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# DIPLOMARBEIT / DIPLOMA THESIS

Titel der Diplomarbeit / Title of the Diploma Thesis

„Norway and Sweden: Similarities and differences in protected area policy with a focus on international demand and domestic protection politics“

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Magistra der Naturwissenschaften (Mag. rer. nat.)

Wien, 2017 / Vienna, 2017

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /  
degree programme code as it appears on  
the student record sheet:

A 190 344 456

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /  
degree programme as it appears on  
the student record sheet:

Lehramtsstudium Geographie und Wirtschaftskunde

Betreut von / Supervisor:

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## **Acknowledgment**

First of all, I would like to express great gratitude to my supervisor, ao. Univ. – Prof. Dr. Norbert Weixlbaumer, who supported the whole process of creating this diploma thesis enthusiastically, from the first interview to the last paragraph.

Furthermore, special thanks go to my interview partners in Norway and Sweden, who did not hesitate to meet me for long conversations and who donated their precious time to me, even during summer holidays.

Additionally, this thesis could not have been created without my supportive partner, Thomas Scherz, not only because of his endless encouragement during the writing process, but especially due to his support touring through Scandinavia for weeks, visiting numerous National Park Centers.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my parents for their support, who made my trips to Scandinavia possible, and who assisted me throughout my entire studies.

## **Abstract**

Since the beginnings of nature protection, the Scandinavian neighboring countries, Norway and Sweden, have continuously been trying to harmonize the protection of environmental concerns, with the interests and rights of user groups. While in both countries nature protection policy has traditionally been centralized, in recent years, one could observe a significant shift towards decentralized management strategies. However, these new bottom-up approaches manifested differently in Norway and Sweden. While Sweden has started to establish partnership models in newly founded national parks, Norway's policy underwent substantial changes in 2009, due to a major reform, the Nature Diversity Act. Consequently, this thesis investigates and compares how successful the neighboring countries have been in implementing the new strategies. Thereby, a special focus is being put on the four newly established national parks, Kosterhavets Marina National Park and Fulufjället National Park in Sweden as well as Ytre Hvaler National Park and the Norwegian Expansion of Fulufjället National Park in Norway. Furthermore, also Hardangervidda National Park is being investigated, as it is Norway's largest National Park in size. The investigation is not only based on an extensive literature analysis, but moreover, on an empirical local research in all national parks listed. Due to the fact that the national parks under analysis are situated in close borderline proximity to one another, a further research focus is being put on investigating, in how far there are transboundary management strategies to be found between Norway and Sweden. The results have shown that – despite the fact that recent years have exhibited remarkable improvements – both countries have so far not been extraordinarily successful in combining protection and use. Furthermore, neither the adjacent Kosterhavets Marine National Parks, nor National Parks in the Fulufjället borderline area, might be labeled as 'transboundary national parks' yet.

## Zusammenfassung

Seit den Anfängen des Naturschutzes, haben die benachbarten skandinavischen Länder, Norwegen und Schweden, stets versucht, die Anliegen der Naturschutzpolitik mit den Interessen der Nutzergruppen in Einklang zu bringen. Ursprünglich war die Naturschutzpolitik in beiden Ländern zentralisiert und lag völlig im Aufgabenbereich des Staates. Die letzten Jahre haben allerdings eine signifikante Wende, hin zu dezentralisierten Managementstrategien, in beiden Ländern gebracht, die sich allerdings auf unterschiedliche Weise manifestiert haben. Während Schweden begonnen hat, partnerschaftliche Managementmodelle zu etablieren, hat sich die Naturschutzpolitik Norwegens durch eine grundlegende Reform im Jahr 2009 nachhaltig verändert. Diese Arbeit stellt daher einen Vergleich zwischen den beiden Ländern an und zielt darauf ab herauszufinden, wie erfolgreich sie die neuen Strategien umgesetzt haben. Dabei wird ein spezieller Fokus auf folgende neu-begründete Nationalparks gelegt: Kosterhavets Nationalpark und Fulufjället Nationalpark in Schweden, sowie Ytre Hvaler Nationalpark und die norwegische Erweiterung des Fulufjället Nationalparks in Norwegen. Des Weiteren wird auch der Hardangervidda Nationalpark aufgrund seiner flächenmäßig großen Ausdehnung näher beleuchtet. Die Basis für nachfolgende lokale Recherchen in den genannten Nationalparks, bildet eine tiefgreifende Analyse bereits bestehender literarischer Erkenntnisse. Die Tatsache, dass die Nationalparks, die im Rahmen dieser Arbeit untersucht werden, im Grenzgebiet zwischen Norwegen und Schweden liegen, rechtfertigt darüber hinaus, das Augenmerk auf einen weiteren Forschungsaspekt zu legen, und zwar wie weit grenzüberschreitende Management-Kooperationen zwischen Norwegen und Schweden bestehen. Die Ergebnisse haben gezeigt, dass trotz bemerkenswerter Verbesserungen im Laufe der letzten Jahre, beide Länder bislang keine außergewöhnlich großen Erfolge in der Beilegung des ‚Schützen-Nützen Konfliktes‘ erzielen konnten. Darüber hinaus ist es bisher weder im Koster Archipel Lago, noch in den Gebieten der Fulufjället Parks, gelungen, die Managementsysteme der Parke zu vereinheitlichen und es kann bisher kaum von ‚grenzüberschreitender Zusammenarbeit‘ gesprochen werden.

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# 1 Introduction

Scandinavia is best known for the countries' endless landscapes and beautiful nature. Both, Norway and Sweden, are rich in natural landscapes and low in population density (c. FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016: 138). Since the beginnings of nature protection, both countries have constantly tried to harmonize the protection of environmental policy concerns, with the rights and interests of user groups. On the one hand, Norway and Sweden clearly recognized the need to preserve Scandinavia's spectacular biodiversity and, on the other hand, both countries tried to thereby not deny user groups access to areas under protection.

The various conflicts in the history of nature protection policy between different management approaches have shown, how difficult it is to find a balance which might satisfy both sides. Therefore, this thesis will primarily investigate the following research question:

*Do the two neighboring Scandinavian countries under analysis successfully manage to combine the protection of long-term conservation values with the interests and rights of local communities? If yes, how?*

In order to provide an answer to this question, an investigation of current management strategies in both countries is required. Hence, this diploma thesis consists of two parts. The foundation will be a detailed analysis of the development of nature protection management in Norway and Sweden.

Firstly, readers will be provided with a historical overview of protected area management in the neighboring countries under analysis, which will then be followed by a thorough examination of the paradigmatic development, focusing on the intensively discussed paradigm shift and its impact on nature protection policy. This chapter (chapter 3) distinguishes between the Swedish Approach and the Norwegian approach, with special regard to the changes through the Norwegian reform in 2009.



Furthermore, in both parts of this thesis, the theoretical analysis as well as the subsequent empirical research, a focus will be put on Fulufjället National Park as well on the marine national parks in the Koster Archipelago, Ytre Hvaler National Park in Norway and Kosterhavets Marine National Park in Sweden. Mainly, because these national parks were established in recent years and, additionally, due to the fact that they are located in immediate proximity to one another and, therefore, offer an interesting incentive for the establishment of cross-border cooperation. Consequently, chapter 3 also introduces the reader to the subject of transboundary protected areas, before, eventually, the three main conflict fields will be outlined shortly.

The following chapters 4 and 5 will provide an insight into the aims of this thesis, and elaborate on the methods used for the empirical research. The results thereof constitute the second part of this diploma thesis and will be summarized in chapter 7. The following 'discussion' of the findings will not only try to connect empirical results to theoretical prior knowledge, but also to provide a critical evaluation of the current situation regarding nature protection policy in Norway and Sweden.

The final chapter of this thesis will summarize the most important findings and propositions and provide an answer to the research question.

## 2 Historical Overview

The Scandinavian region, located in the northern periphery of Europe, is best known for its richness in natural resources and its low population density. Visitors are highly attracted by Scandinavia's international reputation of genuine as well as eco-tourism related nature-based experiences (c. FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016: 138). Scandinavia's 'wilderness' can hardly be found anywhere else in Europe and is quite contrary to most of the cultural landscapes elsewhere on our continent. Scandinavian national parks contribute much to this 'wilderness' image (c. GARMS et al. 2016: 4). Another fundamental aspect of outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism, that differentiates this part of Northern Europe from other countries in the world, is the Right of Public Access which makes nature generally very accessible in Norway and Sweden. To a certain extent, everyone has the right to move freely across private land holdings and is allowed to pick flowers, berries or mushrooms as long as one does not damage or disturb the property of local inhabitants (c. LUNDMARK et al. 2010: 3; c. FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016: 138). Therefore, protected areas in Scandinavia which are a significant attraction to tourism and travel, can be regarded differently in comparison to countries where access to private land is more restricted (c. FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016: 138). In fact, the Right of Public Access as well as the vast and sparsely populated areas enable people to experience natural environments without necessarily having to visit protected areas. Moreover, the entry to National Parks is for free in general in both countries, Norway and Sweden (c. LUNDMARK et al. 2010: 3).

Concerning the origins and the development of nature conservation, the two neighboring countries under analysis share a long history and *"compared with most other countries, the areas protected amount to a significant proportion."* (HOVIK et al. 2009: 215). Even though Norway and Sweden have rather similar political and administrative systems and share habitats for various species on the one hand (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 240), they, on the other hand, also show crucial differences regarding the development of protected area policies, which justifies the comparison this thesis draws.

One of the major differences goes back to the fact that while Norway is not, Sweden is part of the European Union. Therefore, the latter is required to implement Natura 2000 which stretches over 18 percent of the European Union's land area and approximately 6 percent of EU's marine territory and, therefore, is worldwide the largest coordinated network of protected areas, aiming at the protection of core breeding and resting sites for threatened species and some rare natural habitat types (c. EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2017). Consequently, Sweden shows a higher involvement in international regimes. Nevertheless, both countries have a relatively high score on international participation (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 244). Norway, as well as Sweden, take part in the following four regimes which assign international status to areas under protection:

1. The World Heritage Convention
2. The Ramsar Convention
3. The Bern Convention's Emerald Network
4. The UNESCO Biosphere Reserves

This will be elaborated in greater detail for each country in the following sub-chapters 2.1 and 2.2.

## 2.1 Development of protected area management in Sweden

Sweden was the first European country to establish a set of nine National Parks as early as 1909 in the sparsely populated Swedish Lapland mountains (c. FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016: 138; HOVIK et al. 2009: 215). Back then as well as today, the primary intention was to preserve the country's magnificent natural landscape for humans of the present day as well as for future generations (c. SWEDISHEPA 2017). *"According to Swedish law, national parks should be large continuous areas of national interest and can only be established on public land in accordance with national legislation and International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) criteria"* (LAVEN et al. 2015: 1128-1129). The country can be regarded as a frontrunner in designating protected areas as it has a considerable record in adopting international protection status (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 241). More than 11 percent of the Swedish terrestrial area already had protected status in 2008 and, consequently, have to be managed according to strategic biodiversity conservation obligations. In comparison to this, by the end of 1986, only 4.7 percent of the total Swedish territory were under the protection of the Nature Conservation Act (c. NILSSON & GÖTMARK 1992: 232). Hence, the percentage keeps rising, but it is still lower than in the European Union, where 20 percent of the terrestrial landscape are under protection (c. HOVIK et al. 2010: 159). In fact, by the year of 2016, Sweden has established 29 national parks which make up 1.6 percent of Sweden's area under natural protection (c. FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016: 138) and 9.1 percent of the land area have been designated as nature reserves (c. FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016: 138). Back in 2006 Sweden had already established more than 2700 nature reserves (c. HOVIK et al. 2009: 215). This leads to the conclusion that nature reserves have obviously become the predominating mode of nature protection since their introduction back in the 1960s (c. STEINWALL 2015: 36). In addition to this, Sweden, as a member of the European Union, ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1985 (c. SANDE 2015: 794). *"World Heritage Sites are areas for international conservation of nature and culture with outstanding universal values"* (SVELS & SANDE 2016: 524). By the year of 2014, Sweden had 15 World Heritage Sites of which only one is natural and one is mixed. Even though two others, namely the High Coast/Kvarken archipelago as well as Southern Öland, have significant environmental values, they are just listed as cultural heritage sites. Furthermore, Sweden has, after the designation of two new Sites in 2016, now 68

Wetlands of International importance under the Ramsar Convention. This Convention on Wetlands of International Importance is an intergovernmental treaty which provides a framework for the conservation and the wise use of wetlands and their resources. (c. RAMSAR.org) Altogether, they cover up almost 6 517 km<sup>2</sup> of the country's area (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 244). Since Sweden is a member of the European Union, it has more than 3 500 Natura 2000 areas which, in sum, cover up an area of more than 60 000 km<sup>2</sup> (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 244). The Natura 2000 network also includes many of the Swedish National Parks which are mostly considered IUCN category 1b and, therefore, categorized as wilderness areas (c. LAVEN 2015: 1129). In addition to this, there are currently five biosphere reserves, all established after 2005 (c. UNESCO.org). There was one reserve, Lake Torne, which was established earlier, but it was withdrawn in 2010 (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 244). Biosphere reserves aim at the integration of biological and cultural diversity with social and economic development through a partnership approach between people and nature, which differs significantly from the traditional Swedish approach of preserving nature from people (c. LAVEN et al. 2015: 1129).

The funding as well as the central responsibility for protected areas in Sweden is held by the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), whereas County Administrative Boards - which can be regarded as regional authorities under national government - designate and manage individual nature reserves. However, the EPA might still perform changes to the management plan or to the purpose and has the right to appeal decisions to the government. The EPA itself consists of two units of which one is concerned with issues regarding the conservation management and recreation in protected areas, and the other one is working with issues addressing the designation of areas. Thus, there is a clear necessity of for coordination on both levels, within the EPA itself and between the EPA and the County Administrative Boards (c. STEINWALL 2015: 37).

## 2.2 Development of protected area management in Norway

In Norway, first initiatives for the establishment of conservation measures were taken in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, so almost 50 years later than Sweden which established its first national park as early as 1909. A Nature Conservation Act, which was passed in 1954, set the legal basis for the designation of national parks in the country. Furthermore, this act authorized the establishment of the Nature Conservation Council, which serves an important role in carrying out the new nature conservation policy that was given even higher priority in the 1970s, when the Ministry of Environment was established. (c. REITAN 2004: 440)

In comparison to Sweden, Norway designated its first National Park rather late as it started its era of area protection with the establishment of Rondane National Park in 1962 (c. BAY-LARSEN 2012: 333; FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016: 138). In 1980, the Ministry of Environment took an initiative for the development of a general plan for the designation of new and larger conservation landscape areas. The parliament approved this National Park Plan in 1992. The plan recommended the establishment of several new national parks as well as large conservation areas (c. HONGSLO et al. 2016: 1006; REITAN 2004: 440) and since then, a large number of protected areas have been established, resulting in the designation of more than 30 national parks and hundreds of nature reserves and other protected landscapes (c. BAY-LARSEN 2012: 333).

Norway has been rather quick to ratify important conventions, but sometimes a bit slow concerning their implementation (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 241). However, in 2008, already 14 percent of Norway's terrestrial area were under protection (c. HOVIK et al. 2010: 159) and today, about 17 percent of the country's land mass have protection status (c. FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016: 138). Therefore, Norway scores a higher percentage than its neighboring country Sweden (c. HOVIK et al. 2010: 159). As a matter of fact, Norway is also active in all four protected area institutions listed above. It has 7 World Heritage Sites out of which one, the West Norwegian Fjords, Geiranger and Nærøyfjord, are listed as natural heritage. Moreover, two of the sites that are listed as cultural heritage, Vegaøyan and Røros Mining Town, contain significant environmental components. The country also has 63 Wetlands under the Ramsar

Convention, which cover an area of 8 869 km<sup>2</sup> in total. About 7 000 km<sup>2</sup> of this area are situated in the Arctic Archipelago of Svalbard. Currently, Norway does not have a Biosphere Reserve. One was established many years ago, but it was withdrawn in 1997, because it lacked the criteria which need to be fulfilled for being listed. Concerning the country's participation in the Emerald Network, 11 pilot areas were nominated in 2008, but they have not been accepted as part of the Network yet (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 243).

In a retrospective analysis of nature protection policies in Norway, the definition of a national park has originally been based on natural sciences' 'purist' criteria which demanded the absence of human influence on the landscape back when the first National Park had been established (c. DAUGSTAD et al. 2006: 1). However, over the last decades one could notice a fundamental change resulting in multiple decentralization movements, which favor the involvement of local actors in designation processes and, are thereby moving away from previous hegemony and faith in centralized top-down management of protected landscape areas (c. DAUGSTAD et al. 2006: 2). This paradigm shift, which comes along with manifold inconsistencies raising critical opinions, is also to be found in Swedish nature protection policy and will be discussed in scrupulous detail in the following chapter.

### 3 Paradigmatic Development

When it comes to area protection, a broad spectrum of environmental discourses exists. To give an example, there is a traditionalist discourse which stands for rural livelihood and inter-related dynamics between nature and rural communities. Furthermore, there are the so-called win-win discourses which, on the one hand, recognize the advantages of integrating both, use and protection interests and, on the other hand, approve concepts like integrated conservation or sustainable development (c. BAY-LARSEN 2012: 332). Concerning national park planning, both - Norway and Sweden - used to pursue a very preservationist discourse and, therefore, the main aim was the 'protection' of nature from mankind, so that areas maintain as untouched as possible (c. BAY-LARSEN 2012: 332; STEINWALL 2014: 31; HONGSLO et al. 2016: 999). According to the World Conservation Union, *"the classic form of governance for protected areas has been and continues to be decision making by the state for all aspects of acquisition, establishment and management of areas designated as formal protected areas. This is because, historically, protected areas legislation and other legislation have given the state such powers."* (LAUSCHE 2011: 75) In other words, nature conservation has traditionally been a matter of central government. State agencies were in charge of protected area regulations within the scope of national and international conservation objectives (c. HOVIK et al. 2009: 215).

Consequently, the neighboring countries under analysis, share a similar point of departure as, historically, in both countries the management of protected areas was centralized and nature conservation policy was top-down and rather hierarchical (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 240). In this normatively driven approach, the acceptance of all affected parties is not scrutinized (c. MOSE & WEIXLBAUMER 2007: 13). As a result, the system soon had to face strong criticism, which has intensified over the past few decades in both Scandinavian countries (c. HONGSLO et al. 2016: 998). The persisting criticism and the ongoing disputes between users and conservationists, led to global trends promoting an increase of local participatory rights in nature protection policy, as well as a wider range of participatory techniques resulting in major shifts and changes in the management of protected areas (c. HONGSLO et al. 2016: 998; FAUCHALD & GULBRANDSEN 2012: 204; HOVIK et al. 2009: 216). More specifically,



the trend headed towards a so-called ecosystem-based management, which replaced the isolated nature protection approach, promoting integrity (c. MOSE & WEIXLBAUMER 2007: 11).

### **3.1 Paradigm shifts**

In both countries, Norway and Sweden, the ongoing shifts in the management of protected areas resulted in a new paradigm which can, according to MOSE & WEIXLBAUMER (2007: 13), be labeled as a so-called 'dynamic-innovation approach' and, clearly contrasts the traditional 'static-preservation' approach. This new paradigm considers the protection of nature as a societal task and, thereby, focuses on the integration of protection and use and the inclusion of all interested parties, and cooperative effort is necessary (c. MOSE & WEIXLBAUMER 2007: 13; SKJEGGEDAL et al. 2016: 345). Basing environmental management on the community and operating people-oriented should serve both, conservation as well as the development (c. BERKES 2004: 622).

The emergence of community-based conservation can be ascribed to a time, when ecology and science seemed to be in the midst of the following three conceptual shifts: Firstly, there is a shift from reductionism to seeing the world in a systems view, secondly, a shift towards the inclusion of humans in the ecosystem and, lastly, the shift from an expert-based approach towards participatory management and conservation (c. BERKES 2004: 622).

Community-based environmental management is, pursuing a bottom-up strategy, more functional than top-down approaches and also far more democratic, as it takes local circumstances into account, and demands the direct involvement and inclusion of local actors into the decision making processes (c. LANE & CORBETT 2005: 141). Recognizing, respecting and utilizing local knowledge, this new community-based paradigm therefore overcomes a major problem traditional top-down approaches struggled with. Simultaneously, it is more responsive to local and context priorities, which facilitates context-sensitive planning. Furthermore, the recruiting of locals increases the efficiency of implementing the plans. Another advantage derived therefrom is clearly that bottom-up approaches improve levels of control over land management agendas and processes (LANE & CORBETT 2005: 143). As a result, collaborative forms of governance can best be described as dynamic processes that are oriented on problem-solving and, in which learning about social-ecological change is a very essential component (c. ARMITAGE et al. 2008: 87).

The shifts that have been going on towards this new paradigm can best be demonstrated with the aid of a three-dimensional model, provided by DAUGSTAD et al. (2006: 2 ff.), that puts a focus on three dimensions which are seen as sliding scales between the following opposite poles:

Firstly, protection and use, which is a classical and an often made division. On the one pole, there are actors in favor of environmental protection, who seek to limit access and use in order to protect nature and landscapes from human interferences and, on the other side, there are those who argue for resource utilization, based on personal profit.

The second dimension is the nature-culture distinction. One has to imagine a continuum from completely untouched, 'pure' wilderness on the one end, to cultural landscapes on the other end (c. DAUGSTAD 2006: 2). This dimension can be linked to the origins of national park establishments in Norway that have originally been based on 'purist' criteria, which demanded the absence of human influence on nature, described in chapter 2.2.

Lastly, the central-local division needs to be mentioned. This dimension is currently more central than ever, as it refers to the level of authority concerning the management of area protection. The recent paradigm shift can be exemplified as a movement from one side of the scale to the other, resulting in decentralization processes that are in line with international trends, basing environmental protection on locals to a larger extent and, attempting to decrease conflicts between central and local actors (c. DAUGSTAD 2006: 3).

In compliance with DAUGSTAD's three dimensions one might retrace the ongoing paradigm shift as follows: While the static-preservationist approach – based on a dichotomy of 'protection and pollution areas' demanded protected areas to have as little contact with the outside world as possible, the integration approach tries to overcome this dichotomy through procedural protection and a transactionistic world view (c. MOSE & WEIXLBAUMER 2007: 12). Associated therewith, a shift from a rather rudimentary - towards a more professional adequate - management structure needed to take place. Using a policy-mix, nature protection results in being considered a societal-task, and therefore, measures obtain a lower degree of normativity, but require a high degree of acceptance amongst people affected (c. MOSE & WEIXLBAUMER 2007: 13). Referring back to DAUGSTAD's model, this can best be

demonstrated as a shift from one side of each dimension to the other: Nature protection approaches clearly shifted from protection to use, from cultural to local and have finally replaced the idea of untouched 'pure' wilderness with a more integrative viewpoint, using the cooperative effort of all parties involved as the fundament of most measures.

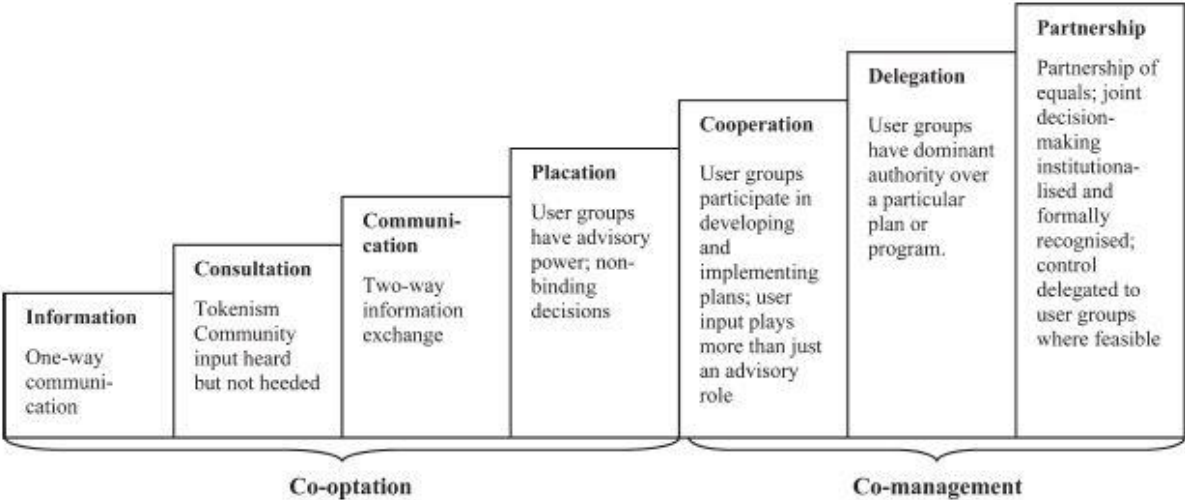
As a matter of fact, internationally promoted decentralization trends have also triggered fundamental changes in the management systems of protected areas in Scandinavia, but have affected Norwegian and the Swedish conservation politics differently. In general, decentralization can be defined as *“any act in which a central government formally cedes powers to actors and institutions at lower levels in a political-administrative and territorial hierarchy”* (AGRAWAL & RIBOT 1999: 475). According to HONGSLO et al. (2016: 1000), there are three types of decentralization that can be distinguished:

1. Democratic decentralization, which implies that new powers are given to a politically elected, downwardly accountable body, like a municipality, for example.
2. Deconcentration, in which power is ceded to local offices of the central government agencies. They are all upwardly accountable in a hierarchical structure.
3. Privatization is the case, when power is devolved to nongovernmental organizations, customary authorities, individuals or corporations.

Most important for gaining a deeper understanding of the recent developments in the two neighboring countries under analysis, are the democratic decentralization processes. Democratic decentralization transfers political powers, which are of local relevance, to representative local bodies and, thereby, aims at an improvement of the efficiency of local decision-making and equity. Representativeness is given, when an authority is responsive to local needs and, in order for the representation to be democratic, responsiveness needs to be driven 'downwardly' towards the concerned population by accountability of that authority. Consequently, downward accountability

refers to settings in which local bodies can be held accountable by the commonality through an ensemble of positive or negative sanctions (c. RIBOT et al. 2010: 36).

While decentralization focuses on formal institutions and describes acts, in which political powers are transferred to lower levels (c. ZACHRISSON 2009: 260), co-management – or the joint management of the common – is a participatory, collaborative and, thereby, power-sharing process (c. ZACHRISSON 2009: 260; CARLSSON & BERKES 2004: 65). The responsibilities for using and allocating resources are shared among government agencies, user groups, research institutions and other stakeholders (c. PLUMMER & ARMITAGE 2006: 62). The transmission of power to lower levels is what differentiates co-management from co-optation, which only uses user participation to achieve a particular outcome that was already decided beforehand (c ZACHRISSON 2009: 262). This ladder of co-management is visualized in the following figure (Figure 1).



**Figure 1:** The Co-management ladder (source: ZACHRISSON 2009: 262)

However, in recent years, not only co-management, but also its logical extension, adaptive co-management, has increasingly been receiving attention. *“Adaptive capacity is the ability of an individual or group (i.e. community) to cope with, prepare for, and/or adapt to disturbance and uncertain societal-ecological conditions”* (c. ARMITAGE et al. 2011: 996). Consequently, adaptive co-management merges the

concepts of collaboration and adaptive management, inducing a community-based system that comprises cross-scale linkages as well as processes of dynamic learning (c. PLUMMER & ARMINATE 2006: 63).

Over the last three decades, various different aspects of co-management have emerged, but for this thesis not all the different faces of co-management are of importance. Therefore, only two will be mentioned at this point, namely co-management as governance and co-management as power sharing. The latter one goes along with the ongoing paradigm shifts in Scandinavian nature conservation politics towards sharing power and responsibility between state government and local user groups. Co-management as governance, stresses the idea that the direct local involvement of user groups, including both, public and private actors, in resource management, can be considered as 'good governance' (c. BERKES 2009: 1693). From these various different conceptualizations of co-management, however, one can derive some shared underpinnings, namely that co-management takes place along a continuum instead of being a fixed state, is explicitly associated with natural resources management, and co-management is always regarded as some kind of partnership between private and public actors (c. CARLSSON & BERKES 2005: 67).

