

Frame Analysis, Place Perceptions and the Politics of Natural Resource Management

Exploring a forest policy controversy in Sweden

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Doctoral Thesis
Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Uppsala 2008

Acta Universitatis agriculturae Sueciae
2008:60

ISSN 1652-6880
ISBN 978-91-85913-93-0
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Tryck: SLU Service/Repro, Uppsala 2008

Abstract

This thesis is an exploration into the politics of natural resource management. An objective is to integrate concerns for “place” in theory guiding management and resource politics. Conflicting perceptions of place appear to play a role in the making of resource management policy. So do multiple understandings of the meaning of policy and policy events. Consequently, another aim of this thesis is to make sense of actors’ multiple understandings of places and policy. The empirical focus is on one forest related Government Commission and its expressions in the community of Jokkmokk in the North of Sweden. Many communities in the North owe their shape, character and identity to natural resource exploitation. They are often localised in landscapes which are recognised for high nature conservation values and conflicts over natural resource use are common. Such conditions are not unique to Sweden. By applying a neo-Durkheimian approach to frame analysis this thesis explores the role of place perceptions in politics of natural resource management. Drawing on theories of social spatialisation, actors’ place related frames are identified. Questions of influence and power are investigated by using actors’ place related frames as a point of departure for an interpretive policy analysis.

The study demonstrates how a systematic analysis of place related frames helps explain important aspects of the policy making process. It shows how fundamentally conflicting place meanings divide the actors, their frames and Interpretive Communities. However, the study also shows that place perceptions do not always explain actors’ political activities. Sometimes actors’ social organisation and loyalties are more important. This thesis therefore offers a sociologically based approach to conceptualising place perceptions and their role in the politics of natural resource management. It accordingly shows how neo-Durkheimian theory may be applied in natural resource management contexts. Moreover, the thesis demonstrates how questions of natural resource management and rural development are interlinked – through place. The analytical approach enables an in depth understanding of the nature of policy making and intractable policy controversies. In the case of the Government Commission under study, it revealed a lack of local participation, disregard of local perspectives and, thus, insufficient legitimacy. As such, it may also contribute to efforts to manage conflicts as well as to develop more equitable and democratic governance systems.

Keywords: politics, natural resource management, forest policy, place perceptions, frame analysis, interpretive policy analysis

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Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to this research journey. In particular, I would like to thank the following persons:

- My supervisors Kjell Havnevik, Cecilia Waldenström and Susan Baker who have guided and supported me throughout the process. I am most grateful to Kjell, for inspiring and encouraging me to apply for the PhD position and always pursuing my research interest. Sincere thanks to Cecilia for always being there for support and critical discussions. Special thanks to Susan for coming all the way to our meetings, for providing inspiration, invaluable theoretical contributions and a never ending flow of constructive comments.
- All informants who have shared their experiences of the forest and the Government Commission under study. In particular, I want to thank the informants in Jokkmokk for talking to me about controversial events which were not always so easy to deal with.
- Colleagues and friends at the Department for Urban and Rural Development who were always welcoming, supportive and ready to discuss my research problems. Thanks to Adam Pain, for submitting valuable comments on the final draft.
- The staff at Ájtte – the Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum – for accommodating me during these years. Many thanks to colleagues and friends for providing company, support and help, especially during the last critical months. Thank you, Kaisa Raitio and Gunvor Guttorm for contributing to a small but creative academic environment in Jokkmokk.

- Jan Terstad, Annika Almqvist, Olof Johansson, Camilla Sandström and Lars-Anders Baer who have read and commented on the text. Thank you for taking the time and effort. Special thanks to Tim Bayliss-Smith for comments and support at a critical time in the process.
- Dan Ek, Peter Segerström, Sveaskog and Ájtte who have assisted with photos. Many thanks to Frédéric Forsmark with the CAB in Norrbotten for providing illustrative maps.
- A special thank you to Markus for your support and the sacrifices it took to get this thesis together. Much appreciation also for help with child care and house keeping that has been provided by parents and parents-in-law. Finally, thank you Ylva and Jakob for having had patience with an absent mother.

This research was financed by the Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences of the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences and the Nordic Council of Ministers as a part of their support to the establishment of the NOLD Research School.

Karin Beland Lindahl
Jokkmokk, August 14, 2008

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1 Introduction

This thesis is an exploration into the politics of natural resource management. It explores how different actors perceive and try to influence the use of a natural resource. The objective is primarily to facilitate an understanding of actors' perspectives, of their more or less successful strategies to influence policy making and of the intractable conflicts that may evolve around resource use. A point of departure is that people's perceptions of place may be significant in their political considerations and activities. This thesis is consequently an attempt to integrate concerns for place in an analysis of politics of natural resource management.

1.1 A focus on the Swedish North

The geographical point of departure for this thesis is the Swedish rural North. This delimitation does not suggest that place related struggles over natural resources would be limited to this region. Such processes presumably occur in a wide variety of settings and geographical locations. However, several factors contribute to making this region particularly relevant as a point of departure for an inquiry into the relationships between the politics of natural resource management and place.

A significant proportion of Sweden's most highly valued nature conservation sites is located in the North. This is where the famous large National Parks are found and this is where most of the remaining old growth forests and unexploited rivers are located. However, the Swedish North also represents a region with a history that is intimately connected with the evolution of natural resource exploitation. Local communities which evolved with the exploitation of forests and rivers at the beginning of the 20th century may owe their physical shape, character and identity to such activities. Termination, rationalisation and restructuring of the traditional

resource uses currently constitute serious challenges to many of these communities. High unemployment, net out-migration of young people, skewed age structures of the remaining population and weak local economies are common problems.

Today, many actors have views about how the resources that once formed the traditional foundation of these communities should be used. The views often diverge widely. The location of these local communities in, or close to, landscapes that are recognized for their high nature conservation values easily turns questions regarding the management of the resources into national, or even international, affairs. Conservationists typically push for biodiversity protection. Business, such as forestry, mining or energy corporations, argues for resource exploitation. The indigenous people, the Sámi, typically claim their rights to land and water and argue for conditions that enable them to maintain traditional livelihoods. Longstanding and intractable conflicts are not uncommon.

Consequently, what is typical for the local communities of this region appears to be obvious and close connections between natural resource management and their evolution and characteristics. Another feature is the existence of high nature conservation values in their immediate vicinities. These values are often contested. Prominent are also actors' widely diverging perceptions of the nature and importance of the resources in question. Together, these circumstances invite studies of the relations between place perceptions and politics of natural resource management. At the same time, they point to the need for research which generates knowledge that enables an effective and equitable governance of the resources.

Places with conditions that share many of these characteristics, i.e. traditional resource dependency, high nature conservation values and conflicts over resource use, are identifiable also outside of Sweden. Similar settings, and resource management conflicts, are described from northern Finland (Raitio, 2008), the U.S. Pacific North West (Stuertevant & Lange, 1996; Moore, 1993a; Lange, 1993), the Canadian West Coast (Hanna et al., 2008; Hanna, 2005; Wilson, 1998) and Alaska (Nie, 2006). This thesis explores actors' perceptions and efforts to influence natural resource management in one locality in the North of Sweden. It is consequently not a comparative study of traditionally natural resource dependent local communities. Yet, it may be interesting to know that the places and conflicts under study are not unique to this part of the world. When referring to this type of locality I sometimes use the term "local community". On an analytical level, however, I perceive them as a kind of

“place”. As will be further outlined in Chapter 3, the place concept is capable of capturing their material, discursive as well as social dimensions.

1.2 Making sense of multiple understandings



Photo: Sveaskog



Photo: Lena Kuolijok Lind, Ájtte



Photo: Karin Beland Lindahl

Figure 1. A forest worker seeing the forest from the harvester. A reindeer herder seeing the forest from behind his reindeer. A nature conservationist investigating the lichens growing on a spruce.

Photos 1, 2 and 3 in Figure 1 illustrate three different kinds of activities in the forest. A forest worker is harvesting a forest, a Sámi reindeer herder is

guiding his herd to good grazing areas and a forest activist is documenting nature conservation values. These pictures highlight three persons' ways to see, understand and use the forest. They also illustrate three kinds of activities that influence the forest and the conditions for its future use. As perceived by the reindeer herder, the clear-cut following harvesting makes this forest less suitable for future reindeer grazing. In the eyes of the forest activist, the harvested and intensively cultivated forest is poor as it lacks the old forest's richness of species. As seen by the forestry worker, the forest is well managed when it generates a high volume harvest of wood of a desired quality. The meanings that these three persons attach to the forest are consequently different. Their perceptions of how the forest ought to be managed in order to maintain its meaning and qualities likewise diverge. Conflicts over forest management may thus evolve. Where the conservationist identifies high nature conservation values that are vulnerable to disturbance, the logger sees a well managed forest ready to be harvested. A forest which appears to be unimportant and without specific value to the conservationist, may represent a highly valued grazing land to the reindeer herder.

Controversies over forest management have occurred in many Swedish localities since the 1960's (see Chapter 2). The forests surrounding the local community Jokkmokk (see Figure 2) in northern Sweden have been object of several disputes. In 2004, they became part of a local as well as nationwide controversy triggered by a Government Commission to identify and protect forests with high nature conservation values. For reasons that will be further explained in Chapter 5, this policy process was selected to serve as the empirical example of this thesis. Already at an early stage of the empirical investigation it was evident that the perceptions of the policy problem differed between the actors involved. As often appears to be the case, the actors' perceptions of the forests in question, their qualities and desired management, diverged widely. However, the actors' perceptions of the forests were not the only point of divergence. Their perceptions of the controversy itself, the course of events that had led up to it as well as the meaning of various policy events, were equally conflicting. A policy initiative welcomed by one group of actors was, by another group, understood as a threat. A meeting experienced by some actors as calm, orderly and soothing was by others experienced as undemocratic, authoritarian and patronizing. Where one group of actors experienced themselves as having been subject to lies, deception and deliberate misinformation, others saw cowardice and concessions to social pressure. Particularly at the local level, loyalties and commitments to different social

groups appeared to be important to how people came to position themselves.

Inspiring the design of this thesis is consequently a desire to find ways to make sense of actors' multiple understandings of places, forests and policy events. A first task is therefore to find tools to tackle what at the outset of this study appeared as an incomprehensible mess of contradictory statements, experiences and perceptions. Given the observed significance of actors' social organisation, the tool of choice should preferably be able to take the social context into account. How, then, can the actors' multiple understandings of place, forests and policy be understood and what are their roles in the politics of natural resource management?

Frame analysis provides one alternative for an exploration of actors' beliefs, perceptions, and appreciations along with their political implications. Different conceptualizations of frames have previously been used in studies of diverging risk perceptions (6, 2005a), environmental conflicts (Gray, 2003) as well as other kinds of intractable policy controversies (Schön and Rein, 1994). In common, they represent an ambition to explore, and make sense of, people's multiple understandings of defined situations and phenomena. Frame analysis is typically a way to investigate the organisation of experience, i.e. multiple understandings, as well as the action biases that they give rise to (see 6, 2005a). One component of this thesis is consequently to explore the usefulness of frames in an analysis of diverging perceptions of place, forests and forest politics.



Figure 2. Jokkmokk municipality just north of the Arctic Circle in Norrbotten County in Sweden.

1.3 Integrating “place” in the analysis of resource management politics

Returning to the three photos, they show three kinds of activities that influence the forest and the conditions for its future use. One important dimension of natural resource management is activities that shape the physical landscape, for example the building of dams or logging of trees. Natural resource management consequently involves activities that are critical to the construction of place in a very material sense. As such, resource management shapes the conditions for the future use of places. Local communities with a history in resource management, in particular, may owe its physical shape and character to such activities. The politics of natural resource management, for example policy decisions, consequently influence the physical construction of place in ways that directly affects people, their livelihoods, daily lives and specific activities that they perform in these places.

The implications of resource management activities do, however, extend well beyond physically shaping places. As illustrated by the example in Figure 1, they are also essential to people’s constructions of meanings. Resource management activities have the capacity to create, transform and destroy place meanings, for example how the place is experienced, understood and valued (see Cheng, Kruger and Daniels, 2003). Such meanings comprise people’s perceptions of, relationships to, and representations of places. In resource management contexts, place meanings often vary significantly between different individuals, or groups of actors. An assumption is that people’s different experiences and constructions of places accordingly influence how they act in relation to them. In other words, actors’ varying perceptions of place and place use may influence their political activities and thus have a role in the making of natural resource management policy. People’s varying capacities to influence policy making may furthermore determine the extent to which they are able to influence the future use of places and their natural resources. These are problem assumptions to be further explored in this thesis.

Place is a concept that is used in several different disciplines and research contexts, such as human geography, sociology, psychology and anthropology. “Place”, “sense of place” and “placelessness” were some of the key concepts which the human geographers in the 1970’s used to distinguish their perspectives from the more positivistic oriented geographers and their focus on an acculturated “space” (Antonsen, 2001). Place is consequently a central concept in human geography. The primary ambition of this thesis is, however, not to explore the place concept as such or to

contribute to its theoretical development. It should accordingly not be read as an exploration in human geography. The ambition is rather to explore ways to integrate concerns for place in a political analysis of natural resource management. By political, I mean that it is concerned with the distribution, exercise and consequences of power, as suggested by Hay (2002, see Chapter 3). In building an analytical framework, I will primarily use a sociological approach to place in line with Shields' concept of "social spatialisation" (1991, see Chapters 3 and 4). However, as a next step towards defining the primary questions of issue in this thesis, I will turn to the literature on natural resource management and its treatment of place related issues.

1.4 "Place" and natural resource management research

The place concept is to an increasing extent being used in research into natural resource management. The centrality of people's relationships to place for an understanding of the interactions between people and the environments which they manage, use and maybe fight for, is accordingly recognised (see for example Davenport & Andersson, 2005; Gunderson & Watson, 2007; Mitchell et al., 1993; Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Williams & Stewart, 1998; Cantrill, 1998; Cheng, Kruger & Daniels, 2003; Cheng & Daniels, 2003). According to Cheng, Kruger & Daniels (2003), the connection between people and places in a resource management context has so far primarily been explored through "wildland recreation research" (Mitchell et al. 1993; Schroeder 1996; Williams et al. 1992, in Cheng, Kruger & Daniels, 2003). The exploration of people-place connections in the context of natural resource politics is according to Cheng, Kruger & Daniels still in its infancy. Recognising that natural resource politics is as much a contest over place meanings as it is a competition over scarce resources, the authors conclude that it is critical to examine this connection further (Cheng, Kruger and Daniels, 2003; Young, Freimund & Belsky, 2003). Cheng, Kruger & Daniels see "place" as an integrating concept in natural resource politics with a unique capacity to explore connections between people, natural resources and the environment as a whole. They therefore argue for a research agenda based on place based perspectives.

Other authors stress the importance of a place based perspective to improve natural resource planning or on the ground resource management. Williams (1998) for example argues for "sense of place" as a concept with great potential for bridging a perceived gap between the science of ecosystems and their management. By exploring "sense of place", the

complex web of meanings and social relations that shape peoples' understanding of places and resources may, according to Williams, be acknowledged and facilitate communication between "managers" and "citizens". Davenport and Anderson (2005) investigate people's perceptions of, and attitudes towards, landscape change by exploring their "sense of place" and "place attachment". In line with others, such as Gunderson and Watson (2007), they argue that an understanding of place meanings may enhance the capacity of "managers" and "planners" to understand people's relationships with places and, thus, contentious management issues.

Place is consequently a concept that has found its way into studies of natural resource management as well as resource politics. Many studies involve attempts to combine different theoretical approaches to place, originating in human geography, sociology and cognitive psychology, with that of natural resource management. However, much of the existing place related resource management research uses quantitative or hypothesis testing methodologies. Several researchers therefore argue for the need of more interpretive approaches to examine the role of place meanings (Cheng, Kruger & Daniels, 2003; Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Gunderson & Watson, 2007). This thesis may contribute to the emerging research field evolving around people-place connections in the politics of natural resources. It may generate new empirical as well as theoretical insights about the role of place perceptions in politics of natural resource management. By exploring frame analysis, it may also be seen as an attempt to develop an interpretive approach to examine the role of place meanings in natural resource management contexts.

1.5 "Place" in studies of forest controversies

The aforementioned literature makes an explicit attempt to link natural resource management and the place concept. The large bulk of resource management, or resource policy related, literature makes no such connections. Yet, in many studies of, for example, forest controversies, conflicts over place meanings may nevertheless be discerned. Only a few studies of specific Swedish forest controversies exist in Sweden. In 2002, Lisberg Jensen published a discursive analysis of a long lasting forest dispute in the Njakafjäll area in northern Sweden. She describes how the logging proponents perceived the local community as dependent on incomes and jobs from forestry. They accordingly argued for logging of the disputed forest which primarily was understood as economically valuable. On the other hand, environmentalists protested against the logging by arguing for

the forest's ecological uniqueness, wholeness, integrity and high biodiversity values. Conflicting place meanings consequently appear to linger under the surface of this dispute. Lisberg Jensen moreover indicates that similar sets of understandings may be traced further back in time. She describes how the forestry sector, already in the 1970's debate, presented modern forestry in a context of *order, regeneration, accessibility, economic viability* and *welfare*. The environmental movement, on the other side, tried to voice its counter-image about *destruction, exploitation, uniqueness* and values that were *threatened*.

A brief look at studies of forest controversies outside of Sweden suggests that this rough picture of conflicts between environmentalists and forestry proponents is far from unique. Hellström & Reunala (1995) have compared forest conflicts in six European countries (including Sweden) from 1950 to 1983. They conclude that the essential features of public criticism of forestry were common to the six European countries. At the time, issues such as clear-cutting and herbicide spraying, according to Hellström & Reunala, came to symbolise the actors' conflicting "values" in relation to the forests and their use. They became symbolic issues in the emerging environmental movement's opposition against an intensified use of forests for commercial wood production.

Today, conflicts over issues related to forest protection and biodiversity conservation are more common. Raitio (2008) has used frame analysis to explore conflict management practices in Finnish state forests in relation to two forest disputes. She describes how the forest landscape is perceived in fundamentally different ways. Where "nature conservation" sees a declining curve, reflecting the amount of remaining old growth forests, "forestry" sees a rising curve representing the amount of protected forests, i.e. forests excluded from commercial forestry. The Sámi reindeer herders, in turn, see a declining curve showing the shrinking remaining "undisturbed" winter pastures. The problem definitions of the actors accordingly diverge. Before her, Lehtinen (1991) explored the role of different images of "nature" in the evolution of forest conflicts in northern Finland. He concludes that the expansion of a dualistic conception of "nature", as "wild" and untouched or a "resource" waiting for extraction, is the main reason for the observed "ecological problems".

Along similar lines, North American authors describe how conflicting perceptions of forests and their use are expressed as disputes over symbolic place related attributes. Lange (1993) and Moore (1993a) analyse conflicts between environmentalists and the timber industry over the logging of "old growth forests" in the U.S. Pacific North West. Moore describes how the environmentalists' representations of "the spotted owl", as an indicator of

the endangered ecosystem, conflict with those of the timber industry, as a scapegoat for an endangered economic system.

Moving further north, Nie (2006) has studied the conflict over forest management on south east Alaska's Tongas National Forest. He describes how Alaska, plays a specific role in a "scarcity narrative". As development has gone quicker and further in the lower forty-eight states, Alaska has become an increasingly iconic and contested place. For some, the state thus represents the last chance to protect unique, and still intact, ecosystems. For others, it remains "the last frontier", a place begging for economic growth and development. In line with Raitio (2008), Nie demonstrates how the "scarcity driver" works both ways. The conservationists focus on *what little that remains* of "old growth" forests, road-less areas, "wilderness" or endangered species. The timber industry, on the other hand, fights for its possibility to log *what little that is left* after what is perceived as extensive wilderness and conservation restrictions.

These scattered examples from the vast body of literature describing controversies over forest management and forest policy are by no means intended to give an overview of this research field. The point is rather to show that conflicting perceptions of place and place use appear to play a role in many of these controversies, although the concept of place is not explicitly mentioned or used. This thesis may consequently contribute to the development of this field of studies. By developing ways to integrate concerns for place into political analysis, conflicts over place meanings may be made visible and open to scrutiny. Raitio (2008) has used frame analysis to explore the Finnish state forestry's internal conflict management practices. Gray (2003) discusses how frames may be used to make sense of intractable environmental conflicts. By taking frame analysis further and exploring its capacity to account for place related aspects, this thesis may generate new tools to tackle actors' multiple understandings of place and policy.

1.6 Objectives and research questions

The objectives of this thesis are twofold. On a theoretical level, the ambition is to contribute to an integration of "place" in theory guiding research into natural resource management and resource politics. More specifically, the objective is to develop ways to analyse the role of place perceptions in politics of natural resource management. A task related to this objective, is to explore the usefulness of frame analysis for making sense of actors' multiple understandings and perceptions of place and policy. My focus on frames

consequently reflects an interest in finding, or developing, a needed analytical tool rather than a desire to research the phenomenon as such.

On an empirical level, the primary aim is to facilitate a deeper understanding of different actors' perceptions of, struggles over and influence in natural resource management in the Swedish North. As outlined in the previous section, place is assumed to play a significant role. An ambition is thus to understand the empirical relationships between place, more specifically people's perceptions of place, and politics of natural resource management.

Consequently, an overarching research question is:

What are the roles of actors'¹ perceptions of place in politics of natural resource management?

On a theoretical level, the research task is to develop an analytical framework that may guide the empirical exploration of this research question. A part of this task is to explore the usefulness of frame analysis as a tool to organise the empirical material and thus help to make sense of actors' multiple understandings of place and policy. Finally, I will assess the usefulness of this analytical framework in light of its empirical application.

In order to explore the research question empirically, I will focus on one specific policy process and its expressions in one local municipality over a defined period of time. The empirical investigation is guided by the following two sub-questions:

How are actors' policy preferences and political activities informed by their perceptions of place?

Whose policy preferences are reflected in policy outcomes – and why?

The empirical focus is on a specific forest related Government Commission and its expressions in Jokkmokk municipality in northern Sweden. It is a Commission to survey all Swedish forest land for high conservation values and "virgin-like" forests in need of protection. It was formally initiated in 2002. The process generated a lively debate, particularly in the northernmost part of the country where most of the identified "valuable" forests are located. The empirical investigation explores the formal policy process as well as related activities by more externally placed

¹ "Actors" are defined in Chapter 4 and refer to a definable group of people that have taken some sort of action in relation to the policy process under study.

actors, such as the private forest industry sector, Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (ENGOS) and various local businesses and associations. Such activities include an action by Greenpeace to stop the logging operation in the Pakkojåkkå area as well as an appeal “Forest Reserves for Survival” to express local support for the idea of additional forest protection.

An underlying theme of this thesis is about the relationships between human beings and their environment. Place is a concept which brings social, political, cultural and material aspects of the world together and may be seen as a locus of fluid socio-material interactions. The research questions rest on the assumption that people’s constructions of place – although social by nature – are continuously influenced by an ever changing physical and ecological environment. They are anchored in the material world as they are shaped through actors’ practices and lived experiences *in* this environment, as will be further outlined in Chapters 3 and 5. The nature of these relationships is consequently a theme that is running through the thesis, on an empirical as well as theoretical level.

This is a theoretically and analytically oriented thesis. I am consequently not going to walk the reader through the empirical case in such a way that the reader experiences all of its evolution and drama. My main objective is rather to explore the usefulness of a theoretical and analytical approach by applying it in this empirical setting. The “story” is thus primarily to be told through the lens of the actors’ frames in Chapters 6 and 7. All the steps of the analytical process are clearly described in Chapter 5. Given the volume of text to be analysed, the reader is however not guided through the entirety of the analytical process.

