- Ja, jeg bor på eiendommen, men utenfor det vernede området
 - Ja, jeg bor på eiendommen, inne i det vernede området
 - Nei, jeg bor ikke på eiendommen
- B8. Driver du selv aktivt landbruk (jordbruk/skogbruk/hagebruk)?
- Ja
 - Nei, men eiendommen leies ut til landbruksformål
 - Nei, eiendommen brukes ikke til landbruksformål

B9. Har vernestatusen hatt innvirkning for følgende bruk av eiendommen?

	Svært positiv	Positiv	Ingen	Negativ	Svært negativ
a) Beitemuligheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Skogsdrift	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Fiske	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Jakt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Høsting (bær/sopp)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Egen ferdsel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Gårdsutsalg/ gårdsturisme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Hytteutleie/salg av hyttetomt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Annet: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B10. I hvilken grad opplever du at vernestatusen gir deg mindre bestemmelsesrett over eiendommen?

Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Noen grad	Liten grad	Ingen grad
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C. Spørsmål til næringsutøvere

Hvis du **ikke** er næringsutøver, hopp til spørsmål D1 side 10.

C1. Hvilken type næring utøver du?

(Alene = deg selv, eventuelt sammen med samboer/ektefelle.

I samarbeid med andre = andre utenfor husholdet)

	Utenfor et vernet område		I et vernet område	
	Alene	I samarbeid med andre	Alene	I samarbeid med andre
a) Reindrift	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Jordbruk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Skogbruk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Fiske	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Akvakultur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Turisme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Annet: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C2. Hvordan er virksomheten din organisert?

- Enkeltmannsforetak (f.eks. som en del av gårdsbruket)
- ANS (ansvarlig selskap)
- AS (aksjeselskap)
- BA (andelslag/samvirke)
- Annen organisasjonsform: _____

- C3. Hvor mange ansatte er tilknyttet din næringsvirksomhet? _____
- C4. Hvor mange årsverk er tilknyttet din næringsvirksomhet? _____
- C5. Hva anslår du at din omsetning var i 2007? _____
- C6. Hva anslår du at ditt driftsoverskudd var i 2007? _____
- C7. Hvis du tilbyr overnatting, hvor mange gjestedøgn hadde du i 2007? _____
- C8. Hvis du tilbyr aktiviteter, hvor mange besøkende hadde du i 2007? _____
- C9. Her ber vi deg spesifisere mer konkret hvilken type næringsvirksomhet du driver alene, og hva du driver i samarbeid med andre aktører. Vi ber deg samtidig krysse av hvis dette helt eller delvis foregår i et vernet område, og vi ber deg markere hvor mye dette utgjør av din arbeidsinnsats og inntekt: (flere kryss er mulig)

	Alene	I samarbeid m/andre	I vernet område	Hovednæring	Hovedinntekt
a) Melkeproduksjon storfe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Kjøttproduksjon av storfe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Kjøttproduksjon av sau	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Reindrift	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Geitehold	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Potet/grønnsaker/korn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Skogbruk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Småskala matproduksjon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Oppdrett i saltvann	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Oppdrett i ferskvann	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Servering – kafé, restaurant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Konferansetilbyder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) Hotelldrift/pensjonat/vertshus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) Hytteutleie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o) Campingplass	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p) Romutleie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q) Salg av fiske(kort)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
r) Salg av jakt(kort)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s) Guidede fotturer, kulturvandring	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
t) Bre-/tinde- og grotteturer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
u) Fisketurer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
v) Hundekjøring	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
w) Ridning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
x) Utstyrsutleie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
y) Sail and ski	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
z) Transport med scooter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
æ) Scooterturer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ø) Grønn omsorg	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
å) Annet: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C10. I hvilken grad har vern av området hatt innvirkning på følgende forhold knyttet til din næringsaktivitet?

	Svært positiv	Positiv	Ingen effekt	Negativ	Svært negativ	Ikke relevant
a) Beslutningen om å starte opp	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Beslutning/planer om å legge ned aktiviteten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Endring av innholdet i aktiviteten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Endring av omfanget av aktiviteten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Nye næringsmuligheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Muligheter for å videreutvikle aktiviteten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Markedsføring av aktiviteten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Tilgang på kunder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Mer papirarbeid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Annet: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C11. Her ber vi deg ta stilling til påstander vedrørende andre næringsaktører/-utøvere i det du opplever som ditt nærområde:

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
a) Det er mange næringsaktører/-utøvere innenfor min virksomhet/bransje i nærmiljøet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) De fleste andre aktørene i mitt nærområde er potensielle samarbeidspartnere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) De fleste andre aktørene i mitt nærområde har konkurrerende tilbud	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Andre aktører er viktige samarbeidspartnere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Det er viktig at nærområdet har mange ulike tilbud	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Det er viktig at nærområdet har mange like tilbud	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C12. Hvilke planer har du for videre utvikling av din næringsaktivitet?

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
a) Jeg ønsker å drive som i dag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Jeg ønsker å utvikle driften videre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Jeg ønsker å avvike driften	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Jeg vil trappe ned driften	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Jeg vil legge om driften	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Jeg vil satse mer på samarbeid med andre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Jeg ønsker å utnytte vernestatusen kommersielt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Jeg ønsker å bruke vernestatusen i profilering	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C13. Når ble virksomheten din etablert? _____

Spørsmålene C14 til C16 gjelder de som har etablert en næringsvirksomhet de siste 5 årene. Har du ikke etablert ny næringsvirksomhet de siste 5 årene kan du hoppe til spørsmål D1 side 10.

C14. I hvilken grad var følgende faktorer viktig for etableringen av virksomheten?

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Noen grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad
a) Ha flere bein å stå på	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Tjene mer penger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Skape aktivitet i lokalsamfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Ha noe å gjøre / ledig kapasitet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Gode offentlige støtteordninger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Lokalsamfunnet uttrykte ønske om det	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Så en god mulighet/forretningsidé	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Utnytte utdannelsen min	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Inspirert av andre som startet ny virksomhet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Ønske om å være selvstendig næringsdrivende	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Ønske om å bruke mine (natur)ressurser på en ny eller bedre måte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Annet: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C15. Her ber vi deg spesifisere hvem du har søkt råd/veiledning og økonomisk støtte hos angående etableringen:

	Råd/ veiledning	Økonomisk støtte
a) Familie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Venner / nære bekjente	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Andre i lokalsamfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Andre næringsaktører: konkurrenter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Andre næringsaktører: samarbeidspartnere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Kommunal næringsetat/ næringsutviklingsselskap	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Regionalt nivå (Fylkeskommune, Fylkesmann og Innovasjon Norge)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Bank/finansnæring	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Bransjeorganisasjoner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Andre: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

C16. Hvordan vil du si at følgende grupperinger har bidratt med oppmuntring/støtte underveis i prosessen med å etablere virksomheten?

	Svært positiv	Positiv	Nøytral	Negativ	Svært negativ
a) Familie	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Venner / nære bekjente	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Lokalsamfunn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Andre næringsaktører: konkurrenter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Andre næringsaktører: samarbeidspartnere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Kommunal næringsetat/ næringsfond	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Regionalt nivå (Fylkeskommune, Fylkesmann og Innovasjon Norge)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Bank/finansnæring	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Bransjeorganisasjoner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Annet: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. Om verneplan- og forvaltningsplanprosesser

D1. Her ber vi deg krysse av for din deltakelse i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i de vernede områdene:

	Deltatt	Ikke deltatt
a) Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Reisa nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Lyngen landskapsvernområde	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Junkerdal nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Vega verdensarvområde	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Dette verneområdet er under opprettelse

Hvis du ikke har deltatt i disse prosessene i noe verneområde, ber vi deg gå videre til spørsmål E1 på side 14.