These widespread and internationally promoted trends towards a decentralized management in environmental policy, go along with a more general shift from government to governance. New strategies like public-private partnership models, network-based management, as well as the decentralization of the management authority, have come into practice all around the world (c. FAUCHALD & GULBRANDSEN 2012: 204). Respectively, these international policy trends also triggered decentralization initiatives in Scandinavian countries, but – as already stated above – impacted the two countries under analysis differently. In both, Norway and Sweden, decentralized management has already proven to be a success in other policy fields, especially in welfare policy and, now it can be found within environmental policies as well (c. FALLETH & HOVIK 2009: 221). Both countries have signed international conventions which promote the decentralization of natural resource management. Besides feeling the need of responding to international policy trends, another motivation for these policy changes has been a number of conflicts between local governments and central government in relation to conservation management (c.

HONGSLO et al. 2016: 999). In the following, this thesis will investigate the country-specific effects of internationally promoted decentralization trends, and analyze current environmental protection management approaches.

### 3.2 The Swedish Approach

As already mentioned earlier, Sweden's guiding principle in the designation of national parks has traditionally been a rather preservationist one, seeking to preserve landscapes in their pristine and natural state. Protected areas should remain untouched and uncorrupted by human activities, and should best be left to themselves (c. STEINWALL 2015: 32). Especially the early establishments of national parks on the country's territory were driven by strong desires to preserve Sweden's national heritage. Areas designated for protection were initially selected from Crown-lands<sup>1</sup> and nature protection decisions were based on central expertise, neglecting any input of local knowledge (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 23). This top-down governance approach, which strongly focused on conservation, set regulations such as restrictions concerning hunting or fishing, in order to minimize negative environmental impacts. This goal soon and often came into – partly very intense - conflicts with the interests of local inhabitants and traditional land-based industries, such as reindeer herding and fisheries or forestry, to give examples. There was hardly any attention paid to the importance of local traditions and the customary right to sustain what was under protection, back then (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 22).

In comparison to Norway, Sweden's steps towards a decentralized nature conservation policy have been rather small since the mid-1990s (c. HONGSLO et al. 2016: 1004). The framework for the establishment of a National Park is constituted by the National Environmental Code 1999, which replaced the Nature Conservancy Act 1964, but each new national park requires a separate Act (c. HAMBREY 2008: 11).

According to HAMBREY (2008: 11) national parks in Sweden are *“representative biotypes preserved in their natural state, but also beautiful unique environments which have experiences to offer”* and *“they should meet the following criteria:*

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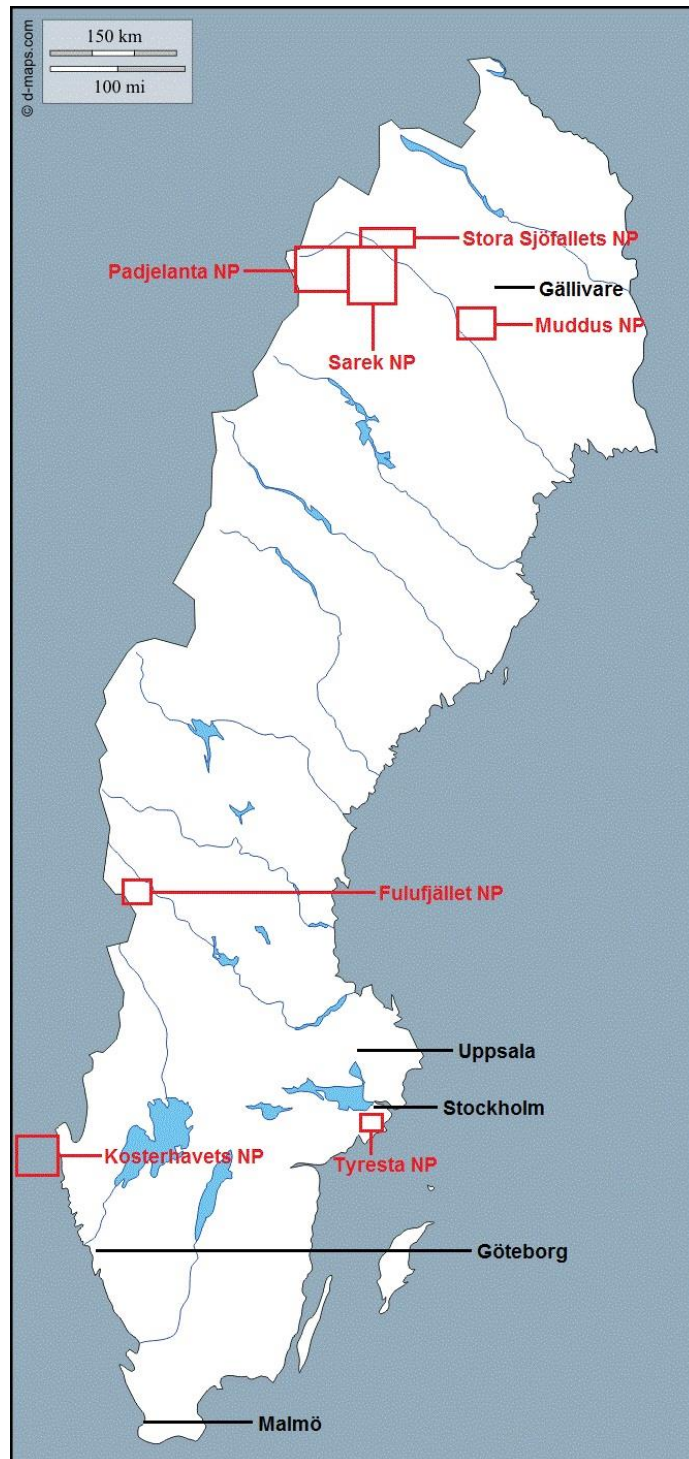
<sup>1</sup> *“Land which the state claims ownership to.”* (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 34)



- *Consist of areas with representative or unique types of landscape in a system covering the whole country;*
- *Consist of untouched natural, or nearly natural landscape;*
- *Contain landscape formations, features or natural environments that are magnificent or highly unusual and which have high scientific value;*
- *Cover a large area, normally at least 1000 hectares;*
- *Can be used within reasonable limits for outdoor recreational purposes and research provided natural values not threatened.”*

Until today, national parks still have to be located on land owned by the state, and designations can only be determined by the government with the consent of the parliament. Despite the installation of regionally situated County Administrative Boards (CABs), the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) still holds most of the authority. While the CABs are limited to accountability for day-to-day management, the SEPA is in charge of planning, setting conservation objectives, the implementation and the enforcement of management plans (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 23). So the scope is rather limited and mostly restricted to 7 of the 29 Swedish national parks (NPs), namely Fulufjället NP, Tyresta NP, Kosterhavets NP and four NPs within the Laponian World Heritage Site: Muddus NP, Padjelanta NP, Sarek NP and Stora Sjöfallet NP (c. HONGSLO et al. 2016: 1004).

The parks and their locations are illustrated in Figure 2.



**Figure 2:** Swedish National Parks with decentralized management; adapted and modified from: [http://www.d-maps.com/carte.php?num\\_car=23104&lang=de](http://www.d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=23104&lang=de)

In these seven national parks, new decentralized approaches have gained ground and entered the Swedish system. Even though traditional conservation methods started to open up to the inclusion of locals simultaneously with commitments to international agreements in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Sweden adopted – in comparison to several other countries and especially to its neighboring country Norway – such new approaches rather late (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 23). However, slowly but steadily a governance transition in Swedish national park policy could be observed, but – compared to Norway – it shows more of an ad hoc character and, is restricted to a very small number of protected areas (c. FAUCHALD et al. 2014: 245; HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 23). The Swedish partnership models imply that the CABs delegate limited responsibilities to partnership organizations, legally responsible persons or land owners, but decisions concerning management plans and authority over national park designations remain by the CABs. The formal management of national parks is the CABs' obligation. The only exceptions are Tyresta NP, Kosterhavets NP and the Laponian national parks, in which the CAB shares this responsibility with the national parks' management boards: After consultations between the CAB, the municipality and the Swedish Agency for Marine and Water Management, National park management plans are adopted by the SEPA (c. FAUCHALD et al. 245 f.).

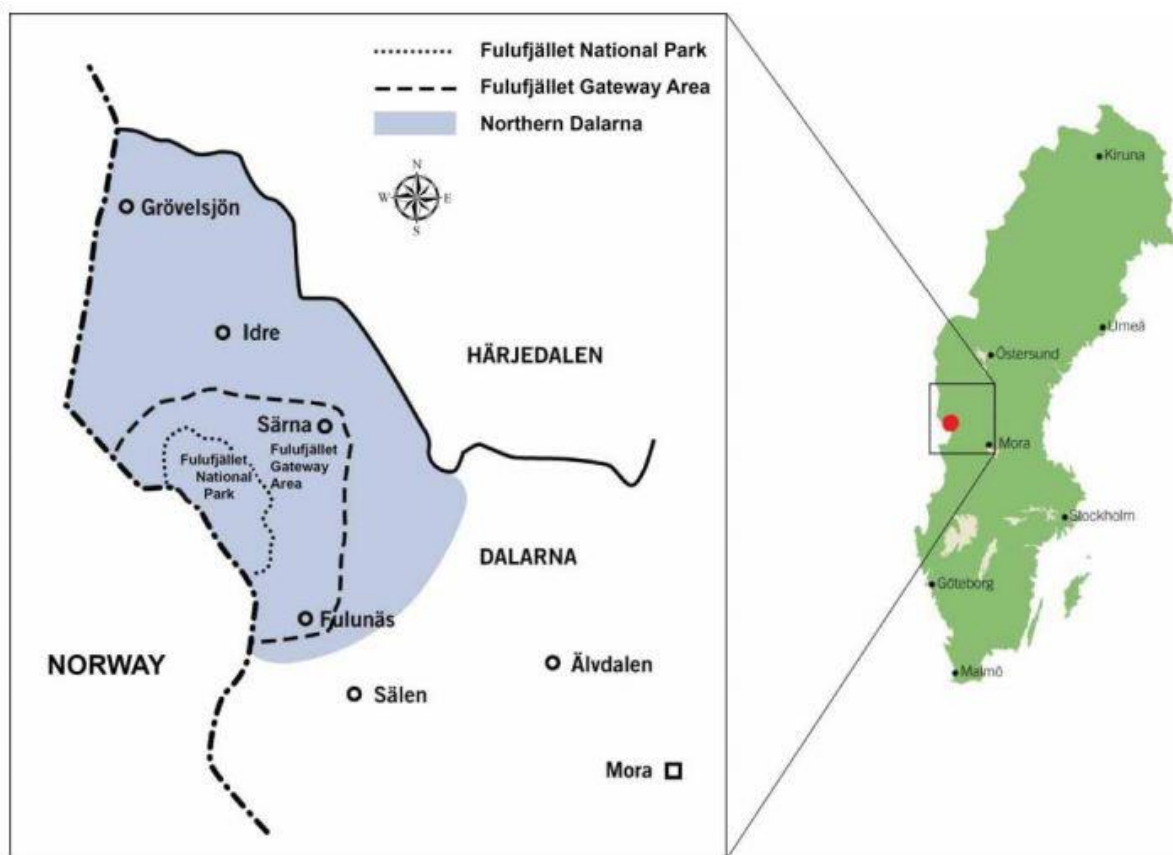
Swedish tradition has shown close linkages between central agencies, interest organizations and private actors, which have laid the foundation for co-management models, such as present ad-hoc partnerships, with management boards consisting of public and private actors (c. HONGSLO et al. 2016: 1009). Further influence on shared-government arrangements can be caused by actors which are organized on the basis of usufructuary rights and traditions that are regulated outside the national park policy. The following examples show which crucial role such contextual factors might play in the development of national park governance. In Laponian national parks, governance processes resulted – influenced by UNESCO's obligation to incorporate indigenous groups in the governance processes of cultural world heritages – in a partnership with a majority of the indigenous Sami on the board, hence respecting their traditional usufructuary reindeer herding rights. A similar situation laid the foundation for a partnership-model for Kosterhavets National Park, as an established fisheries co-management initiative together with a long-established tourism industry, demanded the establishment of the Koster Marine Advisory Board (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017:

33). Governing nature conservation policy in privatization-like models, such as those in Sweden, entails some noteworthy advantages: On the one hand, social learning might increase consensus on the fulfilment of conservation targets if directly concerned interests are part of the boards and might engage in deliberations. On the other hand, these models are very well adapted to the socioecological context, due to the circumstance that in Sweden each institutional solution is designed for a specific conservation area (c. HONGSLO et al. 2016: 1010).

At the same time, the Swedish model also shows a substantial weakness due to the fact that the degree of downward accountability differs significantly between the various protected area arrangements (c. HOLMGREN et al 2017: 34). The extent of this inhomogeneity throughout Sweden's national park management policy will be exemplified and analyzed further by investigating two of the, in the past decade designated national parks, Fulufjället NP and Kosterhavets NP, in which new governance arrangements have been established.

### 3.2.1 Fulufjället National Park

Fulufjället National Park was established in 2002, as Sweden's 28<sup>th</sup> national park. It is – as can be seen in Figure 3 - located in the northwest of the County of Dalarna, in the Municipality of Ävdalen (c. GARMS et al. 2016: 4). Dalarna County is situated in the southern part of the Swedish mountain region, referred to as the “Fulufjället Region”, bordered by Härjedalen County in the north and east and Norway to the west. This part of Sweden is very rural and highly resource-dependent (c. FREDMAN & YUAN 2011: 77).

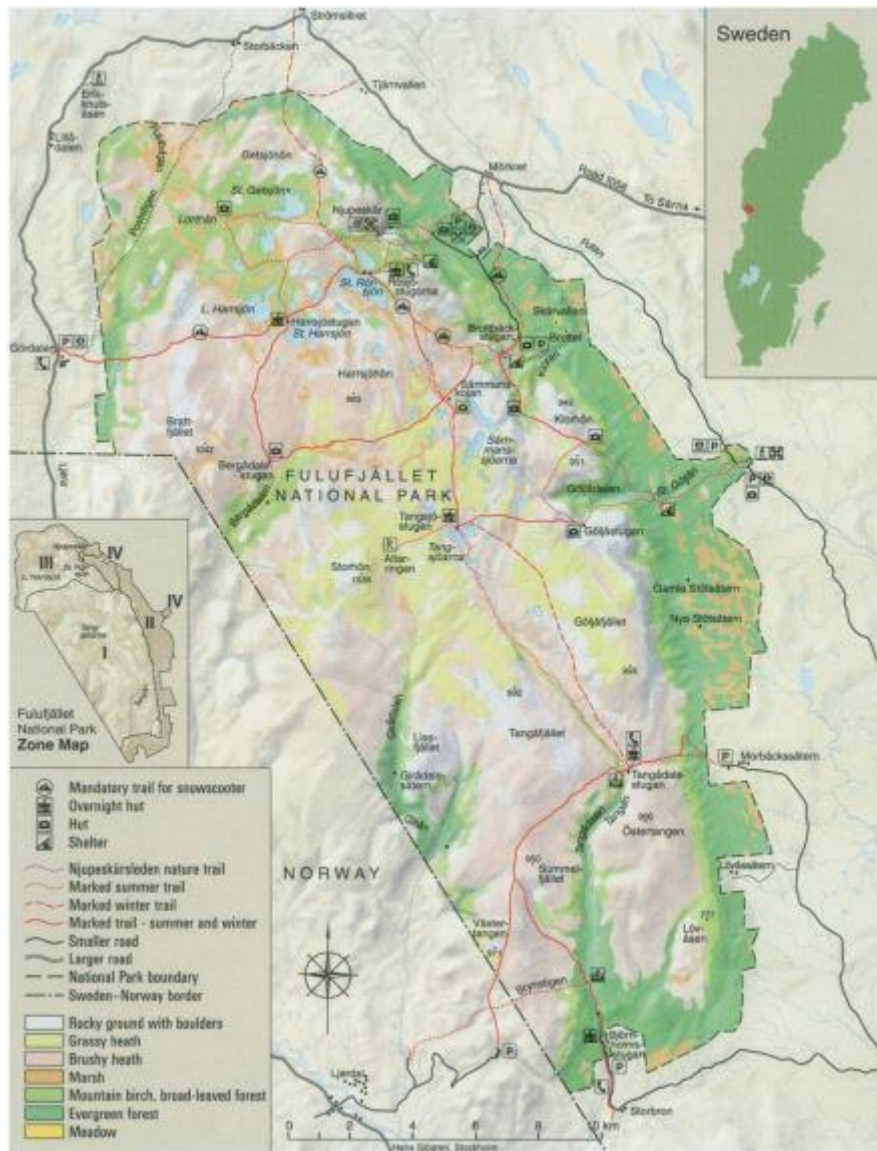


**Figure 3:** Fulufjället NP in Sweden (source: FREDMAN & YUAN 2011: 76)

The National Park is surrounded by 'Fulufjällets omland', the 'gateway area', which is illustrated in Figure 3 with a dashed line. In this area, one can find many tourism businesses which provide services for National Park visitors (c. FREDMAN & YUAN 2011: 77).

Fulufjället National Park is promoted as one of the key tourism destinations in Sweden, and visitor monitoring showed that back in the year after its establishment, 53 000 people came to visit the park. Most tourists pay the National Park a one-day-visit, and about two thirds of the visitors want to see Sweden's highest waterfall, Njupesjär (c. FREDMAN & YUAN 2011: 78). The most visited trail, therefore, is the one leading to the waterfall, starting at the naturum, the visitor center. The naturum has the function of describing, explaining and raising the awareness of the natural values of the national park area, and motivate visitors to experience nature directly. Throughout the Swedish national parks, a system of about 30 visitor centers has been established, working actively with information and their interpretation concerning the national parks (c. FREDMAN & HAUKELAND 2016:140).

Furthermore, Fulufjället National Park, was the first park in Sweden in which a zoning system was instituted (c. LAVEN et al 2015: 1137). The system is based on the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (ROS) planning framework, and is an important part of the park's management plan. In order to meet all requirements, the park is divided into four zones with different management objectives and, consequently, measures for use and protection vary between the zones. The distinctive criteria between the zones relate to factors like the physical environment, human influences, expected visitor experiences and appropriate activities (c. GARMS et al. 2016: 5; LAVEN et al. 2015: 1137). The following figure (Figure 4) visualizes the zoning system of the park.



**Figure 4:** Zoning system at Fulufjället NP (source: WALLSTEN 2003: 229)

Approximately 60 percent of the NP's total area are within Zone I, the 'Wilderness Zone', which should remain 'unspoiled'. Therefore, activities, such as snowmobiles, hunting or fishing, which may disturb the natural environment or the enjoyment of visitors are strictly forbidden. The other three zones, namely the Low Activity Zone (Zone II), the High Activity Zone (Zone III) and the Developed Zone (ZONE IV), may be used more intensively (c. GARMS et al. 2016: 5; LAVEN et al. 2015: 1137).

Fulufjället NP was not only the first park to have a zoning system, but more importantly, is used as the SEPA's blueprint on how to successfully increase participation using a

co-management approach. This 'inside-out' process in the establishment of the park, initialized this new decentralized approach of area protection in Sweden, and is considered being one of the most successful examples of conflict management involving national as well as local interests in the country (c. WALLSTEN 2003: 227). However, the inclusion of local actors had not been the initial intention, but was rather a compromise solution, because the park had almost been turned down during its designation process (c. ZACHRISSON 2009: 259).

In 1976, Fulufjället was declared a nature reserve, a wilderness area corresponding to IUCN category 1b, by the CAB of Dalarna and in the year 2002 it became a national park. The designation process of the park can be subdivided into four stages: The first one was a phase of planning and presentation, in which a proposal was prepared in cooperation of SEPA, CAB and a reference group consisting of representatives from the two municipalities concerned. As customary back then, there was hardly any involvement of local actors, except for information meetings in which the plan was presented to them, but everything seemed already to be decided beforehand (ZACHRISSON 2009: 263). The typical outside-in process triggered widespread rumors that 'everything will be forbidden', the potential benefits a national park might offer to the region were unclear. Instead, people feared intrusions on their traditional lifestyle and considered the park a threat to the quality to their mountain life (c. WALLSTEN 2003: 228). The result was an organized opposition of local villages and both municipalities which forced those in charge of the designation process to change their approach towards the involvement of locals (c. ZACHRISSON 2009: 263).

Stage two, therefore, were a 'dialogue process' as well as negotiations on the management plan. Ideas on how the area could be developed were gathered via interviews with ten percent of the local residents. Moreover, the reference group was extended to additionally include representatives from the villages. Also, the PAN Park Foundation, standing for an active involvement of local communities in the establishment of national parks in Europe, was contacted. Finally, a consensus could be reached and the national park was approved (c. ZACHRISSON 2009: 264).

Next, a decision concerning the designation of Fulufjället National Park needed to be made. While the municipality of Ävdalen gave their approval, the municipality of



Malung rejected it. Nevertheless, the Parliament decided the designation of the national park in 2002 (c. ZACHRISSON 2009: 264).

The final stage were regulations concerning the management plan of the park. The plan explicitly demands the creation of an advisory management board consisting of representatives of the local population (c. ZACHRISSON 2009: 266). However, in reality, this board has not been realized until spring of the year 2011. This newly established management council meets twice a year and the CAB is responsible for it. Furthermore, there is the Local Pan Park Group (LPPG), another consultative mechanism that has already been established back in 2003, shortly after the park was founded. Its members are representatives from the CAB and the municipalities, WWF Sweden as well as local Pan Parks' partners and its responsibilities are limited to developing tourism strategies for Fulufjället NP and to the approval of PAN Park business partners (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 27). Nonetheless, the County Administrative Board does have a veto in the LPPG making it the ultimate management authority, so in the end the CAB is - in accordance with the SEPA - managing the park and no real management authority was delegated to a local level. So even though to a limited extent, some accountability was directed downward during the establishment process of the park, the management ended in upwardly directed accountability (HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 27; ZACHRISSON 2009: 266).

These processes can also be demonstrated with the help of the co-management ladder in Figure 1. The stage of planning and informing started at the lowest rungs of the model: information and consultation. During the second phase, it moved up to placation and then cooperation. In the management stage, however, it moved back to the lower rungs (c. ZACHRISSON 2009: 266).

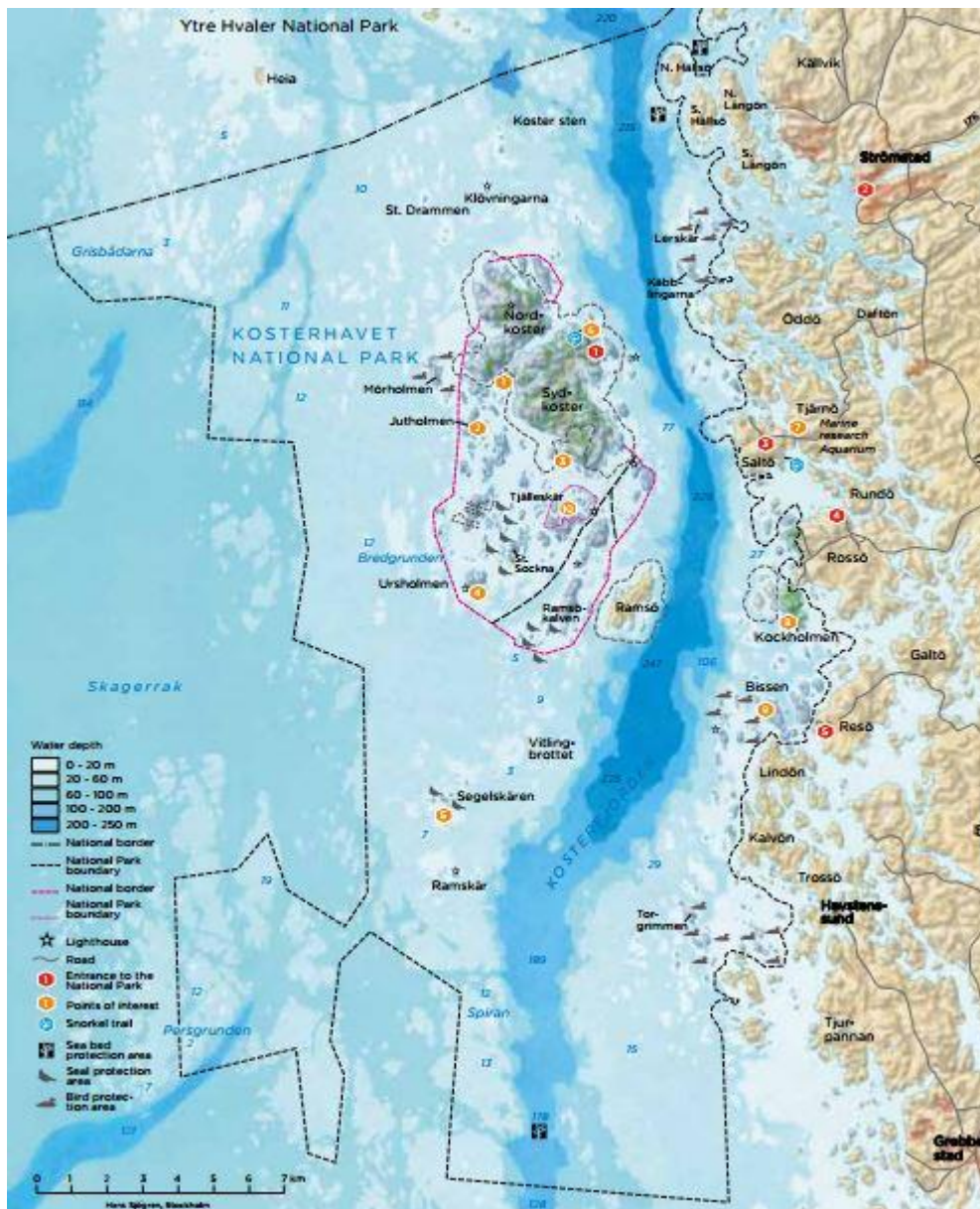
Summing up the establishment and management of Fulufjället, it can be said that despite the whole process started with high ambitions concerning local development, co-management strategies could not be maintained and the present situation is still uncertain (c. HOLMGREN et al 2017: 28). Therefore, this thesis tried to gain insights into current developments with the help of local research. The findings will be discussed in the following chapters.

### **3.2.2 *Kosterhavets Marine National Park***

Kosterhavets Marine National Park was established around the Koster islands located to the west coast of South Sweden. The archipelago mainly consists, as shown in figure 5, of two islands: South Koster, the main island, and the natural reserved island of North Koster (c. PECHSIRI 2009: 1). Kosterhavets encompasses one of the country's famous archipelagos, which has made the park an attractive summer destination to tourists, bringing up to 300 000 visitors into the region every year (c. HANSEN 2016: 5).

Due to the broad spread of its islands, the territory of Kosterhavets Marine National Park shows a high diversity of both, land and sea, including the deep water trench and a complex underwater architecture. Furthermore, it might be considered as the richest marine ecosystem in Sweden, being a significant breeding area for fish, including commercial fish, shellfish species, sharks and skates. Before the establishment of the National Park in 2009, a part of the area, Koster-Vadero Fjord which comprises 11 km<sup>2</sup> of sub-littoral sandbanks and 31 km<sup>2</sup> of reefs was already designated as a Natura 2000 site (c. HAMBREY 2008: 7).

Over the centuries, the landscape of the two main islands had undergone significant changes due to the clearing of forest for industrial uses and ship building. Today some remnants of farming can still be found in the area whose community of approximately 320 inhabitants is rather fragile (c. HAMBREY 2008: 8).