1.7 Outline of the thesis

The present introduction to the thesis constitutes its first chapter, i.e. Chapter 1. Here, the objectives and research questions are outlined. In Chapter 2, the empirical context of the thesis is described. The first part introduces the Swedish North, its history of natural resource management and Jokkmokk municipality. The second part describes the political context and policy that is relevant to natural resource management, forest management and nature conservation in Sweden. This contextual chapter is intended to orient the reader and complement the more specific empirical investigation of the selected Government Commission. Chapter 3 includes an introduction to the theoretical concepts which guide the empirical investigation. The objective of this chapter is to explain the theories and

concepts that I rely on and to further place the thesis in relation to relevant research traditions and literature. In Chapter 4, the insights of the theoretical review are used to synthesise an integrated analytical framework, as outlined in the research objectives. This framework is intended to guide the analysis of the empirical material in Chapters 6 and 7. Before getting so far, the research process, methodology and methods are described in Chapter 5. The intention is to inform the reader how I, in light of the theory discussed in the previous two chapters, have designed the research process and developed methods for empirical investigation and analysis. Chapter 6 starts with an introduction of the Government Commission under study. The “story” is briefly introduced and the chapter continues with an analysis of the actors’ frames. Chapter 6 consequently addresses sub-question number 1: How are actors’ policy preferences and political activities informed by their perceptions of place? In Chapter 7, the policy process is analysed in light of the actors’ frames. It explores how different actors’ frames are expressed and used in the process of policy making. Chapter 7 thus addresses sub-question number 2: Whose policy preferences are reflected in the policy outcomes – and why? In the final Chapter 8, I discuss the findings and reconnect to the overarching research question and the objectives of the thesis.

2 Politics of natural resource management in the Swedish North

This chapter is an introduction to the empirical context of the thesis. It is intended to provide a background and complement to the more specific empirical investigation of the selected Government Commission. The first part is about the Swedish North. It starts with an introduction to the region, its colonisation, industrialisation and history of natural resource use. Next, there is a section about the specific conditions of the Sámi, that is the indigenous people of Sweden. The first part ends with an exploration of the natural resource related development of the region, seen through the lens of Jokkmokk municipality. The second part of the chapter is an introduction to the political context of Swedish natural resource management, forests in particular. It starts with a brief characterisation of Swedish governance of natural resources and continues with introductions to the more specific policy areas that are relevant in relation to the policy process under study. Swedish forest, nature conservation and forest related reindeer husbandry policies will accordingly be discussed. Most time and space is spent on forest policy. This is motivated by the fact that forestry has been a dominating land use in the North since industrialisation took off. Current negotiations over “alternative” uses therefore have to be seen in relation to the historical evolution of Swedish forest politics. The chapter ends with a number of observations regarding the Swedish public debates and disputes over forest use.

2.1 The Swedish North

The “Swedish North”² is often used to denote the part of Sweden that is situated north of the river Dalälven. However, this area corresponds to almost two thirds of Sweden’s total land area and includes regions with quite varying socio-economic and ecological conditions. The area of primary concern in this thesis includes the counties of Norrbotten, Västerbotten and the forested inland along the mountain range.

These areas are typically sparsely populated and located relatively far from the urban centres. The most remote regions were industrialised, electrified and incorporated into the market economy as late as in the 1950’s. Sámi reindeer herding and subsistence farming constituted traditional livelihoods and land use. However, this does not mean these areas have not been a concern of the scientific, political and economic establishment. On the contrary, they have been a focus of much interest and debate particularly around the turn of the previous century, during the phase known as the “industrial break-through”. Between 1870 and 1920, a rapid industrialisation took place in the raw materials based businesses, such as the lumber, mining, peat harvesting and hydro electric power industries. Industrialisation and modernisation in northern Sweden are described and analysed in Sverker Sörlin’s dissertation “Framtidslandet”³ (1988). According to Sörlin, northern Sweden changed from a rather unimportant outpost into an area of enormous national economic significance within the space of a few decades around 1900:

“On an average, the sparsely populated region answered for approximately one third of the total Swedish export of the period, with the per capita contribution totalling three times the amount of the export income generated by the remainder of the country”. (p. 262)

Population development kept pace. New communities developed and old ones grew. According to Sörlin, the population increase was especially dramatic in the far north.

Related to the industrial break-through was, according to Sörlin, a widely accepted conception of northern Sweden as Sweden’s “land of the future”. The “richness” of the North was at the heart of this idea. Here were the natural resources “...that would restore to that distant and long underdeveloped land in the northernmost Europe its lost status as a great

² “Norra Sverige” eller ”Norrland” in Swedish.

³ The Land of the Future in English.

power” (Sörlin, 1988, p. 265). A new image of Sweden as “rich” started to replace the common conception of a poverty-ridden country. The natural resources in the North were thus central to the image of Sweden’s riches and productive ability. The aesthetic aspects of nature were, however, also valued highly. At the same time as industrialisation and resources exploitation took off, scientific and nature conservation related interests grew stronger in the northern areas (Sörlin 1988). As in many other places in the industrialised world, the first national parks were established at the beginning of the 20th century in the northern mountain areas.

In relation to the industrial and economic growth in Sweden from 1870 to 1970, the optimistic development vision was realised. According to Lundgren (2000), the Swedish growth example can only be compared with equally expansive periods in the histories of Japan and Finland. Yet, the northernmost county Norrbotten was even more expansive. Local communities in the region typically expanded at the end of the 19th century as mining, forestry and hydro electric power production developed. In the middle of the 20th century they flourished as the expanding industrial sectors co-existed with traditional subsistence farming (see Bäcklund, 1988). However, the expansion came to an end and with that the image of the Swedish North has changed. Since the 1970’s, the region has rather been seen as a “development problem” dependent on support and subsidies from the south. Although, the economic growth is currently on the raise in many parts of Norrbotten County, this image of the region remains.

During the second half of the 20th century, most of the northern communities that evolved with the expansion of mining, forestry and hydro electric power production showed an increasingly declining trend with net out-migration of young people, shrinking economies and high unemployment. The traditionally dominating industry sectors have rationalised their production and decreased their economic importance locally. Of importance is also a changing role of the state and its regional policy since the 1980’s, for example a general rolling back of welfare state responsibilities and a more restrictive approach to subsidizing decentralised industrial investments (see Baerenholdt & Aarsaether, 2001).

Lundgren (2000) argues that the pressures to re-structure production and the economy in the northernmost county (Norrbotten) are not fundamentally different from that in Sweden as a whole. They just seem to be more pronounced and difficult to handle. The conditions and resources which traditionally constituted comparative advantages are not as important as they used to be. A well educated workforce and a broad, differentiated labour market often seem to become more important localisation factors

than a general supply of labour or raw materials (see Anderstig & Lundgren, 1994; Sörlin, 1996). This trend obviously works against many northern communities which evolved thanks to their proximity to mines or forests. Today, many of these municipalities are trying to respond to these changes and find new ways to develop their economies and institutions (see Aarsaether, 2004). Jokkmokk municipality, which is the empirical focus of this thesis, is an example of such a community. It is therefore interesting to note that the use of natural resources, in traditional as well as innovative forms, appears to remain a critical component of their strategies. Mining, forestry, reindeer herding and hydro electric power related businesses represent the traditional components. Nature based tourism, space demanding vehicle testing as well as wind and wood based energy production represent some of the more recent approaches.

2.2 Sámi land use and rights

The Sámi are the indigenous people of Sweden. They were established in the north of Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula long before the development of the Nordic states (SOU 1989:41). The Sámi have always been considered Swedish (or Nordic) citizens by Swedish authorities, and thereby tax payers. No treaties have been negotiated (Hahn, 2000; Lundmark, 1998). Yet, as a recognised indigenous people, they have a specific legal position. Sámi land use and rights therefore form an important part of the historical as well as contemporary resource management context of northern Sweden. These issues accordingly form an integral part of this thesis which is about the politics of natural resource management in the Swedish North.

2.2.1 Sami land use

Archaeological traces from Norrbotten County indicate that people have lived in the northernmost areas almost since the last inland ice retreated about 8,000 years ago. Hunting of elk and wild reindeer, in combination with fishing and gathering, remained the primary sources of subsistence well into the 17th century, when semi domesticated migratory reindeer herding gradually developed (Mulk, 1997). This practice has developed and changed but remains an important Sámi livelihood. Together with hunting and fishing it still constitutes the basis for the traditional Sámi subsistence system.

Today, reindeer herding is practised in so-called “Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities”. The Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities are legal and economic organisations with exclusive rights to practise reindeer

herding. At the same time, they represent a territory within which reindeer husbandry takes place. Far from all Sámi are members of such Communities. All Sámi consequently cannot practise reindeer herding and do not have access to the rights that belong to the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities. There are 51 Reindeer Herding Communities in Sweden covering almost 40 percent of the Swedish land area⁴. They typically have an east-westerly extension and are separated into summer, spring, autumn and winter grazing lands. Most Reindeer Herding Communities move their reindeer between the summer lands in the mountains and the winter grazing areas closer to the coast. During the summer most of the reindeer graze on the bare mountains or in the mountain valleys. Wintertime, they are dependent on suitable grazing areas in the coniferous forests below the mountains. These areas overlap with the forests subject to the Government Commission under study in this thesis. Hunting and fishing still constitute important complements to reindeer herding. Today, Sámi tourism is evolving as a new component of the Sámi livelihoods.

The rapid industrialisation that took place around the turn of the previous century affected the reindeer grazing lands and the conditions for reindeer husbandry. An expanding commercial forestry and hydro electric power production have made significant land areas unsuitable for reindeer grazing. Commercial forestry is primarily seen as a problem in the winter grazing areas. Clear-cutting and soil scarification make the ground lichens difficult for the reindeer to access and feed on. Moreover, a decreasing proportion of old forests in the landscape limits the supply of pendant lichens, which constitute an important supplementary source of fodder. Access to suitable winter grazing areas is consequently experienced as a growing problem. Furthermore, fragmentation of the landscape caused by forest roads and clear-cuts makes it more difficult for the herders to move and keep the herds together (Samebyarnas kansli, 1999).

The exploitation of the great rivers has resulted in large land areas, grazing lands and settlements being dammed and flooded. From the reindeer herders' point of view, this land is lost. The hydro electric power dams are typically located in the river valleys. It is therefore biologically productive land areas that were flooded. However, the exploitation of rivers does not only mean a loss of land. It also changes the hydrology, biology, as well as ice conditions on rivers and lakes and thus the conditions for reindeer herding, fishing and hunting (Samebyarnas kansli, 1999).

⁴ See Sametinget, <http://www.sametinget.se/1134> (accessed 06 June 2008).

Other land uses accordingly affect the conditions for the traditional Sámi livelihoods in profound ways. Land use conflicts involving Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities are, as a result, common. The era of large scale hydro electric power expansion is over in Sweden and such conflicts are consequently few today. More significant these days are conflicts over forest management (as will be explored in this thesis), mining operations and different kinds of tourism expansions.

2.2.2 A question of rights

The content and extent of Sámi rights to land and water are old and controversial questions that are still matters of dispute (Allard, 2006). Their evolution is intimately connected with the Swedish state's expansions in the northern areas, from the 16th century onwards.

During the 17th century, the Swedish state started to develop a policy to actively promote Swedish colonisation and settlement in the Sámi areas⁵. The objective was to secure a reliable tax base and state control of the land and its resources (Lantto, 2000). At the end of the 17th century, the Swedish state therefore reformed the taxation system and a uniform taxation of "Sámi villages"⁶ was introduced. Individual reindeer herders were obliged to pay taxes for the land that they used, so-called "Lapp taxation land"⁷ (Lantto, 2000; Korpijaakko-Labba, 1994; Hahn, 2000). Of particular interest to current debates over land tenure, is the legal status of these lands. At least in some parts of northern Finland and Sweden, they were treated by the Swedish district courts as equivalent to the lands of tax paying farmers (Korpijaakko-Labba, 1994; Hahn, 2000). Korpijaakko-Labba (1994) accordingly argues that the status of the Sámi's relationships to the Lapp taxation lands is equivalent to contemporary farmers' rights to their lands. The Sámi's rights to the land and waters that they used were consequently strong in the 17th century.

Behind the Swedish colonisation of the northern areas was the idea that the nomadic Sámi and the farming settlers utilised different natural resources and therefore would be able to co-exist in a non-competitive way (Lantto, 2000; Lundmark, 1998). The colonisation process was at the outset relatively slow and the number of settlers remained low. As the number of settlers increased, conflicts nevertheless evolved, particularly around hunting which both groups depended on. Increased competition over natural resources and conflicts at the end of the 17th century were reasons for state intervention.

⁵ "Lappmarkerna" in Swedish.

⁶ "Lappbyar" in Swedish.

⁷ "Lappskatteland" in Swedish.

By delimiting the “lowland”, where farming was prioritised, from the mountain areas, where the Sámi were given stronger rights, the state hoped to stimulate farming while securing peaceful co-existence (see Lantto, 2000; Lundmark, 1998). This regulation from 1749, “the Lapland Regulation”⁸ was a precursor to the formation of a permanent border, “the Cultivation Boundary”⁹, in 1867. An objective of the early regulation was, however, also to protect Sámi reindeer husbandry which at the time generated significant incomes for the Swedish state (Lantto, 2000; Lundmark, 1998). The Sámi consequently had a relatively strong position in relation to other land users and the Swedish state until the middle of the 18th century.

The turning point in Swedish Sámi politics came in the middle of the 18th century. The colonisation process had then been promoted by a number of policy initiatives including the first “Lapland Bill”¹⁰ (1673), the Lapland Regulation (1749), the permanent establishment of the Cultivation Boundary (1867) and several decisions during the 18th and 19th century about a major land allocation reform known as “avvittringen”, or the delimitation of Crown land (see Lantto, 2000; Lundmark, 1998). A drastically increased number of settlers, increased competition over the resources, reindeer herding in crisis and a subsequently weakened Sámi population are the suggested reasons for this change (Lundmark, 1998). Since then, Swedish Sámi politics has gone through a number of different phases. Different authors have their own ways to describe these shifts but a number of commonalities are discernible. A first phase, corresponding to the period described so far, may be characterised as colonisation. This politics aimed at stimulating Swedish settlement, control and access to natural resources in the northern areas (see for example Lantto, 2000; Kvist, 1992). A second phase, around 1900, may be characterised as a politics of assimilation based on a perception of the Sámi as belonging to a lower ranked culture (Kvist, 1992). Lundgren (1998) describes the same political phase as an expression of more widespread social-Darwinistic ideas. In a spirit of racial discrimination, Parliament for example adopted the first Reindeer Grazing Act¹¹ in 1886 (see *ibid*). With the adoption of this Act, the Sámi finally lost their Lapp taxation lands, that is territories to which they could claim some sort of “ownership”. Instead the Sámi were organised into Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities. They represented larger land areas within which individual families could practise reindeer herding, but the land was made

⁸ “Lappmarksreglementet” in Swedish.

⁹ “Odlingsgränsen” in Swedish.

¹⁰ “Lappmarksplakatet” in Swedish.

¹¹ “Renbeteslagen” in Swedish.

the property of the state (Lundmark, 1996; Hahn, 2000; Lantto, 2000). The Sámi rights to land and water were accordingly expressed in terms of “customary rights” which were clarified in the Act. As a consequence of the construction of this legislation, Sámi land rights became linked to the practice of reindeer herding (Lantto, 2000). As an effect, the Sámi people was split between those who practise reindeer herding and thus have access to the stipulated rights, and those who have chosen other occupations and consequently are excluded from these rights.

This political phase was succeeded by one with a focus on Sámi segregation (Kvist, 1992), also labelled “Lapp should remain Lapp” policy (Lundmark, 1998; Lantto, 2000). The Sámi were regarded as unable to manage their own business and therefore needed to be separately cared for by the Swedish state and its agencies. This politics has later been replaced by one that focuses more on integration. Yet many of the institutions from earlier times remain. The Reindeer Husbandry Act from 1971 (SFS 1971:437), which regulates Sámi land rights today, is for example to a large extent based on the 1886 Reindeer Grazing Act. The Cultivation Boundary from 1867 is likewise of contemporary importance since the Sámi rights to land and water are still considerably stronger above than below this delimitation. The status, interpretation and application of these rights are, however, subject to a number of ongoing state inquiries and commissions. An outstanding issue is whether or not Sweden is going to ratify the International Labour Organisation Convention No. 169 about Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent States, which would strengthen Sámi rights to land and water. At present, a lack of clarity and conflicts, for example regarding Sámi rights to reindeer grazing lands, to hunting, fishing and influence over other land uses in the reindeer grazing areas, infect negotiations over natural resource management, the Government Commission under study included. For reasons outlined above, these tensions and conflicts must, however, be understood in a historical context.

2.3 The North through the lens of Jokkmokk

The empirical focus of this thesis is on a specific Government Commission and its expressions in Jokkmokk municipality. The continuing introduction of the Swedish North will now take this particular place as a point of departure. Jokkmokk municipality will thus serve as a lens through which many general characteristics of this region may be seen. Consistent with the empirical focus of the thesis, forests will be at the centre of attention. The description of the development of industrial forestry in Jokkmokk

municipality may thus also be read as an introduction to Swedish forestry and forest industry development.

2.3.1 Placing Jokkmokk on the map

Jokkmokk municipality is situated in the inland of Norrbotten County. The municipality has a land area equalling 18,143 square kilometres, and it is the second largest municipality in the country.

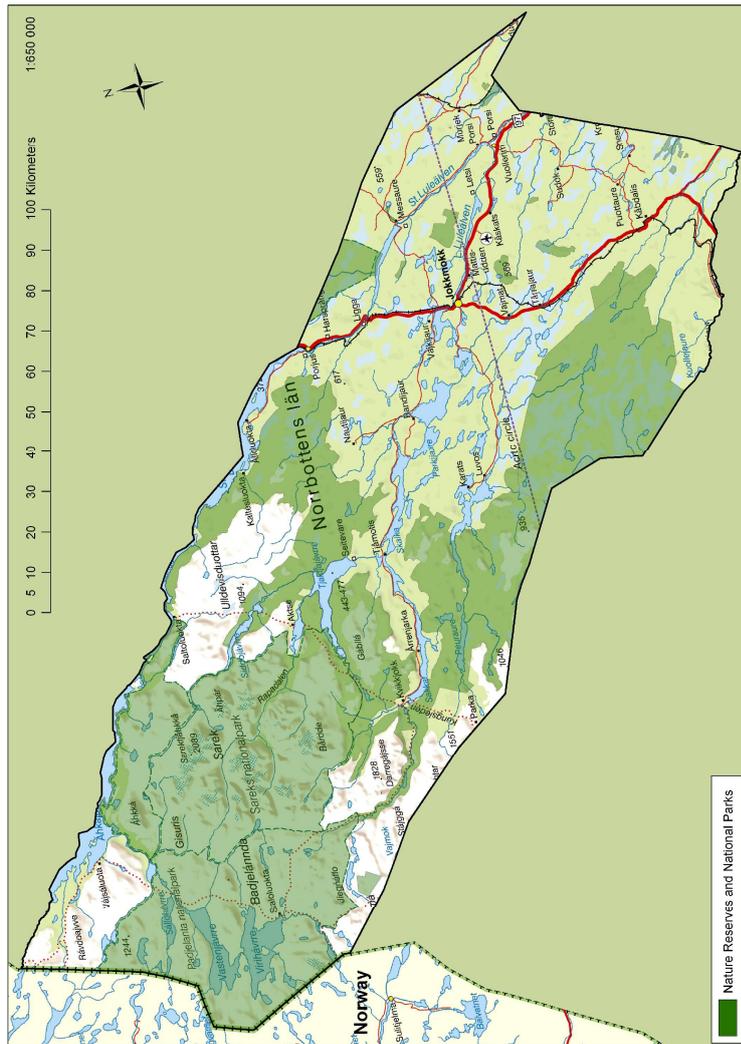


Figure 3. Jokkmokk municipality. National Parks and Nature Reserves in green.

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The rest is boreal forest. Jokkmokk municipality is rich in natural resources and harbours documented nature conservation values of national and international importance. In the western part of the municipality, the large and well known National Parks, Sarek, Padjelanta, Stora Sjöfallet and Muddus, are located. They constitute the core of the World Heritage Site Laponia which was established by UNESCO in 1996. In 2006, approximately 846,581 hectares, equalling almost 47 percent of the total land area in the municipality, was "protected" as national parks or nature reserves¹² (see Figure 3).

2.3.2 History and natural resource utilisation

Exploitation of natural resources has been of major importance to colonisation and settlement of Jokkmokk municipality. At the end of the 17th century, silver was discovered in Nasafjäll, just south of the municipality. This triggered a westward expansion of Swedish state interests (Kvist, 1992). By the end of the 18th century, new plans for mining and processing of ore stimulated settlement along the river valleys (Hultblad, 1968). In Jokkmokk, as in many other places in the Swedish North, a rapid process of industrialisation started around 1900. It was primarily the resource based industries, forestry and mining, which expanded. A major transformation of the society came with the development of industrial forestry, the sawmilling industry in particular (see Bäcklund, 1988). The first hydro electric power plant construction started in 1910 and the railway was built in the early 1930's. Hydro electric power construction reached a peak in 1960 (see Mannberg, 2001).

The forests, rivers and mountain landscape still constitute the natural resources that are most actively utilised. Forestry, hydro electric power production and reindeer husbandry are businesses and livelihoods that admittedly have developed during the 20th century, but at the core still remain relatively unchanged. A new and growing business sector is tourism. It also depends on the natural resources of the municipality, for example the forests, and therefore ties into debates about forest management, such as the Government Commission under study.

2.3.3 Population

The size of the municipality's population has fluctuated considerably during the 20th century, and the fluctuations can be directly correlated to specific events in the resource management sector. People moved in when the

¹² SCB Sweden, <http://www.ssd.scb.se/databaser/makro/SaveShow.asp>, (accessed 06 June 2008).

projects started and they moved out when they were finished (Bäcklund, 1988). The surplus of people moving into the municipality at the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries can be attributed to the forestry boom, a major storm which felled vast amounts of timber, the building of hydro electric power dams and the railway.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Jokkmokk municipality had around 1,000 inhabitants, at the turn of the 20th century about 2,000 and at its peak around 1940 almost 12,000 inhabitants (Bäcklund, 1988). After 1960, the population decreased drastically and in 2007, 5,046 persons lived in the municipality which therefore is sparsely populated with only 0.3 inhabitants per square kilometre¹³. Most of these inhabitants live in the population centres Jokkmokk, Porjus and Vuollerim (see Figure 3). The majority, 4,221 persons live in Jokkmokk. Approximately 19 percent are Sámi (Almqvist, personal communication).

2.3.4 Employment and business structure

In 2006, 2,448 persons were employed in Jokkmokk municipality¹⁴. Table 1 shows how this employment is distributed between different branches of

Table 1. *Number of employed persons (daytime) in Jokkmokk municipality distributed by business sectors.*

Business sector	Number of persons employed	Proportion of persons employed (%)
Forest, agriculture, fisheries	142	6
Manufacturing	254	10
Private services	1,148	47
Public services	814	33
Not specified	90	4
Total	2,448	100

Source: SCB Sweden¹⁵

industry and service. The figures should be interpreted with caution as the categorisation underlying the statistics is rather rough. Nevertheless, it is evident that forestry and agriculture currently make up a rather small proportion of local business. In the past, most households included persons

¹³ SCB Sweden, <http://www.ssd.scb.se/databaser/makro/SaveShow.asp>, (accessed 06 June 2008).

¹⁴ SCB Sweden, http://www.scb.se/templates/print_23026.asp, (accessed 06 June 2008).

¹⁵ SCB Sweden, http://www.scb.se/templates/print_2306.asp, (accessed 06 June 2008).

that worked in the forests or in agriculture (see Bäcklund, 1988 and Lundgren, 1984). In 2007, 3.3 percent of the population (16-64 years) was unemployed and 1.5 percent were in different kinds of unemployment schemes¹⁶.

In their most recent planning documents, the municipality and its business development company Strukturum expresses a wish to prioritise the development of tourism, wood processing industry, reindeer husbandry, technical manufacturing, energy production (primarily “know-how”), local food production and retail trade (see Jokkmokk Municipality, 2001; 2004; Strukturum, 2005; 2008). The municipality vision is consequently a local economy which to a large extent continues to be based in natural resource based activities, although in slightly new ways. Traditionally strong sectors, such as forestry and the construction/maintenance of hydro electric power plants, are not prioritised in the programme.

2.3.5 Forest use I: from subsistence economy to wage labour

Around 1800 the Sámi reindeer herding nomads constituted approximately 800 of a total of 1,300 persons in what was then the parish of Jokkmokk. The "settled" part of the population did however increase rapidly (Bäcklund, 1988). The "settlers" - or small scale farmers - traditionally based their subsistence on a mix of agriculture, hunting, fishing and production of tar and potash. Cattle breeding was an important part of agriculture in these, from an agricultural point of view, marginal areas. The settlers were both Sámi and Swedes and there was no distinct boundary between the ethnic groups or the Swedish and Sámi subsistence systems (see Hultbland, 1968). The commercial use of the forest in Jokkmokk municipality before 1870 was restricted to production of potash, nitric acid, tar and small scale logging of beams and timber (Bäcklund, 1988).