D2. Hvilke interesser har du representert i disse prosessene? (flere kryss er mulig)

- 1 Grunneierinteresser
- 2 Næringsinteresser
- 3 Miljøinteresser
- 4 Friluftinteresser
- 5 Lokalpolitikker
- 6 Annet: _____

D3. Hvordan har du deltatt i disse prosessene? (flere kryss er mulig)

- 1 Med høringsuttalelser
- 2 Deltatt på folkemøte
- 3 Deltatt i rådgivende utvalg
- 4 Befaring i området
- 5 Ringt saksbehandler
- 6 Møtt saksbehandler
- 7 Skrevet avisinnlegg
- 8 Gått ut i media
- 9 Demonstrert
- 10 Kontaktet politikere / lobbyvirksomhet
- 11 Medvirket gjennom en organisasjon
- 12 Som politiker
- 13 Som offentlig ansatt
- 14 Annet: _____

D4. Hvem har du søkt råd hos / samarbeidet med i disse prosessene?

- 1 Familie
- 2 Venner
- 3 Lokalsamfunn
- 4 Kolleger
- 5 Organisasjoner
- 6 Kommunen
- 7 Ekspertter
- 8 Politisk parti
- 9 Ingen
- 10 Andre: _____

D5. Her ber vi deg vurdere ulike motiver for din deltakelse i disse prosessene:

	Svært viktig	Viktig	Noe viktig	Lite viktig	Svært lite viktig
a) Etablere verneområdet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Hindre vernet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Begrense vernegrensene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Utvide vernegrensene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Mildere verneforskrifter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Strengere verneforskrifter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Bidra med lokal kjennskap til området	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Annet: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D6. I hvilken grad føler du at du fikk gjennomslag for dine meninger?

Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Noen grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D7. Hvorfor fikk du / hvorfor fikk du ikke gjennomslag for dine meninger?

D8. I hvilken grad har din oppfatning om følgende betingelser/forhold endret seg som en følge av de ulike prosessene knyttet til vernet? (verneplanprosess, forvaltningsplanprosess og fylkesdelplanprosess)

	I svært stor grad	I stor grad	Noen grad	I liten grad	I svært liten grad
a) Økt kjennskap til andre næringsaktører	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Bedre kjennskap til støtteordninger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Bedre kjennskap til forvaltningsmyndighetene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Bedre kjennskap til hva som er tillatt i det vernede området	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Bedre kjennskap til det vernede området	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Bedre tilrettelegging for næringslivet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Bedre tilrettelegging for friluftslivet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Mindre konflikter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Tydeligere konfliktlinjer i lokalsamfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Bedre samarbeidsforhold	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Bedre aksept av vernevedtaket i lokalsamfunnet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Økt kunnskap om norsk miljøpolitikk og bevaring av biologisk mangfold	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) Økt støtte til norsk miljøpolitikk og bevaring av biologisk mangfold	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) Økt kunnskap om internasjonale forpliktelser Norge har påtatt seg i forhold til vern	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

E. Generelt om forvaltning av verneområder

Fem av Norges nasjonalparker har hatt forvaltningsforsøk hvor kommunene og lokalbefolkningen har forvaltet de vernede områdene. Tradisjonelt sett er det Fylkesmannens miljøvernavdeling som er forvaltningsmyndighet. Her ber vi deg ta stilling til en del spørsmål og påstander om forvaltning av verneområder.

E1. Etter din mening, hvem bør forvalte vernede områder? (flere kryss er mulig)

- 1 Staten/Fylkesmannen
- 2 Fylkeskommunen
- 3 Sametinget
- 4 Kommunen
- 5 Lokalbefolkningen som berøres av vernet
- 6 Grunneierne i det vernede området
- 7 Andre: _____

E2. Bør vernede områder på statens grunn forvaltes annerledes enn vernede områder på privat grunn?

- 1 Ja, statlige vernede områder bør forvaltes annerledes enn vernede områder med private grunneiere
- 2 Nei, det bør ikke gjøres noen forskjell avhengig av om de vernede områdene har statlig eller private grunneiere

E3. Her ber vi deg ta stilling til hva du mener er viktigst å ta hensyn til i forvaltningen av vernede områder:

	Svært viktig	Viktig	Noe viktig	Lite viktig	Svært lite viktig
a) Beskytte mot tekniske inngrep	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Ta vare på det biologiske mangfoldet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Tilrettelegge for friluftsliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Tilrettelegge for næringsaktivitet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Tilrettelegge for at alle kan bruke området	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Tilrettelegge for spesielle næringsgrupper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

E4. Er det andre ting du mener er viktig å ta hensyn til i forvaltningen av vernede områder?

E5. Her ber vi deg ta stilling til en rekke påstander om forvaltning av vernede områder:

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
a) De som bor langt unna det vernede området har lik rett til å ha innflytelse på forvaltningen som grunneiere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) De som bor langt unna det vernede området har lik rett til å ha innflytelse på forvaltningen som lokalbefolkningen i kommunene som er berørt av vernet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Nasjonalparker bør deles inn i ulike forvaltningssoner ut fra bruken av området	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Lokal forvaltning er viktig for å få til mer næringsutvikling i de vernede områdene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Grunneierbasert forvaltning er viktig for å få til mer næringsutvikling i de vernede områdene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Det er viktig at det er lik forvaltning i Norges vernede områder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Det er viktig at forvaltningen tilpasses hensynet til økosystemet i området	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Lokal forvaltning vil hindre konflikter mellom ulike brukergrupper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Lokal forvaltning vil gjøre det enklere å iverksette tiltak i de vernede områdene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Plan- og bygningsloven av 14. juni 1985 skal gi grunnlag for vedtak både om bruk og vern av ressurser og om utbygging. Det vil si at loven skal ivareta naturvern hensyn sammen med andre arealbruksformål. Kommunene er ansvarlig for forvaltning i henhold til Plan- og bygningsloven.

E6. I hvilken grad mener du din kommune arbeider aktivt i forhold til følgende:

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Noen grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad	Vet ikke
a) Kommunen er en pådriver for mer næringsutvikling med tilknytning til de vernede områdene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Kommunen fører en aktiv politikk for å tilrettelegge for turisme med tilknytning til vernede områder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Kommunen viser godt skjønn i forhold til dispensasjoner fra motorferdselsforbudet i utmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Kommunen legger til rette for hyttebygging i randsonene til vernede områder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Kommunen skaper møteplasser for grunneiere, næringsaktører, forvaltning, friluftsliv og verneinteresser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Kommunen bidrar til å markedsføre vernede områder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Kommunen bidrar til økt bevissthet om vernestatusen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Kommunen har bidratt til gode samarbeidsprosesser i forhold til vernede områder og randsonene rundt disse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Kommunen har gjort en god jobb for innbyggernes interesser i verneplansaker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Kommunen arbeider aktivt med tilrettelegging av infrastruktur utenfor verneområdene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Kommunen samarbeider regionalt for å sikre regional planlegging og utnyttning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Kommunen viser langsiktighet i sin arealplanlegging	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

F. Om allemannsretten

F1. Her ber vi deg ta stilling til en rekke påstander om hva allemannsretten betyr. Allemannsretten betyr at alle...