**Figure 5:** Kosterhavets Marine NP (source: [http://extra.lansstyrelsen.se/kosterhavet/SiteCollectionDocuments/sv/english/Kosterhavet\\_NP%20EN.pdf](http://extra.lansstyrelsen.se/kosterhavet/SiteCollectionDocuments/sv/english/Kosterhavet_NP%20EN.pdf))

The idea to establish a management park around the islands of the Kosterhavets archipelago dates back many decades. The designation process of the park was rather long and the initial situation was challenging. The starting point was a proposal of the SEPA in 1989 that suggested to dedicate the area into a national park which was not supported by the local community as they felt their land use as well as their local traditions endangered. The concerned parties organized themselves into associations

and initiated dialogues and negotiations with the authorities. This ended with the proposal being abandoned (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 31).

However, over time, attitudes of the local inhabitants started to change, especially when 1999 a working group was initiated by the CAB which consisted of representatives from fishing organizations, the municipalities and of the authorities. Negotiations resulted in the 'Koster-Väderö Agreement' on the control of the shrimp trawling in the area (c. HAMBREY 2008: 8).

2005 was the formal start of the designation process of Kosterhavets national park, in which the CAB involved the municipalities, a number of working groups as well as the Koster civil society, represented by the Koster Board. In the course of time, the opinions of locals about the establishment of the park remained divided (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 31), but in the year prior to the park's founding already 80 percent of the locals were in favor of it (c. HAMBREY 2008: 5).

After the establishment in 2009, the Koster Marine Advisory Board, which coopts with further consultation groups, became part a of the Kosterhavets National Park's constitutional makeup. The chairman of the board is a representative from the CAB and further members are several representatives from the municipalities, Gothenburg University, local community associations and the fishermen's association. This step clearly delegated powers from the CAB to the Advisory Board can, therefore, be considered a partnership arrangement for shared governance. It is in the responsibility of the Board to introduce new rules, modify existing regulations and to debate and adopt several amendments proposed to the park's management plan (c. HOLMGREN et al. 2017: 31).

Summing up the establishment of Koster Marine National Park, the process clearly developed from a difficult starting position into an organization of delegated powers which represents multi-level interests (c. HOLMGREN et al 2017: 32). Without any doubt, one can notice a significant shift from a top-down approach towards a sustainable use approach, taking user interests fully into account (c. HAMBREY 2008: 12) and, thereby, keeping up with international decentralization strategies.

### 3.3 The Norwegian Approach

As in several other Western countries, the institutionalization of environmental issues as a policy area in Norway, arose from the so-called 'green wave' in the late 1960s and early 1970s and environmental policy was developed within a policy of administrative rationalization which put a focus on the advancement of central bureaucracies, professional expertise as well as hierarchical management techniques (c. HOVIK & REITAN 2004: 690).

The common starting point of Norway and Sweden was a centralized, and traditionally top-down management strategy of natural areas under protection. Decisions as which areas should receive protection status as well as the degree of their protection have traditionally been based on scientific and professional considerations. This strict top-down management approach was soon criticized heavily by local stakeholders due to the lack of local participation opportunities. Furthermore, critical opponents argued that the restrictions concerning local activities were too many and too strict (c. HOVIK & EDVARDESEN 2009: 364). Usually, nature conservation in Norway was implemented by means of the 1970's Nature Conservation Act, according to which proposals for the protection of areas are made by the Directorate for Nature Management and the final decision is then made by Royal Decree (c. HOVIK & EDVARDESEN 2009: 362). Historically, the municipalities did not have any comprehensive responsibilities concerning environmental policy as such, but had been given some responsibilities within several environmental policy areas like water pollution, waste management or local health for instance (c. HOVIK & REITAN 2004: 690). Municipalities are "*political bodies in their own right, headed by a democratically elected council. Accountable to the local public, councils are expected to promote local interests and values and fulfil local demands*" (c. FALLETH & HOVIK 2009: 221).

During the second 'green wave' between 1987 and 1996, which not only influenced the public opinion in Norway, but also in most other Western countries, initiatives which ascribed new roles for local government concerning environmental policy affairs were developed. On an experimental basis, some responsibilities were transferred from central to local levels as municipalities were given the opportunity to apply for a tasks being delegated into their responsibility. Thereby, the main aim of national

environmental authorities was to establish environmental institutions on the local level, in order to advance the integration of local environmental planning and decision making processes. Due to a lack of municipal participation, this process cannot be regarded as successful (c. HOVIK & REITAN 2004: 690 f.).

Not until the last years before the turn of the millennium, signs of change into the direction of delegating power to local government and ascribing local institutions a more important role in nature protection policy could be observed (c. HOVIK & REITAN 2004: 693). In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, eventually, a number of large protected areas were subjected partially or completely to lower administrative levels on an experimental basis (c. KALTENBORN et al. 2011: 85). So before the grand reform in 2009, the Norwegian government set up a test period of 5 years, during which they delegated the management authority in four national parks to local and regional bodies. Local participation is implemented by an implementation of reference groups. Their function is to represent local actors, first in the designation process of the park, and later on, also concerning the elaboration of the management plan. In addition to this, the Norwegian government granted management authority to approximately 40 municipalities all over the country concerning the management of smaller protected areas as well as areas of lower protection categories (c. SVARDSTAD et al. 2006: 48).

This experimental phase ended with the launching of the Nature Diversity Act in 2009, which tried to close the persisting conflicts concerning the ways in which power should be divided between the different levels of government (c. OVERVAG et al. 2016: 1186; HOVIK & HONGSLO 2016: 709).

### **3.3.1 The Norwegian Reform**

The 2009 reform tried to find a balance between long-term environmental interests and the interests of local users, in order to put an end to the persisting conflicts. The main challenges protected area management thereby had and still has to face, concern two levels: On the one hand, political power between the different levels of government needs to be distributed vertically, so a balance between local participation and the national obligation, to fulfill biodiversity conservations, needs to be reached. On the other hand, an equity between the sustainable use of resources and the conservation of biodiversity – the horizontal distribution of power between multiple different interests - needs to be found (c. HOVIK & HONGSLO 2017: 708).

The Nature Diversity Act, covering large protected areas including national parks, protected landscapes and nature reserves, was launched to strengthen and increase local involvement in protected area management (c. FAUCHALD & GULBRANDSEN 2012: 203). Therefore, more than 40 local management boards were established, comprising of majors or vice majors of the affected municipalities and elected politicians from affected counties. The board members are nominated by a local council and the Ministry of the Environment (MoE) formally appoints them (c. HOVIK & HONGSLO 2017: 711).

*“The local management boards are granted the authority to decide on the following:*

- *Plans for management of the protected areas and revision of such plans;*
- *Individual applications concerning activities otherwise unlawful within the protected areas; and*
- *Management activities to ensure against threats to the protected environment”*  
(FAUCHALD & GULBRANDSEN 2012: 209).

Management plans for national parks and other protected areas need the approval of the Norwegian Environmental Agency (NEA). Furthermore, the county governor might appeal decisions made by the board and the Minister considers the appeals and additionally has the power to instruct the local management boards. Another novelty is that of the areas has a protected area manager. This person is employed by the county

governor but he/she is subordinated to and secretary to the local management board. Additionally, there is an advisory group of stakeholders, which serves to promote local knowledge, and represents user interests. Even though such an advisory group is a compulsory element of local management, the local board nominates the members of the group and determines its mandate (c. HOVIK & HONGSLO 2017: 711). Concerning accountability one might notice a duality as it can be concluded that the management boards are both – accountable upwards to the Minister and simultaneously downwards to local constituencies (HOVIK & HONGSLO 2017: 709).

In recent years, Norway has – slowly but steadily - pursued a nature conservation policy of internationalization. Consequently, also the 2009 reform was driven by the global trends promoting decentralization, and international rules and policy strongly impacted the country's politics (c. FAUCHALD & GULBRANDSEN 2012: 207). The reform, however, does show one major weakness as it failed to establish institutional and regulatory frameworks so that the fulfilment of environmental conservation objectives might be ensured. FAUCHALD and GULBRANDSEN characterize the reform as *“a grand experiment with delegation of decision-making authority to the local level”* (2012: 218) and in fact, it should rather be regarded as one from which other countries, like Norway's neighboring country Sweden might learn, than as a model for reforms of natural protected areas (c. FAUCHALD & GULBRANDSEN 2012: 219).



### 3.3.2 Hardangervidda National Park

Hardangervidda National Park was established in 1981, in the heart of the Norwegian Hardangervidda plateau, which is situated halfway between Bergen and Oslo, in the south-western Scandes. While Hardangervidda National Park covers an area of 3 430 km<sup>2</sup>, the Hardangervidda plateau stretches over a total area of more than 8 000 km<sup>2</sup>, making it the largest alpine plateau in Europe (c. RANNOW 2013: 814).



**Figure 6:** Hardangervidda National Park (source: [http://www.miljodirektoratet.no/Global/dokumenter/Publikasjoner/Brosjyrer/Hardangervidda\\_NP\\_E\\_net%20230112.pdf](http://www.miljodirektoratet.no/Global/dokumenter/Publikasjoner/Brosjyrer/Hardangervidda_NP_E_net%20230112.pdf))

Hardangervidda is also the largest national park in Norway. The area comprises a broad variety of different animal species and the mountain plateau is home to Europe's largest wild reindeer population (c. [HARDANGERVIDDANATURSENTER.NO](http://HARDANGERVIDDANATURSENTER.NO)). As can be seen in figure 6, the national park spreads over three counties, Hordaland, Telemark and Buskerund and it has two national park centers, one at Skinnarbu and one at Eidfjord. Furthermore, the park encloses five national park municipalities: Vinje, Tinn, Nore og Uvdal, Hol and Odda. A national park municipality is one of which at least 30 percent of the area or 300 km<sup>2</sup> are within the national park. Additionally, the municipality cooperates with other municipalities concerning information management, facilitation or tourism of the national park (c. [HARDANGERVIDDA.COM](http://HARDANGERVIDDA.COM)).

Back in 1981, the establishment phase of Hardangervidda National Park was confronted with two major conflicts. The first issue regarded the fundamental question of ownership, as paragraph 3 of the Nature Conservation Act explicitly stated that national parks could only be located on state property. Private land could only become part of national parks if *“the qualities that motivated conservation measures were located on state property, and private areas were considered to be a necessary supplement”* (REITAN 2004: 441). Due to the fact that 52 percent of the total national park area were private land, the interpretation of the natural conservation act regulations was heavily discussed and triggered deep conflicts when the park was designated (c. REITAN 2004: 442). Secondly, also the management of Hardangervidda received lots of criticism and for the first time questions concerning participatory management approaches – which became the core of today's discussions about conservation strategies - came into discussion. Compared to other national park establishments, Hardangervidda could be regarded as an exception, not only due to the fact that more than half of the park's territory was private, but also because the level of tourist, recreational and agricultural activities, which were allowed in the park, was significantly higher than in other cases. The intense conflicts between environmental authorities and local interests resulted in early decentralization approaches: Institutions with local representatives of the five municipalities were given legal responsibilities for decision making concerning tourist and agricultural activities. The Ministry's intention was to thereby ascribe local institutions an advisory role (c. REITAN 2004: 443). In retrospective, these processes can be regarded as having laid

the foundation for the later developments towards the paradigm shift, promoting decentralized management of protected areas in Norway.



### 3.3.3 Ytre Hvaler National Park

Ytre Hvaler National Park is the first marine national park established in Norway, in 2009 (c. BAKKE 2015: 40). It is situated in the municipalities of Hvaler and Fredrikstad, on the east coast of Norway. In the south, it borders Sweden's Kosterhavets Marine National Park. The park has a total area of 354 km<sup>2</sup>, of which only 14 km<sup>2</sup> are land mass and is home to numerous red listed species. In addition to this, the Koster Archipelago is an important pupping area for common seals and seabirds (c. OESTFOLD 2017).

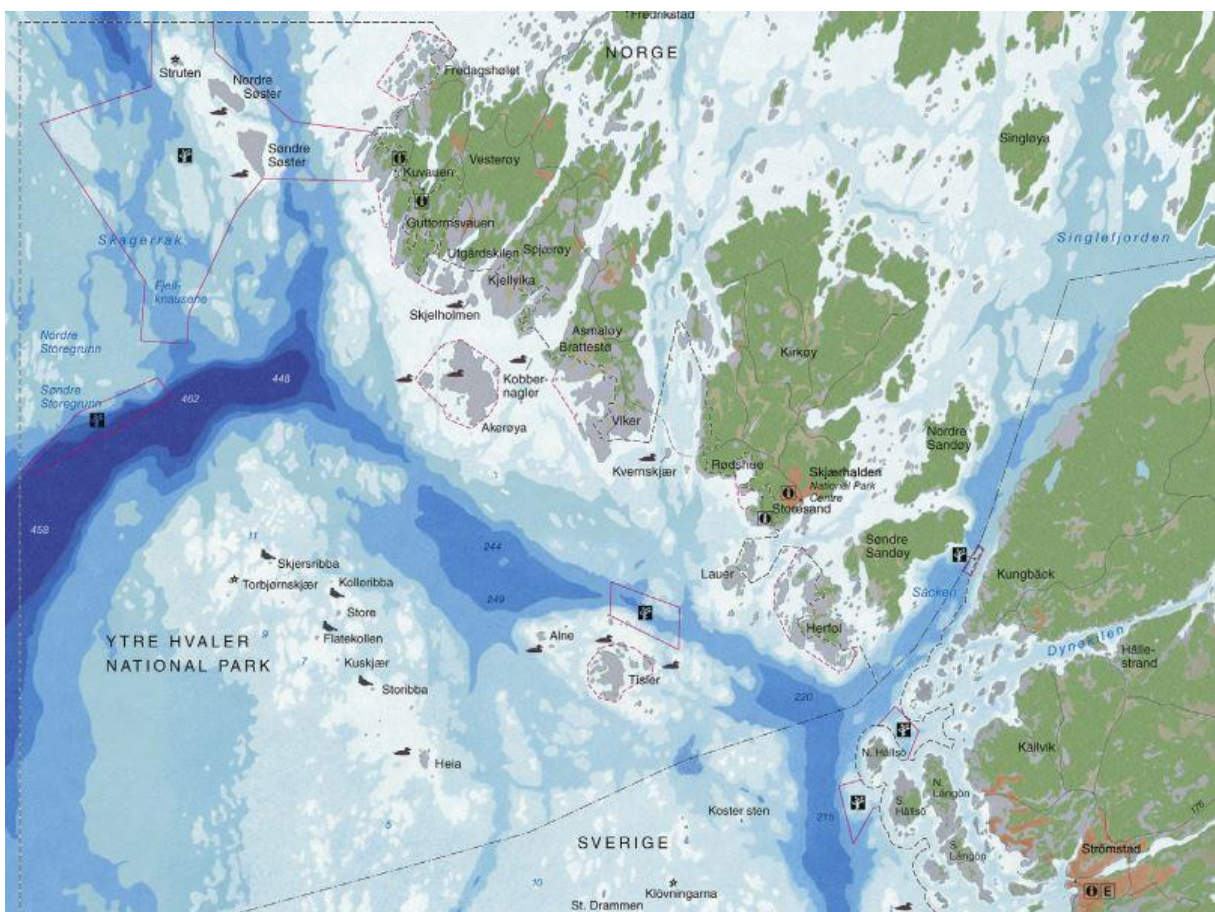


Figure 7: Ytre Hvaler NP (source: MORF et al. 2017: 53)

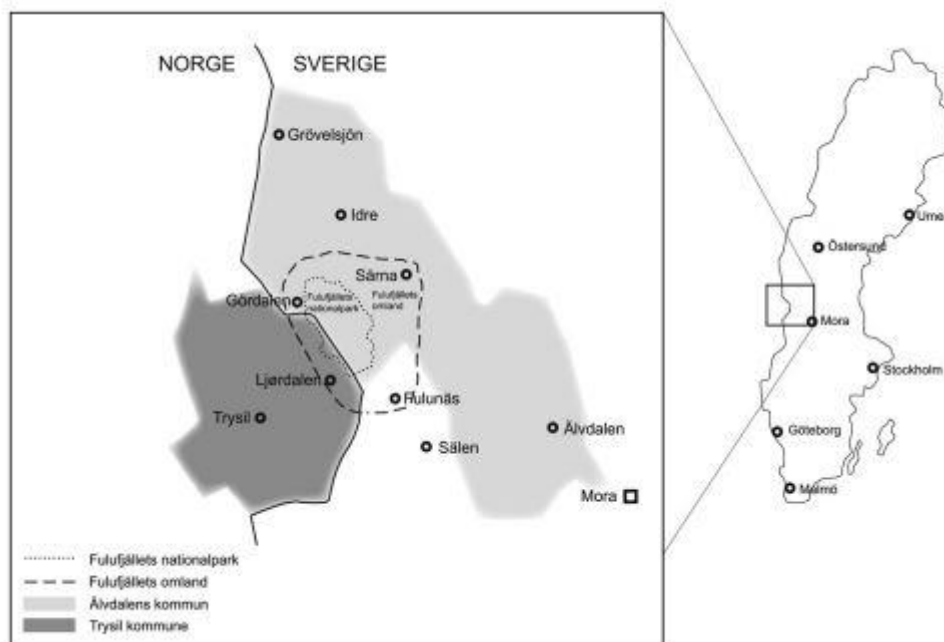
The founding of Ytre Hvaler, as the first of its kind, can be regarded as a blueprint for establishing marine national parks in Norway. The establishment process of the National Park took eight years. It was first initiated by Østfold community in 2001 in collaboration with the Swedish Kosterhavets Marine National Park (c. BAKKE 2015: 40). After meeting initial local resistance, the strategy for the implementation of the national park changed and resulted in a participatory process (c. MORF et al. 2017: 52). In fact, it involved multiple national and local actors which were organized in two different participatory groups. The first group consisted of political authorities and representatives from national agencies and were in charge of establishing a draft plan before it was sent to the Ministry of Environment for completion. The local civil society, who was represented by different interest groups, was the second participatory group. They could influence the draft by expressing their opinions (c. BAKKE 2015: 40). Even though the planning process was participatory, it was still structured according to general routines and procedures with a clear leadership of the County Governor (c. MORF et al 2017: 52).

Ytre Hvaler Marine National Park can be categorized as an institutional experiment in contemporary marine conservation in Norway. Both, Ytre Hvaler, as well as Kosterhavets National Park, are adjacent, have a partially shared history and they feature similar user communities (c. MORF et al. 2017: 52). However, investigations have shown a significant difference between the two parks regarding institutional designs (concerning responsibilities, degree of regulation and objectives) which offers this thesis room for further local empirical research.

### 3.3.4 Fulufjället National Park (Norwegian Expansion)

The Fulufjället plateau is a mountain divided by the neighboring countries Norway and Sweden. While Sweden's part of the area already became a National Park in 2002, Norway's expansion of the park was established much later, namely on May, 26<sup>th</sup> 2012 (c. TRYSIL KOMMUNE 2017)

Figure 8 shows the location of the park and it furthermore visualizes that the Norwegian part of Fulufjället National park is much smaller in size than the Swedish part.



**Figure 8:** Fulufjället NP with Norwegian Expansion (source: GARMS et al. 2016: 5)

In fact, while Sweden's Fulufjället National Park covers an area of 385 km<sup>2</sup>, the size of the Norwegian part of the park is only 82.5 km<sup>2</sup>. The management of the park is located in the municipality of Trysil, which belongs to the county of Hedmark (c. MILJODIREKTORATET 2017).

Unfortunately, there is limited information about the establishment of the Norwegian national park to be found in existing literature. This condition however, allows this thesis to fill a gap through local research and to provide clarity, not only concerning the designation process of the park, but also regarding the circumstance that it is a transboundary park. Thus, it is of great interest to reveal management strategies and feasible cooperation between Norway and Sweden. The following chapters, 6 and 7, will elaborate on these issues in greater detail.

### 3.4 Cross-border Cooperation: Transboundary Protected Areas

Transboundary protected areas (TBPA) might be defined as protected areas which “span the international border of two or more countries and engage in some level of collaborative governance to better achieve ecological, economic, and political goals” (SCHOON 2013: 421). They are a strategy for sustainable cross-border development (c. HEINTEL & WEIXLBAUMER 2016: 177), which has been enjoying increasing popularity over the last decades. While back in 2001 there were only 169 TBPAs around the globe, the number increased to 227 TBPAs in the year 2007 (c. SCHOON 2013: 421).

The origins of TBPAs were to be found in Scandinavia, when back in 1914, the peace monument, Morokulia, was built in an area between the two countries Norway and Sweden and should serve to commemorate the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of peace between them. In fact, this monument is considered to be the first European TBPA (c. HEINTEL & WEIXLBAUMER 2016: 179). Regarding chronological, thematic and political terms, the development of TBPAs runs in line with the above outlined paradigm shift of protected area management. Consequently, TBPAs are considered instruments for conflict solution as well as the promotion of biodiversity and, moreover, they have the capacity to lay foundations for sustainable economic development in border regions (c. HEINTEL & WEIXLBAUMER 2016: 178-180).

As the intensity of cross-border management might vary, SVELS & SANDE (2016: 529) list six levels of transboundary governance:

1. No cooperation
2. Communication
3. Consultation
4. Collaboration
5. Coordination of Planning
6. Full Cooperation

The progression of proposed cross-border interactions develops in hierarchical phases, as the first levels need to be achieved before entering a higher level (c. SVELS



& SANDE 2016: 529). This hierarchical frame will later be used for an evaluation of current cross-border processes between Norway and Sweden, in regards to Fulufjället National Park as well as Ytre Hvaler and Kosterhavets Marine National Parks.

Furthermore, the potential effectiveness of transboundary conservation might be evaluated. Therefore, LIM (2016: 798 f.) developed a set of 12 criteria which integrate legal, social, political, governance and environmental management knowledge. The criteria might serve for an analysis of the benefits of transboundary processes between Norway and Sweden in both areas, Fulufjället and the Koster Archipelago, in chapter 7 of this thesis. The criteria are listed and briefly described in Table 1:

<b><u>CRITERIA</u></b>	<b><u>DESCRIPTION</u></b>
1. Engages each level of political organization	Transboundary initiatives desire the involvement of each political level and of stakeholders at every level. Thereby, special attention should be given to sub-national and local levels as transboundary-level authority is dependent upon the endorsement of national-level powers.
2. Has political buy-in	In order to gain political buy-in, both, the importance and conservation of biodiversity values as well as the crucial role of transboundary cooperation for protecting and enhancing these values need to be promoted.
3. Costs and benefits of transboundary conservation are equitably distributed	Transboundary initiatives should ensure an equitable distribution of concrete benefits for stakeholders at all political levels.

<p>4. An integrated ecosystem approach which incorporates available science is applied</p>	<p>Transboundary conservation should be aware of the various sectors which impact biodiversity and needs to occur in the wider landscape beyond protected areas in order to implement the ecosystem approach across international boundaries.</p>
<p>5. The objective of conservation is explicit</p>	<p>While criterion 4 stresses the importance of an integrated approach, the objective of conservation, however, must not be neglected in the incorporation of numerous values and sectors.</p>
<p>6. Good governance is practiced</p>	<p>In order for transboundary management initiatives to be successful, good governance at all political levels is required. It is important for the establishment of transparency as well as accountability between the political levels and, thereby, prevent corruption which might cause a loss of public support.</p>
<p>7. Clear success indicators for ongoing monitoring and evaluation exist and adaptive management is practiced</p>	<p>Monitoring and evaluation are measures which should be taken for the demonstration of progress and the enlisting of stakeholder support as they show, whether certain standards have been met and if interventions are needed.</p>
<p>8. Existence of rules and legal instruments that enable the process</p>	<p>Legal instruments not only articulate rules, but they also create the framework within which the stakeholders interact.</p>

<p>9. Designated institutions are identified at each level of organization and vertical and horizontal linkages are established across all levels</p>	<p>Due to globalization trends, institutions which politically link local and higher levels are necessary. Consequently, the development of institutional systems which link transboundary planning to planning on local and national levels is of great importance.</p>
<p>10. Operates in consideration of capacity</p>	<p>It is important, to first evaluate the existing capacity before designing transboundary initiatives.</p>
<p>11. Complexity is recognized and appropriate funding is secured</p>	<p>Due to the circumstance that many transboundary initiatives aim at the management of multiple, complex resources, sustainable funding is necessary for the achievement of transboundary conservation goals.</p>
<p>12. Dispute resolution mechanism exists</p>	<p>In order to ensure successful implementation and enforcement, dispute resolution mechanisms are required to be specific as well as to have the necessary financial support and political commitment.</p>

**Table 1:** Twelve criteria for effective transboundary conservation

(c. LIM 2016: p. 799 f.)

These criteria clearly demonstrate that a common idea is not sufficient for an efficient implementation of governance arrangements in transboundary areas. Nonetheless, it might serve as a good foundation for cross-border cooperation, but it might not satisfactorily compensate existing deficits (c. HEINTEL & WEIXLBAUMER 2016: 188).

### **3.5 Conflict fields**

The preceding literature-based analysis not only provided an overview regarding the development and current situation of nature protection policy in Norway and Sweden, but, thereby, also identified various conflict fields. Recapitulating, the major conflict fields will be outlined shortly, as they form the basis for the empirical research and further discussions of this thesis.

#### **3.5.1 Protection vs. use**

One of the main challenges nature protection policy has to cope with, is the achievement of balance and harmony between the preservation of nature on the one hand and the interests of its users on the other. Chapter 3 illustrated the existence of numerous environmental discourses, each having a different focus and priority. However, newly-established decentralized management approaches try to combine both, nature protection as well as the involvement of the wants and needs of locals, pursuing innovative bottom-up strategies. Thereby, the major challenge is to find a strategy which might satisfy both sides. The following statement of one of the interviewees for this thesis, Tomas Lissaker (temporal national park manager of Fulufjället National Park, Sweden), encapsulates this problem accurately:

*“In the end it’s a hard balance because you want...one side of my heart feels like, yes I want to get as many visitors as possible to come here because that’s how we show people this place and we also show to my bosses that these people came and we need more money next year because the numbers of people are increasing. On the other hand you want to conserve this place. So the balance between is always hard.”*  
(Lissaker, 2016)

#### **3.5.2 The extent of delegated authority (bottom up vs. top down approaches)**

As a consequence thereof, the last decades were characterized by significant paradigm shifts in regards to nature conservation approaches. A major shift was the transformation from a centralized top-down management approach towards decentralized, bottom-up strategies. However, this did not happen homogeneously, neither on an international level, nor on the national level. While Norway tried to include local inhabitants in the management of national parks through the 2009 establishment

of local management boards, Sweden, most recently, started to pursue a strategy of partnership models. Unfortunately, the results of these new approaches do not manifest consistently throughout the countries. Especially Norway shows some inconsistencies. While in some regions, the establishment of local management boards functions extremely well, in other national parks, like Hardangervidda for instance, the management approach is rather conflictual.

### ***3.5.3 Cross-border Cooperation***

Since the neighboring countries under analysis share special landscape areas, like the Fulufjället plateau or the Koster Archipelago, for instance, the question of transboundary management approaches arises. Due to the fact that both - Fulufjället National Parks, as well as the national parks around the Koster Archipelago - have only been established in recent years, cross-border national park management is a relatively new approach for both countries. Since nature protection policy approaches differ strongly between Norway and Sweden, the establishment of transboundary protected areas entails a great variety of conflicts, including institutions, laws, priorities and financial resources; which will be investigated in greater detail in the following chapters 6 and 7.

#### 4 Research Question & Aims

Primarily, this thesis aims at a detailed examination of the similarities as well as the differences concerning nature conservation policy between Norway and Sweden. Therefrom, the main research question emerges:

*Do the two neighboring Scandinavian countries under analysis successfully manage to combine the protection of long-term conservation values with the interests and rights of local communities? If yes, how?*

This thesis investigates, which management approach functions more effectively. Concerning Norway, the extent of the 'success' and 'influence' of the Nature Diversity Act 2009 receives particular attention: Does it have the potential of serving as a role model – for Sweden, for instance?