Between 1870 and 1880, the volumes of logged timber started to increase. The first forest boom took place at the beginning of the 1880's. A major storm felling, an increased international demand for wood products and a growing shortage of raw material in the south and central parts of northern Sweden coincided and triggered a second, much larger, forest boom around 1900. Harvested volumes in the parish of Jokkmokk amounted to about 250,000 cubic metres at this time (Lundgren, 1984). This may be compared with the current level, 400,000 cubic metres a year. Large amounts of labour were needed in the forests and the forest workers

¹⁶ The CAB in Norrbotten, <http://regionfakta.com/dynamiskPresentation.aspx?id=305> and =307, (accessed 06 June 2008).

constituted an important part of the surplus of people moving into the area around 1900 (Lundgren, 1984).

Parallel to the market driven incentives to expand forestry into the very North, a number of state reforms and initiatives stimulated this development. The latter included state subsidies to clear rivers for log rafting (Lundgren, 1984), the construction of roads, the railway and the delimitation of Crown land, “avvittringen” (Bäcklund, 1988). This land use reform resulted in a formally clear land ownership structure and enabled the forest companies to purchase land from settlers and farmers (Lundgren, 1984). In the parish of Jokkmokk, the proportion of company owned land¹⁷ increased from 30 to 60 percent between 1874 and 1904. Forest companies also established new settlements and the proportion of tenants, "leasing" their land from the companies, more than doubled between 1890 and 1904 (Bäcklund, 1988).

The current forest industry structure in Norrbotten County consequently has its roots in the development of a saw milling industry at the end of the 19th century. Some of the individuals and companies who invested in Norrbotten were leading profiles in the evolving national industry. Through a series of mergers and acquisitions during the first half of the 20th century, the foundation was laid for the companies which in their present forms still own or administer most of the forest land in Jokkmokk municipality. This applies, for examples, to the companies “Svenska Cellulosa Aktiebolaget” (SCA) and Sveaskog (which evolved out of the former state owned Domänverket) who are actors in the Government Commission under study.

Labour for the expanding forestry activities was primarily recruited from the small scale farmers who did not hesitate to take advantage of the new income opportunities that forest work offered (Bäcklund, 1988). At the end of the 1880's when cutting levels were high, almost every household seems to have had incomes from forestry, and during the recession around 1910, as many as half. Bäcklund estimates that as many as 70 percent of all small scale farmers, including those owning their own forest, worked in the forest for a salary during a normal year. One reason for this high figure may be that the small scale farmers actually only owned one quarter of the forest land in the region. The rest was owned by the state and forest companies, and the land-owning settlers and farmers were needed as labour on state and company land. As a consequence, small scale farming in the region included a relatively large element of wage labour and a working class evolved next to the land owning farmers/settlers (Bäcklund, 1988).

¹⁷ “Andel av mantalsatta jordar” in Swedish.

2.3.6 Forests use II: Mechanisation – increased productivity and shrinking work force

The cutting volumes in Jokkmokk municipality have fluctuated considerably during the 20th century. The period 1909–1937 may be described as one of rapid increase with a cutting high of about 400,000 cubic metres per year around 1935. This peak may be explained by new legislation which allowed larger timber out-takes and a growing demand as a result of the emerging paper and pulp industry. During the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's cutting volumes have varied between 250,000 and 300,000 per year (Lundgren, 1984), that is slightly below today's levels.

The mid 1950's, marked the start for a process of fundamental change in Swedish forestry. Forestry practices were mechanised and productivity climbed sharply from the end of the fifties to the end of the seventies. Rafting was abandoned in favour of driving logs by truck, the horses were replaced by motorised vehicles and the chain saw took the place of the axe and the hand-held saw. This development was to a large extent driven by the forest sector's efforts to compete effectively on the international wood and pulp and paper markets. In the North, it was also affected by a shortage of labour due to competition for labour from the hydro electric power construction sites (Embertsén, 1992).

Forestry work had now become an all year round occupation. The number of people employed dropped dramatically. It was completely motorised and required professional training and skills. During recent decades the forestry companies have contracted out forestry activities such as cleaning, commercial thinning and felling which used to be carried out by employed woodsmen. Former employees became forestry entrepreneurs operating in a more or less monopson market with only a small number of buyers (Pettersson, 2002). As will be evident in the study of the controversy following the Government Commission under study, these entrepreneurs risk being squeezed between their commitments to the forestry companies, economic demands and other actors' demands on how to manage the forests. Mechanisation also paved the way for new silvicultural methods. Large scale "rotation forestry" based on clear-cutting and planting, including a whole battery of methods aimed at optimising production (ditching, soil scarification, herbicide control programmes, fertilisation) were introduced on a large scale during the 1950's and 1960's.

2.3.7 Forest use III: Forestry today

This section presents forestry in Jokkmokk municipality as of today. It consequently has a direct relevance to the controversy over the Government

Commission that will be explored in Chapters 6 and 7. The amount of land available for commercial forestry, the level of protection for nature conservation purposes, the question of ownership and the presumed local benefits of forestry are all issues which figure in the actors' argumentation.

Statistics about forests, forestry and protected areas in the mountain areas are associated with significant uncertainty since the boundary between "productive" and "unproductive" forests is hard to assess. The information moreover varies between the different sources that are in use. The figures presented here therefore represent what is available to date, but should be interpreted with great caution.

The total area of forested land in Jokkmokk municipality is estimated to 772,680 hectares. Table 2 shows how much of this land area is "productive"¹⁸, the proportion that is "protected" because of high nature conservation values and the area that is planned for commercial forestry. The protected areas are very unevenly distributed. Below the mountain forests,

Table 2. Forest land in Jokkmokk municipality.

Forest land in Jokkmokk municipality	Area (hectares)
Forested land	772,680
Protected forest land	269,532
"Productive" forest land	538,000
Protected productive forest land	179,052
Area planned for commercial forestry	414,000

Source: CAB in Norrbotten & SFA, 2006. Forested land does not include the mountain birch forests. Estimations of forested land and protected forested land are based on the so-called "Blue map". Productive forest land is estimated by Riksskogstaxeringen 2003. The estimation of productive protected area is based on the so-called "fjällnära databasen". The area planned for commercial forestry is presented in SFA, 2000.

the proportion of forested land under protection equals about 3 percent. This figure should be compared with 1 percent for Norrbotten County as a whole. In the mountain forests, as much as 76 percent of the forested land is protected (CAB in Norrbotten & SFA, 2006). A large proportion of this land is however of low productivity or unproductive, in other words not suitable for commercial forestry.

The largest land owner in Jokkmokk municipality is the state (see Figure 4). The state forest administrators, Sveaskog and the NPB, together administer 41 percent of the land area. The second largest owner/administrator is the

¹⁸ "Productive" forest land has the capacity to produce more than 1 skm³/hectare and year.

company SCA which owns 20 percent of the land. SCA is a Swedish vertically integrated multinational forest corporation with historical roots in the region. The share that is owned by locally based institutions, the Jokkmokk Forest Commons (Jokkmokks Allmänningar, 14%) and individual private owners (15%), amounts to 29 percent (CAB in Norrbotten and SFA, 2006). The total volumes of timber harvested on the land of these forest owners between 1985 and 2005 vary between 350,000 and just above 450,000 skm³/year, with a steady increase at the end of this period (Lindgren et al., 2000; SFA in Norrbotten, 2000; SFA¹⁹).

The number of employees in forestry has decreased drastically during the 20th century, most dramatically during the 1950's and 1960's but also during the last twenty years. From 1986-1995, the number of jobs shrank from 200

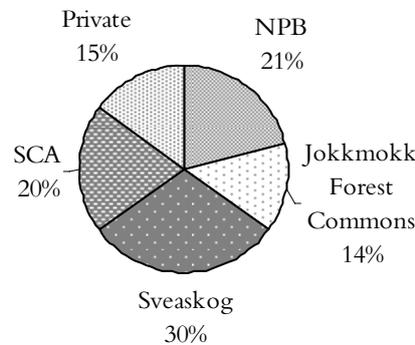


Figure 4. Land owners/administrators in Jokkmokk municipality. Source: CAB in Norrbotten and SFA, 2006.

to 75, which means that only a third remained (Lindgren et al., 2000). Since 1995 employment has decreased even more. Today, the total number of jobs amounts to 44 to 64, depending on how seasonal work with planting and cleaning is treated (Ekenäs, personal communication and Lindgren et al., 2000).

The local wood processing industry has gone through a similar change. The bankruptcy of the local saw mill "Jokkmokks Trä", in the summer of 1999, marked the end of local wood processing on any scale. Today, there exist a few small wood processing companies in the municipality. The largest one employs around 20 people and the rest are very small or part time operations. Together they contribute with approximately 24 jobs (Almqvist, personal communication).

¹⁹ The SFA, [http://www.skogsstyrelsen.se/episerver4/dokument/...](http://www.skogsstyrelsen.se/episerver4/dokument/), (accessed 10 June 2008).

As an effect of the current structure of the forestry sector, primary production takes place in the municipality but processing as well as most of the sales and administration happens elsewhere. Lindgren et al. (2000) have analysed the role of forestry in the local economy of a number of northern Swedish municipalities, Jokkmokk included. Their conclusion is that in 1995, incomes from the forest sector contributed with approximately three percent of total purchasing power in the municipality. The sum of disposable incomes from the forest sector had then been reduced by more than half since 1986. In 1995, the share of municipal income tax from work in the forestry sector amounted to six percent of total income tax revenues in the municipality. Since 1995, employment in the forest sector has decreased even more, and so have the incomes for the local economy.

2.3.8 Forest use IV: Other forest based land uses

Forestry is consequently a dominating land use in much of Jokkmokk municipality today. However, it is not the only one. Five Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities practise reindeer husbandry in the municipality. Three of them, Sirges, Jáhkågasska Tjiellde and Tuorpon, are so-called Mountain Reindeer Herding Communities. Their reindeer migrate between the mountains in the west and the lowland forests in the East. They consequently use the coniferous forests east of the mountains, that is areas which are also used by forestry, as winter grazing areas. The two other Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities, Sierrri and Udtjá, are so-called Forest Reindeer Herding Communities. They are stationary and practise reindeer herding in the lowland coniferous forests all year round.

Nature based tourism is a growing business sector in the municipality. Forests, therefore provide an important general component of the tourism destination of Jokkmokk, which is frequently marketed with reference to wilderness and scenery. The forests also constitute a base for activities of a growing number of small scale outdoor and eco-tourism businesses that have specialised in selling exclusive nature and cultural experiences. These businesses operate in currently protected areas as well as in more easily accessible forests which are open for commercial forestry.

Jokkmokk has a long tradition of being a site for biological explorations, natural science research and the activities of strong local E-NGOs. Already in the 18th century Carl von Linné documented the flora of the municipality on his travels through Swedish Lapland. Several well known biologists followed suit. At the beginning of the last century, the first Swedish National Parks were established in, or bordering, the municipality. During the last 20 years, the local chapter of the E-NGO the Swedish Society for

Nature Conservation (SSNC) has been very active as will be further discussed in section 2.4.6. Nature conservation is consequently another land use with a long, and strong, tradition in Jokkmokk municipality. In addition to these commercial and institutionalised land uses, much of the forest in the municipality is used for local recreation, hunting and fishing. Forests close to villages and the population centres are particularly important as recreation areas. Elk hunting is very popular and takes place in all kinds of more or less intensively managed forests across the municipality. Forest birds and small game, however, are preferably hunted in undisturbed “old growth” forests.

2.4 Politics of Natural Resource Management

Natural resource management is governed by sector specific policy and environmental policy. The latter cuts across the different resource-specific policy sectors. The policy area of interest to this thesis is primarily found in the intersection between forest and environmental policy. In order to provide an introduction to the relevant policy field, the chapter will start with a presentation of some general trends in Swedish environmental politics. Next, Swedish forest and nature conservation policy will be introduced. The chapter ends with a number of brief observations on the intersection between forest, nature conservation and reindeer husbandry policies, an orientation in relevant parts of the Swedish administration and a short review of the public Swedish forest debate.

Before entering the policy overview, a number of figures will be presented in order to help build the relevant policy context.

Table 3. *Forested land in Sweden*

Swedish land area	Million of hectares
Total land area	41.0
Forested land	23.0
Marches	4.5
Rock surface	0.9
High mountains and sub-alpine coniferous woodland	3.5
Arable and pasture land	3.4

Source: The SFA²⁰

²⁰ The SFA, <http://www.svo.se/episerver4/templates/SNormalPage.aspx?id=16713>, (accessed 12 May 2008).

As evident in Table 3, Sweden is a forested country. The majority of these forests are boreal or sub boreal forests and form a part of the circumpolar boreal forest belt. The dominating tree species are Scots Pine (*Pinus silvestris*), Norway Spruce (*Picea abies*) and Birch (*Betula* spp.). About half of the Swedish forest area is owned by private individual forest owners (see Table 4). However, the ownership structure varies significantly between different parts of the country. In the north, the proportion of forests owned by the state and private corporations is much higher than in the south.

Table 4. Forest ownership in Sweden

Ownership	Proportion of forest area
Individual private forest owners	51%
Private joint stock corporations	24%
Other private owners	6%
State owned forests	18%
Other public owners	1%

Source. The SFA²¹

With the introduction of modern silviculture at the beginning of the 20th century, the growing stock of Swedish forests has steadily increased. Compared to the 1920's, it has increased with more than 60 percent and in the southern part of the country it has more than doubled since 1900²². Gross fellings have increased accordingly. Forestry and forest industry production are important parts of the Swedish economy. In 2004, the export value of Swedish forest products was 110 billion SEK, that is 12.2 percent of the total export value of products and 4.3 percent of the total GNP²³. However, the forests also represent an important part of the Swedish natural heritage and ecological environment and the expansion of modern forestry and forest industry has left its traces in the forest landscape. The proportion of multi-layered old growth forests as well as old and dead trees, have for example decreased during the 20th century (see for example

²¹ The SFA, <http://www.skogsstyrelsen.se/epi-server4/templates/SNormalPage.aspx?id=16226>, (accessed 12 August 2008).

²² The SFA, <http://www.skogsstyrelsen.se/epi-server4/templates/SNormalPage.aspx?id=11506>, (accessed 09 June 2008).

²³ The SFA, <http://www.svo.se/epi-server4/templates/SNormalPage.aspx?id=16652>, (accessed 13 May 2008).

Östlund, Zackrisson & Axelsson, 1997) and more than 1,500 forest living species are currently on the Swedish red-lists²⁴. As a consequence, the level of forest protection has increased.

Table 5. Forest Protection in Sweden

Type of protection	Total land area (hectares)	Area productive forest land (hectares)
National Parks and Nature Reserves	4.1 million	712,000 ²⁵
Biotope Protection Sites and Nature Conservation Agreements	36,157	39,725 ²⁶
Voluntary protection	848,000 ²⁷	undetermined

Source: The SFA

Today, approximately ten percent of Sweden's total land area is protected by some kind of nature conservation legislation (see Table 5). About half of this is forests and the protection of productive forests currently amounts to approximately three percent. Most of the protected areas are located in northern Sweden²⁸.

Another important piece of the policy context is the Swedish political culture and some of its characteristics. The non-Swedish reader may be surprised to learn about the plethora of public Commissions, Inquiries and Referrals for consideration that form a part of the policy field under study. It may therefore be helpful to keep in mind that Swedish political and administrative culture is generally characterised by consensus seeking and compromise solutions. Conflict is often considered troublesome. It consequently tends to be concealed in the extensive inquiry and consultations that precede new policy and legislation (Eckerberg, 1992). Lundqvist (1997a) describes how a very special Swedish style of environmental policy has evolved out of traditional co-operation between "controllers" and "polluters". These relations are based in co-operation

²⁴ See "Rödlistade Arter i Sverige" published by the Swedish Species Information Centre, <http://www.artdata.slu.se/rodlista/index.cfm> and the SFA, <http://www.svo.se/epserver4/templates/SNormalPage.aspx?id=16644>, (accessed 13 May 2008).

²⁵ SFA, <http://www.svo.se/epserver4/templates/SNormalPage.aspx?id=15127>, (accessed 13 May 2008)

²⁶ SFA as above. The figures refer to the situation in 2006.

²⁷ SFA as above. These figures refer to the situation in 2005.

²⁸ See the SFA, <http://www.svo.se/epserver4/templates/SNormalPage.aspx?id=16644>, (accessed 13 May 2008).

aiming at consensus. According to Lundqvist, the environmental policy field closely resembles what the Swedish Power Study concluded about parts of the “Swedish Model”: it is an “extremely deliberative”, rationalistic, open and consensual political culture²⁹. As will be evident in Chapters 6 and 7, the Government Commission selected for study illustrates how this general co-operative and consensus seeking policy style is expressed in a particular policy controversy over forest protection.

2.4.1 Swedish environmental politics – some general trends

Lundqvist (1997b) identifies four trends which characterise contemporary Swedish environmental politics. The first one is an internationalisation and globalisation of environmental problems. The second is an institutional integration of environmental politics. The third concerns decentralisation of the environmental administration and the fourth is a deconstruction of the hierarchies between those governing and those being governed. Similar changes are described on a European and more general political level by Jönsson, Jerneck & Stenelo (2001). These developments correspond to what political scientists try to express by talking about a change from “government” to (new) “governance”.

In 1999, the Parliament decided on a new structure for Swedish environmental politics: “Environmental Politics for a Sustainable Sweden” (Prop. 1997/98:145). Fifteen National Environmental Quality Objectives were thus agreed. A stated overall objective of contemporary environmental politics is to pass on to the next generation a society where “the major” environmental problems are resolved. The Environmental Objectives consequently aim at making Sweden environmentally sustainable by 2020. A subsequent Governmental Bill, “Swedish Environmental Quality Objectives – Interim Objectives and Action Strategies”, came in 2001 with more detailed proposals for how each of the Environmental Quality Objectives are to be reached (Prop. 2000/01:130). The overall Objectives are formulated on an overarching and general level. As a next step, the involved sectors are given the responsibility to further define and implement them (Prop. 2000/01:130). The idea is that the Environmental Quality Objectives shall express the conditions that constitute the aim of environmental work – the ecologically desired state. The Interim Targets³⁰, in contrast, are supposed to indicate what is desired from a societal point of view. The latter consequently reflect adjustments and prioritisations (Appelstrand, 2007). These overarching directions have been guiding Swedish environmental

²⁹ With reference to the Swedish Power Study (SOU 1990:44:187).

³⁰ “Delmål” in Swedish.

politics for some time. In 2005, the Environmental Quality Objectives were complemented with an additional 16th Objective about protection of biodiversity (Prop. 2004/05:150). In addition to these nationally agreed Objectives and Targets, Swedish environmental politics is subject to a large number of European and international directives, conventions, treaties, etc. as will be further discussed in section 2.4.3.

The traditional means of implementing environmental policy objectives are legislation in combination with procedures for prohibition and permission (Lundqvist, 1997a). The Swedish Environmental Code (SFS 1998:808) provides most of the relevant legislation. Alternative means of steering are, however, being developed following general trends in Europe. Economic instruments, such as taxes, are gradually emerging. Other market based solutions, such as certification, are also becoming more common (ibid). A large proportion of the Swedish forest land is accordingly environmentally certified today. Different kinds of voluntary agreements between public and private actors are other examples of emerging forms of steering (see Eckerberg, 1998; Sandström, Hovik and Falleth, forthcoming).

The introduction of Environmental Quality Objectives implies a shift from regulative steering to steering through objectives³¹ which influences the conditions for politics and policy implementation. This process of transition is very much illustrated in the Government Commission selected for study and will be further discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Whereas the former often implies a promotion of end-of-pipe solutions through regulatory means, the latter is a strategy for organising the relationship between the political and administrative levels. The political bodies formulate the goals but leave a space for the sectors and administrations themselves to develop the means to attain them (Lundqvist, 2005). The Government's strategies to steer the development in a direction towards the defined Objectives accordingly rest on the ideas of "integration" and "sector responsibility". Integration means that concern for the environment shall permeate all activities of importance for the problem in question. Sector responsibility implies that responsibility for the environment rests with all societal sectors, not exclusively with the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA) or the County Administration (CA) Environmental Units (Appelstrand, 2007). The Environmental Quality Objectives are thus operationalised by the involved sectors which are instructed to develop and implement Sectorial Objectives in co-operation with affected actors. The implementation process consequently requires that the state authorities

³¹ "Från regel- till målstyrning" in Swedish

actively involve other actors and users (Sandström, Hovik and Falleth, forthcoming).

Another important issue in relation to environmental governance, the Government Commission of study in particular, is that of local participation. To recapitulate, an empirical focus of this thesis is on the local expressions of this policy process. Today, local participation and influence in management of nature conservation and natural resources are increasingly seen as a prerequisite for achieving sustainable development (Skr. 2001/02:173). This direction reflects international developments in a similar spirit. It may also be seen as an effort to respond to criticism from local actors about a dominating and state centralised conservation administration (Sandström, Hovik and Falleth, forthcoming). By ratifying international conventions, such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), Sweden has moreover formally committed itself to increasing local participation in natural resource management. Agenda 21, which was adopted at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, also stipulates an increased influence by local authorities as well as local groups outside the public sector, indigenous people in particular. Arguments for increased local participation are also motivated with reference to legitimacy, effectiveness and thus long term sustainability of policy making processes (see for example Pinkerton, 1989; Carlson & Berkes, 2005). These ideas and trends are accordingly reflected in recent Swedish nature conservation policy, such as the White Paper³², “A Comprehensive Nature Conservation Policy”, from the Government in 2001 (Skr. 2001/02:173) and the “National Strategy for Formal Forest Protection” from 2005 (SEPA & SFA, 2005). These documents also stress the need for co-operation, dialogue and consensus seeking between different authorities as well as between the authorities and the forest owners.

Central to the idea of increased local participation and governance of natural resource management are the local municipalities. In Sweden, a significant decentralisation of planning responsibilities took place at the end of the 1980's. With the establishment of the new Planning and Building Act (SFS 1987:383) in 1987, the municipalities significantly increased their influence to plan the use of land and water. This shift may be seen as an attempt by the state to delegate conflict resolution to the local level and thus enhance democracy (Arnell, Eckerberg & Lidestav, 1994). Swedish municipalities consequently already had relatively far reaching responsibilities for certain environmental matters in the 1990's. Yet, the experiences at the

³² “Skrivelse” in Swedish.

beginning of the 1990's were that environmental issues typically faced difficulties getting across in the municipal planning process. Lack of capacity, economic resources and influence in relation to other state controlled regulatory systems, were some reasons given for this situation (ibid).

In 2002, the Government concluded that the municipalities had significant opportunities to involve themselves in concrete nature conservation matters, such as establishment of protected areas, monitoring and surveys (Skr. 2001/02:173). With the establishment of the Environmental Code in 1988, their competencies were strengthened. Along with the CABs, they now have the authority to initiate and establish Nature Reserves, Culture Reserves and so-called "Nature Memorial Sites"³³ (SFS 1998:808). In cases when the CABs establish such protected areas they are obliged to consult with the affected municipalities (SFS 1998:1252). If a municipality wishes to protect land which they do not themselves own, the cost for compensating the land owner will become an issue. In such situations, municipalities may apply to the CAB for state subsidies³⁴. In spite of these advances, the Government's conclusion in 2002 was that the level of municipal activity varies considerably. In its White Paper, it therefore establishes that municipal nature conservation efforts ought to be stimulated (Skr. 2001/02:173). A special funding programme, "LONA"³⁵, was established to support local nature conservation activities. It was evaluated in 2006 and the general conclusion is that the programme has made a positive contribution to creating local political consensus and broad participation in nature conservation (Dahlgren & Eckerberg, 2006).

2.4.2 Swedish forest policy

Consistent with the empirical focus of this thesis, the attention is now shifted towards forest policy. Forests are one of Sweden's most important natural resources. During the past 1,000 years, the Swedish forests have played a significant role in the development from agrarian to industrial society. This brief introduction aims at clarifying the main trends and shifts during the last one hundred years.