	Helt riktig	Delvis riktig	Verken riktig eller uriktig	Delvis uriktig	Helt uriktig
a) kan ferdes fritt på innmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) kan ferdes med motoriserte fremkomstmidler på privat vei	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) kan ferdes med motoriserte fremkomstmidler i utmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) kan ferdes i utmark uten tillatelse fra grunneier	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) fritt kan ri i utmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) fritt kan sykle i utmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) kan kjøre med hundespann i utmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) kan raste på innmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) kan bade	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) kan slå opp telt på innmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) kan dra i land båt på strandstrekning i utmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) kan nytte fortøyningsinnretninger som ringer, bolter o.l.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) fritt kan plukke blomster, bær og sopp i utmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) kan jakte og fiske i utmark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o) kan arrangere større arrangementer i utmark uten grunneiers samtykke	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

F2. Ut fra et ønske om å bevare allemannsretten, hvor viktige er følgende tiltak?

	Svært viktig	Viktig	Noe viktig	Lite viktig	Svært lite viktig
a) Informere og undervise om allemannsretten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Styrke ferdselsrettighetene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Arbeide for å skape god ferdselskultur i naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Styrke mulighetene til å høste fra naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Sikre friluftsansen gjennom sterkere regulering av utbygging	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Sikre friluftsansen gjennom sterkere begrensning av eksklusiv bruk av naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

F3. Her ber vi deg ta stilling til en rekke påstander i forhold til allemannsretten:

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
a) Det er viktig å forsvare allemannsretten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Allemannsretten er en trussel mot dyr og planter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Grunneiere bør ha store muligheter til å regulere allemannsretten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Kommunen bør ha store muligheter til å regulere allemannsretten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Miljøvernmyndighetene bør ha store muligheter til å regulere allemannsretten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Allemannsretten skal ikke gjelde kommersiell virksomhet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Allemannsretten kan undergraves av overforbruk av naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Allemannsretten gjør at det blir for mange folk i naturen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Allemannsretten bør kun gjelde private	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j) Allemannsretten bør kun gjelde lokalbefolkningen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k) Allemannsretten bør ikke gjelde for næringslivet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l) Allemannsretten bør ikke gjelde for utenlandske turister	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m) Kommersiell virksomhet bør kunne sikres eksklusiv bruk av utmarksområder gjennom avtaler med grunneiere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n) Grunneiere bør få betalt for tilretteleggingstiltak i form av parkeringsplasser, veiutbedring med mer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o) Allemannsretten bør ikke gjelde i vernede områder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

G. Om naturvern og naturbruk

G1. Hvor mye natur bør Norge verne i forhold til dagens vern?

Mye mer enn i dag	Noe mer enn i dag	Som i dag	Noe mindre enn i dag	Mye mindre enn i dag
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

G2. Det er ulike grunner til at man vil verne natur. Her ber vi deg vurdere viktigheten av følgende formål ved naturvern:

	Svært viktig	Viktig	Noe viktig	Lite viktig	Svært lite viktig
a) Bevare variasjonsbredden av naturtyper og landskapsformer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Bevare arter og genetisk mangfold	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Bevare truet natur og leveområder for prioriterte arter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Bevare større intakte økosystemer, også slik at de kan være tilgjengelige for enkelt friluftsliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Bevare områder med særskilte natur- eller kulturhistoriske verdier	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Bevare natur preget av menneskers bruk gjennom tidene (kulturlandskapet)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Bevare geologiske og landskapsmessige sammenhenger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Bevare referanseområder for å følge utviklingen i naturen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Det er et uttalt nasjonalt ønske at det skal tilrettelegges for mer naturbasert turisme innenfor og i randsonen til verneområder.

G3. Her ber vi deg ta stilling til hvorvidt du synes satsingen på naturbasert turisme er riktig politikk i forhold til følgende:

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
a) å sikre intensjonene med vernet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) å kompensere for næringsmuligheter som båndlegges av vernet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) å gi vernevedtaket økt legitimitet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) å skape sysselsetting i områdene rundt de verneområdene	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) å bevare lokalsamfunnene rundt verneområder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) å bidra til mer friluftsliv blant folk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

H. Om din innstilling til noen samfunnsspørsmål

H1. Generelt sett, hvor stor tiltro har du til følgende?

	Svært stor tiltro	Stor tiltro	Delvis tiltro	Liten tiltro	Svært liten tiltro	Vet ikke
a) Rikspolitikere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) Lokalpolitikere	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) Miljøbyråkrater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d) Miljøorganisasjoner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e) Nærings- og grunneierorganisasjoner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f) Andre mennesker generelt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g) Reindriftsforvaltningen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h) Finnmarkseiendommen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i) Statskog	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

H2. Hvilket parti stemte du på ved siste Stortingsvalg?

- 1 Arbeiderpartiet
- 2 Fremskrittspartiet
- 3 Høyre
- 4 Kristelig Folkeparti
- 5 Senterpartiet
- 6 Sosialistisk Venstreparti
- 7 Venstre
- 8 Annet: _____
- 9 Jeg stemte ikke
- 10 Jeg vil ikke svare på dette

H3. Hvor fornøyd er du med måten demokratiet fungerer på?

	Svært fornøyd	Fornøyd	Delvis fornøyd	Misfornøyd	Svært misfornøyd
a) I Norge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b) I kommunen du bor i	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c) I verneprosesser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Til slutt, har du kommentarer til dette spørreskjemaet, ønsker vi gjerne at du skriver dette i feltet under:

Vi har ikke flere spørsmål, og vi vil få takke deg for at du har bidratt til viktig kunnskap om bruk av vernede områder i Nord-Norge!

APPENDIX 4: Web-based survey form



Undersøkelse om bruk av vernede områder

- om friluftsliv og næringsaktivitet i vernede områder

Nordlandsforskning, Høgskolen i Bodø, Bioforsk Tjøtta og Salten Friluftsråd gjennomfører en spørreundersøkelse om bruk av vernede områder i Nord-Norge. Undersøkelsen er en del av PROBUS, et forskningsprosjekt finansiert av Norges Forskningsråd. Prosjektet ser på hvordan vernede områder kan brukes som en ressurs i næringsutvikling og hvordan dette påvirker friluftslivet.

Forskningsprosjektet startet opp i 2006 og avsluttes i 2009. Denne spørreundersøkelsen er en stor og viktig del av prosjektet der vi trenger din hjelp. Ved å svare på undersøkelsen, hjelper du oss med å få nyttig kunnskap om bruken av vernede områder i Nord-Norge.

Deltakelsen i undersøkelsen er frivillig, men for at undersøkelsen skal bli vellykket, er vi avhengig av at så mange som mulig deltar. Besvar så mange av spørsmålene som mulig. Hvis det er spørsmål som du ikke kan eller vil svare på, kan du likevel hoppe over disse.

Opplysningene vil bli analysert og rapportert på en måte som gjør at enkeltpersoner ikke kan identifiseres. Undersøkelsen er i henhold til regelverket meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS, og gjennomføres i tråd med gjeldende lover og regler for sikring av personopplysninger.

I forhold til personvern gjelder følgende:

- Data fra undersøkelsen behandles konfidensielt og personer ved Nordlandsforskning som innhenter informasjon har taushetsplikt vedrørende disse opplysningene.
- Det er frivillig å delta i undersøkelsen.
- Det er mulig å trekke seg fra undersøkelsen også på et senere tidspunkt.
- Data fra undersøkelsen lagres atskilt fra navneopplysninger og kontakttinformasjon.
- Ved prosjektets slutt blir navneliste med kontakttinformasjon makulert. Etter dette er alle opplysninger fullstendig anonymisert.