Moreover, through focusing on newly established national parks, which yield innovative management approaches, this thesis tries to find out if there is an 'ideal' design for balancing conflicts and for governing interactions between humans and nature.

In addition to this, a focus is being put on Fulufjället National Park as well on the marine national parks in the Koster Archipelago. Mainly, because these national parks were established in recent years and, furthermore, due to the fact that they are located in immediate proximity to one another and, therefore, offer an interesting incentive for the establishment of cross-border cooperation. Consequently, a further aim of this thesis is to illuminate how far advanced the transboundary management of cross-border national parks is.

## 5 Methods

The foundation for this thesis was an extensive literature research which is followed by a detailed analysis of prior knowledge. An investigation of Norwegian and Swedish approaches results in the determination of conflict fields which need further investigation.

Therefore, the second part of this diploma thesis is based on empirical findings. The main method used were qualitative interviews with 5 local national park experts:

The first interview took place on May, 15<sup>th</sup> 2016 at the National Park Center of Hardangervidda National Park with one of the employees (name unknown).

The second interview was conducted in Trysil, on May, 20<sup>th</sup> 2016, with Kristian Bjørnstad, county manager (=Fylkesmannen) of Hedmark and project manager of Fulufjället National Park, Norway.

The remaining interviews took place during a second round of local investigation in July 2016. On July, 11<sup>th</sup> 2016 Monika Olsen, the secretary of the board of Ytre Hvaler National Park, was met for an interview at Ytre Hvaler National Park Center, in Hvaler, Norway.

The next day, July, 12<sup>th</sup> 2016 Anders Tysklind, manager of Kosterhavets Marine National Park, kindly offered to give an interview.

Finally, Tomas Lissaker, the temporary manager of Fulufjället National Park, Sweden, was interviewed at the park's 'Naturum', on July, 14<sup>th</sup> 2016.

All five interviews were based on the following set of questions which were developed in advance. However, in order to meet the different circumstances of each park and country, it was necessary to slightly adapt the questionnaire for each park.

1. How was \_\_\_\_\_ national park established?
2. How is the park managed?
3. Do you recognize any changes since the major 2009 reform? (Norway only)
4. How well does the management board function? (Norway only)
5. Does the park make use of a zoning system?
6. How does \_\_\_\_\_ national park manage to combine the conservation values with interests and rights of local inhabitants and tourists?
7. Can you identify any problematic aspects regarding the management of \_\_\_\_\_ national park?
8. How could the situation be improved?
9. Would you call \_\_\_\_\_ national park as a 'transboundary national park'? Why? / Why not? (All parks except Hardangervidda)
10. Do you consider \_\_\_ National Park as a role model for the country? (only Fulufjället, Ytre Hvaler and Kosterhavets National Parks)

The duration of the interviews varied between 45 minutes and one hour. The findings provide a revealing insight into the current situation of both countries and will be presented in the following chapter.



## 6 Findings

### 6.1 Fulufjället National Park, Sweden

International literature hypes the establishment of Fulufjället National Park as being a unique case, as it laid the foundation for the paradigm shift in Sweden, from a preservationist approach towards a partnership model. However, this shift of the establishment approach – as Lissaker confirms - did not happen voluntarily:

*“But then there was a big roar from the local people, of course because they felt like having their mountain taken away. And then there were discussions with local people and entrepreneurs and everyone who has been living here for a long time. [...] Well, the information probably came a little bit later that it should have, because initially there were many debates and articles in the newspapers, people were upset – and then the information started coming up. Because we realized that we had to turn the tide.”*  
(Lissaker 2016)

Concerning the current management system of Fulufjället, Lissaker explains the hierarchy of the system as follows:

*“The practical work is top to the bottom. It’s done by people higher that are working for the county administration board, which is also who I am working for. So we do the practical work on the ground, we keep the trails, we fill up the firewood and we make sure the huts are alright and everything else. And then we have the environmental unit of the county administrations board in Falun. They are above us and they make decisions in regard of investments. [...] Above them, of course you always have the environmental protection agency. [...] But we more coexist than one answering to the other. Especially here in Naturum. Naturum is a branch that is owned by the EPA, we’re run by the county administration board. So we kind of answer to both. The national park is run by the county administration board with the assistance of the EPA.”*  
(Lissaker 2016)

Regarding the effectivity of Fulufjället's management system, Lissaker describes it as *"not working fine, but working really well"*. He states that it depends on what one needs to be done. Small things might be asserted easily and quickly, whereas decisions which involve bigger amounts of money take much longer. Lissaker makes the following suggestion:

*"If you had people working solely with this national parks or a number of national parks, say you had someone working with national parks in the middle of Sweden, like you had a board for the four or five in the middle of Sweden, working solely with that - then decisions could be made quicker. And they would be more read into the needs of the national parks because that would be their only job."* (Lissaker 2016)

Discussing how the national park is managed automatically leads to an assessment of how well the park manages to combine the protection of long-term conservation with tourism and the interests and rights of the local communities. Lissaker is of the opinion that currently, the park does show a decent balance. Mainly this is the case because of Fulufjället's zoning system, which is unique in the country, as it was the first zoning system ever established in a Swedish national park. The zoning system serves to combine both, user interests as well as the protection of nature and divides the park into four different zones:

*"Within zone 4 you are not allowed to make fires except in the designated areas. You're not allowed to pitch up a tent and sleep in zone 4. It's an activity zone for people during the day but at night you are not allowed to stay in zone 4. [...] Zone 3 is up in the mountain on the plateau and it includes the bigger lakes on the north end of the park. And within zone 3 you can fish. [...] And then there is zone 2 which is pretty much the forest land surrounding the mountain. And there you can tent. [...] And then there is zone 1 which is the biggest one. [...] And there it is the same, you can pitch your tent anywhere you can walk anywhere, you can make a fire. But you can't pick flowers and you can't bring things home with you."* (Lissaker 2016)

Lissaker points out that the main innovation is that forbidding people to tent in some areas of a national park is completely new to Sweden. He sees the reason for this kind

of zoning system in the fact that the area around Njupesjär waterfall had already been well visited before the establishment of the national park:

*“So if you wanted to turn this into a national park you had to do it in a different way. So I’m guessing that’s how zone 4 came to be. Like, the idea of zone 4, this is a high activity zone, this is where you want to steer people. [...] Zone 3 I guess was a compromise to turn the public around. Like, ok, we’re not going to take away your fishing rights.”* (Lissaker 2016)

Providing a zone, in which fishing is allowed, is a further feature of Fulufjället’s uniqueness. Apart from Kosterhavets, which was established 7 years later, it is the only national park in the country, where fishing is not entirely restricted.

Due to its well-functioning zoning system as well as its innovative bottom-up establishment and management approach Lissaker is of the opinion, and thereby corresponds with existing literature, that Fulufjället National Park might be considered as a role-model for Sweden:

*“I think it could be. I really think it could be and it should be. [...] They [other national parks] could look at how it was done here and think: ok, this is what they did. This part of what they did worked, this part did not work. So we need to push information our early, this is what’s going to happen, this is what we want to do. If you do that early enough so that people feel involved with the creation of this national park, which one it ever may be, then you’ve learned from what we did. Because we did this kind of in the opposite way, but I believe the end result was pretty good. If not a role model, then people should at least learn from what we did.”* (Lissaker 2016)

Finally, also from the Swedish perspective, the park’s close proximity to Norway and, therefore, collaboration with the Norwegian part of the national park are of major interest for this thesis. According to Lissaker, cross-border cooperation is relatively new:

*“It’s very hard to describe because it is extremely new. There is a project that came to be about a month ago, it’s EU-funded. [...] We just exchanged the signs at the entrance*

for example, to “Welcome to Fulufjället National Parks”, plural. So that is just that wheel is just starting to turn right now.” (Lissaker 2016)

For Lissaker the biggest potential of an increasing cross-border cooperation lies in the opportunity to improve infrastructure and increase accessibility for the whole area:

*“I think we should cooperate more especially because if we do, it would definitely increase accessibility to this area. Because coming here from the Norwegian side is a bit easier than coming here from the Swedish side. And I feel that if we were to cooperate more, we could also reach more people, reach more visitors. [...] We desperately need infrastructure. [Tourists want to] cross the park from one side to the other. Which is kind of impossible now because there is no communication. There are no busses, nothing, But if we could work with the Norwegian side to create a bus route. [...] That’s all we need, 3 months of the year, June, July, August, to have a bus that goes from Särna around the mountain and back, maybe twice a day.”* (Lissaker 2016)

Nonetheless, Lissaker agrees with Kristian Bjørnstad from the Norwegian part of Fulufjället National Park, that managing the park together would be difficult due to the fact that the management structures between the neighboring countries differ widely. One possible strategy to unify the two management systems for Fulufjället National Park might be a common management board for the whole park which consists of representatives from both countries.

*“It’s a good idea. [...] The board would probably have to have some sort of autonomy, like ok we are in charge of the park. We have the mandate to make decisions in regard to the park. [...] So they don’t have to go to their bosses and come back, because that bureaucracy is going to take forever. So, yeah, I think it’s a good idea, but they need to have the ability to make decisions on their own.”* (Lissaker 2016)

But how comes that this idea had not been brought up before?

*Maybe nobody thought to ask. Or it's the old tradition, it's the old idea of this is the way things should be done, like, ok, we have our management, they have their management, and we talk to each other, but that's fine, but it's the idea of that's how it's always been done maybe, like we have [...] people fear change.” (Lissaker 2016)*

## 6.2 Kosterhavets National Park, Sweden

The establishment of Kosterhavets Marine National Park differed strongly from the typical founding process of national parks in Sweden. This is the case, mainly due to the circumstance that it was heavily impacted by local inhabitants which resulted, according to Anders Tysklind, in both, bottom-up as well as top-down approaches:

*“The park was created through the force of the people on the islands and the surrounding islands. This is a very bottom-up process. [...] If you go back to thirty years ago, some parts of this area was planned to be a national park and here you are correct – it is very, very top-down. The national park plan declares which areas are going to be a park in the future. [...] The Koster islands were a really, really top-down process to create a national park. And now it is a model for new parks in Sweden.”* (Tysklind 2016)

One clearly notices contradictions here as the process was actually top-down, but due to local force was changed into a bottom-up approach and now even serves as a role model of how to successfully implement a national park in Sweden pursuing a bottom-up approach.

The current management of Kosterhavets National Park, however, can be regarded as unique, as it is the first national park in Sweden to have a local management steering group (Kosterhavets överlåtande) which consists of various representatives from the municipalities and from the municipality groups:

*“The municipality group is in the local community and works in the interest of the small [groups] in society. And then we have the fishery in the area and the University of Gothenburg. [...] They are all part of this delegation. [...] Physically, they meet three times a year and one more time together with the Norwegian people. So there are four meetings per year.”*

Tysklind emphasizes the importance of this local management steering group:

*“And that was very important for the creation of this special park Kosterhavets, to have this local management steering group [in control] of the park. This is very important.”*

*You can say it was so important that if this hadn't have happened, this park wouldn't have been created.” (Tysklind 2016)*

Regarding the competences, Tysklind elaborates on the power structures between the EPA and the local management steering group:

*“The delegation has a huge power factor. So far we have not had any conflicts. The delegation has one opinion, the EPA has one opinion, and together we are working for the counter administration board. [...] They [the delegation] might not have a lot of power on paper to change for instance the regulations in the park; that would be the EPA. But if they see any reason to change the management plan or other the delegation is very important. [...] Everything connected to national parks is on the EPA level. We also have a representative from the EPA in the delegation.” (Tysklind 2016)*

However, Tysklind would not appreciate the local management steering group to have more power and additional competences. He fears that the main aim of protecting nature might be neglected:

*“If you mean more decision making authority then no. I think the focus on the values regarding nature and the conservation issues could get lost in the process or if you had to focus on questions like construction work. [...] For instance giving permission to people. We are working on nature preservation and regulations of visitors to the area and surveillance, but not if landowners or companies want to do something. They have to ask for permission elsewhere. So I don't think it would be good if we had to deal with all of these questions.” (Tysklind 2016)*

Furthermore, he tries to explain the current paradigm shift towards partnership models and bottom-up approaches concerning protected area management approaches in Sweden:

*“I think it is also from the government. If questions can be answered responsibly locally, they prefer that before centralization. I don't know, this is a very scientific question. But maybe it is some kind of balance with society regarding centralization in Brussels. But what can we do better at home – as locally as we go. [...] A local level can take*

*responsibility for local development for future generations. [...] And you can also clearly see the added value when you involve people.” (Tysklind 2016)*

Tysklind confirms the ongoing paradigm shift in the Swedish management system. He states that a tendency towards bottom-up approaches in the establishment of national parks are becoming a new trend:

*“With new parks especially yes. [...] We opened up in 2009, and already then the process started. We can see it further south [...] there is maybe a new opening. [...] They have a similar process now involving a lot of people. [...] Old parks, well, I don’t know. [...] But in general yes, more cooperation in the management.” (Tysklind 2016)*

Despite the new approaches, he keeps stressing that nature protection should go first. However, Tysklind is of the opinion that it is possible to combine conservation values with local user groups and tourists and, therefore, he suggests the following strategy:

*“We are working with information. Guided tours. Visitor centers. Lots of signs with different languages. We are ten people working on surveillance during the summer time. Sometimes we have to report people to the police. But most people are aware of the regulations. [...] We are also working with local entrepreneurs. [...] We are trying to meet them regularly and give them insight into the area. [...] So we are working with education, information and communication.” (Tysklind 2016)*

Finally, Tysklind elaborates on the cooperation with the neighboring Ytre-Hvaler National Park. Obviously, he does not fully consider the two parks as a transboundary cooperation. He states:

*“These are two parks in two different countries. They were created in two different legislations, Norway and Sweden. But we are neighbors and we are trying to work together as much as we can. [...] They [The parks] were opened the same day. And now afterwards we are working similar, but not the same with the local parks. They are organized differently. One is EU and one not [which] should make a difference.” (Tysklind 2016)*



Tysklind sees many advantages of the collaboration with Norway, but he also mentions obvious difficulties:

*“I think the management plan of Ytre Hvaler is quite similar to the one of Kosterhavets. In our plan the most important part is the monitoring of what is happening. You have to have budget for that. We think – Monika agrees on that – that if we could do more marine monitoring together, we could reach more. [It would be] smarter, more efficient, cheaper. But so far the problem is that in Norway the national parks – the marine parks anyway – only have money for the land area and not for the marine areas. It is very difficult to cooperate with someone who has nothing. But I think that we are coming to the point where we have [resources] in each park so we can monitor together.”*  
(Tysklind 2016)

This opinion is in accordance with Monika Olsen’s explanations. She also claimed that Marine National Parks in Norway lack money for ocean monitoring. But both national park administrators agreed on the common strategy of wanting to cooperate and wanting to work together:

*“We are not interested in seeing a border. I can personally reflect on the ocean and marine life that they are independent from the borders. It is important to have a good status in all areas.”* (Tysklind 2016)

### 6.3 Hardangervidda National Park, Norway

As discussed earlier, Hardangervidda is Norway's largest National Park in size which makes him an interesting case for further investigation. Thereby the focus was put on management strategies, conflict fields and impacts of the Norwegian 2009 reform.

In comparison to smaller parks, Hardangervidda National Park's management system has to face a number of challenges due to its size. A crucial difference is that while Fulufjället National Park and Ytre Hvaler National Park have only got one management board for the entire park, Hardangervidda has three boards which are forced to work together:

*"We have three counties and eight municipalities that each have their own policies. And you need people on the east coast to have the same knowledge of the people on the west coast [...] and they don't. They run the whole plateau and have to manage it together."* (Hardangervidda Guide, 2016)

Consequently, there is scope for a number of complications; especially between conflicting viewpoints regarding conservation versus use and the interviewee criticizes the government for being too lenient:

*The government is sometimes too weak when it comes to conflicts. The problems are the municipalities. We have two to three thousand inhabitants including all. If you say no to nature you would lose voters. In Germany, in the US and in Sweden the state government is much stronger. [...] I consider this a big weakness."* (Hardangervidda Guide, 2016)

According to him, the Swedish approach exceeds the Norwegian one:

*"They [Sweden] have been better in nature preservation control until now in regards to laws [...] because the government has much more control and holds the power and not small municipalities."* (Hardangervidda Guide, 2016)

Nonetheless, he points out that different parties have different viewpoints:

*“It depends on who you talk to. If you talk to tourist organizations or politicians that live in the municipalities or the business, they will say that the politics are good. If you ask the reindeer, the artic foxes, the wolves and the beards they will agree with me, if you ask nature it will agree with me. [...] This system is about deliberating protection. It gives more to local influence and the locals will always go for business before nature. Because for the locals it is important to have shops, to make money, to make jobs. The young generation is moving out and moving to Oslo. Lack of jobs, lack of jobs for constructors, for the carpenters. Everybody wants the cottages. [...] And in the conflict of interest 90 percent will go for the commercial and business topics. The jobs have highest priority. And the small municipalities don't have enough knowledge.”* (Hardangervidda Guide, 2016)

Also concerning the 2009 reform, the interviewee expresses strong criticism:

*“The reform is not good. If you have big municipalities like Oslo, that is a different story. They are clever as a government and have clever people. But when you are talking about municipalities with other things going on. You would have to wait to reach bigger amounts of people. Then it would work. But that has failed. [...] It [The reform] is a failure because the municipalities are too small and don't have enough academic knowledge. [...]”* (Hardangervidda Guide, 2016)

In his opinion, the reform might be a success for smaller parks, but for such a large park, like Hardangervidda, he does not consider it a functioning management strategy at all as it has not brought about any improvements or changes:

*“I can't understand the reform. Maybe it was just a reform on paper, but I can't see any change from 2009 until now. [...] We have some policies but these boards were established by some politicians and municipalities in some national parks but when you are up in the middle and north of Norway there are very few people. There are so few tourists that these national parks might complain. There is no pressure at all so they don't need regulations to run the parks. Here, with all the reindeer and all the tourists, we need them.”* (Hardangervidda Guide, 2016)

The guide's biggest concern is that the Norwegian environmental management approach does not differentiate between the diverse needs of the particular protected areas:

*“But you see the problem is that in Norway equalness it too much. We could have the same regime in several national parks. But there are very different problems in different parks. Like Hardangervidda is very tourist attractive because it is close to Oslo. And we are also the largest reindeer area and all the winter tourism. So there is a conflict between cottages and tourism. [...] It should be restricted. Several areas should be blocked between first of September and first of March. [...] When we talk about national parks we have some areas with lack of tourism and here we have too much tourism which is why we need different strategies. That is why we are trying to get the European reindeer status. Then we can argue for a stricter regime in these areas.”*  
(Hardangervidda Guide, 2016)

This statement already indicates imaginable solutions and possible future developmental opportunities. The interviewee clearly demands stricter rules and a stronger focus on nature protection, rather than on the economy and on tourism. Conclusively, he suggests a management board consisting of experts:

*“The ideal board should have six or seven members [...] and three or four [of them] should be ecologists if we can get the board of experts. [Currently, decisions are made by] politicians that were elected by the people. They can be very low educated. They could be truck drivers, bus drivers, ordinary workers or farmers. They don't even have to have an academic representative. [...] This functions well when there are no problems. [...] The concept of having more locals in charge works when they have environmental knowledge and want to take care of nature. [So] the idea can work both ways.”* (Hardangervidda Guide, 2016)

#### 6.4 Fulufjället National Park, Norway

Due to the circumstance that there is such limited information on the Norwegian expansion of Fulufjället National Park to be found in both, existing literature as well as on the internet, especially the establishment process of the park appears to be of great interest.

In fact, the founding of Fulufjället National Park in Norway can, according to 'Fylkesmannen' Kristian Bjørnstad, be regarded as a very bad example of how to found a park as essential steps have been neglected. He states:

*"It lacked investment in the process. It lacked competent people that know how to talk to people and the process and how to manage a process. It didn't have a process element. It also didn't give enough time before the establishment."* (Bjørnstad 2016)

Moreover, neither Bjørnstad, nor his colleagues know how the idea to establish Fulufjället National Park in Norway even came up. The establishment was sudden and top-down and locals were not confronted with the National Park until its establishment was already decided and the minister came to its opening. There was no information available prior to the opening in 2012, as Bjørnstad elaborates:

*"Nobody knows how exactly the idea came up. Someone suggested that we need a park here to the authorities. And then the top-down process started. Nobody wants to take charge. And locals were not given the time. A national park is suddenly being established in this area. [...] He [the major] didn't really have knowledge in the environmental process. [...] In 2012 the minister was there. There was no website so people didn't see evidence of the park. [...] There are no signs up [...] and there is no visitor center."* (Bjørnstad 2016)

In comparison to the undesirable developments on the Norwegian side, Kristian Bjørnstad praises the establishment process of the Swedish national park in 2002 and explains why it can be considered as a role-model of how a national park should be founded successfully:

*“I think they managed to do something right on the Swedish side. [...] They spent time on the process. They went to talk to people. They had competent people that knew about processes and could speak to people and sat down over coffee with them. [...] They spent more time and resources on the process which I see as a success factor. This didn’t happen on the Norwegian side at all.” (Bjørnstad 2016)*

Concerning the management of Fulufjället, apparently the system receives less criticism in comparison to the case of Hardangervidda National park where three different boards are managing the park together. In Fulufjället National Park, there is only one board which consists of three board members, namely the mayor, a political county representative from the regional level and another representative from the local municipality. As already discussed and once again pointed out by Bjørnstad, the management boards have been heavily criticized by academics for not having shifted enough responsibility to the regional level. Bjørnstad agrees with this criticism and analyses the reform as follows:

*“They [the local management boards] don’t have enough mandates to actually do developmental work. They just handle cases. [...] They don’t have much liberty or funding to actually initiate some development. [...] Even the local boards have their wings clipped. They don’t have resources either. [...] My view is that it [the reform] is one step in the right direction, but we still have far to go.” (Bjørnstad 2016)*

Furthermore, he explains that the reform did provide Norway’s national parks only with very limited changes:

*“What was done basically was moving the county’s governor’s office out into the municipalities. There are still the same laws. There are no more resources and there are no new responsibilities. [...] Yes, outsourcing of environmental management to the municipalities.” (Bjørnstad 2016)*

Concerning the Norwegian management system and its advantages and weak points he states:

*“The good thing is you engage local people and you have another board that is supposed to follow this board with local representatives. It is good that you get a forum*

*and can discuss the issues locally. [...] But it isn't a development. You can't develop much. That is why local people keep asking about what is happening. But we don't have any resources. We can't do anything. We can only do this. They are expecting something that isn't there by structure. But I do think that for communication it is a good structure which is lacking on the Swedish side.”* (Bjørnstad 2016)

In connection with the explanations regarding the management system of Fulufjället national park, it is a crucial element of this thesis to find out if the two parks might be categorized as being a 'transboundary national park' including a coalesced management. According to Kristian Bjørnstad, this is not (yet) the case:

*“We don't have a transboundary process. The two countries are separate with separate systems. [...] They are managed separately. [...] The laws on either side are pretty set and they don't leave much room for overlap.”* (Bjørnstad 2016)

Furthermore, there is also no cooperation concerning the financial aspect of the management, as the financing of both parts of the park is strictly separated. However, at least the parks show a tendency towards increasing cooperation:

*“Right now they have an indirect EU project going on. [...] They are trying to create a joint visitor management strategy.”*

Additionally, common branding is being discussed.

*“They collaborate more and more and with time you could say that it is a transboundary management [...] but I think it isn't there yet. Once there is an established visitor management strategy and common branding it will result in more collaboration with the rangers. Ideally they should have an office in the park. [...] And we are talking about projects to make a small visitor center on the Norwegian side or maybe a ring of visitor centers around. [...] So when that comes about then you can talk about a transboundary park. But that is five or ten years from now.”* (Bjørnstad 2016)

Finally, Bjørnstad expressed some suggestions about possible future development opportunities in order to improve the Norwegian situation as well as to increase the cooperation between the Swedish and the Norwegian parts of Fulufjället:

*“A joined group for example for Fulufjället would be an interesting thing [...] It is not mandated in any law. We have to make it into a pilot project just like everything else regarding Fulufjället. This will be a test case and a model area which is a good thing.”*  
(Bjørnstad 2016)

In his opinion such a pilot project of collaboration, might even serve as an inspiration to Swedish environmental policy:

*“It would be good for Swedish policy. And the connection would be good for Norway because it is a good way of working. We agree with the local people. This area could be for development, this area for more protection. It gives you a much more dynamic approach to establishing protected areas or rework old ones. It is a tool that hasn't been used in Norway. So in that way it could be inspiring.”* (Bjørnstad 2016)



## 6.5 Ytre-Hvaler National Park, Norway

Ytre Hvaler national park is of extraordinary interest for this thesis due to the following reasons:

- Previous literature provides only very limited information about the park.
- It is the first marine national park to be established in the country.
- It was established shortly after the Nature Diversity Act.
- The park's location in the Koster Marine Archipelago along the Swedish border and, therefore, its direct proximity to the Swedish Kosterhavets Marine National Park.