A political priority during the 18th and early 19th centuries was to increase the population. A main objective of forest politics was therefore to create favourable conditions for colonisation and agriculture (as outlined at the beginning of this chapter). Forest land was consequently distributed to private settlers, particularly in the north (ibid). Inspired by dominating

³³ "Naturminne" in Swedish.

³⁴ See SEPA, Protokoll Nr111/04, 2004 - July - 10.

³⁵ Abbreviation for LOkala NATurvårdsbidrag.

liberal ideas of the time, large scale privatisations also took place in the south (Appelstrand, 2007). This policy was however changed with the boom of the saw milling industry in the latter half of the 19th century. The value of the forests as industrial raw material was rising, and a new role of the state was to ensure availability of forests for the industry (Eliasson, 1997). At the end of the 19th century the state was buying back land with the aim to increase the availability of forests for what later developed into state owned forestry (see Eliasson, 1997; Appelstrand, 2007).

A growing and widespread dissatisfaction with the conditions of the nation's forests resulted in the establishment of Sweden's first Forest Act in 1903 (Andersson, 2007; Appelstrand, 2007). Regeneration, restoration and active management of the forest resources were then priorities. The legislation was accompanied by a decision to establish regionally based authorities with responsibility for forest management, "skogsvårdsstyrelser" (Appelstrand, 2007). The Act had the character of framework legislation³⁶ with relatively vague action prescriptions, in line with the traditional Swedish policy style (see section 4.2). The best implementation result was presumed to be achieved, not by strict law enforcement, but through counselling, education and persuasion. The newly created forest authority thus acquired a quite unique role both in the interpretation of, and establishment of practices stipulated by, the legislation. Conformance and enforcement were facilitated by education, research, information and practical counselling (ibid). Already at this point in time, the policy sector was therefore characterised by a high degree of decentralisation and steering through overarching objectives.

In 1923, the Forest Act was amended. The most important development was the introduction of a new principle. In response to a rapidly increasing demand for wood, it was established that wood production should be the prioritised use of all forest land. This overarching principle was to guide forest legislation as long as until 1993 (see Ekelund & Hamilton, 2001).

So far, the dominating methods in Swedish forestry were selective logging³⁷ and natural regeneration. This resulted in, what many forestry professionals describe as, "green lies", understood as a low growing stock and large areas of thin forests with a high proportion of deciduous trees and bush (Stridsberg & Mattson, 1980). The condition of the forests was consequently not perceived to be optimal from an industrial wood production perspective. When the Forest Act was revised once again in 1948, the state was ready to actively steer forestry towards forest restoration

³⁶ "Ramlag" in Swedish

³⁷ "Blädning" in Swedish.

and increased efficiency (Appelstrand, 2007). Profitability was now at the centre of attention. A stronger and more centralised steering took form with the explicit demands on forest owners to conform to the state's objectives (ibid). Economic subsidies were introduced to stimulate production and silviculture. Ditching and road constructions increased accordingly (see Ekelund & Hamilton, 2001).

During the 1950's forestry practices changed dramatically, as outlined in the description of forest use in Jokkmokk municipality. Forestry was no longer seen as a complement to agriculture, but as a source of raw material for the industry (Appelstrand, 2007). Large scale clear-cuts and forest roads were expanding into the landscape. The use of chemical herbicide spraying was widespread. These developments are reflected in the Forest Act of 1979. A high yield of wood suitable as raw material was the main and overarching focus of the legislation. A whole battery of prescriptions to stimulate efficient silviculture were decreed and a combination of state subsidies and fees were introduced to stimulate the use of the recommended methods. The 1979 Forest Act was also equipped with extended possibilities for law enforcement (Appelstrand, 2007).

A new feature in the 1979 Forest Act was the introduction of explicit nature conservation requirements (see for example SFS 1997:429). These should be seen in light of an emerging environmental opinion and growing public debate about the environmental impacts of forestry. As shown by Eckerberg (1987), the implementation of these requirements was, however, not satisfactory. The growing environmental interest was also reflected in the nature conservation legislation that affects forests and forestry (as will be further discussed in the next section, Appelstrand, 2007).

The 1980's were characterised by increasing conflicts and confrontations between forestry and nature conservation interests. Forest politics was still focusing on maximising yield and combinations of economic and legal means were used to attain this goal. From a steering point of view, the 1980's may be seen as a decade when the policy objectives were met and the policy instruments proved suitable for their purpose (Ekelund & Hamilton, 2001). However, this politics was subject to growing criticism, from the environmental movement as well as the small private forest owners. The latter experienced the regulations as being far too detailed and oppressive (Appelstrand, 2007). The environmental movement criticised the law for promoting wood production without considering the environmental aspects. In 1993, the Forest Act was consequently once again revised. This time it was subject to significant change. The overall objective to maximise yield was replaced by two objectives placed on an equal footing, one

environmental and one production oriented. The introduction of a specific Environmental Objective should also be seen in light of international commitments which Sweden had made, for example in relation to UNCED in Rio de Janeiro, the so-called forest principles and Agenda 21 (Prop. 1992/93:226).

As formulated in the Forest Act, the Environmental Objective stipulates that the forest shall be managed in ways that ensure the long term maintenance of biodiversity (SFS 1993:553). The inclusion of the Environmental Objective consequently highlights a critical question: How much forest ought to be protected in order to reach this objective? An Investigative Commission preceding the law proposal requested an expert opinion on the matter (SOU 1997:97)³⁸. However, this question was not clearly resolved and it still remains an issue as will be seen in the policy controversy analysed in Chapters 6 and 7.

The other major change in the 1993 Forest Act, was a significant deregulation. Detailed legal requirements regarding cleaning, thinning and certain types of harvesting were taken away. Many of the economic subsidies and fees were also phased out. Education, information and counselling were the suggested means for effective implementation (Appelstrand, 2007). The 1993 Act is thus based on the principle of “freedom-under-responsibility”³⁹ and is more oriented towards goals than details (Kjellin, 2001). The spirit of policy making was now much closer to its origin at the beginning of the 20th century, and to the traditional Swedish policy style.

Since 1994, Swedish forest policy has been evaluated by the Swedish Forest Authority (SFA) in 2007 and 2002 (SOU 2006:81). The SFA and the SEPA have jointly evaluated impacts of forest policy on biological diversity. The evaluations have generally shown a gradual improvement of actual nature conservation and an emerging concern regarding certain aspects of the Production Objective. A need for more pre-commercial thinning has, for example, been identified. No changes of the overarching Objectives have, however, been suggested (Skr. 2003/04:39).

In addition to these regular policy evaluations, the Government initiated an investigative Commission, the State Forest Commission, in 2004 (SOU 2002:40). The Commission finalised parts of its assignment, but did not

³⁸ The experts' advice was that 9 to 15 percent of the productive forest land below the mountain range ought to be protected. In the proposition for the law, 5 percent was mentioned as a possible target (Prop. 1992/93:226).

³⁹ The principle refers to a “freedom” of the sector to choose its means as long as it demonstrates a “responsibility” to attain the established objectives.

manage the task to survey the state owned forests with respect to nature conservation values. For reasons that are further developed in Chapters 6 and 7, this unfinished task developed into the Government Commission that serves as the empirical example of this thesis. It was initiated in 2003 with the instruction to survey all Swedish forest land for high conservation values and “virgin-like” forests in need of protection.

During 2003, as this Commission had started, an independent, and deeper, evaluation of Swedish forest policy and administration was initiated. The evaluator was asked to suggest measures for how the stated policy objectives might be attained and delivered her recommendations in September 2006 (SOU 2006:81).

Since the inclusion of the Environmental Objective in the 1993 Forest Act, a burning question has been that of forest protection. How much forest must be protected in order to reach the stated objectives, in other words to maintain biodiversity? Protected areas represent forests that cannot be used for wood production. This question consequently brings the conflict between nature conservation and wood production to the fore. How is the need to set aside forest for maintenance of biodiversity to be balanced against the Production Objective, that is the historically important task to supply the industry with raw material? These questions are accordingly at the heart of the Government Commission that is explored in Chapters 6 and 7.

2.4.3 Forest related nature conservation policy

The preceding text describes the inclusion of an explicit environmental objective in the Swedish Forest Act, usually referred to as “the forest political Environmental Objective”⁴⁰. It is understood as a Sectorial Objective. Parallel to the evolution of this Sectorial Objective, other means of steering forest management have developed as part of Swedish environmental and nature conservation policy. With the establishment of the National Environmental Quality Objectives, 15 (later 16) Objectives were defined which guide environmental policy and its implementation as outlined in section 2.4.1. Of primary relevance for the forest sector is the Objective “Sustainable Forests”. The Environmental Quality Objective “Sustainable Forests”, reads:

“The forest and the value of the forest land for biological production shall be protected at the same time as biodiversity is maintained and cultural heritage and social values are protected.”⁴¹

⁴⁰ “Det skogspolitiska miljömålet” in Swedish.

⁴¹ See the Environmental Objectives Portal, <http://www.miljomal.nu/english/obj12.php>, (accessed 15 May 2008).

As outlined in section 3.2.1, this Objective indicates a desired state to be achieved within one generation, that is by 2020. It is complemented by four Interim Targets which are intended to steer societal prioritisations and adjustments. The Interim Target most relevant to this study, is the first one. It stipulates that an additional 900,000 hectares of forests with high conservation values shall be taken out of forestry production by 2010 (Prop. 2000/01:130). The other Interim Targets concern general measures to maintain biodiversity, protection of sites with cultural values and a specific action programme for endangered species.

The Environmental Quality Objective is linked to the Sectorial Environmental Objective (stipulated by the Forest Act from 1993) through the idea about sectorial responsibilities⁴² and the structure of the system of goals and means. The SFA is the authority with responsibility for this co-ordination and may develop more operational goals when needed. The SFA accordingly presented a set of Sectorial Objectives in 2005. They are structured in three levels and the Environmental Quality Objectives and the Sectorial Objective share the position at the top level (Swedish Agency for Public Management, 2007).

According to the SEPA, 751,725 hectares of productive forests are currently formally protected as outlined in Table 5. Protection of “virgin” and “old growth forests” has been a priority of their protected area programme since the 1970’s when a first national forest survey was carried out by the SEPA, the CABs and the SFA (SEPA, 2004a). In the 1980’s, systematic surveys of virgin forests were initiated (see for example SEPA & SFA, 1982a; SEPA & SFA, 1982b; SEPA & SFA, 1984). Identified areas with high nature conservation values have accordingly been continuously protected. However, none of these surveys were complete. This was obviously one reason for the former Minister of the Environment to initiate the Government Commission under study in this thesis.

Nevertheless, the Interim Target to protect an additional 900,000 hectares of forest represents a firm management target. In the absence of adequate knowledge about the existence and distribution of forests with high nature conservation values, additional instruments to steer the prioritisation of forest protection were seen as needed. The SEPA and the SFA consequently developed a National Strategy for Formal Forest Protection during 2004 and 2005 (see SEPA & SFA, 2005). The objective of the Strategy was to ensure that formal protection and voluntary set-asides

⁴² “Sektorsansvar” in Swedish.

will complement each other in such a way that the Interim Target, that is the additional 900,000 hectares, may be filled with forests of as high nature conservation qualities as possible (Swedish Agency for Public Management, 2007). The evolution and outcome of this Strategy ties into the empirical example of this thesis and will be further discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

As mentioned in the introduction to this policy overview, environmental politics is becoming increasingly internationalised. Swedish nature conservation policy is today accordingly subject to a number of international regulations. They include international conventions which Sweden has ratified, such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC, Prop. 1992/93:179), the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (SÖ 1993:77), the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands (SÖ 1975:76), the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (SÖ 1985:8) and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (SÖ 1974:41, 1980:72. Prop 1974:10, JoU 1974:5). Of importance to forest management are also the non-legally binding Forest Principles which were adopted at the UNCED in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. At the European level, the EU Directives on Natural Habitats (Directive 92/43/EEC amended by Directive 97/62/EC and Regulation EC (No) 1982/2003) and Conservation of Wild Birds (Directive 79/409/EEC and amending Acts) are particularly relevant. The related protected area programme, Natura 2000, overlaps with national initiatives to identify and protect forests with high nature conservation values. Several of the forest areas identified within the framework of the Government Commission under study, therefore have values which also make them eligible for protection within the EU Natura 2000 framework.

However, on an operational level it is the Swedish regulatory system that provides the means for protection of forests with high nature conservation values. One way is to use legal ways, so-called formal forest protection. The instruments available for formal protection are found in the Environmental Code (SFS 1998:808). This legislation replaced the former Nature Conservation Act in 1999. The formerly fragmented environmental legislation was then brought together into one comprehensive Code. However, important elements, such as the Forest Act and its stipulated Sectorial Environmental Objective, are still separate as previously discussed.

The available legal instruments for forest protection in the Environmental Code are establishment of National Parks, Nature Reserves and Biotope

Protection Sites⁴³. However, the establishment of such areas requires funding, primarily to compensate landowners who cannot utilise their land for forestry. The level of state funding for establishment of nature reserves and biotope protection sites has increased substantially over the years. Yet, lack of economic means is one reason given for the pace of formal forest protection being slower than planned (Appelstrand, 2007). Legally established forest protection may also come about through the establishment of so-called voluntary “Nature Conservation Contracts”⁴⁴. However, once established it has a legal base in the legal Code “Jordabalken” and is defined as “formal protection” by the SFA.

In addition to these formal instruments, forests may be protected through a number of truly “voluntary” arrangements. Market driven instruments such as forest certification are one alternative, “green forestry plans” are another and informal agreements between the landowner and the authorities⁴⁵ are a third option (Appelstrand, 2007).

As a strategy to meet the 900,000 hectares Interim Target, the government consequently suggests that an additional 500,000 hectares are to be “voluntarily” protected by the sector. The remaining 400,000 are to be formally protected by the state as nature reserves, biotope protection sites and nature conservation contracts (Prop. 2000/01:130). In 2007, the Swedish Agency for Public Management⁴⁶ presented an assessment of progress made to meet the Environmental Quality Objective “Sustainable Forests”, in particular the 900,000 hectares Target. Their estimation is that the Target will not be reached at the current pace. A better balance between protection targets and allocation of economic resources for compensation to landowners, is suggested as the most important measure to speed up the process. As for the “voluntarily” protected areas, the agency concludes that the quality and protection status of these areas are unclear. A reliable estimation of progress made, is therefore difficult to make (Swedish Agency for Public Management, 2007).

The Governmental Commission under study in this thesis constitutes a part of a longer process to protect Swedish forests and meet stated policy objectives. However, this process currently faces two problems. Firstly, the target for formal protection, which meets requirements on quality and long term security, cannot be met due to lack of economic resources and administrative constraints on the part of the conservation authorities.

⁴³ “Biotopskyddsområde” in Swedish.

⁴⁴ “Naturvårdsavtal” in Swedish.

⁴⁵ So-called “Rådgivningskvitto” in Swedish.

⁴⁶ “Statskontoret” in Swedish.

Secondly, voluntary protection, which faces less resistance by landowners and is less costly for the state, is associated with problems regarding status and long term reliability.

2.4.4 The intersection with reindeer husbandry policy

As outlined in section 2.2, Swedish Sámi politics has gone through a number of different phases. Of particular relevance to the policy process under study is the “reindeer herding right”⁴⁷ which defines the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities’ rights to land and water, including forests with high nature conservation values. Reindeer husbandry, and the reindeer herding right, is primarily regulated by the Reindeer Husbandry Act (SFS 1971:437). It is supervised by the Ministry of Agriculture, the Swedish Board of Agriculture and the Sámi Parliament (see next section about the the Swedish forest and nature conservation administration). The basic element in the reindeer herding right is formed in a manner that allows Sámi, here understood as members of Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities, to use land and water for subsistence for themselves and their reindeer. It includes basic rights related to reindeer husbandry, rights to hunt and fish and rights to extract timber for subsistence. As stated in the Act, these rights are “differentiated” They consequently vary in different areas according to use all year around (usually the mountain areas) or only during winter time (usually the lowland forests east of the mountains). As mentioned earlier, this differentiation is primarily achieved through the historical establishment of two boundaries in northern Sweden, the “Lapland Boundary”⁴⁸ and the Cultivation Boundary⁴⁹ (Allard, 2006). The regulation consequently defines the Sámi Reindeer Herding communities’ rights to use land which they do not formally own. In other words, it protects the Sámi reindeer herding communities’ possibilities to enjoy their reindeer herding right. However, this protection has its limits and it does not give the reindeer herders specific capacities to influence the land use of other actors steered by separate legislation, such as forestry or nature conservation. Of great interest to the reindeer herding Sámi, is thus how the reindeer herding right is acknowledged in policy steering other land uses in the Sámi reindeer herding area. The policy process under study provides an example of such policy as its outcomes may be expected to have significant implications for forest management in the reindeer herding areas.

⁴⁷ “Renskötselfrätten” in Swedish.

⁴⁸ “Lappmarksgränsen” in Swedish.

⁴⁹ “Odlingsgränsen” in Swedish.

Christina Allard (2006) has analysed the environmental protection legislation and its implications for the Sámi's opportunities to enjoy their customary rights. From a reindeer husbandry point of view, the overall regulation for planning and environmental protection, according to Allard, give rise to a number of concerns. One of her main conclusions is that municipal (the Planning and Building Act) as well as national planning instruments (Chapters 3 and 4 in the Environmental Code) fail to provide for key interests of reindeer herding. It is therefore difficult for the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities to halt environmentally harmful activities outside of protected areas. The environmental effects of different activities and measures may, for the most part, be limited only through relatively vague general rules about consideration in the Code and other sector specific legislation. A specific problem in this respect is that logging under the Forestry Act is considered an "ongoing land use" and thus not under the permit requirements specified in the Code (*ibid*).

Given these general difficulties of the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities concerning prohibiting environmentally degrading activities in the reindeer herding areas, legal protection of designated areas may consequently be beneficial for the interests of reindeer husbandry (*ibid*). Problems do, however, arise when elements of the reindeer herding right, such as hunting, fishing and motorised transportation, are prohibited by the nature conservation regulations. As an alternative option, Allard discusses the possibilities of protecting historically and currently important areas as "Cultural Reserves" under Chapter 7 of the Environmental Code. According to her, a designation of important areas as Cultural Reserves could theoretically meet the current need to protect the enjoyment of the reindeer herding right from other activities and exploitations, for example forestry.

Reindeer herding and forestry are activities that utilise significantly overlapping land areas. Both activities influence the conditions for the other's performance and development. As described in section 2.2, large scale forestry has a number of negative impacts on reindeer husbandry. Forest owners, on the other hand, point to increased costs due to damages caused by reindeer and adjustments made to satisfy their needs (Sandström, 2004). In an attempt to manage this conflict, the relationship between the two activities became subject to legal regulation (SOU 1989:41). In the Forest Act of 1993, there are three provisions which require forestry to take the needs of reindeer herding into consideration. Most important to date is a consultation provision aimed directly at the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities regarding planned loggings in the year-round-areas (§20

SVL). The requirement to consult is restricted to landowners larger than 500 hectares, measures affecting more than 20 hectares and primarily pertains to logging activities (see Sandström, 2004; Allard 2006). In practice, the legally required consultation involves the Reindeer Herding Communities and the larger forestry corporations. However, in addition to these legally required consultations, all forest managers certified under the voluntary certification scheme, FSC, are obliged to carry out similar consultations in the entire reindeer herding area (Sandström, 2004). Evaluations of the legally required consultations show that the opinions about their effectiveness vary significantly. Whereas the actors within the forestry sector are relatively satisfied with their operation, the reindeer herders find them less useful. Too unequal conditions between these parties in terms of their available time, skills, economic as well as political resources, in other words power, are seen as one explanation for the latter group's dissatisfaction. Another suggested reason is shortage of suitable forests over which to negotiate (ibid; Sandström & Widmark, 2007).

2.4.5 The Swedish forest- and nature conservation administration

As explained at the beginning of this review of the policy field, the Government Commission under study involves activities which are steered by a number of intersecting policies. The administration of these policies accordingly involves a number of different ministries and authorities. This section is intended to provide a very brief overview of the most important of these institutions. The objective is to provide a brief orientation which may help the reader to follow the empirical analysis in Chapters 6 and 7.

The overarching responsibility for the implementation of the Government's environmental and nature conservation politics rests with the Ministry of Environment. The SEPA has an overall co-ordinating, guiding and coaching role and the main responsibility for matters related to the National Environmental Quality Objectives. The authority has an operational responsibility for the co-ordination, development, monitoring, evaluation and reporting of a number of Environmental Quality Objectives, including "A Rich Diversity of Plant and Animal Life"⁵⁰. The corresponding responsibility for the Environmental Quality Objective "Sustainable Forests", rests with the SFA⁵¹. The SEPA also has an overarching responsibility for protection of land and water with high nature conservation

⁵⁰ "Ett rikt växt och djurliv" in Swedish.

⁵¹ See The Environmental Objectives Portal, http://www.miljomal.nu/vem_gor_vad/miljomalsansvariga.php, (accessed 17 August 2008).

values and purchases of land for nature conservation purposes (SFS 1998:1252).

On the regional level, the CABs are responsible for implementation of nationally established environmental policy, including the Environmental Quality Objectives. They consequently have an overarching operational responsibility for the protection of land and water with high nature conservation values in their respective regions. The CABs, as well as the municipalities may establish Nature Reserves and Nature Memorial Sites and are responsible for the management of such areas. The CABs also have the authority to establish Biotope Protection Sites (SFS 1998:808 and SFS 1998:1252). As outlined in section 2.4.1, the most common situation is that the CABs, rather than the municipalities, initiate, establish and manage areas protected for nature conservation purposes.

The overarching responsibility for the implementation of the Government's forest politics used to rest with the former Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication. Since 2006, the Ministry of Agriculture has taken over the responsibility for forestry issues. The responsibility for forest industry policy remains with the current Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communication. Until 2006, the SFA and its regional district offices were responsible for the implementation of the Government's forest politics. However, in 2006 this two level construction was changed and a new national SFA was formed. The former, as well as the current, forest authority is responsible for the supervision of the Forest Act as well as specific parts of the Environmental Code. The latter for example includes regulations about protection of sites with high nature conservation values, "Key Biotopes"⁵². In line with the 1993 forest political decision, the SFA is given the responsibility to ensure the forest sector's compliance with the Sectorial Environmental as well as Production Objectives. In addition, the authority has an overarching responsibility for the co-ordination, implementation and evaluation of the Environmental Quality Objective "Sustainable Forests" (SOU 2006:81).

Another important component of the Swedish forest and nature conservation administration is the state forest administrators, the organisations that administer and manage state owned forests. The largest state forest administrator is Sveaskog which possesses 4.5 million hectares of land, including 3.5, million hectares productive forest land. Using its own raw material assets and through purchases and exchanges, Sveaskog is a

⁵² "Nyckelbiotoper" in Swedish, see the SFA, <http://www.svo.se/episerver4/templates/SNormalPage.aspx?id=11344&mode=print>, (accessed 29 April 2008).

leading supplier of saw logs, pulpwood and bio fuels⁵³. It is a joint stock company, wholly owned by the state. The state, represented by the current Ministry of Enterprise, Energy and Communication⁵⁴, governs the company through explicit directives and a Board of Directors. An overarching objective for Sveaskog is to increase the value of the forest capital by administrating the forests in an exemplary way, from an environmental as well as wood production point of view⁵⁵.

The second largest state forest administrator is the National Property Board. It is an authority with the overarching task to administer state owned buildings in such a way that the national cultural heritage is maintained and available to the public. In addition, the authority administers the state's forests located in the vicinity of state owned estates in southern Sweden, in the reindeer grazing mountains⁵⁶ in the counties of Härjedalen and Jämtland and in areas west of the Cultivation Boundary in Norrbotten and Västerbotten Counties. All in all, the authority administers 870,000 hectares of productive forest land in Northern Sweden and answers to the Ministry of Finance. The instruction to the authority is to administer forests and land in an economically efficient way and to practise an economically viable and ecologically sustainable forestry where suitable. It is also explicitly requested to meet stated political forest and environmental objectives as well as to promote co-operation between forestry and reindeer husbandry (Fi2004/2438). The operational responsibility of the NPB's forest management is distributed between a number of local offices. One is located in Jokkmokk.