På forhånd tusen takk for hjelpen!

Hvis du har spørsmål kan du kontakte:

Gunn Elin Fedreheim (forsker), tlf 92856500 / gef@nforsk.no
Lars Rønning (seniorforsker), tlf 90772701 / lar@nforsk.no

1) Klikk "Neste" for å begynne



Om deg selv

2) Hvilket år er du født?

3) Er du?

Kvinne Mann

4) Din sivilstatus?

- Enslig
 Gift/samboer
 Skilt/enke/enkemann

5) Her ber vi deg krysse av hvis du vil karakterisere deg selv som: (flere kryss er mulig)

- Etnisk norsk
 Samisk
 Kvensk
 Europeisk innvandrер
 Ikke-europeisk innvandrер

6) Antall barn under 18 år i husstanden?

7) Hva er ditt postnummer?

Svar bare på ett av de to neste spørsmålene avhengig av om du er født og oppvokst, eller tilflyttet kommunen hvor du nå bor.

8) Hvis du er født og oppvokst i den kommunen du bor i nå, har du bodd utenfor denne kommunen?

- Har alltid vært bosatt i denne kommunen
 Har bodd borte mindre enn 5 år
 Har bodd borte mer enn 5 år

9) Hvis du er tilflyttet kommunen, hvor lenge har du bodd i den kommunen du bor i nå?

- Har bodd i kommunen mindre enn 5 år
 Har bodd i kommunen mer enn 5 år

10) Hva er din og eventuelt din samboer/ektefelles høyeste utdanning?

	Du selv	Samboer/ ektefelle
Grunnskole	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kurs/fagopplæring med kortere varighet enn ett år	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Videregående skole	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Høgskole/universitet, 3 år eller mindre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Høgskole/universitet, mer enn 3 år

11) Hvilke lag og foreninger er du medlem av? (flere kryss er mulig)

- Norges bondelag
 Norges bonde- og småbrukarlag
 Grunneierlag
 Bygde-/ungdomslag
 Elgjaktlag
 NHO Reiseliv
 Din Tur
 Norske Reindriftsamers Landsforbund
 Destinasjonsselskap (f.eks. Visit Nordland, Troms Reiseliv og Finnmark Reiseliv)
 Lokal næringsforening (f.eks. Vega næringssselskap, Lyngen næringsforum, Vardø næringsforening)
 Trekkhundklubb
 Skogeierlag (Allskog)
 Fiskeoppdrettslag
 Lokallag av Den norske turistforening
 Norges Røde Kors hjelpekors
 KFUK-KFUM speiderne
 Norges Speiderforbund
 Norges Padleforbund
 Norges Naturvernforbund
 Norges Klatreforbund
 Forbundet KYSTEN
 Lokallag av Norges Jeger- og firskeforbund
 Forening for hest (Norges rytterforbund, Foreningen til Kjørehestens Fremme, Hest og Helse m.fl.)
 Scooterforening
 Fiskerlag / kystfiskarlaget
 Annet, spesifiser her

Spørsmål om dine friluftaktiviteter i vernede områder

Har du gjort noen av følgende aktiviteter i disse områdene i løpet av de siste fem årene? (flere kryss er mulig)

	Fottur	Skitur	Jakt	Fiske	Høsting (bær/sopp)	Over- natting	Scooter- kjøring	Annet, spesifiser her
Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
Reisa nasjonalpark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
Lyngen landskapsvernområde	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>
Sjunkhatten nasjonalpark *	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>

Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *

15) Hvor lenge varte ditt siste besøk i et vernede område?

- Velg alternativ -

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.
Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - <#other#>Annet, spesifiser her
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *

Når foregikk ditt siste besøk i et vernede område? (Måned og år)

- Velg alternativ -

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.
Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - <#other#>Annet, spesifiser her
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *

- Velg alternativ -

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.
Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - <#other#>Annet, spesifiser her
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *

18) Hvor lang reiseavstand er det fra ditt hjemsted til det vernede området du sist besøkte? (Antall km)

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.
Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark

Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - <#other#>Annet, spesifiser her
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *

19) Her ber vi deg anslå hvor mye penger du brukte i tilknytning til ditt siste besøk i et vernet område: (velg det alternativet som kommer nærmest)

	Mindre enn 200 kr	Ca 500 kr	Ca 1000 kr	Ca 1500 kr	Ca 2000 kr	Ca 2500 kr	Ca 3000 kr	Mer enn 3000 kr
Reisekostnader, inkludert drivstoff	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Innkjøp av mat og annen detaljhandel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ugifter på restaurant, kafé o.l.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overnatting	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Organiserte aktiviteter i området (guidede turer o.l.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Andre utgifter (fiskekort, jaktkort, scooterleie, utstyrsleie, sovnerier)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - <#other#>Annet, spesifiser her
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *

20) Av kostnadene fra forrige spørsmål, kan du anslå hvor mye penger du brukte innenfor, eller i umiddelbar nærhet til, det vernede området? (velg det alternativet som kommer nærmest)

- Velg alternativ -

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - <#other#>Annet, spesifiser her
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde

eller
Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *

21) Hvor viktig var følgende forhold for at du valgte å besøke dette vernede området? (ditt sist besøkte område)

	Svært viktig	Viktig	Noe viktig	Lite viktig	Svært lite viktig
For å oppleve vakker natur	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Området er i nærheten av der jeg bor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Området er lett tilgjengelig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jeg har venner som bor i nærheten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jeg fikk mye informasjon/veiledning om området	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Man møter mange interessante mennesker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Området er ikke fullt av søppel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Området er familievennlig	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Området er ikke fullt av folk	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Området er godt vedlikeholdt (restaurering, rydding, hogst, beiting)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
For å nyte roen og stillheten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
På grunn av elvene og innsjøene	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
På grunn av fjelltoppene	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er gode spisesteder i nærheten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er gode fiskemuligheter der	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er gode jaktmuligheter der	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er gode overnattingsmuligheter der	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er merkede stier der	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er selvbetjente turisthytter der	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er et vernet område	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
For å oppleve natur som ikke er berørt av mennesker	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - < # other# >Annet, spesifiser her
eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde
eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *

22) Er det andre forhold som var viktig for at du besøkte det vernede området?

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

- Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - <#other#>Annet, spesifiser her
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark *

23) Har noen av følgende forhold forstyrret, eller påvirket opplevelsen din negativt under ditt besøk i det vernede området? (ditt sist besøkte område)

	I svært stor grad	I stor grad	I noen grad	I liten grad	I svært liten grad
Erosjon på bakken	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Søppel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Inngrep i naturen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
For mange besøkende	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Oppførselen til andre besøkende	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kjøring med scooter/ATV	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ridning	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hundekjøring	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reindrift	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Organisert ferdsel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
For mye tilrettelegging (klopping, skilting med mer)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
For lite tilrettelegging (klopping, skilting med mer)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Forstyrrende merking/skilting (informasjon)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Støy (fra fly, motorisert ferdsel, hundeglam mm)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Grunneiere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

- Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - <#other#>Annet, spesifiser her
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark *
 eller
 Hvilket er det siste vernede området du har besøkt i friluftssammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde

Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark)

24) Er det andre forhold som forstyrret eller påvirket opplevelsen din negativt?

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forbindelseslinjen.
Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:
Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Reisa nasjonalpark
Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Lyngen landskapsvernområde
Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Skoerikvænner, spes. flær nær
Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark
Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Vega verdensarvområde
Hvilket er det siste vernede område du har besøkt? (Fyll utussammenheng i Norge? - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark)

25) Hvorfor virket dette forstyrrende?