Concerning the establishment phase of the park, Monika Olsen, the secretary of the management board, stresses that a very inclusive and communicative bottom-up strategy was pursued:

*“Of course you can't talk to each and every one but we have groups with different groups, like culture and groups for fishery and a group for farming interests. So in these groups there are leaders from different organizations that of course could take the problems back to their organization [...] when we were making the National Park. Then we discussed different rules and management and all those questions. We also made the management plan together with these groups. We also had some open meetings, for each and every one to come, where we presented the different discussions the groups had.” (Olsen 2016)*

In contrast to the establishment of the Norwegian Fulufjället National Park in 2012, which happened without any involvement or information of locals, Ytre Hvaler tried to spread the word concerning Ytre Hvaler National Park's founding as best it could have been done:

*“I think it's always difficult to know if you reach all. But we had announcements in the local papers and at that time it was not so much internet I think. But we had announcements on the canals that we know reach people.” (Olsen 2016)*

Since Ytre Hvaler National Park was opened the same year as Norway had its major reform (Nature Diversity Act 2009), the question arises in how far the political change had influenced the establishment of this new national park:

*“I think it [the reform] didn’t have any great impact. [...] How we think about management didn’t really change. [...] The board was established in 2010 and that was of course a change to have this local management. [...] I haven’t really thought about the connection, because we were going to have aboard anyway. I think that was the political change, that law in the national politics that, you know, the decisions were made earlier by the county governor until 2010. But ok, it might be that I haven’t thought about a connection. But it was the diversity law that really made this possible. You could still have the local management, even before, I think. But we didn’t because it hasn’t been common thinking.”* (Olsen 2016)

The management board of Ytre Hvaler National Park counts 5 members: two politicians from Fredrikstad, two from Hvaler and the mayor of Hvaler, who is also the leader of the board. Monika Olsen is the secretary of the board. Regarding the competences of the board, Olsen is satisfied with the system. She states:

*“I think it is fine the way it is. I am in the board and I can seek for advice and ask the group of experts if I need advice. And I also cooperate with the municipality employees in Hvaler or in Fredrikstad. [...] So I think the system works for us but I think it would be really difficult if we had three boards because you need to be in the same meetings to make decisions, if it’s not that the decisions are very local problems.”* (Olsen 2016)

The advisory group, mentioned by Monika Olsen, consists of local experts, like farmers, biologists, fishermen, cottage owners, etc. Thereby, all important user groups of the national park area have representatives for their concerns. Olsen explains:

*“Every national park has to have such a board which has to consist of important user groups. [...] They are not decision makers but they are used as advisors to give their opinion about important things like the management plan or other things. [...] They don’t have a leader. In our directions it says that there must be at least one meeting per year between the board and the advisory group. [...] One meeting is obligatory, but you can have more if you need them.”* (Olsen 2016)

Not only concerning the establishment phase of Ytre Hvaler National Park, but also regarding its management system, Olsen can barely think of any noteworthy conflicts. However, she criticized that the area of the National Park is not of great importance to the Norwegian Environmental department and, therefore, the park lacks money:

*“I think that’s because in Norway as in Sweden, national parks are usually in the mountains and the system is made to fit in for management of mountain areas so we were the first Marine NP, as Kosterhavets was, but they have much...ähm....well the west coast of Sweden is very special for them and this part in Norway here, is not very important because you have the fishery and the oil in the west coast of Norway and in the national politics that’s the most important fisheries and management for our ocean areas. Now it’s starting to come, they see that it is here where people live and there are going to be I think three more marine national parks in the next years further south. So the focus now is coming to our area too and I think now they admit that they have to change the system. So we always have enough money for doing management in land areas but not in the ocean.”* (Olsen 2016)

Furthermore, Olsen also mentioned the typical dispute between protection and use. This conflict is not as severe as it is the case in Hardangervidda, for instance, but she did name some smaller, recurring conflicts:

*“There are conflicts, absolutely. Sometimes, like last year, or the year before, it was a fantastic summer and we saw people go with the boat and they made the boat in our sights. They anchored. And they went to the islands where you are not supposed to go. [...] We have this oppsiktman [...] and you give them anmeldese. You make a report and sent it to the police. [...] But then the police have to work through the case. And very often you don’t get it. It’s just, you get told to leave.”* (Olsen 2016)

In this statement Olsen mentioned the park’s zoning system which has newly entered the Norwegian national park policy, with the establishment of Ytre Hvaler Marine National Park. For Olson, having a zoning system is common practice. She explains:

*We’ve had zoning all the time, from the establishment. [...] It might be because we have cooperated with Kosterhavets. [...] We have very similar switches in zones. [...] We made it together.”* (Olsen 2016)

In regards to cooperation with Kosterhavets, there is close collaboration between the two parks. According to Monika Olsen, Ytre Hvaler might be classified as a transboundary park:

*“I would [classify Ytre Hvaler as a transboundary park]. Absolutely. It’s in both national parks’ goals, to be transboundary. And we do have these meetings and we discuss common problems and we try to help each other. Like now, we had discussions, how Kosterhavets can make pressure on Norwegian politicians, so that we can have more common actions. So we have discussions if they could in some way help us. [...] Like, telling from the Swedish side, how big of a problem it is that we don’t have money to cooperate.”* (Olsen 2016)

Olsen, furthermore, stresses how well functioning the cooperation with Kosterhavets National Park is. From 2008 until 2012, the two parks even had an interreg-project, regarding the process making of the national parks. Together, they established the management plan and created a big opening event for both parks in September 2009. Nonetheless, Olsen is aware of the differences between the Norwegian and the Swedish national park management systems:

*“But since we do have different national park rules and systems, we don’t have the same management, but we do agree on what are the problems we have to cope with. [...] We try to cooperate and absolutely want to cooperate with Kosterhavets National Park and we have common meetings every year with the board of Kosterhavets (Kosterhavets deligationen). But their board doesn’t have the same decisions and responsibility. They are more an advisory group. [...] They are a group consisting of different groups in Koster like our advisory group.”* (Olsen 2016)

Comparing the management systems of Ytre Hvaler and Kosterhavets, Olsen is of the opinion that the Swedish approach is more effective:

*“In some aspects it’s Kosterhavets, because it is a very important national park in Sweden. It’s high priority by economical means and they have a lot of money.”* (Olsen 2016)

She goes even further in her comparison between the Norwegian and the Swedish management of the two national parks and concerning cross-border cooperation she sums up:

*“I think we can actually learn from Sweden in some way. [...] On the paper things look very good in Sweden, but in practice it’s not always that good. Sometimes I think we are acting better but we don’t have the best plans. We just do things, get things done. I think they had very high priority on this marine national park. And that’s how the Norwegian national park also has been driven in higher speed. Because they see how Kosterhavets and Ytre Hvaler actually have succeeded in some way. So I think it’s absolutely transboundary. We want to be, and we try to be, but there are some things that make it more difficult than it should be. But it all comes from to the people. We have established a very good, by this interactive project, we get to know each other, and we also have almost the same language. So it’s easy for us. And I think at least in this area Norway and Sweden have always been close. We have been enemies but we have also been friends for a long... it’s a long history back. You know, this is Norway... But with the Norwegians going on holiday in Kosterhavets and we have a quite similar culture. So it’s easy for us to cooperate.” (Olsen 2016)*

## 7 Discussion

The historical review this thesis provided in chapter 2 and 3, clearly showed, for how many decades nature conservation policy has been the focus of both, international as well as national politics. The existence of various different approaches towards protection management, corresponds to the large number of prevalent controversies, and illustrates various dominating conflicts. Issues concerning the extent of local involvement into the management system of protected areas, as well as finding a balance between the conservation of biodiversity of an area on the one hand, and providing tourists and locals access to its natural beauty on the other hand, serve as a breeding ground for persisting conflicts.

Discussions regarding protected areas include zoning, categories of areas under protection, corridors and boundaries. These measurements aim at the legitimacy of land use and enforcement on ecological ground (c. WILSHUSEN et al. 2002: 23). The persisting conflicts have shown that traditional, top-down approaches to conservation management did encounter local resistance and, therefore, new approaches were necessary. The failure of the centralized management approaches attracted new, internationally practiced, decentralized approaches to Scandinavia, which are reflected in the ongoing paradigm shift, described in chapter 3.

Since decentralized management strategies have reached Norway's and Sweden's nature protection policy, *“the ways in which power can and should be divided between different levels of government to enable optimal management [...] have become the subject of continuous debates”* (Overvag 2016: 1186). Even though the two countries under analysis share a common starting point with a centralized management of nature protection, their development over the past decades differed strongly. Norway made a clear move towards the adoption of decentralized management strategies with the establishment of the 2009 Nature Diversity Act. Research has shown that Sweden, on the other hand, seems to make less progress in this regard. It was not until the founding of Fulufjället National Park, in 2002, that Sweden started to include local inhabitants into the establishing phase of a national park. Moreover, it did not go further than the establishment of a partnership-approach which inducted local management boards to

assist the SEPA. However, they do not have any decision making authority. While the SEPA continues to decide on several management plans for national parks, the boards are only in charge of issuing information to landowners, right holders, users, and organizations. (c. HONGSLO et al. 2016: 1104). This is also the local impression of national park management. According to Monika Olsen, *“they are more an advisory group. [...] They are a group consisting of different groups [...] like our advisory group.”* (Olsen 2016)

In contrast to Sweden, Norway obviously felt the need to thoroughly overhaul the country’s nature conservation policy, which manifested in the implementation of the major reform in 2009. Through the establishment of multiple local management boards for national parks throughout the entire country, they actually transferred political power to a local level. It lies in the boards’ responsibility to develop management plans, and to decide about dispensations (c. HONGSLO et al. 2016: 1104). Therefore, in Norway, one can detect a clear, volitional paradigm shift from a centralized nature protection policy towards bottom-up management approaches. However, this new management approach has not been spared from criticism. While in some national parks it works fairly well, others express harsh criticism:

*“The reform is not good. If you have big municipalities like Oslo, that is a different story. They are clever as a government and have clever people. But when you are talking about municipalities with other things going on. You would have to wait to reach bigger amounts of people. Then it would work. But that has failed. [...] It [The reform] is a failure because the municipalities are too small and don’t have enough academic knowledge. [...]”* (Hardangervidda Guide, 2016)

The interviewee clearly criticizes the current management system of the national park on various different levels and according to him, the reform cannot be regarded as a functioning mechanism for the management of a large national park, like Hardangervidda. Due to the location of the park, it is managed by three different management boards which are faced with the challenge of finding common ground concerning decision making processes, and to conciliate different needs and viewpoints. Further research has confirmed the assumption that ideally there should

only be one management board for each national park, which seems to function fairly well.

Interestingly, the interviews revealed that in some cases the reform has not entailed substantial modifications:

*“I think it [the reform] didn’t have any great impact. [...] How we think about management didn’t really change.”* (Olsen 2016)

*“I can’t understand the reform. Maybe it was just a reform on paper, but I can’t see any change from 2009 until now.”* (Hardangervidda Guide 2016)

Despite the local impression that the reform might not have had a great impact, the changes in the management system of protected areas are evident. The Nature Diversity Act transferred political power to the municipal level, which had not been there in any form before its implementation. Prior to the reform, instead of a management board, there had only been management experts, located within the county governor’s offices (c. FAUCHALD & GULBRANDSEN 2012: 214).

A further problematic aspect, concerning the establishment of local management boards, was expressed by Hardangervidda National Park’s interviewee, who claims that the board lacks expert knowledge, due to the circumstance that mainly politicians hold memberships, who give user interests precedence over environmental protection objectives. FAUCHALD & GULBRANDSEN confirm this critique in their final evaluation of the Nature Diversity Act: *“The reform is likely to promote local user interests, possibly at the expense of long-term environmental protection objectives”,* as *“political representatives are likely to promote local interests and fulfil local majority demands”* (2012: 217).

This establishes a link to a further problematic aspect, which is central to the discussions concerning nature protection management in Scandinavia, and also the centerpiece of this diploma thesis: reaching conformity between the aims of nature conservation and the interests and rights of users. In this matter, investigations showed that zoning has become a well-established system in Scandinavia, concerning the regulation of national parks. Fulufjället National Park was the first Scandinavian



National Park to establish a zoning system and since then, several foundings of further national parks made use of such a system in both countries, Norway and Sweden. This fact clearly shows that providing national parks with a zoning system obviously does have a positive impact on controlling visitor management, which local research confirmed: *“The zoning is very smart tool to have connected to the rules.”* (Tysklind 2016)

Further strategies that might help to find a balance between conservation values and user interests involve providing visitors of national parks as well as local inhabitants with as much information as possible:

*“We are working with information. Guided tours. Visitor centers. Lots of signs with different languages. We are ten people working on surveillance during the summer time. Sometimes we have to report people to the police. But most people are aware of the regulations. [...] We are also working with local entrepreneurs. [...] We are trying to meet them regularly and give them insight into the area. [...] So we are working with education, information and communication.”* (Tysklind 2016)

Especially national park centers, as well as signs and brochures, should illustrate the importance of nature protection to tourists. This approach clearly succeeds in Kosterhavets National Park.

Furthermore, the establishment processes of both Koster Archipelago Marine National Parks as well as the establishment of Fulufjället National Park were initially confronted with resistance of local user groups. Mainly this was the case, because residents did not know what to expect from a national park being in charge of ‘their’ land. Due to a lack of sufficient information, locals feared withdrawals of fishing and hunting rights and ended up initiating protests against the founding of the national park. Experience at the Swedish Fulufjället National Park clearly demonstrated that making use of communication and information tools right from the outset of the establishment process, might prevent from numerous conflicts.

*“But then there was a big roar from the local people, of course because they felt like having their mountain taken away. And then there were discussions with local people*

*and entrepreneurs and everyone who has been living here for a long time. [...] Well, the information probably came a little bit later that it should have, because initially there were many debates and articles in the newspapers, people were upset – and then the information started coming up. Because we realized that we had to turn the tide.”* (Lissaker 2016)

Several prior studies, as well as the empirical research conducted for this thesis, have shown that unfortunately, there is no ‘ideal’, one-size-fits-all design for governing human-environment interactions in all circumstances. However, there are eight design principles (c. Table 2), derived from successful cases of bottom-up management approaches (c. HOVIK et al. 2010: 160).

Design principle	Description
1. Clear boundaries	The boundaries of resources and user groups with the right to withdraw resource units from the CPR are clearly defined
2. Correspondence between benefits and costs	Allocation rules are related to local conditions
3. Collective choice	Interested parties are involved in informed discussion of rules and can modify the rules
4. Monitoring	Accountability mechanisms for monitors are devised
5. Graduated sanctions	Graduated sanctions are applied to appropriators that deviate from the regime
6. Conflict resolution mechanisms	Low-cost, local conflict resolution mechanisms are used to resolve conflicts among appropriators
7. Rights to make autonomous decisions	Users have the right to organize and make autonomous decisions
8. Multi-level governance	Authority is allocated to allow for adaptive governance at multiple levels from the local to global level

**Table 2:** Ostrom’s design principles of robust governance (source: HOVIK et al. 2010: 162)

The Koster Marine National parks, Ytre Hvaler National Park and Kosterhavets National Park, as well as the Swedish Fulufjället National Park apparently exhibit a number of correspondences with Ostrom’s principles. All three parks do have clear boundaries, a monitoring system and graduated sanctions. Due to the fact that Ytre Hvaler National Park does have a management board which is involved in the management of the park and provided with delegated authority, the park fulfills the criterion of multi-level governance. Nonetheless, in all three parks, users do not have the rights to make autonomous decisions. Furthermore, the third feature, collective

choice, is only partly fulfilled. Even though several interested parties are involved in informed discussions of rules, they do not have the possibility to modify them.

From the – at least partial – compliance of these principles, which indicate the success of a management approach, one might come to the conclusion that the newly established national parks have set a good course for future decentralized nature protection management strategies in both countries.

In Sweden, the establishment of Fulufjället National Park has undoubtedly laid the foundation for the newly practiced participatory approaches. Nevertheless, it needs to be emphasized that initially it started out as a top-down process and due to local resistance was forced to shift towards making use of participatory strategies. Seven years later, the establishment of Kosterhavets Marine National Park, confirmed once more that the paradigm shift towards bottom-up approaches did not happen voluntarily. On the contrary, the first attempt to establish Kosterhavets National Park was – again – top-down and only after having once more encountered local resistance, authorities realized that they need to involve and inform user groups in order to establish the national park successfully. Hence, future national park formations should be aware of the importance to not only involve local user groups in the establishment process, but also bear in mind the necessity to provide them with sufficient information. The circumstance that initially neither Fulufjället National Park, nor Kosterhavets Marine National Park, pursued a bottom-up approach, does not justify to consider them as ‘role models’ for successful founding processes in Sweden. Nonetheless, they can serve as empirical values for future national park establishments: *“I believe the end result was pretty good. If not a role model, then people should at least learn from what we did.”* (Lissaker 2016)

Finally, the borderline location of the parks under investigation has given rise to the question whether they might be labeled as ‘transboundary national parks’. Applying SVELS & SANDE’s (2016: 529) concept of six hierarchical phases, one might conclude that in both cases, Fulufjället and Koster Islands, stage 6 (Full Cooperation) has not been reached yet. In both areas, the national park managements communicate actively with one another, and there are consultation meetings on a regular basis. Moreover, through measurements like common branding or cross-border projects that have been taken recently, one might allocate them to stage 4: Collaboration. This classification

also coincides with LIM's set of 12 criteria (2016: 798) for effective transboundary conservation. Due to the fact that the management system differ strongly between Norway and Sweden, it is not possible to engage each level of political organization and, therefore, not even the first criterion is fulfilled. Empirical research confirms this conclusion: *"But since we do have different national park rules and systems, we don't have the same management, but we do agree on what are the problems we have to cope with. [...] We try to cooperate and absolutely want to cooperate with Kosterhavets National Park and we have common meetings every year with the board of Kosterhavets (Kosterhavets. But their board doesn't have the same decisions and responsibility. They are more an advisory group. [...] They are a group consisting of different groups in Koster like our advisory group."* (Olsen, 2016)

Interestingly, the opinions whether the management of Kosterhavets and Ytre Hvaler National Parks might be labeled as 'transboundary national parks' mismatch. While Monika Olsen from Norway clearly states *"I would [classify Ytre Hvaler as a transboundary park]. Absolutely. It's in both national parks' goals, to be transboundary."* (Olsen 2016) the Swedish side does not share this viewpoint: *"We are working similar, but not the same [...]. They [the parks] are organized differently."* (Tysklind 2016). The case of Fulufjället National Park has provided the same result: *"We don't have a transboundary process. The two countries are separate with separate systems. [...] They are managed separately. [...] The laws on either side are pretty set and they don't leave much room for overlap"* (Bjørnstad 2016). Both, the application of LIM's criteria and the model provided by SVELS & SANDE, as well as the results of the empirical research for this thesis justify the conclusion that neither Fulufjället National Parks, nor the Koster Archipelago National Parks might be considered as 'transboundary national parks' yet. However, the foundation for a further intensification of collaboration processes has been laid by measurements that have already been taken, like common branding or joint visitor management strategies for instance.

As a final remark, it needs to be pointed out that the process of cross-border cooperation might be eased and accelerated through the establishment of a joint management board which should be in charge of the management for both sides of the national park and, therefore, consist of members from both countries. SVELS & SANDE (2016: 529) have already proposed such a *"joint management committee, or*

*similar body, to oversee the management of the whole transboundary property". The board, however, would require to have decision making authority in order to ensure independency of national management hierarchies. Research has shown, that especially at Sweden's Fulufjället National Park such an idea would be appreciated: "I think it's a great idea. [...] Hopefully that idea is coming. Hopefully that is how they are planning to work on this once this cooperation thing comes off the ground. Like when this starts working in real life then hopefully there will be a board." (Lissaker 2016)*

## **8 Conclusion & Further Development opportunities**

The objective of this thesis has been to examine if and how the two neighboring Scandinavian countries, Norway and Sweden, manage to combine the protection of long-term conservation values with the interests and rights of local communities successfully. The investigation determined three main conflict fields which required particular attention.

Firstly, nature protection policy has, as illuminated through the historical analysis of the countries' management approaches, always been confronted with the challenge, to find a balance between nature protection and use. Particularly over the last 20 years, one could observe significant improvements towards finding a common denominator. Especially the introduction of a zoning-system in Scandinavian national parks can be seen as a step in the right direction, as it helps to reconcile tourist activities and land use with the preservation of valuable landscapes. Furthermore, and most importantly, the paradigm shift towards the involvement of local inhabitants in the establishment process of national parks, might be considered a milestone for further improvements. Investigations clearly showed the indispensability of informing, educating, communicating with concerned parties and listening to the rights and interests of user groups.

This paradigm shift resulted in the delegation of authority to a local level, which turned out to be the second main conflict field, requiring further research. This thesis demonstrated that the extent of delegated authority differs significantly between Norway and Sweden. While Sweden has been rather slow to implement new decentralized management approaches, Norway thoroughly overhauled the country's nature conservation policy with the implementation of the Nature Diversity Act in 2009. Through the establishment of multiple local management boards for national parks throughout the entire country, political power was factually transferred to a local level. The reform might be seen as an attempt to provide solutions to the ongoing conflicts which, however, must not remain unquestioned. Due to the circumstance that mainly politicians hold memberships in the local management boards, the reform runs the risk

of promoting local user interests at the expense of long-term environmental protection objectives.

Lastly, also the fact that the national parks under analysis are located in immediate borderline-proximity but, nature protection management approaches strongly differ between Norway and Sweden, displayed a third area of conflict, which was central to this thesis. Investigations showed that despite some noteworthy attempts to intensify collaboration, both areas, Fulufjället National Parks as well as the Koster Archipelago Marine Parks, might not be labeled as 'transboundary national parks' yet. This thesis, however, suggested the establishment of a joint management board, which might ease and accelerate cross-border cooperation.

Conclusively, it can be said that neither Sweden, nor Norway, have so far been extraordinarily successful in combining the protection of long-term conservation values with the interests and rights of local communities. However, recent years, have shown remarkable improvements, mostly through the implementation of decentralized management approaches in both countries. In particular, the newly established national parks, Kosterhavets National Park and Fulufjället National Park in Sweden as well as Ytre Hvaler National Park in Norway, have laid the foundation for this paradigm shift from a centralized approach towards well-functioning bottom-up management strategies. The establishment approaches as well as the management systems of all three parks might indubitably serve as empirical values for future park establishments.

Concerning the future development of nature protection policy in Scandinavia, it will be of specific interest to keep in sight whether both countries have learned from their mistakes of initially trying to found national parks pursuing top-down strategies, and make immediate use of bottom-up approaches instead. Hence, it might be examined repeatedly, if Scandinavian nature conservation policy thereby manages to close the gap between the persisting conflicts between protection and user interests even further. Finally, future research should keep track on the progress concerning cross-border cooperation, as an increase of collaboration might be expected in the coming years.

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- Interview 5: Monika Olsen, manager of Ytre Hvaler National Park, Norway, on July, 11<sup>th</sup> 2016.

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## **13    Abbreviations**

CABs – County Administrative Boards

EPA – Environmental Protection Agency

IUCN – International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources

LPPG – Local Pan Park Group

MoE – Ministry of the Environment

NEA – Norwegian Environmental Agency

NP – National Park

PAN – Protected Area Network

ROS – Recreation Opportunity Spectrum

SEPA – Swedish Environmental Protection Agency

TBPA – Transboundary Protected Areas

WWF – World Wide Fund for Nature

## 14 Appendix

### 14.1 INTERVIEW 1: Hardangervidda National Park – May, 15<sup>th</sup> 2016

I: ...Norway and Sweden. Because Sweden is more about conservation and want to minimize human interference whereas Norway is more [about] involving people and what I am interested in is the Norwegian reform of 2009 where they established the management board. And they have these in four municipalities.

H: But you see the problem is that in Norway equalness is too much.

I: What does that mean?

H: We could have the same regime in several national parks. But there are very different problems in different parks. Like Hardangervidda is very tourist at tractive because it is close to Oslo. And we are also the largest reindeer area and all the winter [1 sec inaudible]. So there is a conflict between cottages and tourism.

I: Is it? Who are the conflict parties?

H: The tourist organizations and the local government. It should be restricted. Several areas are should be blocked between first of September to first of March.

I: But people walk there anyway?

H: Yes.

I: There are no forbidden zones?

H: No. When we talk about national parks we have [some areas] with lack of tourism and here we have too much tourism which is why we need different strategies. That is why we are trying to get the European reindeer status. Then we can argue for a stricter regime in these areas because of our special ecological challenges. And because the middle of [inaudible] has very wide peaks if you disturb reindeer herds in these areas, they must run much further because there are no peaks to hide behind. The disturbances are more crucial in these areas than in others. So in my opinion [2 sec inaudible] they have to pay attention to the wildlife and ecological system.

I: And who manages the park? Are there locals? Can the government still interact after the reform?

H: The government is sometimes too weak when it comes to conflicts. The reindeer cannot survive in just the national parks but need to the areas around the parks. These areas need to be protected. The problem is the municipalities. We have two to three thousand inhabitants including all. If you say no to nature you would lose voters. In Germany, in the US and in Sweden the state government is much stronger. That is a weakness in the organization.

I: You consider it a weakness?

H: Yes. I consider it a big weakness.

I: So what do you think of the reform?

H: The reform is not good because if you have big multiples like Oslo etc. that is a different story. They are clever as a government and have clever people. But when you are talking about multiples with other things going on, you would have to wait to reach bigger amounts of people. Then it would work. But that has failed. So then the other reform should wait until a certain size of inhabitants has been reached, maybe more than 25000 minimum.

I: So you think it is a failure because the municipalities are too small?

H: Too small, not enough academic knowledge.

I: Okay.

I: You think so? But Sweden is not trying to change it. They are developing a new partnership models. They show a tendency to include ... [interrupted]

H: They have been better in nature preservation control until now in regards to laws.

I: What makes it better?

H: Because the government has much more control and holds the power and not small multiples [of people].

I: But critics say that this is not better and that the Norwegian system is much better.

H: It depends on who you talk to. If you talk to tourist organizations or politicians that live in the municipalities or the business they will say that the politics are good. If you ask the reindeer, the arctic foxes, the wolves and the bears they will agree with me. If you ask nature it will agree with me.

I: Okay. I understand.

H: It depends on who you ask. You can ask the leader of a Norwegian environmental organization, I will give you his contact. They can give you their angle. Then you can ask them why there are more wolves in Denmark than in Norway. That is one of the reasons. We don't have enough [in the way of] legislation to protect untouched nature.

I: But there are parks with zoning?

H: Yes, in some it is difficult to build. That is very good but you can still disturb nature and animal life. And the biggest disturbance in my opinion is the sheep outlet in nature without any shepherds.

I: And why can they be let out without any shepherds?

H: Because they take over all the wool rights and all the predators. They will kill all the sheep. It is basically like giving them burgers served on a platter. Sheep are very easy kills for wolves and bears and they can't understand that. So when you have a [ecological] system you cannot allow predators. I would prefer to not have that many sheep [in these mountain areas]. They also bring diseases to reindeer and if you have too many sheep in these areas we can see that the reindeer avoid these [specific] areas. So it is not good for wildlife. So that is a core problem to see how this

gets developed. And when Americans come to see Norway's special park I feel ashamed that we can't have lots of mountain wolverines for instance as they are a very important part of the ecosystems. You can't blame the government. It is using lots of money to bring back the arctic fox. They have nearly gone extinct. We are putting the arctic fox back into the mountain.

I: Yes! I saw that on the video.

H: The arctic fox is 100% dependent on the wolverines. The wolves kill the reindeer and the remainders [of the carcasses] are left for the arctic fox. So these three are a part of the same ecological system. So you cannot get arctic fox back into nature without wolverines.

I: So what was the situation before this reform of 2009? In what way was it better?

H: I can't understand the reform. Maybe it was just reform on paper but I can't see any change from 2009 until now.

I: There was. It is listed in all the papers about the Norwegian nature conservation policy. It is very hyped and with it all the boards were established.

H: We have some policies but these boards were established by some politicians and multiples [of people] in some national parks but when you are up in the middle and north of Norway there are [very] few people. There are so few tourists that these national parks might complain. There is no pressure, no pressure at all so they don't need any regulations to run the parks. Here, with all the reindeer and all the tourists, [we need them].

I: So you say this helped all the other parks that lack tourists but it harms parks like this one that have too many tourists.

H: Yes!

I: Can it be summed up like this?

H: Yes, because what happens in these systems? This system is about deliberating protection. It gives more to local influence and the locals will always go for business before nature. Because for the locals it important to have shops, to make money to make jobs. The young generation is moving out and moving to Oslo. Lack of jobs, lack of jobs for constructers, for the carpenters. Everybody wants the cottages.

I: And they want to keep the people and the work force.

H: Yes and in the conflict of interest 90% will go for the commercial and business topics. The jobs have highest priority. And the small municipalities don't have enough knowledge.

I: In what way?

H: Ecologicistic and power of knowledge.

I: So who are the people who decide in these municipalities?

H: Politicians that were elected by the people. They can be very low educated. They could be truck drivers, bus drivers, ordinary workers or farmers.

I: And they get voted as mayors?

H: Yes or they come through the council and they get voted into this. They don't even have to have an academic representative. It functions well when there are no problems. But in problem areas I am not certain. If we can get the board of experts and we are sure that we can get the legislation for 3 or 4 ecologists and the government also make some rules then I am not being [0.5 sec inaudible]. We have to have rules to protect nature.

I: And how many board members should the ideal board have?

H: Six or seven.

I: And what should their background be?

H: If you have an administration with high knowledge then the board doesn't have to because they will follow the advice of the administration. So for the productivity it would be a benefit. Now we have 3 counties and 8 municipalities that each have their own policies.

I: 13 that have their own policies?

H: We have three counties and 8 municipalities in these and each have their own policy. And you need people on the east coast to have the same knowledge of the people on the west coast.

I: And do they?

H: No, they don't. But the deer and animals don't follow the borders. They run the whole plateau. We have to manage it together. In this case it could be the strength of the board but it also has to have rules from the national government. Okay, you can have this power but you have to follow these rules.

I: Now, how many rules are there from the government?

H: Too few. You see if you compare to the EU. They have a much better system.

I: The nature 2000?

H: Like the Polish. They planned to make a road but it would have destroyed a partridge habitat and the EU commission said no. So the Polish government had to move and skip the plans. They moved the road 600 km away.

I: And that would not be possible here?

H: No. They would build the road. Our legislation is not strong. That is one thing that is weak. Another weakness is the numbers of plans without any legal bindings.

I: But what are they for then?

H: The government used so many resources to create these plans which are not binding. And these are taken up for reviews every fourth or fifth year. And every time they are taken up somebody else can come in and claim funding as well. And so the

wheel keeps rolling and every time it takes away five percent of nature. But in America they have plans that are fifty years long. Untouchable plans for fifty years!