Other authorities of relevance to the development and implementation of forest and nature conservation policy are the Swedish National Heritage Board and the Swedish Board of Agriculture. The former attends to issues regarding cultural heritage and the latter is, together with the Sámi Parliament, allotted the overarching responsibility for the reindeer husbandry sector, including the supervision of the Reindeer Husbandry Act. The Sámi Parliament is a popularly-elected body enabling the Sámi to have a say in Swedish politics. It comprises 31 elected politicians who meet three times a year in the Plenary Assembly. However, the Sámi Parliament is also an

⁵³ See Sveaskog, http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/entranceext_12233.aspx, (accessed 29 April 2008).

⁵⁴ At the time of the study, it was the former Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication which had the main responsibility for Sveaskog.

⁵⁵ See Sveaskog, http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/PageExt_11930.aspx, (accessed 28 April 2005).

⁵⁶ "Renbetesfjällen" in Swedish.

authority under the Swedish Ministry of Agriculture, whose minister is responsible for issues regarding the Sámi in Sweden.

2.4.6 The Swedish forest debate

Until the mid 1960's, Swedish forestry was more or less free from public environmental criticism. However, a growing public debate about forestry emerged at this time as part of a general break-through of the environmental movement. The environmentalists at the time were primarily concerned about the intensity and methods of modern forestry. They claimed that it exceeded long term sustainability and rejected methods such as large scale clear-cutting, chemical herbicides, monocultures and forest ploughing (Hellström & Reunala, 1995). The debate was intensified during the 1970's. The controversial issues were still chemical herbicide spraying and the use of large scale clear-cutting. Clear-cuts were perceived as ugly and devastating and herbicide spraying was seen as a threat to human health (Enander, 2003; Eckerberg, 1998). At this time, the criticism consequently took human needs as its primary point of departure. Green ideas with "nature" at the centre of attention were however starting to creep into the debate. The forest, as an ecosystem, was increasingly emphasised and terms such as "diversity" and "stability" started to appear (Lisberg Jensen, 2002).

The emerging public criticism was first met with confusion, hurt feelings and rejection by people within the forestry profession. Gradually, as parts of the criticism were found to be justified, the attitudes softened and various actions to improve the situation were taken (Hellström & Reunala, 1995). However, the ideological distance between environmentalists and forestry professionals was still substantial. For the representatives of the forestry sector, it was self evident that forestry was a fundamental part of the welfare project which eventually benefited everybody (Lisberg Jensen, 2002).

At the beginning of the 1980's, the methods and structure of the environmental movement started to change. New forms of activism evolved. Bio-centric arguments emerged as a means to articulate the values which were perceived to be threatened by forestry. The first half of the decade was dominated by a conflict over the expansion of forestry in the mountain forests (see Eckerberg, 1998). To the forestry proponents, the planned loggings meant increased local employment. The Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities feared problems for their reindeer herding. The E-NGOs, initially represented by the Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC), saw indispensable nature conservation values being

lost (Enander, 2003). A new E-NGO called FURA⁵⁷ was formed to coordinate the activities of different local interests that were against large scale commercial forestry in the mountain forests (see Lisberg Jensen, 2002).

A quite different form of forest activism also evolved in the North, more precisely in Jokkmokk municipality, at the end of the 1980's. The group One Step Ahead, formally a local chapter of the SSNC, developed a method that may be seen as a hybrid of science, nature conservation and forest activism. By surveying forests for "indicator species", the group identified forests with long ecological continuity and high nature conservation values. "Continuity" is here understood as absence of significant human disturbance, such as logging. The presence of these species was then used to substantiate claims for forest protection as the identified areas became parts of various campaigns. Threatened values were now expressed in terms of biodiversity. At the end of the 1980's biological diversity became the key concept in the Swedish forest debate (see Lisberg Jensen, 2002; Eckerberg, 1998).

At the beginning of the 1990's, the forestry sector appeared to accept and respond to the environmental criticism to a higher extent than before. The SFA published a book called Richer Forest (Persson et al., 1990) to be used in the education of forest owners. The book shows how the language of the environmental movement in fact was adopted to an extent that ecological and biological aspects of the forests almost became more salient than forestry itself (Lisberg Jensen, 2002; Eckerberg, 1998). However, in order to force forestry to shift from rhetoric to action, yet another set of new action strategies were introduced by the environmental movement (ibid). At this time, the Swedish E-NGOs experienced that they had exhausted their possibilities to change forest management by trying to influence national political decisions and policy making. The new campaign methods were therefore directed towards markets and international audiences. Scientific argumentation, consumer power and Sweden's international commitments and reputation were the new campaign tools. International co-operation through the newly started Taiga Rescue Network enabled boycotts and actions targeted at corporate consumers in Sweden's main export countries (Lisberg Jensen, 2002).

The forestry sector's response to the environmental movement's strategy to export their campaigns along with the industry's products was initially malevolent. Leading activists were considered national traitors. However, this response was replaced by a more collaborative approach. An ideological

⁵⁷ FURA, in Swedish means pine tree. At the same time it is an abbreviation for Fjällnära Urskogars Räddnings Aktion, i.e. an Action to Save the Mountain Forests.

shift within the forestry sector was discernible in the early 1990's and they adopted much of the environmental movement's biodiversity rhetoric. A spirit of mutually beneficial consensus seeking was emerging and became institutionalised with the Swedish establishment of the forest certification system the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) in 1998 (see Lisberg Jensen, 2002). The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), the SSNC, the Swedish Sámi, Labour Unions and the large state and private forestry corporations were some of the organisations standing behind the jointly developed Swedish FSC standard. Greenpeace and the Private Forest Owners Association chose to remain outside as they were not satisfied with the requirements of the standard.

Since 2000, the practical, on the ground, outcomes of FSC certified forestry have become increasingly evident. To the dissatisfaction of much of the environmental movement, the FSC has not managed to bring about change to the extent that they had expected. Within the forestry sector, on the other hand, there are concerns about rising costs, due to the certification requirements, that are not yet sufficiently rewarded by price premiums on the market. The E-NGOs are particularly disappointed with the system's capacity to ensure protection of forests with high nature conservation values. At the same time, they find themselves restricted about taking action on the markets as their part of the FSC "contract" is to keep the peace. Their campaign priorities have accordingly shifted and the political instruments have been re-evaluated. This is the setting leading up the initiation of the Government Commission under study.

2.5 Conclusions: Politics of natural resource management in the Swedish North

This chapter has laid out the empirical context of this thesis. The first part aimed at placing the study in an historical understanding of the Swedish North, in other words in "place". The process of industrialisation and evolution of resource based businesses, communities and regions were therefore at the centre of attention. Consistent with the empirical focus of this thesis, the forest was at the fore. Sámi land use and rights constitute another central element of a history about the Swedish North, and of contemporary politics of natural resource management. This issue was accordingly briefly discussed. The second part of the chapter aimed at placing the thesis in relation to Swedish natural resource politics and policy making. A number of general trends currently shaping Swedish environmental politics was thus identified and forest, nature conservation

and reindeer husbandry policies were explored in some depth. In order to prepare the reader for the empirical study to come, the Swedish forest and nature conservation administration as well as the history of Swedish forest debate were shortly described. With this understanding of the empirical context as a backdrop, the thesis will now be taken further to explore the theoretical concepts that will guide the study.

3 Guiding concepts

This chapter provides an introduction to the main concepts used to explore the research questions of this thesis. The questions, as outlined in Chapter 1, aim at exploring the role of place perceptions in the politics of natural resource management. More specifically they first inquire into how actors' policy preferences and political activities are informed by their perceptions of place, and, second, into whose policy preferences are reflected in policy outcomes, and why. One objective of this Chapter is to introduce and clarify the concepts and theories that are used. Another aim is to place the thesis in relation to relevant theoretical traditions and literature. In Chapter 4, the insights of this review will be used to synthesise a more specific analytical framework that suits the research context and will guide the research process. The objective of this review is consequently primarily to explore the possibilities of combining and synthesising different concepts and theories. The main concepts to be reviewed are natural resource management, frames, social spatialisation and place as well as politics of natural resource management. As stated before, my exploration of the frame concept is motivated by an interest in its possible use as an analytical tool to explore actors' perceptions of place and policy. However, many different approaches to frames and frame analysis occur in the literature. In order to assess their usefulness and suitability, the frame concept will consequently be reviewed in some depth. The review of the other theoretical concepts is more limited. The discussion of natural resource management, place and politics, is restricted to ideas and approaches that will be used in the following analysis.

3.1 Researching natural resource management

The focus of this thesis is on the way that actors perceive and influence natural resource management, or more specifically forest management. Natural resource management is, however, a term that needs clarification, especially in a Swedish context. In its broadest sense the word natural resources, in Swedish “naturresurser”, includes a diverse collection of natural phenomena, material or energy that are used, and demanded, by humans (Nationalencyklopedin, 1994). One translation of the English word “management” is the Swedish term “förvaltning”, which means administration of something for somebody else (Nationalencyklopedin, 1992). “Management” is however also translated as “skötsel”, i.e. “care”, “attendance”, “nursing” or “operation”. A Swedish understanding of the term natural resource management consequently includes both “administration” and operational “on the ground management” (see Rådelius, 2002).

In an international research context, there is a growing body of literature that is evolving around the term “natural resources”. The International Association for Society and Natural Resources, for example, gathers researchers with an interest in social science and natural resources. In this context, the “natural resource framework” is privileged over terms such as “environment”. The former is seen to direct scholarly attention to diverse modes of human use of materials as well as landscapes and prioritises the degree to which the social, economic, spatial and cultural patterns of use are sustainable (Buttel, 2005). The term is recognised as an “anthropocentric” term with a capacity to capture society-nature linkages in addition to the biophysical dynamics that are the centre of attention in ecology. According to Buttel (2005), there is no single widely accepted definition of natural resources but the numerous definitions that exist tend to evolve around three components. Firstly, natural resources are seen to include “natural capital” (the mineral, plant, and animal formations of the earth’s biosphere that are of potential use for humans). “Capital” is here understood in a generic rather than the economic sense that is applied for example in ecological economics. Secondly, natural resources are understood to include landscapes, here seen as the layout of a land area in terms of ecology and visual representation. Thirdly, Buttel points to recent definitions of natural resources as ecosystem services. Ecosystem services are understood as the conditions and processes through which natural ecosystems sustain and fulfil human life, for example the process of cleansing and renewal as well as provision of aesthetic and cultural experiences (Daily, 1997). The term

consequently includes natural capital and landscapes but stresses the non-market manifestations of nature's contribution to human welfare.

This approach to natural resources and their various society-nature linkages is consistent with the use of the concept "natural resources management" within development studies. The concept entered this field about 20 years ago with the rise of "environment and development" as a new research and policy field (Benjaminsen & Lund, 2001). Much of this research is focused on developing countries in the south. However, the theoretical approach is equally valid in a northern, industrialised setting. Benjaminsen and Lund (2001) identify three important spheres of natural resource management: "Production, property and politics". "Production" refers to the ecological conditions, the nature of the resources, and how they are valued and used by different stakeholders. "Property" refers to tenure relations or property rights which often are objects of struggle. Struggles over "property" are furthermore seen as feeding into, and becoming products of, local and national political processes which are informed by various local, national and global discourses. This is identified as the sphere of "politics".

As indicated by Benjaminsen and Lund (2001), natural resource management is an activity that may give rise to tensions and struggles between different actors. The natural resources that are the objects of these struggles exhibit both material and symbolic dimensions, i.e. socially constructed meanings. Moore (1993b) argues that recognising the cultural construction of natural resources and landscapes opens up for simultaneous analysis of symbolic and material struggles over resources. Struggles over land and, what he labels, environmental resources may simultaneously be struggles over cultural meanings. Power struggles are thus understood as being played out both over meaning and practice (see for example Moore 1993b; Fortman, 1995; Peters, 1984; Benjaminsen & Lund, 2001).

The focus of this thesis is not natural resource management as an activity or phenomenon as such. Natural resource management is consequently not a concept that I intend to use or develop at an analytical level. I will rather use it as an organising concept, for delimiting the scope and relevance of the study. My objective is to explore the role of place perceptions in the politics of natural resource management. How resource management activities give rise to tensions and struggles between actors, is thus of obvious interest. Actors' understandings of natural resource management are also fundamental as they form integral parts of their place perceptions and shape their perceptions of resource management policy. A point of departure is that resource management contributes to an ongoing material as well as symbolic

transformation and construction of places. In line with the observations made by Moore (1993b), Fortmann (1995), Peters (1984) and Benjaminsen & Lund (2001), actors' understandings of these processes, i.e. their constructions of the meaning of natural resources and their management, are consequently at the centre of this thesis. Conceptual approaches to explore these constructions and their role in politics of natural resource management will be further elaborated in the rest of this and the following chapter.

The term natural resource management is a clearly anthropocentric term which even in an organisational capacity may risk reproducing a static and incomplete understanding of human beings' interactions with ecological systems. However, the ambition of this thesis is not primarily to explore the nature of the interface between human activity and ecological systems. It is rather to investigate how this interface is mediated by actors' perceptions and political activities in relation to place. In this context, the multidimensionality and the capacity of the natural resource management concept to capture a wide variety of society-nature linkages offers great advantages. Without excluding the ecological dimension, it allows for analyses of broader social, cultural and political processes. For this reason, I use the natural resource management concept in spite of its other shortcomings.

3.2 Frames

As made clear in the two preceding chapters, different actors tend to have quite diverging understandings of places, their natural resources and the policy problems at stake. In order to answer the research questions, a tool is therefore needed to explore the actors' multiple understandings and their implications for the process of policy making. One approach is offered by the concept of frames. Frame analysis has been developed in a variety of ways in different research traditions and contexts. In common, they represent an ambition to explore, and make sense of, people's multiple understandings of different situations and phenomena. Frame analysis is typically a way to investigate the organisation of experience, i.e. multiple understandings, as well as the action biases that they give rise to (see 6, 2005a). This capacity makes frames particularly suitable for the present study which explores the linkage between perceptions and political activity. This part of Chapter 3 is consequently devoted to a review of the frame concept. The question in focus is whether, and how, frames can be used to analyse actors' perceptions of place and policy, as well as the roles of these perceptions in the politics of natural resource management. It starts with a

general orientation of the concept and finishes with a more in-depth discussion of a neo-Durkheimian understanding of frames. In short, this approach is favoured as it offers a sociological account of the construction of frames which suits the empirical material of this study. As pointed out in the introduction, actors' social commitments appear to play important roles for how they come to position themselves. The neo-Durkheimian approach, moreover, explains the origins, constructions and variations of frames better than most other approaches reviewed, as will be further discussed.

The research questions of this thesis focus on the role of actors' *perceptions* of place in the politics of natural resource management. Before going into the literature review, I briefly want to clarify my understanding of the relationships between "frames", "cognition", "perceptions", "understandings", "appreciations" and other terms used by myself and the literature to denote people's attempts to make sense of the world. Frames are defined in a variety of ways but common to most is an understanding that frames have two functions. They organise experience and they bias for action. The latter is to say that they represent people's worlds in ways that already call for particular styles of decision or action (6, 2005a).

Admittedly, many different approaches to cognition, perceptions and their relationships to action exist in the literature. Reed (1993) uses the term cognition to refer to "...any and all psychological processes that function to give an organism knowledge about its environment, and its situation within the environment"⁵⁸ (p.46). Perception, according to Reed, is *one* way for an organism to acquire knowledge about its environment. There are however also other modes of cognition. While perceptions are understood to have a role in instigating action, they represent but one component of a much more complex and multifaceted relationship between knowledge and action.

Frames are consequently not the same thing as perceptions. A frame is something more inclusive as it organises all kinds of knowledge and bias for action. Perceptions may thus be seen as a part of a frame as suggested by Schön and Rein (1994):

"We see policy options as resting on underlying structures of belief, perception and appreciation, which we call "frames". (p. 23)

⁵⁸ By knowledge, Reed means any functional awareness of aspects of the environment as they exist ("perception"), or as they have existed ("memory") or as they should come to exist ("insight and anticipation"), or even as they ought to exist ("planning"). By functional awareness he means "...any capacity to guide action and thought, whether conscious or not". (p. 46)

Perceptions may, as argued by Perri 6 (2005a), be understood as one important aspect of the functional linkage between sense-making and action bias. Terms like “understandings” and “appreciations” represent other efforts to name similar or other aspects of this functional linkage.

The relationship between perceptions and frames is, however, dynamic and reciprocal. Perceptions form parts of frames which in turn may shape and influence perceptions. 6 (2005a) writes:

“...frames will shape and influence the perception of risk...” (p. 97)

Hence, it is important to note that frames and perceptions are not the same thing. Yet, frames may be used in research about the nature and role of perceptions. The article just cited by Perri 6 provides an example. The title of the article is “What’s in a frame? Social organisation, risk perception and the theory of knowledge”. 6 consequently uses frames to explore “... the perception and framing of privacy risk...” among a number of focus groups in the UK (p. 105). In a similar manner, the ambition of this thesis is to use frames to explore how actors’ understandings of the world, including their perceptions of place, inform their policy preferences and political activities in a natural resource management context.

3.2.1 What are frames?

Perri 6, (2005a) offers a useful review of different approaches to the concept of frames. In the same article, he elaborates an analytical approach inspired by neo-Durkheimian institutional theory. The overview provided by this article and the merits of his theoretical approach (to be further discussed), are reasons why this text by 6 came to form a significant part of the present review. According to 6, one core dilemma in the sociology of knowledge has been to show that sane people can have quite different understandings of the same problem, such as the conservation qualities of a forest, without abandoning the idea that there is a real problem about which to disagree. In recent decades, the idea of a “frame” has evolved as an attempt to make this problem tractable. According to 6, there are four or five theoretical accounts of frames which he sets out to review. 6 also formulates four critical questions as to the nature and origin of frames: What is the relationship between sense-making and bias? How are frames to be individuated? Where do frames come from? How far and how can people move between frames? In the following, four theoretical understandings of frames will be reviewed with these questions in mind.

3.2.2 A micro-sociological approach

One approach to frames is micro-sociological and is represented by the works of Erving Goffman (see Goffman, 1974). He primarily focuses on the role of frames in the organisation of experience, that is the first function of frames. He defines frames as principles of organisation which govern events:

“...definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organisation which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them: frame is the word I use to refer to such basic elements as I am able to identify.” (ibid, p. 10)

Goffman (1974) suggests that frames are social institutions, so-called “organisational premises”, rather than something that “cognition creates or generates”. Nevertheless, they constitute “frameworks” or “schemata of interpretation” that structure the experience of the individual. A cornerstone in Goffman’s theory is the idea of “primary frameworks”. They are understood as basic schemas of interpretation seen as “...rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful” (p. 21). Goffman furthermore distinguishes between “natural” and “social” primary frameworks. Another central theme is the “key” and how frames may be “keyed”. A key is a set of conventions by which a given activity that is already meaningful in terms of some primary framework is transformed into something else, patterned upon but independent of the original frame. Basic keys, according to Goffman, are “make believe”, “contests”, “ceremonials”, “technical redoings” and “regroundings” (ibid).

When conceptualising frames, Goffman’s point of departure is people’s everyday activities and their social interactions. He uses the term “strips” to identify sequences of ongoing activity that form the basis for his analysis. His interest is consequently in the structure of experience of individuals acting in the social context of such a strip (ibid). Accordingly, and as noted by Goffman (2005a), Goffman’s frames are not merely abstract ideas but lived practices with a capacity to organise social interaction.

Goffman’s interest is not primarily political processes and almost none of his examples or “situations” refers to politics or policy making. Many of his concepts, such as the “primary frameworks” and “keys”, are difficult to apply to a contested policy process with a variety of meanings attached to the same phenomenon. He does not develop the idea of primary frameworks very much, for example how many may simultaneously emerge from a single strip of activity, how they may be transformed if not subject to the relatively limited arsenal of available keys. A major criticism of

Goffman's frame analysis is accordingly that his conception of "primary frameworks" is underdeveloped (see Manning, 1992). Goffman (2005a) concludes that the central weakness of Goffman's account of frames is its inability to handle radically different understandings of the same problem in the same "key" and, secondly, that no thematic classification can be derived of the range of frames. Worth preserving from Goffman's frames is however the insight that frames are firmly anchored in practice and lived experiences. They are consequently sustained both in the mind and in the activity of the actor and they are "anchored" in the real world through practice. He consequently makes the linkage between frames and action explicit thus paving the way for an understanding of the relationship between actors' frames and their activities in place and within the political arena.

3.2.3 Social psychological anthropology and social psychology

A second approach to frames, or the function of frames, is developed in psychological anthropology and social psychology and is for example represented by Roy G. D'Andrade and Serge Moscovici. Neither of these authors present their ideas as "frames" but they are concerned with very similar phenomena, described as the relation between culture and action (D'Andrade, 1992) and "...processes through which knowledge is generated, transformed and projected into the social world" (Moscovici, 2000, p. 2). Both authors focus on mental, perceptual processes rather than the social aspect of sense making. They likewise share a preoccupation with cognitive "schemas" or structures of "representations" that are seen as essential in the operation of "stimulus" and "response".

D'Andrade's schema is described as "...a procedure by which objects or events can be identified on the basis of simplified pattern recognition" (D'Andrade, 1992, p. 29). In summary, D'Andrade's argument is that schemas, to start with, are reality defining systems of the human and they provide information about what state of the world can and should be pursued. Secondly, schemas are central for determining action and "top level schemas" tend to function as "goals". Thirdly, drives, affects and other kinds of instigation to action function by activating "goal schemas" rather than instigating action directly (ibid).

Moscovici's (2000) "social representations", on the other hand, are a refinement of Emile Durkheim's concept of "collective representations" (to be presented in the next section). Moscovici refers to Bower's (1977) definition of a representation:

“By a representation I mean a man-made stimulus array intended to serve as a substitute for a sight or sound that could occur naturally.” (p. 20, in Moscovici, 2000)

According to Moscovici, social representations have two roles. First, they “conventionalise” the objects, persons and events we encounter. They consequently give them a definite form and locate them in a given category. Secondly, they are “prescriptive”, meaning that they impose themselves upon us with “irresistible force”. Moscovici thus argues that social representations determine both the character of the “stimulus” and the response it elicits, for example emotional reactions and behaviour.

Moscovici’s as well as D’Andrade’s concepts of representations and schemas account in theory for both key functions of frames, organisation of experience and bias for action. However, the origin of the schemas and representations are unclear. Where do they come from and how many may simultaneously exist? How do they establish themselves in our minds and what are their relations to the world “out there”? Schemas and representations are introduced as internalised, pre-fabricated mental models that shape perceptions and activity. The linkage between Moscovici and D’Andrade’s conceptualisations of sense making and practice is weak. The role of an active engagement with a social and natural environment is absent or downplayed. 6 (2005a) criticises both authors for failing to provide a thematic classification of their schemas and representations. Devices to identify and account for their variation are consequently absent or weakly developed and the “social element” is seen as lost. Worth preserving is, however, the insight that some kind of interpretive patterns must play a role in *how* frames do their work.

3.2.4 One approach from meso-level political sociology

A third approach to frames is found in political sociology. William Gamson, as well as Donald Schön and Martin Rein, uses frames to explore collective action and intractable controversies in a political context. These authors consequently focus on the operation of frames at a social or political level rather than on a micro sociological one (as in the case of Goffman) or in the mind (such as D’Andrade and Moscovici).

Gamson (1992) is primarily interested in exploring a particular kind of political consciousness, one that supports mobilisation of collective action. “Collective action frames” are consequently understood as “...action oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate social movement activities and campaigns” (p. 7, with reference to Snow &

Benford, 1992). He is much more interested in the biasing than organising function of frames, and the biasing function is addressed on a group level only. Each individual frame is, according to Gamson, defined by one implicit or organizing idea. Gamson identifies three components of collective action frames: 1) injustice, 2) agency and 3) identity. The ease with which fully developed and integrated collective action frames are constructed is consequently understood as depending on the extent to which people share a moral indignation for having been mistreated, a feeling that it is possible to alter conditions and a shared definition of a “we”. Gamson furthermore discusses premises and strategies for the evolution of different collective action frames, particularly in relation to frames sponsored by media and political organisations.