Om verneplan- og forvaltningsplanprosesser

26) Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig)

- Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
- Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
- Reisa nasjonalpark
- Lyngen landskapsvernområde
- Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark
- Junkerdal nasjonalpark
- Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark
- Vega verdensarvområde

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forbindelseslinjen.
Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Øvre Pasvik nasjonalpark
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Reisa nasjonalpark
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vega verdensarvområde
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Sjunkehatten nasjonalpark
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark

Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lyngen
landskapsvernområde

27) Hvilke interesser har du representert i disse prosessene? (flere kryss er mulig)

- Grunneierinteresser
 Næringsinteresser
 Miljøinteresser
 Friluftinteresser
 Lokalpolitikker
 Annet, spesifiser her _____

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

- Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) -
Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Øvre Pasvik
nasjonalpark
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Reisa
nasjonalpark
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vega
verdensarvområde
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Sjunghatten
nasjonalpark
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Junkerdal
nasjonalpark
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lomsdal/Visten
nasjonalpark
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lyngen
landskapsvernområde

28) Hvordan har du deltatt i disse prosessene? (flere kryss er mulig)

- Med høringsuttalelser
 Deltatt på folkemøte
 Deltatt i rådgivende utvalg
 Befaring i området
 Ringt saksbehandler
 Møtt saksbehandler
 Skrevet avisinnlegg
 Gått ut i media
 Demonstrert
 Kontaktet politikere / lobbyvirksomhet
 Medvirket gjennom en organisasjon
 Som politiker
 Som offentlig ansatt _____
 Annet, spesifiser her _____

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

- Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) -
Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Øvre Pasvik
nasjonalpark
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Reisa
nasjonalpark
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vega
verdensarvområde
eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Sjunghatten
nasjonalpark

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Junkerdal nasjonalpark

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lyngen landskapsvernområde

29) Hvem har du søkt råd hos, eller samarbeidet med, i disse prosessene? (flere kryss er mulig)

- Familie
- Venner
- Lokalsamfunn
- Kolleger
- Organisasjoner
- Kommunen
- Ekspert
- Politisk parti
- Ingen
- Andre, spesifiser her

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.
Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt for at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Varangerhalvøya nasjonalpark

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Øvre Pøsvik nasjonalpark

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Reisa nasjonalpark

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vega verdensarvområde

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Sjunkhatten nasjonalpark

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Junkerdal nasjonalpark

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark

eller
Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lyngen landskapsvernområde

30) Her ber vi deg vurdere ulike motiver for din deltakelse i disse prosessene:

	Svært viktig	Viktig	Noe viktig	Lite viktig	Svært lite viktig
Etablere verneområdet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hindre vernet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Begrense vernegrensene	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Utvide vernegrensene	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mildere verneforskrifter	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Strengere verneforskrifter	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bidra med lokal kjennskap om området	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Annet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt før at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vælgernaturtyve nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Øvre Røsvik nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Røsa nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Stunknasen nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Junnvedal nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lomsdal/Våstren nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lyngen landskapsvernområde

31) I hvilken grad føler du at du fikk...

	Svært stor grad	Stor grad	Noen grad	Liten grad	Svært liten grad
gjennomslag for dine meninger?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt før at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vælgernaturtyve nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Øvre Røsvik nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Røsa nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Stunknasen nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Junnvedal nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lomsdal/Våstren nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lyngen landskapsvernområde

32) Hvorfor fikk du / hvorfor fikk du ikke gjennomslag for dine meninger?

Denne informasjonen vises kun i forhåndsvisningen.

Følgende kriterier må være oppfylt før at spørsmålet skal vises for respondenten:

Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vælgernaturtyve nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Øvre Røsvik nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Røsa nasjonalspark
 eller
 Har du debatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelatansprosesser i noen av disse verneområdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Vega verdensarvområde
 eller

Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Sjunkhatten nasjonalpark
 eller
 Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Junkerdal nasjonalpark
 eller
 Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lomsdal/Visten nasjonalpark
 eller
 Har du deltatt i verneplan-, forvaltningsplan- og fylkesdelplanprosesser i noen av disse vernede områdene? (Flere kryss er mulig) - Lyngen landskapsvernområde

33) I hvilken grad har DIN oppfatning om følgende betingelser/forhold endret seg som en følge av de ulike prosessene knyttet til vernet? (verneplanprosess, forvaltningsplanprosess og fylkesdelplanprosess)

	I svært stor grad	I stor grad	I noen grad	I liten grad	I svært liten grad
Økt kjennskap til andre næringsaktører	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bedre kjennskap til støtteordninger	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bedre kjennskap til forvaltningsmyndighet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bedre kjennskap til hva som er tillatt i det vernede området	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bedre kjennskap til det vernede området	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bedre tilrettelegging for næringslivet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bedre tilrettelegging for friluftslivet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mindre konflikter	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tydligere konfliktlinjer i lokalsamfunnet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bedre samarbeidsforhold	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bedre aksept av vernevedtaket i lokalsamfunnet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Økt kunnskap om norsk miljøpolitikk og bevaring av biologisk mangfold	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Økt støtte til norsk miljøpolitikk og bevaring av biologisk mangfold	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Økt kunnskap om internasjonale forpliktelser Norge har påtatt seg i forhold til vern	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Generelt om forvaltning av verneområder

34) Fem av Norges nasjonalparker har hatt forvaltningsforsøk hvor kommunene og lokalbefolkningen har forvaltet de vernede områdene. Tradisjonelt sett er det Fylkesmannens miljøvernavdeling som er forvaltningsmyndighet.

Her ber vi deg ta stilling til en del spørsmål og påstander om forvaltning av verneområder.

35) Etter din mening, hvem bør forvalte vernede områder? (flere kryss er mulig)

- Staten/Fylkesmannen
- Fylkeskommunen
- Sametinget
- Kommunen
- Lokalbefolkningen som berøres av vernet
- Grunneierne i det vernede området

Andre, spesifiser her

36) Bør vernede områder på statens grunn forvaltes annerledes enn vernede områder på privat grunn?

- Ja, statlige vernede områder bør forvaltes annerledes enn vernede områder med private grunneiere
 Nei, det bør ikke gjøres noen forskjell på om de vernede områdene har statlig eller private grunneiere

37) Her ber vi deg ta stilling til hva du mener er viktig å ta hensyn til i forvaltningen av vernede områder?

	Svært viktig	Viktig	Noe viktig	Lite viktig	Svært lite viktig
Beskytte mot tekniske inngrep	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ta vare på det biologiske mangfoldet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tilrettelegge for friluftsliv	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tilrettelegge for næringsaktivitet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tilrettelegge for at alle kan bruke området	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tilrettelegge for spesielle næringsgrupper	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

38) Er det andre ting du mener er viktig å ta hensyn til i forvaltningen av vernede områder?

39) Her ber vi deg ta stilling til en rekke påstander om forvaltning av vernede områder:

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
De som bor langt unna det vernede området har lik rett til å ha innflytelse på forvaltningen som grunneiere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
De som bor langt unna det vernede området har lik rett til å ha innflytelse på forvaltningen som lokalbefolkningen i kommunene som er berørt av vernet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nasjonalparker bør deles inn i ulike forvaltningssoner ut fra bruken av området	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lokal forvaltning er viktig for å få til mer næringsutvikling i de vernede områdene	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Grunneierbasert forvaltning er viktig for å få til mer næringsutvikling i de vernede områdene	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig at det er lik forvaltning i Norges vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig at forvaltningen tilpasses hensynet til økosystemet i området	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lokal forvaltning vil hindre konflikter mellom ulike brukergrupper	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lokal forvaltning vil gjøre det enklere å iverksette tiltak i de	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

vernede områdene



Om allemannsretten

40) Her ber vi deg ta stilling til en rekke påstander om hva allemannsretten betyr. Allemannsretten betyr at alle...