I: People have to follow?

H: Yes, [they are] legally binding for fifty years. So a business can forget to pursue it. No chance within fifty years. Here you have to wait four or five years. So you always have a chance for a new competition or a new battle.

I: And who establishes these plans?

H: The ministry, so the government. They are too fond of these planning procedures because their job is to make plans. About fifty percent of the environmental ministry has plan [production] as their main work. But the tool is too weak.

I: I understand.

H: We should have plans for fifty years.

I: But also the question is why they want it to be weak. They are so many in favor of these... [interrupted]

H: The idea can work both ways. The concept of having more locals in charge works when they environmental knowledge and want to take care of nature. But in too many small areas they want to create jobs and make the young people come home and take care of business. The lack of population is increasing and so it conflicts.

H: And it has helped because in Telemark - where you are standing now – we have the most important winter habitat for the reindeer. If it wouldn't be here we would have 5000 not 1100 [reindeer]. We have a lot of knowledge. It helps with local politics around here. They learned more.

I: And how is... [drift]

## 14.2 INTERVIEW 2: Kristian Bjørnstad, Fulufjället National Park, Norway – May, 20<sup>th</sup> 2016

KB: What I think is interesting is the process. How things come about and what type of methods you use in the process. Conflict is everywhere, both on the Norwegian and on the Swedish side - of interest or of values. But I think they managed to do something right on the Swedish side.

I: Which is?

K: They spent time on the process. They went to talk to people. They had competent people that knew about processes and could speak to people and sat down over coffee with them.

I: When they founded Fulufjället?

K: Yes, before it was [even] founded. That is very dominant in the case studies. Have you read the case studies about how Fulufjället came about on the Swedish side?

I: I have read one paper on it.

K: It is an English article actually.

I: Do you know the name?

K: I have the article on it. It describes the process to you. I can send it to you.

I: That would be great.

K: It became the Fulufjället model.

I: That is something I read. It is definitely is take as a model of a Swedish functioning park. That is also why I am so interested in this park in particular.

K: And to go deeper into what they did exactly you need to talk to Agneta. She was [involved with] the process and she is very good at explaining that. But they also brought in donations as a tool.

I: That is also a question I have. But do you know why – I know it is more a question for the Swedish side, but just out of your gut- the Swedish people wanted to do something so differently when it came to Fulufjället? Why did they want to do it so differently with this park?

K: That is a question for the Swedish side. But I think they started out as a top down traditional process and it received a lot of resistance from the locals especially regarding hunting and fishing rights.

I: So they were forced?

KB: So they stopped the top down process and decided to do it differently. And this was very good that the regional government realized that and didn't just stick to the book. There must have been some inventive people in the regional government that saw that it was going [in] the wrong direction and decided to go another way. That is

why they spent more time and resources on the process which I see as a success factor. This didn't happen on the Norwegian side at all.

I: Yes, so this leads us to the Norwegian side. You say that it was a very bad example of how to found a park. It lacked communication, right?

KB: It lacked investment in the process. It lacked competent people that know how to talk to people and the process and how to manage a process. It didn't have a process element. It also didn't give enough time before the establishment.

I: When was the first time that this idea came up?

KB: Nobody knows how exactly the idea came up. Someone suggested that we need a park here to the authorities. And then the top down process started. Nobody wants to take charge.

I: And nobody knew.

KB: And locals were not given the time. A national park is suddenly being established in this area. 'Why hasn't anyone asked me? I own forest in this area. And now you want to protect it?' It just lacked process. It lacked competent people, basically the mayor at the time.

I: When was that?

KB: We have a new mayor now. We had the other one for almost 12 years before that. He didn't really have knowledge in the environmental process. So it lacked a lot on the Norwegian side.

I: And how much time was there between the idea of founding a park here and the actual foundation of the park?

KB: I think if you ask people that it wasn't until now that they see management of the park. We have a park ranger in the area. Now they see it as established. The minister was here to establish the park.

I: When was he here?

KB: I don't remember the exact year.

I: But when was it established?

KB: 2012. The minister was there. There was no website so people didn't see evidence of the park. The forest issues with ownership have still not been resolved.

I: Four years now?

KB: There are no signs up. So the local people... [interrupted]

I: There are no signs here that read Fulufjället. Yes, I saw that on the way here! If I hadn't know about it.

KB: No.

I: And there is no visitor center?

KB: No. And the locals know. They were involved in the business association for



Fulufjället on the Norwegian side were involved in the Swedish process. So they were aware about the Swedish process. They saw that things are going wrong on the Norwegian side. So they are still upset today about the process. I did interviews just this winter with almost twenty [Norwegians].

I: How good was the cooperation with Sweden? You said that the founding of this park was top down. But how was the cooperation with Sweden?

KB: There wasn't much cooperation between the Norwegian regional authorities and the Swedish regional authorities.

I: There wasn't?

KB: They are the managers. They wanted to enlarge the park.

I: The Swedish?

KB: No, both. The environmental department. But you also have the PAN park system focused on environmental protection.

I: They were also active?

KB: Yes, on the Swedish side this made the process more complicated. They don't allow hunting and fishing. They are very much a European continental protected approach. Part of the process of the Norwegian side was against PAN parks. They didn't want to lose hunting and fishing and made the process even worse. But there was contact between the regional authorities about a national park on the Norwegian side. Locally here people distanced themselves from the park once it got rolling because the process was bad and they didn't want to take part.

I: But was it a common decision between Norway and Sweden to found the park?

KB: From Norway. I think nobody really knows who said what. I think the local municipality on either side was involved and they got the Norwegian authorities interested in founding the park. If you look at the area the border crosses over a mountain. It is a good argument.

I: Yes, I would say so.

KB: But we don't have a transboundary process.

I: There is not?

KB: The two countries are separate with separate systems. But if the cooperation is not set in a system... [interrupted]

I: Is the park managed as a transboundary park or is it managed separately?

KB: Separately. With the cooperation.

I: What does that mean? Can you explain the management to me?

KB: It is the regional county governor, so the state representative on the regional level. Their environmental department is in charge of all the protected areas in the region. Including to national parks of which Fulufjället is one of them. And they have rangers that cover all the protected areas. They have staff in high season as well as rangers with police authority guarding the area against environmental crime. It is the

county government office on both sides that is in charge of all the national parks on either side. They do have contact and cooperate.

Right now they have an indirect EU project going on. But the laws on either side are pretty set and they don't leave much room for overlap. But the new thing now is that they are trying to create a joint visitor management strategy for both [of them] in Fulufjället because I did the pre-project for this.

I: Do you have an article?

KB: Yes, I have material.

I: And what is this exactly?

KB: Now the rangers and the governors will cooperate in a joint visitor management strategy. This is completely new. This is the first one in Sweden for a national park. It shows how far behind we are in Scandinavia in comparison to Germany and Austria and the US.

I: So Fulufjället has potential to be a role model for parks?

KB: It already is a good case because from the national park offices all over Scandinavia [representatives] go to study the process here.

I: But it is not the only park that has zoning?

KB: It is the only one.

I: But in Austria we have zones that cannot be entered by people. You don't have this. We call them "Kernzonen".

KB: No, we don't have this. In the biosphere reserves we have this. That thinking is present there in Sweden and in the new project in Norway but not in the national parks.

I: Is there monitoring of the parks?

KB: There is by the environmental department. They hire people to monitor the bear population etc. So that goes on.

I: So that goes on?

KB: Yes. And I am sure there is an ecological cooperation across the border between those people as well. But there isn't really a transboundary park. Now it is starting as the projects are kicking in-the joint visitor strategy. Both Norway and Sweden have developed branding on a national level. Branding for all the Swedish national parks and branding for all the Norwegian national parks. So how do they do that in an international area? Ideally you should have your own type of branding. So that is another issue that comes up in this [context].

I: Shouldn't you have a common branding for the parts of the parks?

KB: Yes, this is what they are discussing now.

I: They are discussing that right now?

KB: That is part of the visitor management project.

I: So there is actually a process happening now in which they are trying to unify the park more so that it can become [truly] transboundary?

KB: Yes. They are on their way now.

I: Do you think it will head in that direction so that it will be a real transboundary park?

KB: What is 'real' transboundary? If you look across Europe ... [interrupted]

I: That it is managed together. You said that the management is not together.

KB: No it is not joined. They collaborate more and more and with time you could say that it is a transboundary management. If they apply for status in the Europarc federation as a transboundary park they have to fulfill specific criteria for that. I think Norbatic knows a lot about this criteria and the practices all over Europe in regards to transboundary parks. It is hard to say when such a place can be called a transboundary park.

I: Yes. I understand.

KB: That is something that you need to define in your assignment. What are the criteria for that and does Fulufjället add up to that? That is a very interesting case in itself. I would very much like to see that as well. I think it isn't there yet but once there is an established visitor management strategy and common branding it will result in more collaboration with the rangers. Ideally they should have an office in the park. They don't really, they are spread all over. And that is part of the problem all over Scandinavia. They are lucky to have the visitor center now - at least you can meet staff. The Norwegian side doesn't have that. We are talking about projects to make a small visitor center on the Norwegian side or maybe a ring of visitor centers around.

I: That would be good!

KB: So when that comes about then you can talk about a transboundary park. But that is five or ten years from now.

I: This leads me to my next question. I have read and also presented that in Norway there are the management boards of 2009. A topic that came up and also the representative from Hardangervidda mentioned this is a need for one management board for the whole Hardangervidda park which he proposed as the primary example. What I know is that Hardangervidda is managed by three different boards for one park. What is it like here? Is there one board for this park on the Norwegian side? How is it managed?

KB: Here it is the mayor. And there is a political county representative from the regional level.

I: From the regional level?

KB: Yes, regional, which is most impressive. There is also another representative from the local municipality from the area around.

I: Three?

KB: Yes, three. And some environmental organizations.

I: And that is the board?

KB: Yes, that is the board for Fulufjället and then you have a board for the neighboring municipality. The mayor is usually present there as well as the regional representative. There are strict rules for this.

I: And do you know about the Swedish side?

KB: They don't have that. There is no such system.

I: It is by the government?

KB: It is by the regional county government office.

I: But there is local involvement in this case.

KB: It has been less and less involvement.

I: Less?

KB: When they had project money they had the Fullufjellsringen? Economical association with all the small entrepreneurs around and a local NGO in the area. But they don't really have project money any more. It is still there and works as an association but it isn't very active. They had a high point with lots of activities and founding, but it has died down on the Swedish side as well.

I: But if the... [interrupted]

KB: The local boards must be in place based on the law in Norway when regarding national parks. That is not the case in Sweden. On paper it is more of a top down system in Sweden.

I: Would you say that these boards work? Is this something Sweden can learn from Norway in this case? Do you think these [boards] are working well? What is your opinion?

KB: Academics in Norway have criticized these boards. I know many of them are also in the university – the agricultural university – and have criticized that these don't go far enough. They don't have enough mandates to actually do development work. They just handle cases. Somebody wants to walk to their cabin. They apply to the local board. Based on the nature protection laws we grant you to do that. They don't have much liberty or funding to actually initiate some development.

I: Do you think they lack money? Or power?

KB: They lack a mandate to also be engaged in development. They aren't supposed to be... They can make the fundamental work for tourism but they cannot actively promote tourism. They lack the mandate. Even for environmental tourism or ecological tourism. They lack the mandate.

I: Then whose mandate is it?

KB: The local municipality business office that would be the closest one. It's the environmental department. They don't have the knowledge about tourism

development. That is why it is quite narrow. Even the local boards have their wings clipped. They don't have resources either.

I: Would you say the reform was a success then? Or is it just a nice try?

KB: My view is that it is one step in the right direction but we still have far to go.

I: What was the situation before? Can you observe any changes that came with the reform?

KB: But what was done basically was moving the county governor's office out into the municipalities. That is basically what was done. There are still the same laws. There are no more resources and there are no new responsibilities. You basically moved the offices out.

I: So outsourcing?

KB: Yes, outsourcing of environmental management to the municipalities. The good thing is you engage local people and you have another board that is supposed to follow this board with local representatives. It is good that you get a forum and can discuss the issues locally. And that is good. But it isn't a development. You can't develop much. That is why local people keep asking about what is happening. But we don't have any resources. We can't do anything. We can only do this. They are expecting something that isn't there by structure. But I do think that for communication it is a good structure which is lacking on the Swedish side. A joined group for example for Fulufjället would be an interesting thing.

I: A joined board with Swedish members?

KB: They also have Swedish members in the extended board. They have an extended board with Swedish participants.

I: But how would that work? In Norway that would work because of the system with the boards. But how would that work with Swedish politics? How could Sweden work with the board? How powerful could the board be in Sweden?

KB: It is not mandated in any law. We have to make it into a pilot project just like everything else regarding Fulufjället. This will be a test case and a model area which is a good thing. You can test out new ways of working.

I: But critics could say that there are only very few parks under protection that affect both countries. So why would you need this new cooperation model?

KB: No, this could inspire Swedish policy.

I: It could, yes.

KB: I think so. It would be good for Swedish policy. And the connection would be good for Norway.

I: Why?

KB: Because it is a good way of working. We agree with the local people. This area could be for development, this area for more protection. It gives you a much more

dynamic approach to establishing protected areas or rework old ones. It is a tool that hasn't been used in Norway. So in that way it could be inspiring.

I: Yes, both sides could be inspired. These are all proposals I could make in my thesis. This is what I wanted to find. Suggestions and ideas that could be applied... [interrupted]

KB: There is another one. There have been reforms regarding the laws for protected areas in Norway. For example there is a new branding policy and visitor management. Those two things have come in recently and Norway has funded this- the new brand program etc. And what they also opened up for in the branding is partnering with locals for the park. For example the Fullufjället logo for the local partners around the national park and we talked about it in the visitor management project. If we were to extend this to Sweden, the little logo, like 'I am attached to Fulufjället national park' etc. then we could get one branding – partner branding- around the mountain.

I: And that was also discussed with by management board with the Swedish?

KB: No, it the pre-project and will be developed further in the visitor management project.

I: So, actually what I... I will have to write this down and look at this further. But I have the impression that Fulufjället is a really special case. Not because of the different approaches, it does not really follow the Swedish model such as zoning, local involvement, not as top down in the foundation of the park. But in Norway- is it a special park in this case?

KB: It isn't really. They could have compared to what was done in Sweden and then applied it on the Norwegian side and create a total model area of a transboundary park but the resources weren't there and the knowledge wasn't there- on a local and a regional level.

I: And did it also lack money or also involvement?

KB: Lack of knowledge and money I would say. But we also have another transboundary national park between Norway and Sweden - Hvaler and Koster national park in the south. It is worth looking into to see how interlocked they are.

I: Is it a good example?

KB: I think it is worth checking. They both developed more equally on both sides. They decided to join up. I think that could be good to compare two areas. They did it more equally on both sides. This case is very unequal on both sides. But that park, south of Oslo and north of Goteborg, right on the border ...[interrupted]

I: But were they founded together? Or was there one part where ... [interrupted]

KB: Yes, the process was done together and they decided to do it together. I don't know if by law they founded two national parks. They created a common Hvaler and Koster national park and used both names. But it is worth looking into.

I: Yes. I have to be careful as to not surpass the hundred pages. It has to be between 80 and 100 pages. I can have an extension though. But I need to write the name of the park down.

KB: Yes. It is Hvaler and Koster national park.

I: I will look into that too. Maybe a last aspect concerning the financial aspect in management: Are people talking to each other about that or is this something just the Norwegian people...Is it cross boundary or is it managed separately?

KB: Separately.

I: Do people talk? If there are projects to be done how it is it handled financial management-wise?

KB: Well once one had financial project support a few years back from the Swedish side -Norwegian actors were involved – local Norwegian tourism locals were involved with the Fulufjället national park. The economical ring got project money from Sweden. And there are also the interregional projects- a couple of those- that fuel the process and the cooperation. There isn't much cooperation because they are county government offices. They don't really pool things together.

I: They don't really have a common pot.

KB: No. There are now with the new indirect projects. So they put money into them. That is when you have the common resources, it is through these budgets. Apart from that there are separate budgets.

### 14.3 INTERVIEW 3: Anders Tysklind, Kosterhavets Marine National Park – July, 12<sup>th</sup> 2016

I: And so yes so [interruption]

K: What is there to say about Swedish traditions?

I: Swedish? It is more top down, isn't it? Except for Fulufjället which had [the process] bottom up. And this is in general a very special case that is what I know.

K: [Inaudible]

I: Because that is also special? In what way is that special?

K: The park was created through the force of the people on the islands and the surrounding islands. [This] is a very bottom up process.

I: Mhm!

K: And of course now it is opening in 2009. If you go back [to] thirty years ago, some parts of this area was planned to be a natural park and here you are correct- it is very, very top down. The national park plan declares which areas are going to be a park in the future. But then there were skeptical views from other parties.

I: It was!

K: It never was founded as a national park. But in early 2003 there was a [effort] out on the Koster islands to reform the nature reserve on the islands. The nature reserve reform [mainly served] on the islands for 1996-1998. Connected to that, the people on the islands thought that maybe a natural park would help them to create more resources, rules and regulation to handle the increase in numbers of pleasure boats, create jobs and make more sustainable living in the archipelago all year round. The Koster islands were a really, really top down process to create a national park.

I: Mhm, yes!

K: And now it is a model for new parks in Sweden.

I: Is it? Okay.

K: We also have a local management steering group.

I: Monika said that concerning the cooperation you have the management board with advisers for the board. You also have this Kosterhavets. But she says one of the problems is that the group of Swedish on your side don't have the same competences [as they do]. More is done by authorities. In the board you mention, do they have decision making properties?

K: Well, yes. Okay, we have differences. I don't know if it is connected with the competences of the committee. I know most are politicians.

I: Yes, there five politicians.



K: I don't know if they are more competent [in regards to] nature preservation. I don't think so. But they have another kind of question to solve. They have to solve...what is it called in English... I can tell you what they are doing Kosterhavets.

I: Yes!

K: They have the power to [control] how we are spending the budget.

I: The group? What is this group called?

K: Kosterhavets överlåtande. The delegation.

I: Oh delegation of Kosterhavets! Does each park in Sweden have this kind of delegation?

K: No, just us. We are the first to have this kind of delegation.

I: The first delegation. Okay!

K: Now we have the Lapunia area. It is very special... [interrupted]

I: Yes! In Sarek ?

K: No, Lapunia. Far up north

I: Oh, far up north. Like Sarek national park?

K: No, Sjöfallet. They have it. And some others.

I: They also have this kind of delegation.

K: Yes, they are very specially connected to the people. But here it's the politicians from the municipalities.

I: How many representatives are in this?

K: One from Strömsund, one from [inaudible].

I: So that is two.

K: Yes, and then we have representatives from the municipality groups. From Koster there are two, from [inaudible] municipality group is in the local community and works in the interest of the small in society. And then we have the fishery in the area and the University of Goteborg.

I: And they are all part of this delegation?

K: Yes.

I: And do they all meet?

K: Yes, they physically meet three times a year and one more time together with the Norwegian people, so there are four meetings per year.

I: I see. Four meetings a year.

K: And that was very important for the creation of this special park Kosterhavets, to have this local management steering group [in control] of the park. This is very

important. You can say it was so important, that if this hadn't have happened this park wouldn't have been created.

I: And how far do the competences of this delegation reach? What can they do? What can they decide?

K: You mean that way? Not the personal competences?

I: Not the personal competences.

K: So the force of the delegation?

I: Yes, the force!

K: The EPA – the delegation- has a huge power factor. So far we have not had any conflicts. The delegation has one opinion, the EPA has one opinion, and together we are working for the counter administration board.

I: That is part of the EPA?

K: It is part of the government steering systems in Sweden. There are 21 boards in Sweden, 21 counter administrations and they are very [well] connected to the government and then we have the municipalities. Where were we?

I: The power of the delegation!

K: Yes. They might not have a lot of power on paper to change for instance the regulations in the park that would be the EPA. But if they see any reason to change the management plan or other the delegation is very important. We can talk more about the processes. Then in the end someone has to make the decision to finish the process. Everything connected to national parks is on the EPA level. We also have a representative from the EPA in the delegation. Arbitrator, it is a special word in English. A person who is an arbitrator is not... [interrupted]

I: I know... He is in-between the two. I know the German word.

K: Yes, an expert role for instance. But he doesn't have the same kind of vote in the delegation. That is very important to listen and to take question to the EPA and delegation.

I: Yes, I understand. In German we call that "Vermittler".

K: Vermittler! Probably the same. Connecting!

I: Yes, connecting.

K: So the delegation makes the decision to build something from people trying to build something [for example]. But I don't work with the delegation that is on another level.

I: But you... [interrupted]

K: But also in Sweden you can't have privately owned buildings in the parks. In some places you can have that. In Sweden 100% of the land must be owned by the state government of Sweden.

I: Yes. Do you think it would be better, if the delegation had more power? Would this be a good development? More like in Norway?

K: No. Our tasks should be similar to the ones in Norway. [That] would not be good.

I: What would not be good?

K: For instance giving permission to people. We are working on nature preservation and regulations of visitors to the area and surveillance but not if landowners or companies what to do something. They have to ask for permission elsewhere. So I don't think it would be good if we had to deal with all of these questions.

I: Yes. No, just the management board that they have in Norway for Ytre Hvaler. The one that consists of five members that is similar to yours.

K: I think it's only politicians.

I: It's a mayor and two other politicians.

K: Politicians from [inaudible]

I: Yeah.

K: So they don't have representatives from local communities.

I: Yes, it is just politicians.

K: So nobody from the fishery or university. So we have different representatives.

I: And more.

K: Yes. And we have a clearer task connected to the nature conservation.

I: So you wouldn't say it would be a good thing to give this delegation more power.

K: If you mean more decision making authority then no.

I: Okay.

K: I think that the focus on the values regarding nature and the conservation issues could get lost in the process or if you had to focus on questions like construction work.

I: So the impression I have is that Sweden- and also when you do research – is much more interested in preserving nature. You are stricter than Norway. The focus is more on protecting.

K: You are the expert!

I: This is what my research has shown me. Would you also say so?

K: Generally I agree. In Kosterhavets there are lots of activities going on in the natural park. We have local sports games, the fishery of course, tourism activities inside the national park-more tourists for water activities. We have old traditions. We have about 500 000 visitors each year.

I: But Monika also said that Kosterhavets is very special also in the sense that the area is so special to Sweden – the whole archipelago area.

K: Yes, it was the first national park.

I: Whereas Ytre Hvaler is not special for Norway. Monika said that it is not as special for Norway because they are more interested in the west coast. She also said that there are some projects in which you are working together. She even said that Kosterhavets is helping them and communicating with Norwegian authorities for example the project with fishing. They need more money for ocean; they have money for land projects but not for ocean projects.

K: She is talking about the marine monitoring.

I: Mhm, yes!

K: We have worked together for some years. Some products and information were [exchanged] during the cooperation.

I: Yes, that is what she said.

K: Together we opened the same day.

I: Would you also .. [interrupted]

K: And then we also have a product connected with sustainable destinations together with Norway for Norwegian and Swedish entrepreneurs. We give them courses on marine biology. And then the fourth project in the huge EU project was to come up [with] a common strategy for the management of the parks. Maybe we are a little further on the management plan. So I think the management plan of Ytre Hvaler is quite similar to the one Kosterhavets. In our plan the most important part is the monitoring of what is happening. You have to have a budget for that. We think – Monika agrees on that- that if we could do more marine monitoring together we could reach more.

I: Mhm, you can reach more.

K: Yes, be smarter. More efficient. Cheaper. But so far the problem is that in Norway the national parks – the marine parks anyway- only have money for the land area and not for the marine areas.

I: Exactly.

K: It is very difficult to cooperate with someone who has nothing. But I think that we are coming to the point where we have [resources] in each park so we can monitor together. So we have an annual budget of about 14 million Swedish crowns.

I: Wow.

K: In Euro about 1.4 million Euros. And about 10% goes towards monitoring. And we are also running the visitor center, all the action on land and the surveillance, all the buildings....And we are seven full-time employees at the moment.

I: And you are... [interrupted]

K: Only one organization. In Norway there is Monika from the counter administration board and then you have people from this [inaudible]. I don't know if the [inaudible] is the same as our EPA organization.

I: I think so.

K: And then you have [inaudible], which is the organization...like cleaning the beach or something.

I: Many different instances working together.

K: And then you have the commune with the visitor center. At least four or five organizations.

I: What is it like in Kosterhavets? One organization?

K: Yes, one organization. And we are connected to the counter administration board. [2sec inaudible]

I: What is your organization called?

K: ?Laersted?

I: For the whole Kosterhavets park?

K: Yes. But we have 21 county administrations in Sweden and one of them is called [inaudible] and it is about a million people live there. But its from Gotenborg to Strömstad along the coast and into the land up to [inaudible]. So a huge area. 49 municipalities. The largest one is Goteborg. And administration board work with lots of different issues but they have one department called [inaudible] – the nature department. And under the nature department they have many offices one of which is focused on Koster islands national park. So we have the office of south Koster.

I: This is where you work?

K: Yes. You are welcome to contact me for the paper.

I: Yes, thank you!

K: I have a summary of the resolution of the national plan.

I: Super! Another direction is concerning zoning. I guess it is a little more strict than the one in Ytre Hvaler. At least that is what I have heard so far.

K: Yes. Do they not have strict zoning?

I: Yes, she says yours is stricter. What is it like in Kosterhavets?

K: Simple map. In real life the lines are more exact. The zoning is very smart tool to have connected to the rules. Over time we have to deal with adapting management. For example with marine monitoring we might have to expand the forbidden area for anchoring.

I: It is almost similar.

K: Yes, they are. The management plan was created based on this. So I don't understand what Monika means by this. I hope they are as strict as we are. Anyway we have protected areas for the harbor seals, for seas birds...these are the red dots. We have a small amount of hunting.

I: Also with limited numbers?

K: No, limitation of the species. You are not allowed to hunt seals.

I: Not at all? Because in Ytre Hvaler they are allowed to hunt up to a limited number!

K: So they have 300 harbor seals and we have 2500 harbor seals. I don't like that.

They should not have that. The green area is the speed limit zone. It applies in summer time so from May 15 to the end of August you are not allowed to surpass the speed limit with a motor boat. In summer one cannot have any activities on the sea bed, but here you can also see the special agreement with the fishery. So we have a lot more areas that one can not to fish for shrimp in. I don't think you can see that here. But that is special for this area that the regulations for fishery are not in the park regulations.

I: And who exactly..[interrupted]

K: Another area of law.

I: And who exactly cooperates with the fishery?

K: We are doing that. [2sec inaudible] The authorities are responsible for sea and water regulations and all responsibility connected with the fishery. So we have a local committee connected with the fishery and we meet five to six times a year to discuss different kinds of issues. We also have an under-delegation with operatives in the fields such as fishery, tourism sector and in small groups of hunters. The hunters are usually quite angry at us [laugh].

I: So representatives of these groups are cooperating with you. For example in the fishery part they would talk to local fishery companies?

K: You can see it is similar to the project about cross road. We can discuss are mutual issues and then agree upon together and in which direction we are working as well as how to reach it. These could be new regulations like they have over there. Then we talk to them. Then we have to see that the regulations go with what we are processing here locally. This is the new kind of management area. You can use the same method for the national park and reserve area for instance the Koster islands- it is a nature reserve that we also manage. And also the delegation sees this possibility. But you can also have this approach when you talk about nature resources. To parallel the process on the first blanco we call blue area planning: More and more of various needs people could have such as energy, marine mining - not here but globally- and of course the pleasure boats and the harbors for these and all kinds of exploration of the value of this area. It is very important to do this right. So you don't...[interrupted]

I: In Austria we also have zoning. In the middle of national parks we even have zones where it is completely forbidden to enter. No human interference at all. This is not the case in Swedish parks, right?

K: Not the whole year round.