Schön and Rein (1994) are more elaborate in their conception of what a frame is and where it comes from. They define frames as “...underlying structures of belief, perception and appreciation...” (p. 23). They are not seen as free floating ideas, or concepts, but “grounded in the institutions that sponsor them” (p. 29). Schön and Rein differentiate between frames and interests: interests are shaped by frames and frames may be used to promote interests. They furthermore suggest that actors’ constructions of frames may be explored through stories and story telling. Each story is seen to construct a view of social reality through a complementary process of “naming” and “framing”. Things are thus selected for attention and named in such a way as to fit the frame constructed for the situation. They consequently acknowledge the first key function of frames, that is to organise and make sense of experience. According to Schön and Rein, it is through the “naming” and “framing” that the stories make “the normative leap” from data to recommendations, from fact to values, from “is” to “ought”. The second key function of frames, to bias for action, is further developed in their conceptualisation of “action frames”. Schön and Rein consequently distinguish between different kinds of frames on the basis of their key functions and level of generality. The first distinction is made between “rhetorical frames” and “action frames”. The former are understood as frames that underlie the persuasive use of story and argument in policy debate and the latter as frames that inform policy practice. The second distinction is made between three levels of hierarchically organised action frames. A “policy frame” is thus the frame an institutional actor uses to construct the problem of a specific policy situation. Climbing up one level of generality, we find the “institutional action frame” which is a more generic action frame from which the institutional actor derives a wide range of policy frames. At the highest level of generality is the “meta cultural

frame”. Such frames are understood as broad, culturally shared systems of beliefs with a capacity to shape both rhetorical and action frames.

Gamson as well as Schön and Rein is more interested in how frames bias for action than in how they function as organisers of experience. Especially Gamson, who is preoccupied with collective action frames, does not say very much about the general character or functions of frames. He is consequently criticised by 6 (2005a) for failing to provide a higher level taxonomic, i.e. classificatory, approach that enables determination of whether frames are indefinitely various as well as convincingly showing that his taxonomy of “basic frames” is exhaustive. In terms of explaining how actors enter, or move between, frames, Gamson’s primary focus is on collective strategies and capacities to handle influences from media and political organisations. Although important components, they are not sufficient to provide a satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon. Worth preserving from Gamson is however his insight that a special kind of shared frames, “collective action frames”, is necessary to make collective action possible. 6 (2005a) also points out that it should be accepted from Gamson that frames often are organised thematically, that these themes typically are specific concepts and that they often are emotional in character and carry serious moral weight.

Schön and Rein provide a more comprehensive explanation of what frames are, how they come about and how they function. They firmly anchor the frames in social institutions. They account for the two key functions of frames and how they relate to policy making. They furthermore offer a classification of different kinds of frames. These contributions are valuable. Yet, little is said about the actual construction of frames, what kind of underlying beliefs, perceptions and appreciations actually form the frames. The extent of variety that is possible, what kind of frames are available to whom and how people may move between frames is likewise unclear. 6 (2005a) also directs attention to an inconsistency in Schön and Rein’s distinction between rhetorical and action frames. As an effect of this some frames are allowed to be only organising or biasing in function whereas others do both. However, by considering “rhetoric frames” as frames that bias for rhetoric action, and “policy frames” as frames that bias for specific policy related activities, this problem may be dealt with. The two basic functions of all kinds of frames are thus retained.

3.2.5 One approach from cognitive psychology

A fourth approach to frames and framing comes from cognitive psychology and is for example represented by Kahneman and Tversky's "prospect theory" (Kahneman, Slovic & Tversky, 1982; Kahneman & Tversky, 2000). According to 6, prospect theory was developed to explain the experimentally observed fact that most people make judgements and decisions about risks in ways that do not conform to expected utility theory. Their initial definition of a "decision frame" is "...a decision maker's conception of the acts, outcomes and contingencies associated with a particular choice" (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981, p. 453). Frames, in this understanding, specify an initial point of reference against which alternatives in a decision are judged to count as gains or losses in an assessment of risk (ibid). According to 6, the tradition is predominantly interested in measuring the size of the non-linearities, i.e. "concavities" and "convexities", in risk choices. It is not primarily interested in questions about what frames consist of, where they come from or whether there exist an indefinite number of frames. A basic assumption is that their origin is to be found in the problem environment, such as the problem formulation, and in individual psychology. The main interest is on their effect on one single variable about willingness to bear risk. They are consequently primarily seen as biases, and to the extent that they include sense making, it is largely about the self (narrative of life course, expectations, memory, etc.). Social interaction and collective action is largely missing. However, the idea that frames shape and influence the perception of risk is valuable and ought, according to 6 (2005a), to be preserved.

3.2.6 Frames and the environment

Following 6 (2005a), four main theoretical accounts of frames have been distinguished and discussed. Research using "frames" is however found in a much broader spectrum of disciplines and contexts. As already mentioned, they are applied in research on risks. Frames are also used in media research (see for example Scheufele, 2004 and Carragee & Roefs, 2004) and in research on environmental conflicts and natural resource management (Gray, 2003; Walton & Bailey, 2005; Burns & Cheng, 2007). In their efforts to conceptualise frames, most of these authors do, however, refer back to the one or several of the theoretical approaches identified by 6. Carragee and Roefs for example discuss framing processes related to media effects. They refer to Gamson and advocate an approach to frames that goes back to Goffman's ideas. Barbara Gray, a leading researcher in the field of environmental conflicts, bases her understanding of frames for example on

Schön and Rein (see Gray, 2003). Burns and Cheng (2007) investigate how stakeholders frame the need for active forest management for wild-fire mitigation and refer back to Kahneman and Tversky. Walton & Bailey (2005), finally, explore wilderness frames in Alabama with an understanding of frames that is based on Goffman.

Without claiming that it provides an exhaustive review, Perri 6's four accounts appear to provide a fair picture of the main theoretical approaches to frames. As evident from the discussion so far, they all have their merits and weaknesses. No approach is really able to offer a comprehensive, theoretically grounded understanding of the variation of understandings and positions observed in the empirical material of this thesis, such as the possible variation of frames, how people may move between them, how frames are constructed or where they "come from". In an attempt to address these kinds of questions, 6 (2005a) makes the case for a refined neo-Durkheimian understanding of frames based on institutional theory. However, in order to fully understand its theoretical foundation, the neo-Durkheimian contribution will be discussed in some depth.

3.2.7 A neo-Durkheimian understanding of frames

In short, Perri 6 (2005a) argues for a conceptualisation of frames that goes back to Durkheim's sociology of knowledge and institutional theory developed by Mary Douglas and others. In order to be able to assess the implications and usefulness of the theory for my own research purposes, I start by reviewing its conceptual origin and evolution. Before presenting 6's theory, the contributions of Durkheim and his followers, such as Mary Douglas, will be briefly discussed. The objective of this review is not to discuss the work of Durkheim for its own sake. The reason to go back to his texts is to understand the fundamental concepts on which the neo-Durkheimians and 6's conceptualisations of frames are based. Three concepts, or theories, are of main interest: 1) Durkheim's concept "collective representations", 2) his "sociology of knowledge" and 3) his ideas about "discipline" and "attachment".

Durkheim's "representations" and sociology of knowledge

In the book *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912), Durkheim makes an attempt to resolve "the problem of knowledge". A prerequisite for this endeavour is his idea about "collectively constructed categories" of understanding, which is introduced in the earlier "Primitive Classification" (1903) but develops further in "The Elementary Forms of Religious Life". Durkheim consequently argues that the genesis of the human classificatory

function is social. He suggests that the early classifications were modelled on the fundamental form of social organisation:

“...society was not only a model which classificatory thought followed; it was its own division which served as divisions for the system of classification...It was because men were grouped, and thought of themselves in the form of groups, that in their ideas they grouped other things, and in the beginning the two modes of grouping were merged to the point of being indistinct. Moieties were the first genera; clans the first species.” (Durkheim & Mauss, 1903, p. 82)

Durkheim consequently concludes that the centre of man's first classificatory schemes is not the individual and not man. It is society and man's social organisation that is objectified. These ideas are taken further in Durkheim's studies of religion and he is able to conclude that religious representations are “collective representations” that express collective realities. He therefore suggests that representations as well as categories of representations are social things that are products of collective thought – or at least rich in social thought (Durkheim, 1912).

From here, Durkheim goes further in his attempt to reformulate the “problem of knowledge”. Durkheim rejects the two leading doctrines at the time which he labels “a priori” and “empirist”. For the supporters of the former doctrine, categories of understanding cannot be derived from experience since they are logically prior to experience and condition it. For the latter, the “categories” are constructed out of “bits and pieces” and it is “the individual that is the artisan of that construction” (ibid,p.12). Durkheim argues that if the social origin of categories is accepted, a new stance become possible. His new theory keeps the thesis from the “apriorists” that knowledge is formed from two sorts of elements that are irreducible to each other: two superimposed layers. The knowledge that is called “empirical” is the knowledge that the direct action of objects calls forth in our mind. It is understood as individual states explained by the psychic nature of the individual. The “categories”, on the other hand, are explained as essentially “collective representations”, translating states of the collectivity. They depend upon the way in which the collectivity is organised, in other words society, and are seen as the product of an immense co-operation that is extended in time and space. That is, according to Durkheim (1912), how we can understand how reason has gained power to go beyond the range of empirical cognition. He concludes:

“The categories cease to be regarded as primary analyzable facts: and yet they remain of such complexity that analyses as simplistic as those which empiricism contended itself cannot possibly be right. No longer do they appear as very simple notions that anyone can sift from his personal observations, and that popular imagination unfortunately complicated; quite the contrary, they appear as ingenious instruments of thought, which human groups have painstakingly forged over centuries, and in which they have amassed the best of their intellectual capital. A whole aspect of human history is, in a way, summed up in them.” (ibid, p. 18)

The idea of “collectively constructed categories” did indeed help to resolve some of the problems Durkheim had identified. An alternative was thus offered to perceiving the “categories” as primary facts, or undefined cognitive schemata, inherent in the human intellect. At the same time, Durkheim was careful not to open the door to total relativism. Durkheim’s categories, including collective representations, act to constrain and restrict the individual will. They impose themselves upon the individual and are thus characterised with a form of “necessity”. The explanation offered for the “compelling” nature of the socially constructed categories is the “double constitution” of man: the individual that has its base in the body and a social being that represents our moral realm. Society controls, or influences, the “social being” which in turn controls the individual “will”. Society thus prevents dissidence, i.e. minds trying to free themselves from its norms of thought, by sanctioning the individual:

“Society no longer considering this a human mind in a full sense, and treats it accordingly”. (Durkheim, 1912, p. 16)

Durkheim’s ideas of social discipline and attachment

The ideas about how a society moulds its individuals are taken further in Durkheim's books “Suicide” (1897) and “Moral Education” (1925). Durkheim's point in studying suicide is to show that an act that may be perceived as an ultimate individual thing, the decision to take one’s life, in fact may be regarded as a social phenomenon. He consequently tries to explain suicide rates as a social phenomenon expressing underlying rates of collective consciences and systems of “thought styles”, such as currents of “egoism”, “altruism” and “anomy” (Durkheim, 1897).

A fundamental concept in Durkheim’s (1925) efforts to explain the moulding powers of society is “morality”. Morality, according to Durkheim, has three elements: “discipline”, “attachment” and “autonomy”.

Discipline is what regularises and constrains our conduct. Attachment is the individual's feeling of identification with groups such as family, union and country. Durkheim furthermore joins his two elements of morality and concludes that they are two aspects of the same thing, namely society:

“What is discipline, in fact, if not society conceived of as that which commands us, which dictates to us, which hands down its laws to us? As for the second element, the attachment to the group, it is again society that we discover, but conceived this time as a thing desirable and good, such as a goal which attracts us, an ideal to be realised. On the one hand, it seems to us as an authority that constrains us, fixes limits for us, blocks us when we would trespass, and to which we defer with a feeling of religious respect. On the other hand, society is the benevolent and protecting power, the nourishing mother from which we gain the whole of our moral and intellectual substance and toward whom our wills turn in a spirit of love and gratitude.”
(Durkheim, 1925 p. 92-93)

The third element of morality, “autonomy”, is, according to Durkheim, the understanding of it, such as the free desire to accept rules prescribing certain kinds of behaviour.

Morality to Durkheim consequently consists of a system of “rules of action” that predetermines conduct. These rules state how one must act in a given situation and to behave properly is, according to Durkheim, to obey consciously. Discipline and attachment form the two reinforcing elements that “regulate and constrain” the individual. Discipline, according to Durkheim, is however not only a repressive force. It is something that we desire and need, a part of the protection that “society” offers.

The legacy of Durkheim

Durkheim's evolution of “collective representations” is fundamental to the development of the sociology of knowledge and the neo-Durkheimian conceptualisation of frames. These theories, for example, help Perri 6 to provide answers to his questions about the origin and evolution of frames. Combined with Durkheim's thinking about discipline and attachment, how society moulds its individuals, explanations for the relationship between sense making and bias are offered. The theories likewise provide the basis for 6's ideas about a limited plurality of frames and his account of how they are individuated. With these concepts as a point of departure a valuable set of thoughts about the origin and nature of frames is clearly added. However, Durkheim's ideas about the social construction of representations, his

attempt to resolve the “knowledge problem” and his ideas about how society moulds its individuals also have a number of weaknesses. He resolved the task he had set up for himself partly by introducing a number of quite strict dichotomies. He divided human beings into “body” and “mind”, “will and “reason”, “collectivity” and “individual”, and he separated human beings from their environment by strictly dividing “nature” and “society”. This dichotomisation creates a number of new theoretical challenges which may be adopted with a neo-Durkheimian conceptualisation of frames. For this reason they will be briefly discussed. Three outstanding issues in relation to the questions at issue in this thesis are: 1) “representations” and the relations between human beings and nature as well as body and mind, 2) the relations between the individual and the collective and 3) stability in relation to change.

The first issue of potential concern is Durkheim’s conception of collective representations and their implications for the relations between human beings and their natural environment. When Durkheim & Mauss (1903) want to trace the origin of our general categories of understanding they study totemic beliefs. Their conclusion is that the model for our classification comes from social life, “...because men formed groups they were able to group things” (p. 82). Durkheim consequently dismisses other alternatives, such as models or inspiration found in the natural environment. He says:

“Material things can form collections, heaps of mechanical assemblages without internal unity.....a heap of sand or pile of stones is not comparable to the sort of well defined and organised society that is a genus.” (Durkheim, 1912 p. 148)

This may be the way the natural environment looked to Durkheim, but it is not sure it is the way the hunter and gatherer perceived the land and hunting grounds. For a person who knows a natural environment the natural systems may appear differently, as full of life, interactions and relations. Groups exist also in the natural environment and so do hierarchies, a fact that the hunters may have been aware of but which Durkheim dismisses. Of course one can argue that what was just referred to as groups and hierarchies in the natural systems are exactly those projected collective representations of which Durkheim wanted to explain the origin. Nevertheless, no convincing reason can be seen in Durkheim's argumentation for accepting his prioritisation of what is the model and what is the projection. Craib (1997) likewise concludes that Durkheim in this respect has a tendency to

circular argumentation and lacks explanation as to why the collectivity could perceive their own organisation without any prior known categories. His advice is not to reject Durkheim on these grounds but to take a “weak sense” of Durkheim’s argument, to accept the idea that the structure of the society in which we live in one way or another is responsible for the structure and the content of our thinking.

The point here is not to argue against the idea that classification may have a social origin, but to soften Durkheim’s strict division between the social and the natural domains. Durkheim argues that our classification, and thus collective representations, is the result of collective human reason, i.e. society, which is seen as something quite separate from the individuals, their will, their body and nature. These claims go back to Durkheim’s idea about the double constitution of man, the individual with a base in the body and a social being that represents the moral realm (the mind). As a consequence, there appears to be little room for influences from the natural environment in the genesis of our classificatory systems. The concepts themselves, for example collective representations, therefore become incapable of taking experience of socio-natural relations into account. How then can room be made for people’s different ways of experiencing and relating to nature, place and place use in a neo-Durkheimian conceptualisation of frames?

The anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000) is critical of Durkheim’s theory of knowledge exactly for having turned perceptions into a two stage phenomenon. The first step, according to Ingold, is reception of meaningless sensory data which, as a second step, are organised into collectively held and enduring representations. Ingold’s point of departure is that that perceptual activity consists not in the operation of the mind upon the bodily data of sense, but in the intentional movements of the whole being (indissoluble body and mind) in its environment. One consequently “...learns to perceive in the manner appropriate to a culture, not by acquiring programmes or conceptual schemata for organising sensory data into higher-order representations, but by hands-on training in everyday tasks whose successful fulfilment requires a practical ability to notice and respond fluently to salient aspects of the environment” (Ingold, 2000 p. 166). Ingold consequently offers an alternative perspective which takes practice and experience in a social as well as physical environment into account. However, with a “weak sense” of Durkheim’s sociology of knowledge, as suggested by Craib (1997), the two perspectives are not necessarily conflicting and mutually excluding. The claim that the structure of our society in one way or the other is responsible for the structure and content of our thinking, as suggested by Craib, does not exclude that knowledge

may also be obtained through practice and a more active interaction with a social *and* natural environment. Yet, the essence of Durkheim's contribution, that "society" influences our way of thinking, may be retained.

The next issue of potential concern is Durkheim's understanding of the relationship between the individual and the collective. His focus is clearly on the collective, on society. This is understandable given his attempt to define sociology as a separate science and thus society as something more than an assemblage of individuals. However, Durkheim's concepts and categories, understood as aspects of society, seem to hold the individual in a very firm grip. The categories and concepts are "necessary" and "compelling", and they restrict the individual and his will (which in Durkheim's understanding seems to be far from something undesirable). The questions are: What is the role of the individual in Durkheim's society, what is the space for individual agency and what is the potential for the individual to resist and modify society?

To be fair to Durkheim, it should be acknowledged that he actually does recognise an interplay between the collective and the individual level in most of the books reviewed, but he does not seem to be very interested in exploring further the individual aspect. In *Moral Education* (1925), Durkheim for example writes:

"Must we then acknowledge the antagonism between the individual and society....Quite the contrary, there is in us a host of states which something other than ourselves – that is to say, society – expresses in, or through, us. Such states constitute society itself, living and acting in us. Certainly society is greater than, and goes beyond, us, for it is infinitely more vast than our individual being; but at the same time it enters into every part of us...we are fused with it." (Durkheim, 1925 p, 71)

Durkheim is consequently primarily a theorist of society and social cohesion. His focus is not on the individual and he does not offer any theory of individual agency (see Parkin, 1992 and Craib, 1997). It is not true to say that the individual is absent from his thinking (see Mestrovic, 1993), but he is, as pointed out by Craib (1997), sometimes "drunk" on the concept of society. In spite of these weaknesses, his thinking about social cohesion, attachment to groups and their disciplining powers is a very relevant and useful contribution to studies of contested natural resources. These ideas help explain the role of social loyalties, group commitments, collective identities, etc., which often play a role in locally enacted resource

management conflicts. As pointed out in Chapter 1, they certainly seem to play a prominent role in the Government Commission under study. These ideas moreover constitute an important part of the raw material contributing to Perri 6's elaboration of frames. 6's approach is consequently firmly placed in a context of social organisation (as will be further explained in the following sections). Yet, it is important to remember that the research legacy of Durkheim sometimes tends to become overly "social" and collective. In approaches based on Durkheim's ideas it is therefore important not to forget the existence of individuals, individual agency, the personal and the particular.

The third issue of potential concern is about stability in relation to change. Linked to the issue of individual agency is a general question about perspectives on social change. In his writing, Durkheim emphasises the stable, universal and permanent aspects of categories, concepts and representations. Society is likewise described as something stable, with morality and collective representations acting as some sort of social stabiliser and glue. Conflict and "chaos" are mostly mentioned in connection with societies in a state of "anomy", understood as a non-desired state where egoism rules and the wills are free to try to realise their unlimited desires. It is thus unclear how Durkheim accounts for diverging, conflicting and changing views about society. Is there a room for social action and how does change come about?

According to Parkin (1992), the whole purpose of Durkheim's sociology was to identify sources of disequilibrium in order to prevent society from dissolving and chaos to taking its place. Durkheim's point of departure and focus was consequently primarily on the problem of order, on what keeps society together and thus makes it possible. Along similar lines Craib (1997) points out that Durkheim does not offer theories of social change. Nor does he say much about individual or collective action. When it comes to ideas about how, if and why societies change, Durkheim, according to Craib, is weak. These weaknesses are, however, not reasons for dismissing Durkheim's other valuable contributions. A word of caution for overly static and structural approaches based on the Durkheimian legacy is nevertheless appropriate.

Neo-Durkheimian sociology of perception

Mary Douglas is one author who has developed further Durkheim's theory that there is a social basis for human ways of thinking and perceiving. In "Essays in the sociology of perception" (1982) Douglas and her collaborators develop the idea of "grid/group analysis". According to

Douglas (1982), her objective with the “grid/group scheme” is to account for how alternative visions of society are selected and sustained. She also sees her scheme as a way of estimating the “local perceptual bias”, understood as the “mediating screen” of people’s perceptions which define their options and action alternatives (p. 2). According to Douglas, grid/group analysis does this by reducing social variation to only a few grand types, each of which necessarily generates its own self-sustaining blinkers. The grid/group scheme furthermore constitutes the backbone of G’s (2005a) conceptualisation of frames. Creating her scheme, Douglas (1982) starts by constructing a dimension for “group commitment” (roughly corresponding to Durkheim’s idea of “attachment”). The next dimension concerns the

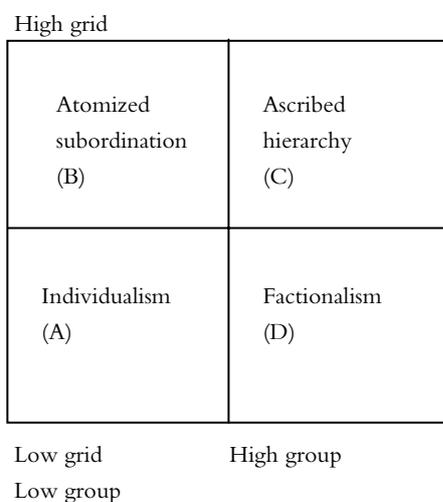


Figure 5. The grid/group scheme, according to Douglas (1982).

extent of regulation that the individual is subject to, from maximum freedom to maximum regulation (roughly corresponding to Durkheim’s idea of “discipline”). By combining these two dimensions of control over the individual, i.e. “group commitment” and “grid control”, four extreme visions of social life evolve (see Figure 5). Douglas has labelled her four extreme states as A. “individualism”, B. “atomized subordination”, C. “ascribed hierarchy” and D. “factionalism”. Her point is that people cannot occupy more than one square at the time. She argues is that each pattern of rewards and punishment moulds the individual’s behaviour:

“This is a social-accounting approach to culture; it selects out of the total cultural field those beliefs and values which are derivable as justifications for action and which I regard as constituting an implicit cosmology.” (Douglas 1978, in Douglas 1982, p. 5)

The term “cosmology” is, according to Douglas (1982), used “...to include the ultimate justifying ideas which tend to be invoked as if part of the natural order...” (p. 5). Yet, since we distinguish four kinds of cosmologies, they are “...evidently not all natural but strictly products of social interaction” (p. 5). The argument is that amid apparent short term shifts in opinion, there are certain social choices which have long run effects because they afford tangible rewards and are based on arguments that are morally convincing to the individual. People who have banded together under a certain rubric or constitution will, according to Douglas, tend to increasingly coerce one another to develop the full implications of that style of life.

The theory consequently posits that the four grid/group positions steadily recruit members to their way of life which is at the same time inevitably a way of thought (ibid). This is the basic thinking behind the concept “thought styles” which is further elaborated in later publications by Douglas (see Douglas, 1986) and used in 6’s conceptualisation of frames.

Douglas’ (1982) point is thus that most “values” and “beliefs” can be analysed as part of society rather than as a separate cultural sphere. Different claims about “the nature of man and his place in the universe” are for example seen to be developed to justify arguments maintained by actors. This means they are analysed as part of society rather than nature. She concludes that “...there is nothing natural about the perception of nature; nature is heavily loaded with political bias” (p. 7). In a study of pollution and the origin of environmental concerns, cited in Wuthnow et al. (1984, p. 93), she argues that the origin of pollution beliefs (understood as concerns with dangers to the environment) are rooted in the environmental groups who most vociferously expose them. She argues that these ideas and dangers respond to the problems of voluntary organisations and their social structure rather than actual changes taking place in “nature”.