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
kan ferdes fritt på innmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan ferdes med motoriserte fremkomstmiddel på privat vei	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan ferdes med motoriserte fremkomstmiddel i utmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan ferdes i utmark uten tillatelse fra grunneier	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
fritt kan ri i utmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
fritt kan sykle i utmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan kjøre med hundespann i utmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan raste på innmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan bade	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan slå opp telt på innmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan dra i land båt på strandstrekning i utmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan nytte fortøyningsinnretninger som ringer, bolter o.l.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
fritt kan plukke blomster, bær og sopp i utmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan jakte og fiske i utmark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
kan arrangere større arrangementer i utmark uten grunneiers samtykke	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

41) Ut fra et ønske om å bevare allemannsretten, hvor viktige er følgende tiltak?

	Svært viktig	Viktig	Noe viktig	Lite viktig	Svært lite viktig
Informere og undervise om allemannsretten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Styrke ferdselsrettighetene	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Arbeide for å skape god ferdselskultur i naturen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Styrke mulighetene til å høste fra naturen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sikre friluftareal gjennom sterkere regulering av utbygging	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sikre friluftareal gjennom sterkere begrensning av eksklusiv bruk av naturen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

42) Her ber vi deg ta stilling til en rekke påstander i forhold til allemannsretten:

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
Det er viktig å forsvare allemannsretten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allemannsretten er en trussel mot dyr og planter	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Grunneiere bør ha store muligheter til å regulere allemannsretten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kommunen bør ha store muligheter til å regulere allemannsretten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Miljøvernmyndighetene bør ha store muligheter til å regulere allemannsretten	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allemannsretten skal ikke gjelde kommersiell virksomhet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allemannsretten kan undergraves av overforbruk av naturen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allemannsretten gjør at det blir for mange folk i naturen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allemannsretten bør kun gjelde private	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allemannsretten bør kun gjelde lokalbefolkningen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allemannsretten bør ikke gjelde for næringslivet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allemannsretten bør ikke gjelde for utenlandske turister	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kommersiell virksomhet bør kunne sikres eksklusiv bruk av utmarksområder gjennom avtaler med grunneiere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Grunneiere bør få betalt for tilretteleggingstiltak i form av parkeringsplasser, veiutbedring med mer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allemannsretten bør ikke gjelde i vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**Om naturvern og naturbruk****43) Hvor mye natur bør Norge verne...**

	Mye mer enn i dag	Noe mer enn i dag	Som i dag	Noe mindre enn i dag	Mye mindre enn i dag
i forhold til dagens vern?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

44) Det er ulike grunner til at man vil verne natur. Her ber vi deg vurdere viktigheten av følgende formål ved naturvern:

	Svært viktig	Viktig	Noe viktig	Lite viktig	Svært lite viktig
Bevare variasjonsbredden av naturtyper og landskapsformer	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bevare arter og genetisk mangfold	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Bevare truet natur og leveområder for prioriterte arter	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bevare større intakte økosystemer, også slik at de kan være tilgjengelige for enkelt friluftsliv	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bevare områder med særskilte naturhistoriske eller kulturhistoriske verdier	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bevare natur preget av menneskers bruk gjennom tidene (kulturlandskapet)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bevare geologiske og landskapsmessige sammenhenger	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bevare referanseområder for å følge utviklingen i naturen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Det er et uttalt nasjonalt ønske at det skal tilrettelegges for mer naturbasert turisme innenfor og i randsonen til vernede områder.

45) Her ber vi deg ta stilling til hvorvidt du synes satsingen på naturbasert turisme er riktig politikk i forhold til følgende:

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
å sikre intensjonene med vernet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
å kompensere for næringsmuligheter som båndlegges av vernet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
å gi vernevedtaket økt legitimitet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
å skape sysselsetting i områdene rundt de vernede områdene	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
å bevare lokalsamfunnene rundt vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
å bidra til mer friluftsliv blant folk	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

46) Her ber vi deg ta stilling til en rekke påstander om aktivitet i vernede områder:

	Helt enig	Delvis enig	Verken enig eller uenig	Delvis uenig	Helt uenig
Kommersiell aktivitet i vernede områder bør drives kun av lokalbefolkningen i det vernede området	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kommersiell aktivitet i vernede områder bør drives kun av nordmenn	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kommersiell aktivitet i vernede områder kan drives av alle, også utlendinger	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Fotturer/skiturer bør ha førsterett på bruken av vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reindrifta bør ha førsterett på bruken av vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reiseliv bør ha førsterett på bruken av vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er helt greit med organisert motorisert ferdsel i vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det bør ikke være tillatt med motorisert fritidskjøring i vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Det bør ikke være tillatt med motorisert kjøring for primærnæringene i vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er helt greit med organisert ferdsel som ridning, hundekjøring, ski- og fotturer i vernede områder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mange hytter i de vernede område ødelegger min bruk av området	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jeg ønsker som friluftstøver kun å bruke områder hvor jeg ikke møter kommersiell virksomhet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jeg har mer rett til å bruke mine nærområder enn folk utenfra	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er helt greit å betale for å bruke naturen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig å markedsføre seg som "nasjonalparkkommune"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Det er viktig å markedsføre seg som "nasjonalparklandsby"	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Merkelappen "nasjonalpark" er et kvalitetsstempel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



Om din innstilling til noen samfunnsspørsmål

47) Generelt sett, hvor stor tiltro har du til følgende?

	Svært stor tiltro	Stor tiltro	Delvis tiltro	Liten tiltro	Svært liten tiltro	Vet ikke
Rikspolitikere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lokalpolitikere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Miljøbyråkrater	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Miljøorganisasjoner	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nærings- grunneierorganisasjoner	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Andre mennesker generelt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reindriftsforvaltningen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Finnmarkseiendommen	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Statskog	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

48) Hvilket parti stemte du på ved siste Stortingsvalg?

- Arbeiderpartiet
- Fremskrittspartiet
- Høyre
- Kristelig Folkeparti
- Senterpartiet
- Sosialistisk Venstreparti
- Venstre
- Annet
- Jeg stemte ikke
- Jeg vil ikke svare på dette

49) Hvor fornøyd er du med måten demokratiet fungerer på?

	Svært fornøyd	Fornøyd	Delvis fornøyd	Misfornøyd	Svært misfornøyd
I Norge	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I kommunen du bor i	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I verneprosesser	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

50) Til slutt, har du kommentarer til dette spørreskjemaet, ønsker vi gjerne at du skriver dette i feltet under:

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APPENDIX 5: List of documents studied

Starting point

Finansdepartementet. 2003. Tilleggsbevilgninger og omprioriteringer i statsbudsjettet medregnet folketrygden 2003. In *"Fjellteksten"*.

1st phase

Arbeiderpartiet, Sosialistisk Venstreparti, and Senterpartiet. 2005. "Plattform for regjeringssamarbeidet mellom Arbeiderpartiet, Sosialistisk Venstreparti og Senterpartiet 2005-2009." Oslo.