I: Only when the birds are breeding.

K: Yes, the bird secluded areas. You are not allowed to [enter].

I: Do you think it would be a good thing to have nature only areas where nature doesn't get interfered at all?

K: Well, no...I think it could be good to but you have to adapt to some kind of objective you want to reach. Not just for the sake of having no humans in the area. Why?

I: This is the way we do it in Austria.

K: But what is..[interrupted]

I: To let species and nature just develop and not interfere [with it].

K: Oh!

I: To have special species [breed] and for example if a tree falls we will leave it there because there are special species that need the old trees.

K: That is another question. There are a lot of areas in the national parks- the forest. If a tree falls down in a storm or something than we will let it be. It is important.

I: You let it be then?

K: We have the same there on the Koster islands and some other nature reserve. It is very important to leave the dead tree for insects and sponges etc. But what I mean is that if you say that in this area you aren't allowed to enter you should have a good motive to explain. We are not letting anybody into this area for this or that reason. But we also don't have any areas here that would reverse in progress if you would enter. We don't have reasons for that.

I: What would you say since Kosterhavets and also Fulufjället can be seen as role models and area also quite new, why did Sweden change in these cases and why is it changing?

K: I think it didn't just happen. I think it is a political decision.

I: Why?

K: We are more and more people who also enjoy nature and gain good experiences.

I: But also the change in management? Also the situation with the delegation-this is also new.

K: Okay, these are different kinds of issues. If you talk about this it is one kind of question. If you [are] talk[ing] about opening Swedish national parks for more experience...

I: First the other question.

K: We have this new trademark with Swedish national parks receiving gold stars. It is also in bigger framework from the EPA - we like more people and more tourists.

I: But more people coming and having interest.. [interrupted]

K: We can see that more and more people are getting more connected to the area and nature. Even on the internet. But that is one question.

I: But why did the management change?

K: I think it is also from the government. If questions can be answered responsibly locally they prefer that before centralization. I don't know, this is a very scientific question. But maybe it is some kind of balance with society regarding centralization in Brussels. But what can we do better at home -as locally as we can go. And I think we can see Kosterhavets as an example, local fishery as an example. But a local level can take responsibility for local development for future generations. People that live here are interested in having a good environment. Local fishers want to be able to fish for shrimp for the next ten, fifty and hundred years.

I: So you think this trend is definitely an upward trend.

K: Definitely! We opened in 2009, and already then the process started. We can see it in Smorland more south than Sweden. They have a similar process now involving a lot of people.

I: There is a new park opening?

K: Yes, maybe this year or 2018. And you can also clearly see the added value when you involve people.

I: Definitely!

K: You have more ambassadors, more people looking up people or exploring the area.

I: Do you think this only something that comes with new parks or do you think this could change the systems of existing parks?

K: With new parks especially yes. In old parks, well, I don't know. It depends on the activities. In Sweden you have national parks that are very remote and difficult to reach them with no activities. They don't have the momentum to work with them in this way. But in general yes, more cooperation in the management. It is very important that even when you cooperate in groups you must not forget what your role is. For example my role is to guard the values of this area with the conservation issues. And a local politician might have different perspectives. But even if you bring other perspectives into the area there are still common goals and objectives.

I: Which is mostly conservation?



K: Nature in this area is the most important raw material. Of course we like a good status in nature just for nature's sake but also a lot of people come for the beautiful nature. So why work with someone to destroy it? That is stupid.

I: Definitely yes!

K: So we have our role and it is important to us to have input and new knowledge. Therefore it is important to monitor the area- especially in the marine area. You can see the blue surface – it looks nice- but what is happening underneath there? We have a lot of 165 000 guest nights and pleasure boats just in this area. What is the effect of this? How does it affect the nature harbor? The anchorage damage? The pollution from the toilets? How is the standard in the harbor to collect waste? A lot of cooperation with the municipalities is necessary.

I: And the aspect with opening to tourists? Having tourists brings problems. What are some issues you have to face? Is it possible to combine the conservation values with tourists? Is this combination possible?

K: Yes, I think so.

I: How?

K: In each activity you have to consider the foot print of it- if the activity causes any problems or not. Of course the volume of visitors could be a problem. We don't know where that level is yet. We are working especially on the land to have people use the right paths to not run down the nature environment. We are working with information.

I: Brochures? Films?

K: Yeah, guided tours. Visitor centers. Lots of signs with different languages. We are ten people working on surveillance during the summer time. Sometime we have to report people to the police. But most people are aware of the regulations.

I: So you think communication is most important?

K: Yes, of course. We as humans are everywhere so it is important that more people are aware of the importance of a good status in nature. The majority of people think so. The nature issue is on the top ten list of topics for politicians. So it is important.

I: So then the issue of protection is important. I understand. So you think this combination is possible?

K: Yes, we are also working with local entrepreneurs. For instance two or three are working with the tour boating. High quality for the tourists each time. A good scale for this area. We are trying to meet them regularly and give them insight into the area. We are planning a continuation of what we did in Ytre Hvaler with education the businesses. But that was in the project-now more continuously.

I: So again you are working with education?

K: Yes, education and information. Communication. They have a platform to talk to us that we can see their ideas and develop experience. But we are working on this now. We have a meeting in spring and a meeting in autumn.

I: So two times a year?

K: Yes, on a regular basis.

I: I think these were all the questions I have. Do you have any more important topics?

K: Well, no. I don't know if you understood the differences and similarities between Norway and Sweden.

I: I did!

K: Feel free to contact me.

I: I will! [small talk]

I: Would you also say that Kosterhavets and Ytre Hvaler are transboundary parks?

K: We have talked about this but these are two parks in two different countries. They were created in two different legislations. Norway and Sweden. But we are neighbors and we are trying to work together as much as we can.

I: Why is it not one park together?

K: That is a good question. I know they are trying between Denmark and Sweden to create a national park but I don't think it will succeed because of the different legislations. They are so different even though they are so similar. We also have different processes. We have a bottom up process. They are both opening the same day so both are working. And now afterward we are working similar but not the same with the local parks. They are organized very differently.

I: Yes, definitely.

K: One is EU and one is not.

I: Does this make a difference?

K: It should.

I: Interesting.

K: We are not interested in seeing a border. I can personally reflect on the ocean and marine life that they are independent from the borders. It is important to have a good status in all areas.

#### 14.4 INTERVIEW 4: Fulufjället National Park, Sweden – July, 14<sup>th</sup> 2016

A: We were given money by the project, what we are going to start, doing exactly what they were going into in regards of accessibility. So, were that work is actually going to go, I think we're just getting that off the ground. Like what we want to do with the money, how we want to spend it, where does it need to be spent and so on. I mean people have their ideas, I have my ideas about what could be done to increase accessibility on this part. I don't know what could be done on the part of the Norwegian side to increase their accessibility. Hopefully there will be a good outcome.

I: What is your position here in the park?

A: I am the temporary manager of Fulufjället. Because John is usually the manager here, but she is on parental leave. So I'm filling in for her. From May first until November last. Which is probably why they - the guy who directed you to me.

I: That was Andreas.

A: That was probably why he sent you here, you should probably talk to John as well because I'm kind of new in my job.

I: Yes, but still I'm very thankful you found time, because it's hard in July.

A: Oh, I had the day off anyway. But here's the thing. I was supposed to work today when we set this meeting but then there was a switch off in the schedule and - but that's alright, I'm assuming this isn't going to take all day.

I: This? No! 30 or 40 minutes. But you live close, right?

A: Yes, that's ok. Relax.

I: Yes, like the chef of Kosterhavets he drove all the way up the highway to meet me halfway and I felt so bad. Scandinavian people are just so nice. It's not like that in Austria. People here are so much more relaxed and easygoing and friendlier.

A: It makes for an easy work environment if you can just relax a little bit.

I: Definitely! So, first of all, I already gained a lot of insight into the Norwegian part of Fulufjället. To sum that up, Chris Bjornstad said that it was a very bad example of how not to found a national park, how not to establish it, as it was established in 2012 and it lacked a lot of information and people were not informed and also when you drive there to Trysil there are no signs of the national park. It was a really bad politics. And also nobody knows exactly whose idea the park was, the establishment was. There are some rumors that it might have been the major but nobody knows. Very much like top-down. People said so here will be a national park, that's it. So it was definitely not a good example. And he said that here it was totally different. So what could you tell me about the establishment of the Swedish Fulufjället national park?

A: Well, personally I think that when this was established in 2002 it was a great way to show how to establish a national park in the modern day. Because back in the day

it probably would have been much more like what you just described, as in top down, somebody saying this is a national park and we don't care who lives there and we don't care what you're doing. If you have been fishing and hunting there for a long time we don't care, this is now a national park. Which was kind of how negotiation started with Fulufjället, when that was supposed to be. But then there was a big roar from the local people of course because there were like having their mountain taken away. And then there were discussions with local people and entrepreneurs and everyone who has been living here for a long time, so we said how can we turn this into a national park and also informing these people that this is what you have to gain, as in you need to see what you are gaining as opposed to what you have taken away.

I: So you worked a lot with information.

A: Yes, well, the information probably came a little bit later than it should have, because initially there were many debates and articles in the newspapers, people were upset - and then the information started coming up. Because we realized that we had to turn the tide.

I: Okay, so first they tried like top down but it didn't work -

A: I don't know, but it felt like - Probably they did it the old way. And then all of a sudden that didn't work. And then they started listening to people, people got to say what they wanted to say and like, ok we understand you can't hunt there anymore so how can we solve this. So we'll put in a ten year probation hunting time, from the beginning when the national park was founded in 2002 until 2012 there was a probation period where you could still hunt in the national park and then in 2012 that ended. And I am sure you are familiar with that we have different zones within the national park, which is kind of unique in Sweden as far as I'm concerned. We don't have that anywhere else.

I: Except for Kosterhavets.

A: Yes, they have it, but they were founded after us.

I: So you set the ground for zoning. This is also one of my questions.

A: Yes. You had to realize that - for example many of those lakes up here would be named after the fish that was living in these lakes. Because that's what people did. They went up there and created stories about people going up there in 1700 or 1800 and came down with horse loads of fish. And then all of a sudden someone just says you can't fish here anymore. Okay, so we made a fishing zone. So we make it zone 3, you can fish there, sure you need to get a license but it's not that expensive. So you have fishing allowed within the national park which is also unique in Sweden, apart from Kosterhavets. Not in any other national park are you allowed to fish, as far as I know. You might want to look that up but as far as I know you are not allowed to fish in the national park, except when you are a landowner or a part of the indigenous personal. Then you are allowed to fish and hunt because that is your right.

I: And concerning zoning. What are the - I only know you have it. What are the differences, because what I find interesting when I compare Austrian national parks

with Scandinavian national parks, we have zoning in each national park. Also we have in the middle of the park we have a zone where human interference is completely forbidden. Humans must not enter this zone and it's completely up to nature, the development. We do not cut trees, we are not even allowed to walk in there. So it's completely forbidden to even enter and then there are around this zone, there is another zone where you can enter but there are rules. So, that's how we do zoning. But you don't have that here? There is no zone...

A: No, there is no zone that you are not allowed to visit. You can visit all of them. Our zoning is more dependent on how much strain you want to put on the environment in the area. For example zone 4 in which we are in now, which is what we call high activity zone. It's where we make sure that we have great trails because we want people to stay on the trail. Because there are so much people passing by and you want to keep them on the trails. And you also want to have some commodities, like toilets and resting areas and such. So that people stay within the path sort of, because there are so many people coming through this area. Like, here and up to the waterfall we're talking 50000 people every year. So you want them to stay on the path, because when you let 50000 people loose they're going to be all over the place. But then on the other hand, within zone 4 you are not allowed to make fires except in the designated areas. You're not allowed to pitch up a tent and sleep in zone 4. It's an activity zone for people during the day but at night you are not allowed to stay in zone 4. Zone 4 has also been extended to include the Old Tjikko, the oldest tree. So you don't want people there staying overnight. Zone 4 is pretty much here, going up until the waterfall and going back up. Zone 3 is up in the mountain on the plateau and it includes the bigger lakes on the north end of the park. And within zone 3 you can fish with the special license permit that you can buy. It's not expensive, like 9€ a day. So there you can fish. And then there is zone 2 which is pretty much the forest land surrounding the mountain. And there you can tent as well and within that there are the regular restrictions according to the Swedish right of public access. With some exceptions national park. You are not allowed to pick flowers and you are not allowed to bring anything back with you.

I: This is written by the state law?

A: Yeah, the right of public access. Yes, that is a state law that is valued outside of national parks. The right of public access tells you that you are allowed to enter anybody's land and any forest. You cannot put up a sign saying this is private land. You can pick berries, you can pick mushrooms. You can tent anywhere for one night. So there are exceptions to that when you are in the national park. And then there is zone 1 which is the biggest one of Fulufjället. I think it's 75% maybe. Which is basically from zone 3 and southwards, the whole plateau. And there is the same. You can pitch your tent anywhere, you can walk anywhere, you can make a fire. It's just like anywhere else basically. But you can't pick flowers and you can't bring things home with you. So the major part of the national park is pretty much the same as any other national park, the exception being zone 4 and zone 3. Because telling people you are not allowed to tent within a national park is pretty new. And telling people that they can't fish is also kind of new. So those are probably the bigger differences from other national parks in Sweden.

I: So this is one thing which makes Fulufjället pretty special.

A: Yes, definitely.

I: Why was it in this case that people came up with this innovation, with this new zoning system. Why was that?

A: I'm guessing that it came to be because someone realized that you had to - this was a different national park from those we already had. Because this was already very well visited. So if you wanted to turn this into a national park you had to do it in a different way. So I'm guessing that's how zone 4 came to be. Like, the idea of zone 4, this is a high activity zone, this is where you want to steer people towards and have it very laid out where people are going to go and how they're going to do it. Zone 3 I guess was a compromise to turn the public around. Like, ok we're not going to take away your fishing rights, you can fish up there and it's not expensive and it's even going to be even less expensive if you live in Särna because you have a discount. People from the area get a discount on the fishing license. So it was a combination of this already being and well visited sight and a compromise towards the locals.

I: I get it, yes. Mhm. And concerning the management of this park. How is this park managed? What are the instances and who does the decision making? How does this work?

A: The decision - hm, the practical work is top to the bottom. It's done by people higher that are working for the county administration board, which is also who I am working for. So we do the practical work on the ground, we keep the trails, we fill up the firewood and we make sure the huts are alright and everything else. And then we have the environmental unit of the county administrations board in Falun. They are above us. And they make decision in regard of investments for example. Okay, this needs to be done and that needs to be done and maybe do we need, for example we bought AEDs, heart starters, but they did not only end up here. We have one here and one on the mountain and there is another one in a different cabin. So that was done above us but we see the results anyway.

I: And how many members do they have?

A: I think - currently there is - seven or eight people working at the office, which is where most of our people are. And they manage north of Dalarna basically.

I: So they are responsible only for Fulufjället or...

A: No, they have Fulufjället, they have Töfsingdalen, they have all the cabins where we are responsible outside of the national parks, there are safety cabins and resting cabins in the mountains outside of the national parks and they manage those as well. So we don't have a unique agency just for national parks. We also do building permits for houses.

I: And do they also have as a member... experts, like experts on nature?

A: They have like my boss for example. He is a biologist.

I: And also politicians?

A: No, this is supposed to be freestanding from politics, but of course then you have - the highest person within the county administration board. Who I think is elected by politicians. So of course you have some influence. But our work is kind of, of course it's depending on who's in charge, who's responsible. Because they decide how much money we get.

I: And above them? Is it only the environmental department?

A: Hm, above them - Of course you always have the environmental protection agency as well in these kind of matters. But we more coexist than one answering to the other. Especially here in Naturum. Naturum is a branch that is owned by the EPA, we're run by the county administration board. So we kind of answer to both. The national park is run by the county administration board with the assistance of the EPA.

I: And if you in Naturum, you come up with a new idea. You need something or you want to change something. How does this work?

A: Usually I would go to the guy that is in charge at the office, the county administration. And that is if I needed something done outside. Something like there is something wrong with the trail, the toilet is broken - then I go to him. If there is a big change that needs to be done in Naturum then maybe I could ask the EPA, would you like to co-fund this, for example. For example next year it's going to be 15 years since this exhibit was put in and it's considered done, so it's to be exchanged. And then the EPA will bring, well, give you money, because okay, it's been 15 years, it's done its job, now we can put in a new one. So they give you funds to rebuild. And that would be from the EPA and not from the county administration. Maybe you can get money from both if they say, ok now it's going to be redone anyway, maybe we do something about the building as well, maybe we want to redo the ventilation or something. Then the county administration board will do this because they are in charge of the building.

I: In literature I always find that Fulufjället has a so called partnership model. What does that mean?

A: I'm guessing John would be probably better answering that than I am.

I: This has to mean something like cooperation?

A: Yes.

I: But who is cooperating with whom? Because what you've told me so far about decision making sounds like any other Swedish national park.

A: Yeah, it probably is. Partnership model... I'm not really well read into that. John would be better to answer this question. They said you could have a skype meeting with him. Because he can see more than me where the funds are coming from and what they are being used for. So he can tell you maybe that a bigger percentage of our money is coming from the EPA than other national parks, for example. But those

are figures I have no access to. I can't see this, I don't need to see this, that's above my paygrade.

I: Do you think that the system, like the management system, the way you described it to me, is working fine or do you wish you had something like a management board like they have it in Norway?

A: It kind of depends. Because right now we can manage the smaller things, we manage pretty much ourselves. We can make quick changes, quick small changes, we're agile that way. If we had a decision board that needed to be involved in all the decisions, then that would take up a lot of time. On the other hand, on the major issues, where I have to go up and above a little bit, I would probably more access to these people if I had an administration board that were working solely with this. So, I can't say that it is the one or the other. Maybe a combination of the two. But right now I wouldn't say it is working fine but it is working really well. Because the small things that we need to do, we can do. We can make those decisions on our own and say, ok this trail needs to be improved, and we're building this new resting area over there that's going to be wheelchair accessible and so on. We can do those changes. We can be pretty agile that way. But I could also ask for bigger things.

I: So for bigger amounts of money it's harder?

A: Yes, for bigger amounts of money it takes more time and there is more effort involved. If you had people working solely with this national parks or a number of national parks, say you had someone working with national parks in the middle of Sweden, like you had a board for the four or five in the middle of Sweden, working solely with that - then decisions could be made quicker. And they would be more read into the needs of the national parks because that would be their only job.

I: Exactly, that's what I mean.

A: So, yes, in that perspective, that kind of management might be advantageous. But on the smaller things I would keep it the same.

I: Concerning, when we go back to zoning. One of the questions I am investigating is, whether it is possible to combine the protection of long term conservation with tourism and also the interests and rights of the local communities. As you already said, of the locals fishing restrictions. Do you think there is a good middle ground, can there be found a good common solution that fits for everyone? On the one hand nature protection, on the other hand this huge amount of tourism, and on the third hand the interests and rights of local people? Do you think there could be reached a good balance or is there already a good balance and what are the major problems if there is not such an ideal balance?

A: Currently I think we have a pretty decent balance right now. As far as I know, all the people I talked to, when they look back on when the park was founded the whole thing was turned around because of people managing the national park. They started listening to the locals. The one thing that I think is kind of out of balance is that I don't feel like... they manages to... maybe this isn't the fault of the park manager, it might be something else. I think they failed to address to the locals how they could use the



national park for job creations. Because Särna is a small place and there are not a lot of things you can do work with. So, having this national park here for example opens opportunities. If you are looking to see them and take them. We tried with entrepreneurs doing the tourist tours and we tried having local entrepreneurs doing that, they didn't really work, it failed to give value to that kind of trip, because we do it for free because we're funded by taxes. So when we do tours, it's free for people to come here. And then, if you have to pay for it, you have to add value to that. You can't just do the same thing and expect people to pay for it, when we're doing it for free. That is something that I feel could have done differently and still should be done differently.

I: So, involvement of locals into the working process.

A: Yeah. But then we had issues as well because we were for a while looking at the option of taking volunteers. Because there is a demand from international volunteers. Which is a concept that is very strange for Swedes.

I: They wanted to come here and help?

A: Yes, pretty much. And this is a concept that is not... this is very new to Sweden. Like people don't understand. Like I had friends who went abroad and did volunteer work, just for the experience. Sweden hasn't really grasped that concept of people wanting to come and work for free, for the experience.

I: Really? Because in Hardangervidda you even have offices and cheap accommodations for volunteers.

A: Yeah, I know. But this concept is completely new to Sweden. I have a friend of mine who is working on this right now, starting up a... you call it Scandinavian Conservation Volunteers. And this is completely new. We have never done this. And the county in [inaudible] tried it a couple of years ago.

I: So they wanted it? To install it.

A: Yes. They wanted volunteers to come and work. And they tried it. Because there is plenty of stuff that needs to be done here. But the county administration board they have only so many people and so much money. So how do you fix that? Ok, volunteers. They work for free, they can live in tents as far as you are concerned and they are completely okay with that. Then there came protests from the locals, saying why have volunteers do the work that could be done by people getting paid living here. Which is a valid point. But we have our budget, we have the people we have and these are the people we have. If we can do more with those people then... like, if we can take those people and not put them to work. If we tell them, ok here is 15 volunteers, go do that thing, then that's going to be done in a third of the time that it takes all of us, it's going to take a lot less to do it and everything is going to be better. Because we can't hire more people but we can take volunteers. But this is how this concept doesn't work for Swedes. Because then, ooh they're doing it for free, and this and that, and why isn't someone getting paid. And then there are labour rights and there's ... Well, this is something we need to change, the perspective on how

we're looking at, how we're viewing that thing in particular. ...Well, I don't even remember your question now...

I: It was just how to combine...

A: Ok. So if we're looking at volunteers, for example, this would be a great way to combine this. Like you'd have young people coming, seeing this area, maybe they meet somebody, maybe they want to stay here. So looking at that it would be a great way to combine this. I think Fulufjället is a great example on how you can combine creating a national park with unique environmental features, which it has, with still compromising enough so that you can have people coming here fishing for example. Which is one of the reasons people want to come here. A lot of people come here, they rent a hut up there and they go fishing. And they go hiking in the mountains and they go fishing. And if you had taken that away, the huts in the mountains would have been useless. They would have come just to stay there and then what. You could have gone hiking, yeah, but we don't have summits to go to, which means that daytrips is just going to be walking around. So you kind of had to keep the fishing.

I: Yeah... but are some fish endangered?

A: No. There are no endangered species in these lakes.

I: And no limitations? Like up to a certain amount of fish. Is there like a quote?

A: Hmm..... I'm guessing there is a quote. There is always a quote. I fish a lot and there is always a quote. I can check that later. I'm sure downstairs we have that information.

Usually quotes and regulations are size wise. Like you can't take up to much small fish but on the other hand, in the mountain lakes they're kind of small. And if you don't take the small fish, you're only going to have small fish. So this is kind of self-regulatory as well. So I think in regard of the fishing regulation, I think they are actually looser here than like you'd find in many streams for example. Because where I have my summer cabin there you have rules saying, you can't take up fish that are shorter than 25 centimeters. You have to put them back. As far as I know you don't have that here. But that's actually to the advantage to the fish population, you take out the small fish and keep the big one.

I: Ok. Mh... One of my last points is cooperation with the Norwegian part of Fulufjället. How would you describe it?

A: It's very hard to describe because it is extremely new. First of all it is extremely new with regards to this cooperation that is just been founded like a month ago. There is a project that came to be about a month ago, it's EU-funded. And I think people are just trying to figure out like, what are we going to do, what's this going to be.

I: But aren't there also other things where you are cooperating, like visitor strategy. And also isn't there common branding?

A: This is exactly what is starting to happen now. Like, we just exchanged the signs at the entrance for example to “Welcome to the Fulufjället National Parks”, plural. So that is just, that wheel is just starting to turn right now.

I: And what triggered it?

A: I think... first of all Fulufjället, the Norwegian side, they were 10 years after us, becoming a national park. So that can put the whole thing back. And then I think the whole projecting that is also developing right now triggered this, because the national park, through changing branding and through changing logo types and overall... and I think as that was happening they also decided that if we cooperate with Norway anyway, we might as well do it now. So we don't have to do it again in 2 years. Because we were changing logo types and fonts on our things anyway, so let's just do it now. Let's make sure we have the same.

I: And what is planned? How much cooperation and is there the will to cooperate more?

A: I really think that we should. I think we should cooperate more especially because if we do it would definitely increase accessibility to this area. Because coming here from the Norwegian side is a bit easier than coming here from the Swedish side, for example. And I feel that if we were to cooperate more we could also reach more people, reach more visitors. And what I would like to do, because we have a lot of people who come and they kind of want to walk through the park.

I: Cross it?

A: Yeah, basically walk along. Cross it from one side to the other. Which is kind of impossible now because there is no communication. There are no busses, nothing. But if we could work with the Norwegian side to create like a bus route.

I: Infrastructure.

A: Yes, infrastructure. We need that desperately. So, this was the first thing that came to my mind when I saw that we were granted this money. Like, oh great, can we have a bus route for three months of the year? That's all we need, 3 months of the year, June, July, August. To have a bus that goes from Särna around the mountain and back, maybe twice a day. Just so that can people can walk from here to the other end and take the bus and come back. And take the bus from Särna to here. That is all we need. Just like that being able to cross over to the Norwegian side and just pick up people and come back, that would be awesome!

I: Off topic, how long does it take to cross the park?

A: Two days, three days, depends on how quick you are. Most people probably three days. If you are not in a hurry, I would probably do it in four, because I enjoy being out.

I: And you need a tent and GPS.

A: Well, yes, you need a tent. The trail is pretty well marked, actually.

I: Have you done it?

A: No, I hadn't had the time.

I: So, do you think... what you think, that managing the parks together... that would never be possible, right?

A: I think that would be very difficult.

I: Why?

A: Because the management structures are very different for example. And in this case I feel that we probably... what we could do together when managing the park is we make sure that when we make decisions regarding the park, make sure to correspond that to a Norwegian colleague and make sure that, ok we're about to make this decision regarding this or that or the other, how do you guys feel about that? Would this affect your side of the park in any way that is undesirable to you?

I: Ok, so you're informing.

A: I hope that's the way it works. And I think this is the way it should work. Because if we're supposed to be one park then decisions need to be made in communication with each other. Otherwise it's going to be... because what you definitely don't want is some regulations being valued at this side of the border and others on the other side of the border. Because that's going to be a mess.

I: Also for tourists.

A: Definitely for tourists. That's my major concern in that case if you have different rules on different sides of the border then people are going to read online that these are the rules and then they come here and say, these are the rules, and we say no, that's only on the Norwegian side. And you don't want that. You want the same rules to be valued... as far as it goes, as far as it's possible. That's the way you want it to be. Well, that's the way I want it to be.

I: Why not have... I mean, a management can be kept, some things can be kept separated, but why not have one let's call it board which has members of both parks, of Norway and Sweden, for Fulufjället?

A: Well, that's a great idea.

I: Wouldn't that be... a board that's cooperating, that is making decisions, deciding what is good for the parks and then bringing these ideas back to...

A: Yeah, respective managements.

I: What do you think of this idea?

A: It's a good idea I think. And I feel also that, if you had a group of people that you decided, ok you guys are going to be part of the board that has the authority over Fulufjället, both parks, I feel that you could probably give those people more authority to make decisions on their own. But what I fear is that if both parts have to come back and go ask their bosses, can we do this, we want to do this, can we do this? Then one part says yes and one part says no and then they have to redo the whole thing. That board would probably have to have some sort of autonomy, like ok we are

in charge of the park. We have the mandate to make decisions in regard to the park, as long as it's not concerning my legislation, then they should be able to make decisions. So that they don't have to go to their bosses and come back. Because that bureaucracy is going to take forever. So, yeah, I think it's a good idea, but they need to have the ability to make decisions on their own.

I: But why do the systems here don't come up with an idea like this?