Michael Thompson is another contributor to Douglas’ essays in the sociology of perception (1982) and he makes an attempt to develop the group and grid theory further. His problem with Douglas’ version is that it is too static and does not take the individual’s struggle to reach a stable state into account. For these reasons he reformulates Douglas scheme and ends up with three (instead of two) dimensions. The first one is concerned with the

sort of processes that give rise to group commitment which he identifies as “group dynamics”. The second is concerned with processes that give rise to the grid component which he identifies as “network building”. The third, finally, is concerned with the exercise of the coercive possibilities that the cosmologies present and which he identifies as “manipulation”. He thus focuses on process rather than static states and he introduces a dimension addressing questions of power. After a complicated three dimensional modelling, he arrives at a conclusion. Rather than four social contexts and their corresponding cosmologies, we should expect to find five kinds of strategies emerging from five kinds of cultural settings. According to Thompson, the redrawing of the group and grid axes, and the addition of the “manipulation axes”, thus reveals that the social context alone (referring to Douglas’ scheme) is not enough to completely separate the cosmologies.

Wildavsky (1987) also offer a version of Douglas’ grid/group scheme in their discussion about political “responsibility”. What matters most to people is, according to Wildavsky, how they wish to live with other people. Responsibility is thus understood as a function of “culture”, seen as “the shared values justifying social relations”(p.283). His version of the grid/group scheme has, as in the case of Douglas, two axes. The “group” axes indicate the degree to which individuals belong to a strong group that makes decisions binding for all members, or the degree to which the ties to others are weak and their choices bind only themselves. The “grid” axes indicate the number of prescriptions that the individuals are subject to. Following Wildavsky, strong groups with numerous prescriptions form a culture of “hierarchical collectivism”. Strong groups whose members follow few prescriptions form an “egalitarian culture”, understood as a shared life of voluntary consent without coercion or inequality. “Competitive individualism” is seen as the product of few prescriptions and weak group boundaries. Weak groups and strong prescriptions, finally, are seen to produce a “controlled culture” where decisions are made for the individuals by people on the outside. Following Wildavsky, this situation is labelled “fatalistic”.

Much of Douglas writing is a development of the Durkheimian idea that there is a social basis for human thought and classification. In the context of frames, and G’s version in particular, her main contribution is the grid/group analysis. It offers a way to account for how different worldviews are adopted and sustained. In a way that is empirically understandable and applicable, it also explains why the individual options in terms of available worldviews are constrained. It likewise explains and predicts action bias.

However, some of the weaknesses identified in the work of Durkheim linger in Douglas' approach. One pertains to the "cosmologies" and their origin. Durkheim conceptualises categories and representations as direct replicas of people's structure of social organisation. Douglas has adopted a "weaker stance" but her cosmologies are still seen as products of social interaction and group structure. Without denying a significant role of social organisation in their construction, social context alone may not be enough to account for the entire substance of people's worldviews. One example of the shortcomings of this approach is when Douglas claims that pollution may be reduced to problems of voluntary organisations and their social structures. Pollution, surely also has a material component and is thus something more than merely perceptions, rites and ideas of the order of things. By explaining the substance of cosmologies (or representations in the case of Durkheim) with exclusive reference to the social structure of groups holding them, any significance of people's interaction with its natural and physical environment is totally ignored (see discussion in relation to Durkheim). Problematic is also Douglas' claim that the cosmologies are mutually excluding. People are consequently not seen to be able to have multiple cosmologies or move between them. In this sense the model, in line with the Durkheimian legacy, tends to become overly static and fails to take social interaction, persuasion and individual agency into account. Some of these weaknesses are addressed by Thompson who makes an attempt to introduce an additional explanatory parameter and more dynamics. His solution to add a third dimension addressing processes that give rise to coercive possibilities, a dimension of power, is therefore attractive. However, the resulting scheme has lost all of its simplicity and apparent applicability. Yet, the principal points that he raises about dynamics are improvements that add to the relevance of the approach.

3.2.8 Perri 6's conceptualisation of frames

Perri 6 (2005a) turns to the neo-Durkheimian tradition to find answers to a number of fundamental questions regarding frames. In prior publications, 6 uses neo-Durkheimian institutional theory to explore other phenomena such as institutional viability, emotions and social solidarities (see 6, 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005b). In the article about frames, he draws on the neo-Durkheimian tradition to find answers to his three first questions regarding frames: What is the relationship between sense making and bias, how are frames individuated and where do they come from? In order to deal with the fourth question, how far and how can people move between frames, he offers three innovations to the neo-Durkheimian theory.

6 (2005a) starts by concluding that the Durkheimian theory posits that "...cognition is powerfully shaped in semantic content, not only in style, by pattern in social organisation" (p.97). 6 establishes that a strong form of the claim would be to accept that the core content of the fundamental categories is a kind of literal transposition of features of social organisation. However, with reference to Douglas, and in line with Craib's recommendation, 6 argues for the weaker claim that the selection of concepts, their salience, relevance, affect attached to them, etc. are powerfully *shaped by crucial features* of social organisation. Following the neo-Durkheimian theory, 6 furthermore suggests that "...this selection, focus, salience, relevance and affect" are *functional* for particular institutional forms of social organisation (p.98). In his article about frames, 6 does not define further what he means by "institutional forms". However, in earlier works he uses what here refers to a "neo-Durkheimian institutional theory" to explore "institutional viability" and "emotions" (see 6, 2002; 2003). Here, institutional forms of social organisation are understood as "solidarities", in short described as more or less coherent systems of institutions with a common style of accountability (6, 2002). In the classic Durkheimian sense, institutional forms of social organisation may be understood as a group of social positions which are connected by social relations and perform a social role. From here, 6 goes further to establish a causal relationship. "Cosmologies", "worldviews" and "thought styles" are explained with reference to institutional forms of social organisation. He furthermore claims that there is a limited number of socially viable "thought styles" that are available to people, i.e. there is a limited plurality:

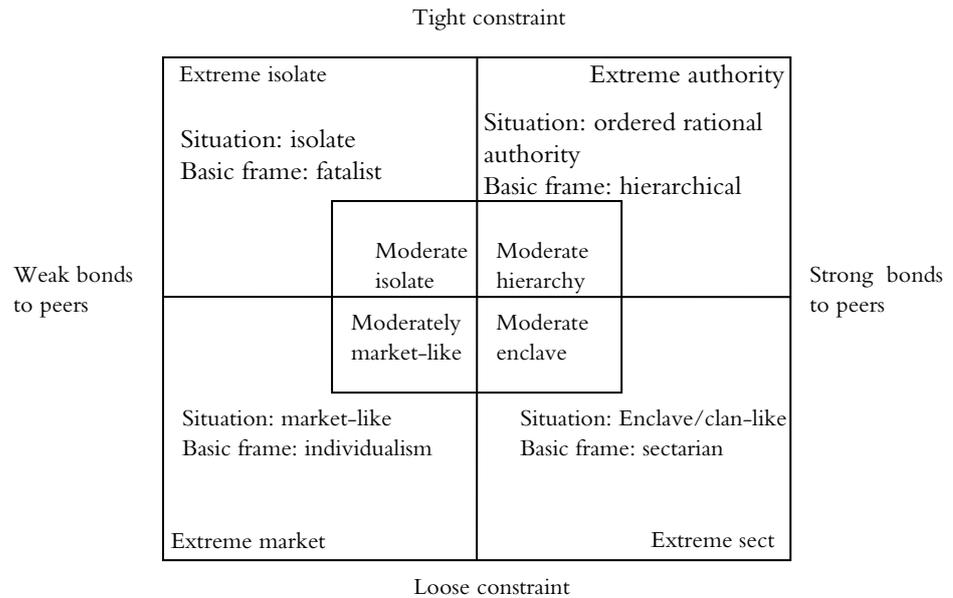
"...the commensurability and the underlying reality is demonstrated by the institutional viability of the social organisation that these thought styles sustain." (p. 98)

In order to explain what features of social organisation matter and why they are so few in number, 6, turns to grid/group analysis, here called the "neo-Durkheimian matrix".

The first dimension, in Durkheim's and Douglas' terminologies referred to as "discipline" and "grid", is in 6's version explained as "...the extent to which the situation is set about with constraints of rules, roles and facts that have, practically speaking, to be taken as given, or at the other end of the dimension, the extent to which these constraints are relaxed to allow a measure of voluntary choice" (p. 98). In 6's reworked version of the matrix (see Figure 6), this dimension is illustrated by the vertical axes which measure the degree of "constraint". The second dimension, "attachment" or

“group”, is explained by 6 as indicating “...the degree to which social relations require the accountability of the individual to a bonded group,

Figure 6. The influence of location in social organisation on thought style, according to 6’s (2005a).



or allow comparatively unaccountable and autonomous individual action” (p. 98). In his figure, this dimension is illustrated by the horizontal axis which measures the strength of the individual’s “bonds to peers”. In 6’s final version of the matrix, the resulting four basic styles of social organisation, or “situations”, are labelled “isolate”, “authority”, “market-like” and “enclave”, but they conceptually correspond to Douglas’ “extreme states”. “Authority, is a style of social organisation that is described as strongly regulated and integrated with asymmetric relationships. Responsibilities and accountability are highly structured and the nature of social ties between people varies according to their relative status. A “market-like” situation is characterised by limited accountability, fluid boundaries and weak or loose social ties that are adopted and used instrumentally. The “isolate” situation is described as the strongly regulated but weakly integrated world where the individuals are left at the mercy of the pressures and disciplines created by other forms of social organisation. Their coping strategy is opportunism. The “enclave”, finally, is described as the strongly integrated but weakly

regulated world with an internal egalitarian structure and strong boundaries to the outside world. Each of these are, according to 6, a “solidarity” – a form of social organisation with its distinct style of institutions and “thought styles”:

“In each of these solidarities...different stylized ways should also be expected of thinking about how the social and natural world is, for each requires the world to be amenable to treatment by its peculiar style of organisation.” (6, 2005 p. 101)

Having concluded that social organisation is the most important causal factor for shaping worldviews, or “thought styles”, 6 goes further by suggesting that a logical consequence of the theory is that “...individuals, when...differently located in social organisation...will think differently, and perhaps even inconsistently” (p. 101). 6 consequently recognises a need to account for more mobility and dynamics than is recognised by for example Douglas. By introducing to the scheme a differentiation between “primary” and “secondary” locations in a given context he opens up for mobility between contexts and multiple, or shifting, frames. “The primary location” is understood as a person’s long term, underlying position that the individual occupies in relation to the major institutionalised forms in society, such as the labour market, the housing market, their peers, colleagues, friends, etc. A “secondary location” is the relationship to others in a conversation where the interlocutor understands an issue differently and there is a possibility of attempting to persuade the other to shift frame. Mobility “in cognition” is thus acknowledged both as an effect of mobility between several primary locations, and as a result of mobility between a primary and secondary location, for example as an effect of persuasion. The possibility of people living with a plurality of primary and secondary locations, and a variety of, possibly conflicting, frames and biases in their lives is therefore acknowledged. In order to enable and explain settlements and coalitions between “institutional styles”, 6 makes a distinction between “moderate” and “extreme” forms of the four solidarities. Combinations, at least of more moderate forms, are explained as viable.

Perri 6’s final definition of a frame builds on a synthesis of these insights. A frame, according to 6, is consequently conceptualised as the dependent variable produced by the independent institutional variables of the solidarities:

“The frame can be defined as the overarching or organising concept that represents the application to a specific context, of general cognitive commitment of a given solidarity, in its more moderate or extreme form.” (ibid, p. 104)

Thought styles are understood as as more general cognitive commitments that, applied to specific contexts, give rise to frames. In 6’s final, applied version of the matrix (see Figure 3), thought styles are even described as “basic frames”. The theory, according to 6, nevertheless predicts that the relationship between sense making and action bias in frames is a functional one:

“Solidarities elicit sense making in particular thought styles in order to elicit action (or inaction) of the kinds that sustain their institutional and organisational commitments.” (p. 105)

Finally, 6 discusses mobility between frames and concludes, with reference to the matrix (see Figure 6), that some movements are more likely than others. Moves from one extreme to the other extreme of either diagonal (of the matrix) are for example predicted to face lower hurdles than do vertical and horizontal moves. Radical movements for example tend to recruit support from those in the isolate situation, just as governments look to support from the business world. 6 also argues that it is easier to move outward within a quadrant, that is from a more moderate to an extreme position, than vice versa. These hypotheses are derived from the distinction between the greater force of the “primary location” in social organisation over the imperative of the secondary one. The theory consequently suggest that there are socially set limitations to the scope of persuasion, because of the greater force of the primary situation, but that these do not remove power from persuasion in a secondary situation (ibid).

6 started by asking four critical questions about frames. By using the neo-Durkheimian theory (grid/group matrix and theories of knowledge), adding a differentiation of “location” in social organisation (primary and secondary) and qualifying the standard binary reading of the two dimensions of the neo-Durkheimian grid/group matrix (moderate-extreme), 6 seems to accomplish what he set out to do. The final theory is a sociological account of frames and framing. It provides a rich social and institutional account of where frames may come from that psychological, cognitive or less theoretically grounded definitions of frames do not seem to do. It shows how the organisation of experience and the biasing for action (the two components

of frames) are carried out in an integrated manner. It represents a clear improvement on other sociological conceptualisation of frames (for example those of Goffman, Gamson and to some extent Schön and Rein) because it does explain how many and which frames are available to the individual (the limited plurality) and why (6, 2005a). These are consequently the main justifications for using 6's approach to frame analysis as a primary point of departure in this study.

Moreover, the approach represents a significant improvement in relation to the neo-Durkheimian tradition as it accepts, and explains, a plurality of frames (the same individuals may possess different frames in different contexts) and the possibility of individuals moving between different frames as a consequence of social interaction and persuasion. Some of the static and overly collective tendencies of the Durkheimian legacy are consequently relaxed. Nuanced and more dynamic is likewise the rigid interpretation of the two dimensions (Douglas' grid and group) resulting in four distinct "cosmologies". 6's version owes some of its greater flexibility to the ideas of Thompson (1982; 1996, in 6, 2005a) who regards the "cosmologies" as a taxonomy stressing the underlying mechanisms rather than a rigid explanatory characterisation of resulting "worldviews" (see 6, 2005a). Compared, for example, to Douglas' approach, 6's version of the basic forms of solidarities is more directed towards general features and structures that may be applied on a variety of issues and contexts. It does, for example, not predict a specific relation between humankind and nature.

Most of the concerns with Durkheim and the neo-Durkheimians' ideas discussed in the previous section, are therefore addressed by 6 and some of his predecessors. The one outstanding issue which is not discussed is about the interaction between human beings and their environment, and its role in the evolution of perceptions and classificatory systems. As pointed out before, Durkheim's dualities between human beings and nature, mind and body, more specifically his idea of man's double constitution, lead to a rigid separation between humankind and nature which may be problematic in a study of actors' perceptions and experiences of place. I am therefore interested in exploring further approaches that are based on an understanding that knowledge and perceptions may be formed in a more direct and interactive relationship with the environment. With this aspiration in mind, I turn to theories of spatialisation and "place".

3.3 Social spatialisation and Place

This part of the chapter is about Shields' (1991) theory of "social spatialisation" and place. Place perceptions, which are a focus of this thesis, are here understood as products of processes of spatialisation. Shields has a sociological approach to the study of spatial phenomena such as place and space. In his theory of social spatialisation he uses social theory to explain the construction of spatial perceptions as well as their enactment in the material world. The main reason for using this theory is, in short, its sociological, yet relational and interactive, approach to the construction of spatial perceptions (as will be further explained below).

However, Shields is weak when it comes to conceptualising and defining place itself. For this reason, other approaches, for example by geographers such as Doreen Massey (see Massey, 1997; 1999; Massey & Jess, 1995), are briefly discussed. Finally, the concept "sense of place", the political aspects of place and the use of the place concept in current research on natural resource management are briefly reviewed.

It is accordingly not my ambition to present a comprehensive review of the large body of existing place literature. My primary interest is to explore the possibilities of integrating concerns for place in a political analysis of natural resource management. The primary objective here is thus to investigate how two sets of theories, neo-Durkheimian frame analysis and theories of social spatialisation and place, may be used in an integrated analysis of natural resource management policy.

3.3.1 Shields' theory of social spatialisation

Rob Shields has a sociological approach to spatial analysis. His theory of social spatilisation is clearly based in social processes and social theory. In his book "Places on the Margin: Alternative geographies of modernity" (1991), Shields argues for the importance of "spatial concepts and categories" for the whole way in which we think about the world. As a hypothesis Shields suggests that "...a "discourse of space" composed of perceptions of places and regions, of the world as a space, and of relationships with these perceptions are central to our everyday conceptions of ourselves and of reality" (p.7). He introduces the term "social spatialisation" to "...designate this social construction of the spatial which is a formation of both discursive and non-discursive elements, practices and processes" (p.7).

Shields' use of the term "space" is understood as something quite different from an acculturated "space". "Place", in his terminology, is furthermore seen as a kind of "space":

“...a space denotes a limited area: a site, a zone, or place characterised by specific social activities with a culturally given identity (name) and image”.
(p. 31)

According to Shields, places with specific characteristics become characterised as being appropriate for specific activities. Through a process of “labelling”, “...sites, zones associated with particular activities become characterised as being appropriate for exactly those activities” (p. 60). So-called “place images” are constructed. A place image is defined as “...the various discrete meanings associated with real places or regions regardless of their character in reality” (p. 60). Collectively, a set of place images forms a “place myth”. Shields argues that there is both “constancy” and a “shifting quality” to this model of place- and space-myths. “Core images” are seen to change slowly over time, but more subtle or modifying connotations may be of more transitory nature. Core images can also be displaced, for example by radical changes in the nature of a place. Opposed groups may, according to Shields, succeed in generating antithetical place myths (as opposed to just variations in place-images) reflecting different class/group experiences. Sets of various place myths form “cosmologies”, i.e. emotional and value laden understandings of the geography of the world:

“...space myths – aligned and opposed, reinforcing or mutually contradictory – form a mythology or formation of positions which polarises and dichotomises different places and spaces...Even if split by inconsistencies and in conceptual flux, this formation works as a cosmology; a more emotionally-powerful understanding of the geography of the world than that presented by rational, cartographic techniques and comparative statistics.” (p. 63)

“Social spatialisation” is in short explained as a social construction of the spatial at the level of the imaginary as well as the landscape. It is, according to Shields (1991), the process underlying the construction of place images, place myths and their collective formations. Shields argues that the key to the persistence of “social spatialisation” is that it is not proposed as “just a cognitive structure which individuals learn”. It is understood as a “cultural formation” that is embodied, not primarily in learned rules, but in “...bodily gestures and trained postures in and toward the world, in sets of practical paradigms and algorithms coordinating group activities and sites (“what to do when and where”)” (p. 63). Shields therefore concludes that it is a social framework more than a mental structure. As such it is relatively stable and

robust with core concepts that only change slowly. It responds to a “strategic function”, that is to co-ordinate activities and sites:

“Spatialisation unifies the discursive (the use of metaphors) and empirical (myths rendered as practice), and indicates their mode of inter-relation (normative codes of spatiality). It also responds to a strategic function which gives it a character of necessity and urgency. This regime of spatiality has the effect of “placing” of individuals into social fields, and of “placing out” of institutional structures and jurisdictions to constitute a field or ground for the operation of power and the flow of knowledge in regularised, day to day situations.....Thus an overarching order of space, or social spatialisation, is reproduced in concrete forms as practice upon the world.” (p. 64)

Shields argues that spatial metaphors are used, not only to recognise difference between places, but also to differentiate a whole range of social phenomena. They may for example tell us what kind of places are appropriate for what kind of people and activities. Spatial divisions and separations may thus articulate social divisions and separations. The spatial divisions may in turn become causative sources of further social, economic and political divisions. Spatialisations are thus seen to have empirical impacts:

“They have empirical impacts by being enacted – becoming the prejudices of people making decisions.” (p. 261)

There is consequently a collective and cohesive aspect of spatialisations, what Shields identifies as “...the tendency of place myths to become what might be called “yarns””:

“People transcend and suppress their own experience in order to identify with broader social groups. And not only do people seek to identify with their own circle (“group”) of their class (“grid”) but also they seek to affirm community, regional and national identities and coalitions. Spatialisation thus enters into and under-scores the perceived unity of social groups, communities, and nations.” (p 163)

A theme underlying Shields’ (1991) writing is about ways to overcome the prevailing “subject-object dualism” which, according to Shields, has infected sociological and anthropological research on the spatial aspects of culture and society since the time of Durkheim and Mauss. He is consequently implicitly addressing the role of human-nature relationships in

theories of social perception, in line with the concerns raised in the previous text about frames. Shields is rejecting what he describes as the reduction of places and spaces to content-less assemblages of objects to be superimposed with grids of meaning. Shields distinguishes between research “into people’s existential participation in their environment” and “research into the culturally mediated reception of representations of environments, places or regions...” which are afloat in society. His interest is primarily in the former. The theory of social spatialisation accordingly embraces *both* the “discursive” and the “empirical” realms:

“Real places are hypostatized into the symbolic realm of imaginary space relations. The world is cognitively territorialized so that on the datum of physical geographic knowledge, the world is recorded as a set of spaces and places which are infinitely shaded with connotative characteristics and emotive associations. The resulting formation – half topography, half metaphor – is inscribed as an emotive ordering or “coded geography”.” (p. 264).

In this way people may look at a map, a community or a forest and see a mixture of material and symbolic places with very different characteristics and values. However, the “emotive ordering”, “the coded geography”, is understood as the product of an active interaction with the environment, as an essential ingredient in the process of dwelling in the world (*ibid*).

I have outlined my problems with the Durkheimian separation of object and subject, as well as man and nature, elsewhere in this thesis. In Shields’ approach, knowledge, such as spatial perceptions, is constructed by a much more direct involvement with the world, through practical activity and interaction in a surrounding physical and social environment. It accordingly allows for other kinds of relationships between the subject and the physical *and* symbolic realms of the world. The subject may thus be seen as one whole being that is elaborated *in* the environment with its different social, symbolic and material dimensions. Shields’ explicit attempt to overcome the subject-object dualism consequently addresses concerns raised earlier in this text about a lack of attention in the neo-Durkheimian literature to the active interaction between human beings and their environments. In this respect, Shields may be seen to complement 6 in a field where the neo-Durkheimian tradition is weak. Shields’ ambition and clarity on this matter are also a reason for using his concept “social spatialisation” rather than alternative theories developed, for example, by Massey. Whereas Massey also has a

social approach to the analysis of place, her treatment of the material referent is much more elusive and vague (as will be further discussed).

Before going deeper into a discussion of the possible compatibility of Shields' theory of "social spatialisation" and G's conceptualisation of frames, an important point has to be made. The intention here, is not to build a grand framework understood as a unified theoretical approach. I am aware that the two authors come from disparate research traditions and that Shields' contribution is quite different from that of the traditional structuralists. The ambition in this thesis is rather to explore if the two approaches, in spite of their differences, can be used together, even complement each other, in an integrated empirical analysis. Compatibility, in this context, should consequently not be understood as a claim about ideas being theoretically similar and suitable for merging. The question, rather, is whether it is possible to combine them in an empirical analysis without major theoretical contradictions coming up.

Shields' theory of social spatialisation and G's approach to frames are obviously different in many ways. Yet, commonalities may be found. Frames have two functions; they organise experience and they bias for action. Accordingly, spatialisations are understood as formations of both discursive and non-discursive elements. A spatialisation is a cultural formation that provides an overarching order of space. It therefore organises experiences in relation to space, and it has empirical impacts by being enacted. Shields says, "...they become the prejudices of people making decisions" (p. 261), which I take as comparable to saying that they bias for action. If social spatialisation may be seen as a process underlying all framing activities that take place in relation to place and space – to be compared with the production of general cognitive commitments in G's solidarities – then "place images" and "place myths" may be compared with the frames themselves. Or they may be understood as the particular aspect of the frame that organises experiences and perceptions in relation to place and space. The process described as "labelling" of places, etc. is furthermore comparable to Schön and Rein's (1994) concept of "naming and framing".