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Ot.prp.nr. 52 (2008-2009). 2009. Om lov om forvaltning av naturens mangfold (naturmangfoldloven). Oslo: Tilråding fra Miljøverndepartementet av 3. april 2009, godkjent i statsråd samme dag. (Regjeringen Stoltenberg II)

Prop. 1 S (2009-2010). 2009. "Proposisjon til Stortinget (forslag til stortingsvedtak). For budsjettåret 2010." Miljøverndepartementet, Oslo.

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- Riksrevisjonen. 2006. "Riksrevisjonens undersøkelse av myndighetenes arbeid med kartlegging og overvåking av biologisk mangfold og forvaltning av verneområder." Riksrevisjonen, Oslo.
- Rundskriv T-3/07. 2007. "Om lov om friluftslivet av 28. juni 1957 nr. 16." Miljøverndepartementet, Oslo.
- St.meld.nr. 21 (2004-2005). 2005. "Regjeringens miljøpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand." Miljøverndepartementet, Oslo.
- St.meld.nr. 25 (2002-2003). 2003. "Regjeringens miljøvernpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand." Miljøverndepartementet, Oslo.
- St.meld.nr. 26 (2006-2007). 2007. "Regjeringens miljøpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand." Miljøverndepartementet, Oslo.
- St.prp. nr 1 (2003-2004). 2003. "For budsjetterminen 2004." Miljøverndepartementet.
- St.prp. nr 1 (2004-2005). 2004. "For budsjetterminen 2005." Miljøverndepartementet.
- St.prp. nr 1 (2006-2007). 2006. "For budsjetterminen 2007." Miljøverndepartementet.
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- St.prp. nr 1 (2008-2009). 2008. "For budsjetterminen 2009." Miljøverndepartementet.
- Statens Nærings- og distriktsutviklingsfond. 2003. "Forslag til Handlingsplan. Næringsutvikling i utmark med vekt på utmarksbasert reiseliv." Utarbeidet for Landbruksdepartementet av en arbeidsgruppe oppnevnt av Statens Nærings- og distriktsutviklingsfond, Oslo.

2nd phase

- Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning. 2001. *Områdevern og forvaltning, DN-håndbok nr. 17 - 2001.*
- Finanskomiteen. 2002. Budsjett-innst. S. I Tillegg nr. 1 (2002-2003). Tillegg til budsjettinnstilling I til Stortinget fra finanskomiteen. Tilleggsinnstilling fra finanskomiteen om Nasjonalbudsjettet for 2003 og forslaget til statsbudsjett medregnet folketrygden for 2003. (Endret konklusjon). Oslo.
- Innst. O. nr. 64 (1995-1996). 1996. "Innstilling fra energi- og miljøkomiteen om lov om statlig naturoppsyn." Energi- og miljøkomiteen.
- Innst. S. nr. 124 (1992-1993). 1993. "Innstilling fra kommunal- og miljøvernkomiteen om ny landsplan for nasjonalparker og andre større verneområder i Norge." Kommunal- og miljøvernkomiteen.
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St.meld.nr. 24 (2000-2001). 2001. "Regjeringens miljøvernpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand." Miljøverndepartementet, Oslo.

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St.meld.nr.62 (1991-1992). 1992. "Ny landsplan for nasjonalparker og andre større verneområder i Norge." Miljøverndepartementet, Oslo.

St.meld.nr.64 (1965-1966). 1966. "Om Naturvernrådets Innstilling om landsplan for natur- og nasjonalparker i Norge." Kommunal- og arbeidsdepartementet, Oslo.

St.meld.nr.68 (1980-1981). 1981. "Vern av norsk natur." Miljøverndepartementet, Oslo.

St.meld.nr. 8 (1999-2000). 1999. "Regjeringens miljøvernpolitikk og rikets miljøtilstand." Miljøverndepartementet, Oslo.

St.meld.nr. 19 (1999-2000). 1999. "Om norsk landbruk og matproduksjon." Landbruksdepartementet, Oslo.

St.prp. nr 4 (1972-1973). 1973. "Om verneplan for vassdrag."

APPENDIX 6: Interview guide

Presentere seg selv

- alder
- utdanning
- opprinnelse – tilflyttet/innfødt & etnisk
- familie
- grunneier? type grunneier
- mange år her
- medlem i organisasjoner? hvilke? hvorfor? betydning for samarbeid lokalt?

Presentere bedriften

- type
- tilbud
- ansatte/årsverk
- antall kunder/sesong
- tilblivelsesprosessen? hvor kom ideen fra? hvorfor akkurat dette området?
- målgruppe
- samarbeidspartnere – hvorfor disse?
 - lokalt
 - regionalt
 - nasjonalt
 - internasjonalt

Presentere området

- Områdets særpreg?
- Naturens verdi i området? Verneverdiene?
- Hva er spesielt viktig for DEG?
- opplevelsesverdier? lokalt sett og utenfra?
- Hva tror du er spesielt viktig for kommunen?
- Hvor viktig er naturen her? Historisk sett, i dag og i fremtida?
- Hvordan forvaltes området best?
- Har området blitt overforbrukt tidligere? Er det fare for at det kan bli det nå? Hvorfor?

- Forholdet mellom naturressursene og din virksomhet? Er dette en rettighet eller er det et lån?

Hva er viktig for din næringsvirksomhet?

Hvordan spiller Fylkeskommunen rollen sin som næringspådriver?

Hvordan oppmuntrer Fylkesmannen til næringsutvikling?

Formelle institusjoner

- hvilket lovverk spiller inn for din næringsutøvelse?
- kjennskap til verneforskrifter/naturvernloven/friluftsløven
- oppfattelse av verneforskrifter/naturvernloven/friluftsløvens betydning for næringsaktiviteten din? Positiv/negativ innflytelse?
- hva er tillat i det vernede området?
- Legger vernet begrensninger på aktiviteten? Hvordan?
- Hva er tillatt og ikke tillatt?
- Kjennskap til Fjellteksten?
- Har Fjellteksten hatt noen betydning for din næringsaktivitet?
- ved forvaltningsplan:
 - deltatt i prosessen?
 - fornøyd med resultat?
 - betydning for din aktivitet?

Uformelle institusjoner

- tradisjonell bruk av utmarka?
- gammel lovgivning? gammel eiendomsstruktur? utskiftning i 1860-årene?
- hva er akseptert bruk av utmarka (personlig / lokalsamfunnet) normsett som regulerer bruken?
- Er det noen motsetninger mellom det å utnytte utmarka kommersielt, og det å verne den?
- hvem gir deg råd i forhold til din næringsaktivitet? hvem lytter du til? hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
- "bygdedyret"?
- dugnadsvilje
- samarbeidsvilje – formaliserte nettverk?
- homogent lokalsamfunn?
- oppfattelse av de som satser på turisme
- Horisontal/vertikal akse:
 - støtte fra lokalsamfunnet/familie? Nettverk?
 - støtte fra forvaltningen?
- informasjonsdeling?
- kommunikasjonsmønstre?

- møteplasser i lokalsamfunnet? repeterende møter/arenaer?
- har det skjedd noen endringer i "stemninga" i lokalsamfunnet, hvilken endring og hva skyldes dette?
- hemmeligholdelse eller åpenhet om satsinger?
- mistro mellom ulike næringer?
- hva skal til for å bygge sterke og langvarige relasjoner mellom mennesker i bygda? Eksisterer disse allerede?
- kjennetegnes lokalsamfunnet av sterk tillit og troverdighet mellom innbyggerne?
- hvorfor tillit? Hvorfor ikke?