A: Maybe nobody thought to ask. Or it's the old tradition, it's the old idea of this is the way things should be done. Like, ok, we have our management, they have their management, and we talk to each other, but that's fine. But it's the idea of that's how it's always been done maybe. Like we have... people fear change.

I: I'll come up with this idea in my paper.

A: Yeah, do it. I'll give it to everybody! I think it's a great idea.

I: Why I came up with this is, I had in Hardangervidda with the chef there, and he complained that there it's in another direction, the problem. They have three management boards for the whole park. Three separate boards, they manage different areas, and they have like you described, it is important for the boards to have a certain amount of autonomy so they can decide things. But this led to other kinds of problems. Because this area decided one thing, the other board for the other area decided another thing and these are completely different things. And yeah, he said that it would be much better if you had one board for the whole park and not three boards for one park. And here it's also what you said, the Swedish side is doing one thing and the Norwegian side is doing the other thing. You are trying to cooperate but if you wanted to unify it more you probably need one board. But installing a board would be completely new to the Swedish approach. Sweden never had a management board before. This would be something completely new. So it would maybe be really hard to install that.

A: No, I don't think that it would be. You'd just have to be... well, what you need to realize is that since we don't have management boards, who would be on this board? And more to the point, if this like, say for example that me as a manager for Naturum and John as a manager for the county administration board office and maybe someone else from our Swedish side and then three equals from the Norwegian side were put on the board. Alright, so we get to make decisions about the park and so on, but we haven't done this, like this kind of work isn't done in Sweden. Which means, who... well... it's hard to put into words. Who's paid, whose time does it have to come out of? Because John has a full board already, I have a full board already... like, we already have full time jobs. Then you need to cut time from this and invest it into the board.

I: And then you need more people for here.

A: Yes, and that costs money. That's what it comes down to.

I: Exactly. So it's all about is it worth it?

A: I think it would be worth it.

I: Or is it fine enough the way it is?

A: I don't know. I don't think it is. Because I don't think these parks are used to the potential that they have. Which is why a cooperation would probably be advantageous to both sides.

I: And this is why cooperation is –

A: - is key, yes. That's why I think it is a great idea to have joined board for Swedish and Norwegian sides. Hopefully that idea is coming. Hopefully that is how they are planning to work on this once this cooperation thing comes off the ground. Like when this starts working in real life then hopefully there will be a board. Maybe there is a board already, above my head.

I: I haven't heard of one. Also didn't...

A: Then probably there isn't one.

I: He just mentioned some project... like monitoring, common branding. This is what he talked about.

A: Yeah. So yes, I think the cooperation would be very good for both sides and I think it's key. And I think that in the long run it would be key for Naturum as well and for the other surrounding areas. That the national park works as well as it can be because that is how we get people to come here. In the end it's a hard balance because you want... one side of my heart feels like, yes I want to get as many visitors as possible to come here because that's how we show people this place and we also show to my bosses that these people came and we need more money next year because the numbers of people are increasing. On the other hand you want to conserve this place. So the balance between is always hard. And even though I think it has been managed pretty well. I mean I've been to national parks in other parts of Sweden and other parts of the world, which are very different from this place. Some of them are really, really developed. You have car roads and you have like graveled hiking paths all over and I feel like in my world, in my personal opinion, that doesn't really qualify to me as a national park. On the other hand I've been deep into the Sarek national park where there are no trails apart from those made by boots walking. And there are no cabins, there is nothing. That to me is a national park but it is inaccessible. People can't go there, we had to fly in by helicopter. So that's the other end of the spectrum. That's conservation, yes, but people can't see it. How can you appreciate something that you cannot perceive, you can't visit it.

I: How well visited is Sarek?

A: I don't think there are statistics. I think they are planning on making a... They build a Naturum there two years ago.

I: Yeah, the Laponia...

A: Yeah, Laponia. But I don't have figure on how many go actually visit Sarek. Because in Sarek of course you need to have a certain permission and certificates to have commercial tours for example. Only few are issued each year and so on. So I

don't have numbers. But of course you can walk into Sarek, but it takes a couple days. We only spent ten days or something.

I: Ten days in Sarek?

A: Yeah. Well Sarek and Stora Sjöfallet.

I: Also with a tent... wow. Did you make a fire? Did you collect wood?

A: Yeah, you can collect wood that is already dead. To make fires, yes.

I: Cool.

A: Yes, it was alright. But that is like the other end of the spectrum. So do you want to be in between, can you have parts of the park being the one end and the other being the other? I think we manage this pretty well here. Because people can come and you can visit, you can go see the waterfall and you don't have to be a very fit person, you don't have to bring a daypack for example. You can just walk there and experience this amazing place. And if you want to be alone and you want to go for a hike head south for half a day and you are alone. There's nobody there.

I: That's a great mixture. I agree.

A: Which is why I feel that Fulufjället is a modern national park in that sense of the word, because we manage to combine the two.

I: Therefore my final question is: Is Fulufjället a role model?

A: I think it could be. I really think it could be and it should be.

I: What does it lack to be a role model? Why is it not a role model?

A: Because people would think we are cheating. People don't come to see Fulufjället national park, they come to see the waterfall. So we already have an edge. Because people were going to come here anyway and they were coming before this was a national park and they are going to keep coming afterwards. But in regards to how this park was formed and how it is being maintained I really think that it should be. For management I think it could be a role model, yes. It should be because the zoning ideas that have been made are really well thought out. If you look at national parks that are being created in Sweden today like around Vålådalen for example, they are on the docket to become national parks. But who says there are people coming? When they're coming ok, what's going to happen to snowmobiling? Are we not going to be allowed to snowmobile anymore? Which is the same as it was here. You are allowed to snowmobile here on certain tracks. So, if they took a page out of our book and created zones for example. It's not too hard to combine fishing for example with a national park. Because there is one person with a rod standing along the lake, it's not that disturbing. Snowmobiles you can hear from 4 miles away.

I: They would probably scare off all the animals.

A: Yes, they would scare off and disturb and create noise and when the snow starts to melt they are going to ride on the ground anyway and destroy things. So how do you do that? So, well, I feel like Fulufjället could be a role model for some national

parks. Some don't have the option of creating it the way we did. But at least that it can be done in another way than putting a fence around something and saying, this is now protected. There are other ways of doing it, you can look outside the box and see, ok how can we do this together with the locals first?

I: So definitely concerning the establishment phase and this process.

A: Yes, they could look at how it was done here and think: ok, this is what they did. This part of what they did worked, this part did not work. So we need to push information out early, this is what's going to happen, this is what we want to do. What do you think? If you do that early enough so that people feel involved with the creation of this national park, which one it ever may be, then you've learned from what we did. Because we did this kind of in the opposite way, but I believe the end result was pretty good. If not a role model, then people should at least learn from what we did.

I: Well, I think this was my last question. Thank you.



#### **14.5 INTERVIEW 5: Monika Olsen, Ytre Hvaler National Park, Norway – July, 11<sup>th</sup> 2016**

I: My first question is, how is this park managed?

M: It is governed by a management board by 5 politicians 2 from Fredikstad and 2 from Hvaler and the major from Hvaler is the leader of the board.

I: Ok so 5 board members and the major is the leader.

M: Yes. It is a priority for them to be in the board.

I: Is this something – because I also had an interview at Hardangervidda – and he very much criticized that only politicians are members of the board and he said that it would be much better if for example and especially for animal protection if the board not only consisted of politicians but also of biologists for example or people that have as a priority the protection of the environment. How much is this an issue here?

M: No, we don't have ever had that problem because we...well....I think it's very well-functioning and I think for me as a secretary I have the county governor as my colleague and we have another group – an advisory group it consists of farmers, biologists, fishermen, cottage owners, so of all the important groups that are the users of the area of the national park.

I: And they advise the board?

M: Yes. They are not decision makers but they are used as advisors to give their opinion about important things like the management plan or other things.

I: Do you know if this is a common thing or is this special for Ytre Hvaler National Park?

M: No, every national park has to have such a board which has to consist of important user groups.

I: And who decides who is in this advisory group?

M: They don't have a leader and I am the secretary of the board. In our directions it says that there must be at least one meeting per year between the board and the advisory group.

I: This is obligatory?

M: Yes. One is obligatory but you can have more if you need them. For example if you have some process making in the management plan or something. We haven't had that discussion but we don't have the same problems as Hardangervidda perhaps.

I: And also, what's interesting here is – and I am kind of comparing – in Hardangervidda something that he also criticized is that there is not one management board for the whole park but rather 3 management boards which manage the park together. Here it is only one board for this park, do you think this is an advantage? Because this is also something which he suggested, he said that it

would be much better if there was only one board as the cooperation between the 3 boards is difficult.

M: Yes. It must be very hard, I think so too because we try to cooperate and absolutely want to cooperate with Kosterhavets NP and we have common meetings every year with the board of Kosterhavets (Kosterhavets deligationen). But their board doesn't have the same decisions and responsibility. They are more an advisory group.

I: How are they managed?

M: They are a group consisting of different user groups in Koster like our advisory group.

I: But they don't have a management board like the one you have?

M: No because they have the county that is making decisions. So we are not at the same level but at least we meet and discuss some things of common interest.

I: But why can't you meet with the county, with people that are responsible, people from state authority?

M: They have some members in the delegation.

I: But they are not decision makers? They can just give them the information that you tell them?

M: Yes. Of course we could also have meetings with the county but that's not how it's come to be because we had an interreg-project together. We had a very important one. It was from 2008 until 2012 I think. It was the process making of the NP, making the management plan, making big a event for the NP and so on.

I: Were they opened simultaneously?

M: Yes. Both in 2009. It was a big party as people came from both countries. It was a big party, thousands of people were coming together. We then concreted with the making of brochures and films, we use the same films in both visitor centers. So that was a very important project where we established something together. But since we do have different national park rules and systems, we don't have the same management, but we do agree on what are the problems we have to cope with.

I: And who do you think is the better problem solver? If there is a problem, who is quicker? Which system is better?

M: In some aspects it's Kosterhavets because it is a very important NP in Sweden, it's high priority by economical means and they have a lot of money. And for example in the oceans for doing different actions. We don't have the money for the ocean areas at all because that is kept on national level.

I: So there are levels on which you don't really have influence on like ocean?

M: Yes.

I: But why is the ocean still on the authority level and not in the park management?

M: I think that's because in Norway as in Sweden NPs are usually in the mountains and the system is made to fit in for management of mountain areas so we were the first Marine NP, as Kosterhavets was, but they have much...ähm....well the west coast of Sweden is very special for them and this part in Norway here, is not very important because you have the fishery and the oil in the west coast of Norway and in the national politics that's the most important fisheries and management for our ocean areas. Now it's starting to come, they see that it is here where people live and there are going to be I think 3 more marine NPs in the next years further south. So the focus now is coming to our area too and I think now they admit that they have to change the system. So we always have enough money for doing management in land areas but not in the ocean.

I: And money is transferred to the park from state authority? There is a certain amount of money that is given and the management board can decide what actions to do with this money?

M: Yes. So the management is done by the board which has every year to make a report and has to apply for money. You know the system?

I: Not really.

M: Ok so we have an environmental department, that's the top of our system.

I: Which is completely management by state authority?

M: Yes. With a minister. And below that you have the Environmental Directorate.

I: Are they directly cooperating?

M: Yes. They deal with biology and the climate, they aren't politicians but experts. The politics is made in the department and in the directorate they are doing the expert advisory. They know what needs to be done and from there the board makes a report.

I: You cooperate with them?

M: Yes of course. They can give advice for us and we cooperate with them but not directly because they are also the system where they take complaints. If we make some decisions which the users are not satisfied with they can complain to the county governor and then to the directorate. So they are just in general advisors, they cannot give direct advice.

I: And do you think it would be better if the board had more decision making opportunities or do you think it is fine the way it is?

M: I think it is fine the way it is. I am in the board and I can seek for advice and ask the group of experts if I need advice. And I also cooperate with the municipality employees in Hvaler or in Fredrikstadt and most areas are in Hvaler so it's more naturally for me to cooperate with the municipalities in Hvaler. So when I need to cooperate with someone I ask the county.

I: So your first instance is the county.

M: Yes.

I: And from the county the next instance is what?

M: The directorate.

I: And then? The environmental department?

M: Yes. But they are very far out already. So I think the system works for us but I think it would be really difficult if we had 3 boards because you need to be in the same meetings to make the if it's not that the decisions are very local problems. So the boards should cooperate. I know this National park-manager from Hardangervidda and local decisions are very important to him. And perhaps it's because they have more conflicts. And we don't have many. We are going to have a project with the fishermen and that will be interesting to see.

I: That's also a questions; how much do you involve locals, like fishermen, local inhabitants and also during the establishing phase how much did you talk to people that are now part of this park?

M: Of course you can't talk to each and every one but we have groups with different topics, like culture, and a group for fishery and a group for farming interests. So in these groups there are leaders from different organizations that of course could take the problems back to their organization. So, that was when we were making the NP. Then we discussed different rules and management and all those questions. And then we also made the management plan, together with these groups. So that's how we involved the groups. We also had some open meetings, for each and every one to come, where we presented the different discussions the groups had. So everyone could...

I: Everyone ... For example a farmer could come?

M: Yeah. We have the common meeting for everyone, we have a presentation for all the work in the groups for the people in the county, in the municipality. So it was a meeting in the *rådhus* [town hall]. So everyone who wanted to come could come.

I: Okay. So you think there was enough promotion also for the park. Enough so that people knew about the park. Common knowledge, enough knowledge.

M: I think it's always difficult to know if you reach all... but we had announcements in the local papers and at that time it was not so much internet I think. But we had announcements on the canals that we know reach people.

I: I talked to Kristian Bjornstad, the manager of the Norwegian part of Fulufjället and he said it was a worst case scenario. Like, the establishing phase, it was horrible because there was no promotion and no one even knew about the park for a long time. And no one even knows whose idea the park was. Maybe the majors, but that's just speculation. And there are no signs of the park. And - just a really bad situation. And the park exists...

M: In the Norwegian part?

I: The Norwegian part of Fulufjället, in Trysil.

M: Yeah, I know where it is but I didn't know...

I: There is a national park center and he is the chef... and he said it was horrible. No local involvement.

M: I don't think it's the same situation here because it was the major, we had a leading group with leaders from important organizations, like [inaudible], it's a big group here because it's a tourist area. And from fishermen and farmers and from biologists, so there was a lot of involvement.

I: This seems to be a good example of how a park should be managed in Norway.

M: I thought it was how it was done everywhere.

I: Obviously not... So this park was established in 2009, right? Well, it wasn't established in '09 but there was a nature diversity act in 2009. And I wanted to know, how much do you feel like it changed. Because it changed a lot in the system. This was when this whole management with the boards was established. This was new, right. So what was the situation before?

M: Yes, it was the same year as the park. But we still had a very important law from 1970, which our rules are founded in. So, I think it didn't have any great impact. Just in how you had to write letters and how you take in all the different paragraphs when you make the discussion and why you say yes or no to something. How I think about management, I don't know why, I'm not educated in this. How we think about management didn't really change.

I: But what was it like before the management system, there was no board or was there a board?

M: Of course, with the – hm - well... The board was established in 2010 and that was of course a change, to have this local management. But I thought you meant in practice...

I: Yeah. Like, how was decision making before that?

M: I didn't think it had something to do with the change in law. But of course, you're right, it's said that you have to have a local board. But you don't have to but you can have a local board. But that was going to be even before... I haven't really thought about the connection, because we were going to have a board anyway. I think that was the political change, that law in the national politics that, you know, the decisions were made earlier by the county governor until 2010. But ok, it might be that I haven't thought about a connection. But it was the diversity law that really made this possible. You could still have the local management, even before, I think. But we didn't because it hasn't been common thinking.

I: Do you think that cooperation with Kosterhavets would be easier if they also had local management boards?

M: We really don't have any difficulties in cooperating because of how they are organized. I think the difficulty comes with that we don't have the same economic situation, because what we wanted was for example to have a common search in the

ocean to see how the environmental acts really works, and we can't do that together. They do it on their side and we just have to wait for the national system to want to be in our areas. It's happening now. As I said, this project, we are going to have it together with Færder the new marine showpark, on the west side of *oslofjorden*. It was established in 2013. And we are nearly having the same water but not - because you have the ferries into Oslo, they go in between. But still we have the oslofjord as a common learning area to manage. So we have a project with a scientists, the *havforskningsinstituttet [Institute of marine research]*. Of course they have an English word... it's ocean - they - hm – do studies about the ocean.

I: Yeah, I know what you mean.

M: So, they are the specialists and we have the border in both national parks and with this directorate for fishery and environment and also departments for fishery and environment are going to cooperate with this project to take care of the cod. Because the coastal cod is disappearing from our areas. Perhaps because of too much fishing or... you don't really know why. Too little food, too much fishery, that's what we are going to find out. And we also want to have some areas where it's not allowed to do any fishing.

I: This leads me to my next question. Usually parks in Norway do not have zoning, that you have like, for example in Austria, our parks are always managed like this, that you have zones where visitors and tourists are allowed and also hunting and all that stuff is allowed. And then there is a special area in the middle which is under very high protection and it's not even allowed to enter them. There is nothing done to the woods and to the trees, there is nothing allowed. It's very strictly protected. And in Sweden, in Fulufjället, I think it's even the first park that also has zoning. There are no zones where nobody can enter, but still they have like some zones where something is restricted and some not. But in Norway, at least in Hardangervidda there is no zoning at all. And until now there is no zoning here, right?

M: We've had zoning all the time, from the establishment.

I: What's it like?

M: I'll show you.

It might be because we have cooperated with Kosterhavets.

I: They also have zoning?

M: Yes. We have... hm... I think that's what's come out of the cooperation. We have very similar switches in zones. (...) Here you see the zones. This is A, it's restrictions in the bottom of the sea, where you are not allowed to do anything that could harm the bottom. Like trawling, anchoring or anything because this is the area where we have the corals.

I: But is there tourism allowed? Like snorkeling or diving?

M: Yes, you can do anything that is not harming anything. It's not restricted. But I don't think you dive there, because it is very deep. It's not coral reefs like in the red

sea. This is about 70 to 130 meters deep down. So what we know about this reef, that what we have from the fishermen who have got the trawls. And it gets destroyed.

I: And it's not allowed.

M: No, it is not allowed. So this is a zone where you cannot enter. They do trawl this area and this area. It's still in the national park, it's very important for the shrimp fishing. So they are still allowed, like you are allowed in Hardangervidda to have reindeers. This (A on the map) is no trawling and anchoring. This is an important area for coral reefs. This is an important area for seals, where they breed. On the small island, at this time of the year, they have their babies. And this is a restriction for birds.

I: Ok, so D is for seals and C is for birds.

M: And you are not allowed to enter these islands in the period from April 15<sup>th</sup> to ... so, it's not all year around, but in this very important *hekketid* [nesting season].

I: It's not even possible to enter? It's forbidden?

M: Yeah, it's forbidden.

I: Are there signs?

M: Yeah, there are signs. And you have to be 15 meters outside in the ocean and not on the island of course. So this is just small areas, but very important for the birds, that where they know that birds are having their nests. And there are also important areas for *friluftsliv* [outdoor life/ sport]. For the people who go with their boats.

I: I thought it was forbidden?

M: It's forbidden to go here. And that's why it's very important with the signs, because this area, there are twenty cottages there. It's a small island, where until 2<sup>nd</sup> world war people were living here. And now it's just holiday cottages.

I: But there is some C.

M: This is C and this is just in the sea, this is E. It's just a speed limit.

I: Why is there a speed limit? Because it's so close to zone C?

M: You see, this is a very important area for small boats. For people to go with their boats. They come to this area to go to the Swedish west coast, which is very important for Norwegians making holiday. So they pass our area and they go to Koster. But this is very popular to go with their boats. So it's important for us to inform, to have information about...

I: So people, for example here they can come to \_\_\_ but they cannot use this part of the island in this period. Are there sometimes problems with tourists that still go there?

M: I think on this island we have a house, which is used by ornithologists. And they look after the area, they check and they tell us. I think people are respecting the borders.

I: What is B?

M: B is hunting restriction. Because in the area you can hunt, after other Norwegian laws, you just have to follow *villlov* [game law] and other things. But these are very important areas for the birds in autumn and spring. You know, when they go from one area to the other they rest here. And the hunting would disturb them.

I: And what is it that people hunt around here?

M: They hunt seabirds. And it's not allowed to hunt seabird in these two areas. But they do hunt in a lot somewhere else. And they do hunt seal. But it is restricted by amount, we call it *kvote*.

I: So, until a certain number the birds can be hunted, until the limit is reached and then no more.

M: That's not for seabirds but for seals. But in Sweden you can only hunt seabirds in a restricted time of the year. Mostly from 1<sup>st</sup> of October until Christmas. It depends on what kind of bird you hunt, but it starts at 1<sup>st</sup> of October. And that's the same with lobster. It's also restricted. We have one area here where it is totally forbidden to take lobster all year round. But the lobster fishing is from 1<sup>st</sup> of October until Christmas.

I: You wanted to say something about Sweden?

M: They don't hunt seals or seabirds I think. I don't think they do in the national park. I think it's forbidden.

I: So it's forbidden everywhere but they still have these kinds of zones.

M: They have this kind of zones and they also have this kind of restriction on speed. We made it together. This is ours. But I can show you some information brochures. They are in Swedish or Norwegian... no, we do have them in English.

I: That would be great if you had them in English.

M: I'll get them from downstairs.

(...)

I: In general, would you say there is no conflict between how far, like human interaction and tourism and environment protection?

M: There are conflicts, absolutely. Sometimes, like last year, or the year before, it was a fantastic summer and we saw people go with the boat and they made the boat in our sights. They anchored. And they went to the islands where you are not supposed to go. There were people everywhere so we had to ...

I: Did you send the police there? Water police?

M: No, we have this *oppsiktsman* [custodian, watchman]. A controller you could say. But he cooperates of course with the police and the coast guard. They work together and watch over fishery and where people go.



I: And what can you do if you see... like this last summer, when all the people were there?

M: You give them *anmeldelse* [criminal charge]. You make a report and send it to the police.

I: Do they get punished?

M: Yes. Payment for example. But then the police have to work through the case. And very often you don't get it. It's just, you get told to leave. This is a brochure we made together with Kosterhavet. So this is where we try to show people how you can compare the different rules. And if it is the same or different. I think mostly it's the same, but for example hunting... hm, nothing about hunting... the focus, with the management, is that we got this house.

I: This house? The national park center?

M: This is not a national park center. Haven't you seen it? We have a national park center, it's just around the corner.

I: Oh, that's it. It says *bibliotek*.

M: That's where we show the film and have different arrangements. This is just an office. But it's very important, because we have the *oppsiktsman*. What's the English word... We two, we have one that gives information about nature and one that watches over where people go. So they stay here with what we call archipelago service. It's a municipality... they look after toilets on the islands and they collect garbage and they do things, that makes it more nice here to be a tourist. They have the office with us, but we cooperate because they are doing important work in the national park. And we think it's important that we have this office together because it makes it easier to do things. We have a lot to do with the marine litter, every year in spring... it comes from Germany and Denmark... a lot of it. This is a very important room, where we have our *verksted*.

I: Yeah, it's the same word in German.

M: Here we have to build things or fix things. And you see how many boats are out there, so it's a very good location... The wide boat with the dark blue, this is the boat for the *oppsiktsman*. And there are two red boats, the big one it out now and that's the small one. So this belongs to us.

And this is our very small, very messy brochure room. This one I wanted to give you. This is what we made together with Kosterhavets. We thought it was important to tell something about the marine areas.

I: Would you classify Ytre Hvaler as a transboundary park?

M: Yes, I would. Absolutely. That's in both national parks goals, to be transboundary. And we do have these meetings and we discuss common problems, and we try to help each other. Like now, we had discussions, how Kosterhavets can make pressure on Norwegian politicians, so that we can have more common actions. So we have discussions if they could in some way help us...

I: How could they help?

M: Like, telling from the Swedish side, how big of a problem it is, that we don't have money to cooperate.

I: So, you kind of ask for support. You, on the Norwegian side, and also you ask the Swedish side to help you pressure the Norwegian authorities.

M: Because, like I said the county is represented in their delegation. And when we have meetings every year we discuss common problems, like for example that we can't do the same actions. And then they ask: how can we help you, can we make pressure, can we send something to tell them that it is important for us that Ytre Hvaler can... At least, well, we haven't done it, we just talked about how we can help each other.

I: And who would the Swedish side contact?

M: I think, they would for example they could go to the *miljødirektorat* [Norwegian Environment Agency] or to their department.

I: So, yeah, the environmental department.

M: But still, we are discussing if this is really any option. Because you don't do it if you don't think it's really necessary. So now, since we have this project together with Færder which also Kosterhavets is invited in, then we see the focus is changing. Something is happening. Because we have told them every year about the problems. This is with support from Sweden. Because we can tell them: See what Sweden does. This is what we want to do. And that's why I think it's very important with this transboundary, because then you can show how good the system is in Sweden. How we can learn from Sweden.

I: So you think you can actually learn from Sweden?

M: Yeah, I think so.

I: I always thought Sweden could learn from Norway.

M: Yes, in some way. On the paper things look very good in Sweden, but in practice it's not always that good. Sometimes I think we are acting better but we don't have the best plans. We just do things, get things done. I think they had very high priority on this marine national park. And that's how the Norwegian national park also has been driven in higher speed. Because they see how Kosterhavets and Ytre Hvaler actually have succeeded in some way. So I think it's absolutely transboundary. We want to be, and we try to be, but there are some things that make it more difficult than it should be. But it all comes from to the people. We have established a very good, by this interactive project, we get to know each other, and we also have almost the same language. So it's easy for us. And I think at least in this area Norway and Sweden have always been close. We have been enemies but we have also been friends for a long... it's a long history back. You know, this is Norway... But with the Norwegians going on holiday in Kosterhavets and we have a quite similar culture. So it's easy for us to cooperate.

I: I'm more a friend of Norway than Sweden. Norway is the much more beautiful country.

M: That's nice of you to say so. But I'm very fond of this area in Sweden.

I: Yes, but apart from that Sweden is rather boring in comparison to Norway. Only lakes and trees. And here it's all fjords.

M: That's why I think Kosterhavets is very important for Sweden. It's very exclusive for them. But as I said, this area is not very exclusive in Norway. But I think for tourists Ytre Hvaler and, you know, this archipelago areas... you have it on the west coast, too. But that's what people like here. You haven't been out with the boat, so you could see... It's very nice!

I: I saw a lot of pictures and videos from this area and it looks so nice.

M: You know, you can... hm, you are leaving... but the boat that I came with this morning, it goes from island to island.

I: Do you have a recommendation for two or three hours from now? ...I think I'll just end the interview.

(...)

M: I think where we do have had management online, we had some very important... like this area, it is very high priority diversity, on these islands. We have done a lot of action to open up landscape, to take away trees. Because this is culture landscape, this is not totally restriction. For example here, we have important forests, pine forests, so there we don't do anything, this is really protected. It's not allowed to cut a tree. But on these islands we have animals that grass. So with these boats we help the farmers who have their sheep out on the islands. So every spring and autumn we bring the animals out to the islands and we collect them. So I think we cooperate with the farmers. But the fisheries are more run by the fishermen. We have other restrictions than this, and it's just the coast guard and the *oppsiktsman* that looks that it is kept.

I: And other than that they are free to...

M: There are fishery rules. But the management until now has been mostly on land. Now we see how the project will bring perhaps some restriction areas like this one for lobster. We think we have to have this for cot.

I: Would you wish for some areas, that there were more restrictions?

M: Yes. But we have to have *undersøkninger* [investigation]. The scientists have to find out if there are some areas that are more important than others. So we don't know where it's going to be, but we think they are going to be. The project will show, and in this project the involvement of the fishermen is very important.

I: I understand. Hm, I think that were my questions...

M: We think this adaptive management system is very important. This is how our management plan together with Kosterhavets is made to be.

I: Okay. So, thank you very much for answering all my questions.