Arealbruk (må markeres av på kart)

- Hvilke arealkonflikter mellom lokalsamfunn, vernemyndigheter og økonomiske aktører kan vi finne? Hvor?
- konfliktfulle områder
- verdifulle områder – lokal hemmeligholdelse?
- områder uten interesse
- områder med tradisjonell bruk
- områder med ny bruk

Deltakelse i prosesser (verneplan & forvaltningsplan)

- invitert med?
- hvordan deltatt?
- blitt hørt?
- nødvendig? hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?
- kunnskapsgrunnlaget? lokal kunnskap?
- Arena for idéutvikling, konflikthåndtering, næringsutvikling m.m.

Allemannsretten

- kjenner du til hva allemannsretten innebærer
 - ferdselsrett
 - oppholdsrett
 - høstingsrett
- allmenning? allmenningsrester i området?
- forskjellen på allmenning og allemannsretten?
- Historisk kjennskap til allemannsretten?
- Hvorfor mener du det har fungert at man slipper andre mennesker til på egen utmark? Fungerer det fortsatt?
- er allemannsretten viktig for din aktivitet?
- bevisst/ubevisst forhold til allemannsretten
- andres bruk av allemannsretten
 - på egen eiendom

- utenbygdsfra
- utenfor fylket
- utlendinger
- Er det problematisk at allemannsretten legger til rette for at også folk uten eiendom kan bruke privat utmark til kommersielle formål?
- utnytter folk utenombygds/andre utmarka kommersielt?
 - setter en prislapp på utmarka
 - overbefolkede områder?
- hva skjer i bygda når folk utenfra utnytter ressursene? kan man gjøre noe for å hindre dette?
- Burde folk i bygda ha andre rettigheter til utmarka enn folk utenombygds?
- ønske om eksklusive områder
- muligheter for å ekskludere folk
- forholdet mellom rettigheter og plikter – hva sier allemannsretten om pliktene man har
- spiller det noen rolle om aktivitetene er nymotens (og f.eks innebærer motorisert ferdsel) eller om aktivitetene er tradisjonelle?

Forholdet mellom rettigheter og eierposisjoner i vernede områder (til grunneiere) → bruk eget ark

Hva oppleves som flaskehalser/barrierer?

Hva er du spesielt fornøyd med?

Hvilke rammevilkår burde være endret, hvis du fikk bestemme?

Hvilke rammevilkår mangler?

Noe å tilføye?

APPENDIX 7: Elaborated overview of participation from private and non-profit organizations and public authorities in implementation of the Mountain Text

- 1: Plan of action for business development in outfields (SND 2003)
- 2: Declaration demanding implementation of the Mountain Text (2004)
- 3: Cooperation committee on environment-friendly tourism (2004)
- 4: Cooperation forum for development of environment-friendly tourism (2004)
- 5: Business strategy LMD (2005)
- 6: Plan of action for sustainable use and management of national parks and other protected areas (2006)
- 7: Business strategy LMD (2007)
- 8: Valuable experiences. National strategy for the tourism industry (2007)
- 9: Reference group national park municipalities and villages (2008)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
NATURE/CULTURE CONSERVATION ORGANISATIONS									
WWF		X							
NU		X							
NN		X		X					
The Future in Our Hands		X							
Norsk kulturarv		X							
RECREATION ORGANISATIONS									
DNT		X							
NJFF		X		X					
Friluftslivetes fellesorganisasjon		X							
FARMERS' ORGANISATIONS									
NBU		X							
NFU	X	X		X	X		X	X	
Norsk Bonde- og Småbrukarlag	X	X			X		X		
Norges Bygdekvinnelag		X							
Norsk Bygdeturisme og Gardsmat		X							
FORESTRY OWNERS' ORGANISATIONS									
Norges Skogeierforbund	X	X			X		X	X	
NORSKOG				X					
Skogeierforeningen				X					
TOURISM ORGANISATIONS									
Reiselivsbedriftenes landsforening		X			X				
MINISTRIES									
LMD	X					X		X	
KRD					X		X	X	
NHD						X	X	X	
MD						X		X	
RESARCH INSTITUTE - NINA	X								
BUSINESSES ^a								X	
PUBLIC AUTHORITIES									
Statskog SF				X					
Innovasjon Norge				X	X		X	X	
SND	X								
Sámi Parliament						X			
DN			X	X		X			
SLF						X			
Directorate for cultural heritage									X

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
County Governor					X ^b	X ^c	X		X ^e
County council						X ^d			X ^f
Municipality									X ^g
Regional council									X ^h
UNIONS/NETWORKS									
USS		X	X	X		X			X
Fjellregionsamarbeidet		X							
Norske Reindriftsamers Landsforbund				X					
The Norwegian Association of Local and Regional Authorities				X					
NHO Reiseliv							X	X	
OIKOS Økologisk landslag							X		
HRAF								X	
Norges Fjellstyresamband		X							
LO Reiseliv								X	
Din Tur								X	
Forum for reiseliv								X	
REGIONAL TOURISM PROMOTER									
Finnmark reiseliv								X	
Nordland reiseliv								X	
Telemarksreiser								X	
Fjord Norge								X	

^a Color Line, Trysil Ferie og Fritid, Selje Hotell, Magic North, SAS Braathens, and Bjerkem Natur og Kultur

^b Østfold

^c Sogn og Fjordane

^d Nordland

^e Oppland

^f Oppland

^g Lom & Namsskogan

^h Nord Gudbrandsdal

APPENDIX 8: Background information for all national park boards as of June 28, 2011

	# members	# politicians	# Sámi members	# areas	# national parks	# municipalities	# park rangers	Established
Midtre Nordland	13	8	4	7	4	8	3	04.08.2010
Ytre Hvaler	5	4		1	1	2	1	11.10.2010
Brattfjell-Vindeggen	2	4		1	0	4	1	22.10.2010
Dovrefjell/Sunndalsfjella	12	8		1	1	8	2	08.11.2010
Hallingskarvet	6	3		2	1	3	1	08.11.2010
Flekkefjord og Oksøy-ryvingen	5	4		2	0	4	1	15.11.2010
Nord-Trøndelag	10	5	4	5	2	5	1	18.11.2010
Jostedalsbreen	8	7		1	1	7	1	18.11.2010
Breheimen	6	3		1	1	3	2	18.11.2010
Forollhogna	9	7		9	1	7	1	29.11.2010
Varangerhalvøya	7	4	2	3	1	4	1	20.12.2010
Trollheimen/Innerdalen	10	6	2	4	2	6	1	21.12.2010
Hemmaldalen	5	4		1	0	4	0	21.12.2010
Dovre og Rondane	9	7		12	2	7	1	21.12.2010
Folgefonna	6	5		5	1	5	1	05.01.2011
Stabbursdalen	4	2	1	2	1	2	1	05.01.2011
Seiland nasjonalparkstyre	6	3	2	1	1	3	1	18.01.2011
Reisa	5	2	2	2	1	1	0	17.02.2011
Ånderdalen	4	2	1	1	1	2	0	17.02.2011
Nordkvaløy-Rebbernesøy	4	2	1	1	0	1	0	17.02.2011
Naustdal-Gjengedal	5	4		1	0	4	0.5	01.03.2011
Øvre Pasvik	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	23.03.2011
Hordaland/SF	6	4		5	0	4	0	29.03.2011
Jotunheimen	7	5		2	1	5	2	30.03.2011
Stølsheimen	6	4		1	0	4	0.5	30.05.2011
Lomsdal-Visten	7	4		2	1	4	1	11.04.2011