Moreover, both approaches emphasise the social contribution to, and origin of, the symbolic formations that are part of organising experiences and perceptions, be they called frames, representations, spatial orders, place images or place myths. They both include a component of constraint in their accounts of how these formations operate, for example by referring to their character of "necessity" and "urgency" (see Shields, 1991, p. 64). Durkheim and his followers use the term "discipline" when trying to describe the workings of representations. Shields refers to "discipline" as he

describes Foucault's concept "dispositif", here understood as the modern conjunction or disposition of power and knowledge (see p. 44). It is used to explain how "spatial control" constitutes a part of "modern technologies of discipline and power" (p. 39). Both approaches consequently make attempts to explain, what are described as the compelling natures of the observed formations, with social mechanisms such as the construction of group identities, integration/attachment, regulation/discipline or "group" and "grid" (see Shields, 1991, p. 263). Shields as well as 6 (Durkheim and Douglas to a lesser extent) explains how frames, place images and place myths may be both stable and transitory. They also describe how they may persist even in conflict with a changing empirical "reality". In both approaches terms like "cosmologies" and "mythologies" are used to describe the all embracing nature of the produced "spatial orders" or "justifying ideas". What they both describe, albeit in different ways, are mechanisms to order the world, orders which in turn bias for action and may be seen as a ground for the operation of power and the flow of knowledge.

In spite of their differences, Shields and 6 consequently appear to touch the same ground in their conceptualisations of social spatialisation, place images/myths, frames and social solidarities. Whereas 6 is much more elaborate in his discussion of the social origin and mechanisms of frames and framing, Shields focuses on the spatialisation of social divides and its implications for different places, regions and people. By using both approaches in an integrated way, that is the idea of social spatialisation as an overarching order of space and frames as products of social solidarities, new possibilities to analyse the relationships between politics and place emerge.

3.3.2 A definition of place

Shields contributes significantly to an incorporation of spatial dimensions in the concept of frames. However, he does not really offer a very clear definition of place. In a thesis with a research question about place perceptions, a clear understanding of the term place can be expected. In order to define place, I turn to Massey (1997; 1999; Massey & Jess, 1995).

In short, Massey argues for an open and dynamic understanding of places, firmly situated in a context of power and politics. Massey (1997) suggests an interpretation of place that is based on an understanding that what gives a place its specificity "...is not some long internalised history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus". She argues for an understanding of places as "meeting places":

“Instead, then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated movements in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what happens to define for that moment the place itself.” (Massey 1997, p. 322)

Massey’s focus on openness, multiplicity and dynamics should be seen in light of prevailing discussions about the place concept. In her definition of place she addresses the role of place in a context of globalisation and presumed “time-space compression” (see for example Harvey, 1989). She also responds to essentialist approaches by humanistic geographers prescribing inherently unique meanings to places (see for example Relph, 1976). In response to the latter, Massey argues that the identities of places are socially constructed. They are consequently understood as products of social actions and people’s constructed representations of particular places (Massey, 1995). She rejects the claim of the humanistic geographers about the existence of one “true” meaning or character of place. In relation to effects of globalisation, she does not deny that processes of increased movement and intermixing change the way places and their peculiarities are to be conceived. However, she rejects the idea that place has ever been bounded and coherent and introduces the term “activity spaces” to describe the relations between people and places. An activity space is, according to Massey, “...the spatial form of the links and activities, connections and locations, within which a particular agent operates”. She consequently argues that activity spaces have been both extending spatially and increasing in complexity in recent years. According to Massey, thinking in terms of a) space as social relations and b) activity spaces enables places “...to be imagined as the location of particular sets and intersections of such places and relations” (Massey 1995, p. 63).

Massey’s conceptualisation of places as open and dynamic, yet specific, is appealing in many ways. However, there is a tendency in her writing to reduce places to meeting points and social relations and thus deny the significance of the physical environment. With her “activity spaces”, Massey connects her places to activities and localities in which they take place. Still, her places are of a somewhat fluid character. Ingold (2000), on the other hand, actively integrates the material, social and discursive aspects of place through a focus on practice. His point of departure is the concept of “dwelling”. In short, a “dwelling perspective” refers to taking the people, or animal, in their/its environment, rather than the self contained individual, as a point of departure. A place, according to Ingold, thus owes its character to

the experience it affords to those who spend time there “– ... to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience” (p. 192). These in turn depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage. Ingold concludes:

“...that it is from this relational context of people’s engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance.” (ibid, p. 192)

Although slightly different in their foci and perspectives, Shields, Massey and Ingold’s arguments about the nature of place and space share several characteristics and may be seen as complementary. Together they contribute to an understanding of what place is. Shields and Massey both emphasise the importance of social relations. Practice and activities form an integral part of all three authors’ conceptualisations of place. Its discursive formations are stressed by Massey as well as Shields. Massey focuses on the role of “geographical imaginations” whereas Shields writes about “social spatialisation” as an ongoing social construction at the level of the social imaginary as well as in the landscape. Ingold, finally, further contributes to anchoring places in living landscapes and material environments.

3.3.3 Sense of place

“A sense of place” is, according to Rose (1995), a phrase used by many geographers when they want to emphasise that places are significant because they are a focus of personal feelings. Cosgrove (2001) explains:

“Whether physically distinctive or not, sense of place is profoundly connected to individual human and social processes producing deep emotional connections with specific locations.” (p. 732)

People’s perceptions of forests are presumably flavoured by their emotional experiences in specific forests, or places in the forests. Yet, sense of place is not a concept that will be used at an analytical level in this thesis. It will, however, be used as a collective “label” for what is identified and analysed as “affinities to places and forests”, and “experiences of being in the forests”. Moreover, it is a concept that is increasingly used in the resource management literature relating to place. For these reasons, it is briefly reviewed.

A multitude of approaches to the concept “sense of place” exists in the geographic literature. Generally, there has been a gradual shift from a focus

on the physical qualities of localisations, to a focus on the experience of the individual and, later, to social relations and constructions (Antonsen, 2001).

The concept of a sense of place is often associated with the humanistic geographers of the 1970's, for example Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan. They were interested in exploring place as a deep and complex part of our experience with the world (see Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). Their focus was primarily on the experience of the individual. They consequently fit into Antonsen's second category. A sense of place, according to Tuan, is something that may evolve in the individual as a result of intimate knowledge that is gained over a long period of time through an extended encounter with a place. Place and individual are thus seen to become fused (Tuan, 1974). Relph's (1976) use of the concept follows Tuan in that it focuses on the individual's capacity to form an intimate relationship to place and, thus tap into an unchanging, unique spirit of place (Relph, 1976).

Geographers with a more constructivist or relational approach argue from different standpoints that there are several key problems with the humanistic geographers' conceptualisation of place and people's relations to place, particularly the idea that it is possible to uncover one "true" meaning of place. Massey and Jess (1995) for example, discusses the ways in which places have multiple and changing identities, as opposed to fixed and immutable ones. Their point is that although each place admittedly is unique, this uniqueness is constructed and reconstructed out of specific sets of social relations. People thus "make" places. "Identity", "representation" and "sense of place" are, according to Massey & Jess, important in the ongoing construction and reconstruction of uniqueness and may be actively promoted and deliberately constructed. Along similar lines, Rose (1995) argues that although senses of place may be very personal, they are not entirely the result of one individual's feeling and meanings rather such feelings and meanings are shaped in large part by the social, cultural and economic circumstances in which the individuals find themselves.

Sense of place is also a concept that is becoming increasingly used in the natural resource management literature. Here, it is generally seen as a concept with potential to bridge the gap between science of ecosystems, their management and the environmental perceptions of actors (Williams & Stewart, 1998; Cantrill, 1998; Cheng, Kruger & Daniels, 2003; Gunderson & Watson, 2007; Davenport & Anderson, 2005). Williams and Stuart (1998) for example refer to Tuan, Relph and Harvey in an attempt to describe "place" and "sense of place". They suggest that an approach to defining sense of place is to think of it as the collection of meanings, beliefs, symbols, values, and feelings that individuals or groups associate with a particular

locality. Cantrill (1998) similarly goes back to Tuan (1974), Massey (1994) and others before concluding that there exist various definitions of the concept of sense of place. Regardless of definition or approach, Cantrill suggests that those interested in the construct seem to agree that "...a sense of place is the perception of what is most salient on a specific location, which may be reflected in value preferences or how that specific place figures in discourse" (p. 303). Later in the same paper he refers to sense of place as perceptions of particular socio-geographic sites to which one has an affinity (p. 304). Gunderson and Watson (2007) write about sense of place as "emotional attachments to place" and Davenport and Anderson (2005) suggest the concept commonly refers to "placed based meanings and emotions".

Sense of place is consequently a multifaceted concept with a variety of meanings. On a general level, they all appear to refer to people's different relationships to places. However, it is important to make some distinctions. There is, for example, a profound difference between how the concept is understood by the human geographers (such as Tuan and Relph) and how it is conceptualised in later, more relational, or constructivist research (such as that of Rose and Massey). Whereas the former see sense of place as a product of the individual's capacity to tap into a fixed and unchangeable spirit of place, the latter explain sense of place as socially constructed, relational, changing and multiple, in other words made by people. Without denying the significance of the physical location in the making of such senses of place, their emphasis is on social processes of construction. In this study, so is mine.

Another distinction pertains to the adoption of the concept in the resource management literature. As pointed out by Rose and Cosgrove, a sense of place, as used by most geographers, tends to focus on the significance of places as objects of personal feelings. Affinity and emotional bonds are thus the centre of attention. As applied in the resource management literature, for example by Williams & Stewart (1998) and Cantrill (1998), the concept appears to have expanded to embrace a much broader set of place related relations and perceptions. In Williams and Stewart's conception, it may refer to emotional bonds as well as values, meanings, symbols, valued qualities and awareness of cultural, historical and spatial contexts. It is easy to see the immediate benefits of an all embracing spatial concept, but a too inclusive interpretation may also lead to a loss of analytical precision and clarity. The preferred approach in this study is therefore to reserve the label of sense of place for place-based relationships with a prominent emotional component.

3.3.4 Place, power and politics

In the next part of this chapter, political theory relevant to an analysis of resource management policy will be discussed. Here, concepts such as politics and power will be further defined. However, several of the theorists discussed in relation to spatialisation and place, write about the political implications of their ideas. Before entering the policy related literature, their attempts to explore the political aspects of the spatial will be briefly reviewed.

Massey, as well as Rose, is quick to make the connection between sense of place, place representations and power. Senses of place are, according to Rose (1995), articulated through processes of “representation”. All places, Rose argues, are interpreted from particular social positions and for particular social reasons. Similarly, Massey & Jess (1995) see “identities of places” as products of social actions and of the ways in which people construct their own representations of particular places. By laying claim to how the place should be thought of, how it should be represented and how it fits into our “geographical imagination”, arguments about its future use are made. Contests, or conflicts, may thus be interpreted as battles over “claiming and naming” of particular “envelopes of space-time” (ibid, p. 172).

The identities and representations of different places may also be of importance to how they are valued in relation to each other. This is for example relevant in relation to the valuation of different forests as a basis for management decisions. Following Massey and Jess (1995), uniqueness of place is constructed out of systems of interdependencies with other places. “Identities” of places and cultures, according to Massey & Jess, interact with the production and reproduction of uneven development in several ways. Firstly, uneven development may be the stimulus to raising questions of identity in the first place. Secondly, the power relations of uneven development may influence which meaning/identity becomes the dominant one. Thirdly, the power to endow dominant meanings can have effects on the future form of uneven development. Similarly, Rose (1995) argues that an important aspect of sense of place can be to establish “difference” between one group and another. Such difference may be expressed in terms of who belongs and who does not belong, who is allowed or not allowed to carry out certain activities in a place.

In line with Massey, Jess and Rose, one of Shields’ (1991) main points is to show how social divisions are spatialised as geographical divisions, for example how places become labelled and how these conceptions influence everyday behaviour, practice and politics. “Place- and space-myths” play an

important role as they form “mythologies”, or “formations of positions”, which polarise and dichotomise different places and spaces. “Social spatialisation” may thus be seen as a mechanism to order the world, an order which may be seen as a “ground” or “field” for the “flow of knowledge and the operation of power”:

“The administrative, guiding nature of spatialised discourse about the world is key to the transformation of purely discursive (i.e. ideational, symbolic, and linguistic) “imaginary geographies” into everyday actions, gestures, crowd-practice, regional identities... and geopolitics.” (ibid, p. 64)

Running through the arguments of the reviewed authors is the claim that spatial ordering of places, created, for example, through spatialisation and senses of place and expressed as “place representations”, “place images”, “place myths” or “place identities”, reflect, reproduce and create relations of power. As such they produce and underscore social and political divisions. Spatial “orders” and “imaginary geographies” are thus politically enacted, for example by shaping the biases of people making policy decisions. An ambition of this thesis is to explore further how this actually comes about. By adding a spatial, place related, dimension to the neo-Durkheimian understanding of frames, I want to investigate if, and why, actors’ constructions of “spatial orders” influence the making of natural resource management policy. However, before shifting focus to a discussion of the relevant political theory, the use of “place” in natural resource management literature will be briefly discussed.

3.3.5 Place and natural resource management research

As already pointed out in the introduction to this thesis, place is a concept that is attracting increasing attention in research on natural resource management. Terms such as “sense of place”, “place attachment”, “place identity”, “place dependence”, “place creation” are increasingly used in the resource management literature (see for example Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Gunderson & Watson, 2007; Mitchell et al., 1993; Brandenburg & Carroll, 1995; Williams & Stewart, 1998 and Cantrill, 1998). Although much of the existing place related resource management literature is based on a quantitative hypothesis testing approach, there is an expanding body of research using qualitative research methodologies to examine the human-environment relationship, specifically the meaning of places (see Davenport & Anderson, 2005). Davenport and Anderson argue for an integrated understanding of place meanings and the settings to which those meanings

are ascribed. What happens to sense of place, they ask, when places change? What happens when such changes threaten places' meanings and emotions attached to them? An understanding of meaning construction and its relationships to landscape change is thus seen as key to natural resource management.

Along similar lines, Cheng, Kruger and Daniels (2003) propose "place" as an "integrating concept" in natural resource politics and in a social science research agenda on the subject. With reference, for example, to Canter (1977), place is illustrated as the intersection of three "forces": "social and political processes", "biophysical attributes and processes" as well as "social and cultural meanings". An understanding of how and why individuals define "appropriate behaviour for a landscape" is thus seen to require an understanding of the landscape as a "place", understood as the convergence of social and political processes, biophysical attributes and processes, and social and cultural meanings. Cheng, Kruger and Daniels advocate a "cognitive" approach to exploring the relationships between places and people, or more specifically how places act upon people. The cognitive approach, according to Cheng, Kruger & Daniels, rests on the premise that people's valuations of, and behaviour in, a place are primarily driven by how the human mind processes information about a geographic setting. "Self identity", as a powerful behavioural influence, and "group identity", as an expression of the group's self identification according to broad social categories, are suggested as key concepts. Based on this approach, six propositions reflecting "a place based approach to interpreting behaviour in natural resource policy debates" are laid out (Cheng, Kruger & Daniels, 2003, p. 95). The first two propositions suggest a strong and direct connection between "self identity", "place" and how individuals perceive and value their environment. The third, fourth and fifth propositions tie together social group identity and place, particularly emphasising the influence of social group identity on "strategic behaviour" in natural resource politics. The sixth proposition, finally, relates to the geographic scale of place as a strategic choice in natural resource decision making.

Cheng, Kruger and Daniels (2003) consequently suggest that natural resource politics is as much a contest over place meanings as it is a competition over the allocation and distribution of scarce resources among interest groups:

"Natural resource management actions create, transform and destroy place meanings – meanings around which individuals and groups develop a sense of identity". (p. 98)

These and other observations are reasons for Cheng, Kruger & Daniels to call into question the general portrayal of natural resource politics as solely a competition between interest groups or resource users. A “place perspective”, according to these authors, invites the social scientist in natural resources to “turn a conceptual corner” and look at natural resource politics in a different way. Natural resource politics is, according to Cheng, Kruger & Daniels, “...at a fundamental level, the politics of place” (p. 99). Turning the corner toward a place based perspective, they continue, also asks the social scientist to take a closer look at place itself and abandon the view of place as an inert physical container for biophysical objects and human actions. Understanding people-place connections in this context requires the researcher to experience the places and processes as “stakeholders in the controversy do” (p. 100). This mode of inquiry, they conclude, falls into the “interpretist” camp and relies on qualitative research methods to gather, analyse and interpret data.

An increasing number of researchers within the field of natural resource management obviously call attention to the importance of “place” for better understanding the phenomena under study. A wish to find approaches to learn more about people’s relationships to place, its multitude of meanings and significance for natural resource management is articulated. This is most clearly expressed in the article by Cheng, Kruger and Daniels who argue for the importance, and even potential, of focusing on place as “an integrating concept” in politics of natural resource management.

3.4 Politics of natural resource management

The political aspects of place and natural resource management as a “politics of place”, have already been touched upon. Yet, it remains to be explored how an analysis of frames, including their spatial elements, may be linked to an analysis of policy making. This part of the chapter will thus begin with a very brief introduction to political analysis and policy making. With this as backdrop, Frank Fischer’s interpretive approach to analysis of public policy will be explored. Next, the concept of governance will be briefly introduced with the aim to explore its usefulness in a characterisation of the political context of resource management. Finally, the approach to “power” will be discussed.

3.4.1 Analysing politics and policy making

Colin Hay (2002) makes an attempt to specify what political analysis actually implies. While acknowledging that many approaches to political analysis confine themselves to "...the narrowly political analysis of narrowly political variables..." (p. 3), he calls for a much broader conception of the political and political analysis. First, Hay argues that the political should be defined in such a way that it encompasses the entire sphere of "the social". All events, processes and practices which occur within the social sphere, regardless of specific setting or context, are consequently seen as having the potential to be political, and hence, to be amenable to political analysis. The realm of government is, by this definition, not seen as more innately political than that of culture, the domestic sphere – or a place. An interdisciplinary and integrating approach is thus encouraged by Hay who argues for a conceptualisation of "politics" and "...the political as concerned with the distribution, exercise and consequences of power" (p. 3). A "political analysis", then, is one which draws attention to the power relations implicated in social relations. In this sense, politics is not defined by the locus of its operation but by its nature as a process, more specifically its relationships to power. This distinction is important as it allows Hay to deny the claim that an inclusive definition of politics leads to a meaningless identification of politics everywhere. To suggest that politics "as a process" has the potential to exist in all social locations is, according to Hay, neither to insist that we must see politics everywhere, nor that such social relations are exhausted by their description and analysis in political terms. In line with Hay, politics of natural resource management is here understood as processes concerned with the distribution, exercise and consequences of power in a natural resource management context. The question of power will be revisited at the end of this chapter.

On a very simplified and generalised level, policy may be seen as the outcome of political action. However, several approaches to defining policy exist in the political science literature. Hill (2004) discusses a number of definitions including that of Hecló (1972) who emphasises the role of action. Hecló suggests that a policy may be considered as "...a course of action or inaction rather than specific decisions or actions" (p. 7, in Hill, 2004). Easton (1953) offers a variation of the same theme by suggesting that "...a policy...consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocate...values" (p. 7, in Hill, 2004). Smith (1976, in Hill, 2004) emphasises inaction as much as action and stresses that attention should focus not exclusively on decisions which produce change, but must also be sensitive to those which resist change and are much more difficult to observe (p. 13). A policy, according

to Hill (2004) who refers to the listed authors, may thus include actions without decision or, to take it further, an outcome which actors may or may not want to claim as a consequence of purposive activity. It is thus important, Hill argues, to balance a decisional, top down perspective on policy with an action-oriented, bottom-up perspective:

“Actions as well as decisions may therefore be said to be the proper focus of policy analysis.” (ibid, p. 8)

In studies of policy processes, it is, according to Hill, important to be aware that although the concept of policy is vague and elusive, it is widely used to suggest a rational process. He is sceptical of writing that takes for granted that a policy making process is organised and has specific goals. Whether it is rational or not, Hill argues, is an issue for research. According to Hill, “public policy” is policy that is made by “state organisations”. A basic definition of the state is:

“... a set of institutions with superordinate power of a specific territory. It can be defined both in terms of the institutions that make it up and the functions these institutions perform.” (ibid, p. 10)

Analysis of policy making may be carried out with different objectives and relations to the policy process. Parsons (1995) suggests that we may think of kinds of policy analysis as comprising a range of activity on a spectrum of knowledge in the policy process; knowledge for the policy process; and knowledge about the policy process. The latter is in turn seen to include: 1) “policy determination”, understood as analysis which is concerned with how policy is made, why, when and for whom, and 2) “policy content”, seen as a description of a particular policy and how it developed in relation to other earlier policies or “critique” of policy in relation to a defined value framework/theory.

Analysis of policy making is often facilitated by attempts to divide the process in different sequential parts, or stages. According to Parsons (1995), the “policy cycle”, or a “stageist approach”, continues to be the basis for analyses of the policy process in spite of it having been subject to criticism. The policy life cycle, as presented in Parsons (1995), conceptualises policy making as a stageist process (see Figure 7).

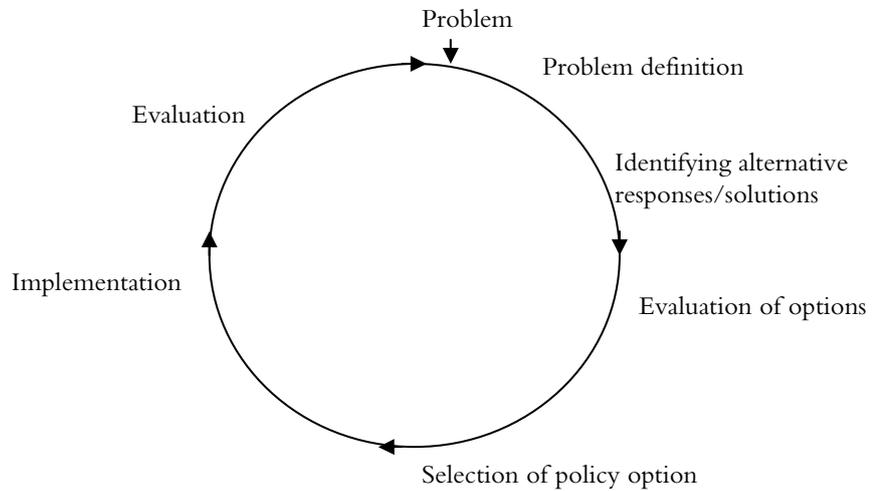


Figure 7. The policy life cycle, according to Parsons (1995).

It starts with “problem definition”, “identifying alternative responses/solutions” and “evaluation of options”. It then moves to “selection of policy option”, “implementation” and, finally, “evaluation”, as illustrated in Figure 7. The stageist policy cycle approach has been criticised for over-simplifying the policy process and overstating the rational and linear nature of policy making. Parsons shares this criticism but argues that, as a heuristic device, the policy cycle, in spite of its shortcomings, enables us to construct a model with which we can explore public policy (ibid).

Parsons (1995) and Hill (2005) both discuss a large number of different disciplinary and ideological approaches to policy and policy analysis and appear to share many basic assumptions. Yet, their ways of structuring the different approaches and ideas vary considerably. Most of the ideas and theoretical approaches that aim at linking perceptions, knowledge, ideas or discourses with policy making and policy analysis are introduced by Hill as “institutional approaches”. Parsons’ “institutional approaches”, however, have a much more economic, organisational and material focus. She acknowledges that influences of knowledge, perceptions, ideas and discourses have an important role to play and discusses them under the heading “personality, cognition and information processing in decision-making”. They are consequently introduced more as something that

operates on the individual, psychological and perceptual levels than on social, collective and structural levels.

Hay, Parsons and Hill offer useful understandings and definitions of political concepts such as “politics” and “policy”. For the purposes of this study, Hay’s broad conceptualisation of “the political” is most relevant as it recognises that politics, and political activity, may also occur outside the system for formal political decision making. This will be further discussed in relation to “governance” and my efforts to conceptualise the governance system at play. This study obviously falls into Parson’s category “policy determination” as it is concerned with how policy is made, why, when and for whom. The “stageist policy life cycle”, although criticised, may moreover be relevant to a general characterisation of the policy process under study. However, a significant proportion of the policy related literature (discussed in Parsons and Hill) appears to be based on empiricist assumptions about linearity, rationality and self interest as a major motivational force. These assumptions do not fit very well with my research questions and focus on a qualitative interpretation of actors’ multiple meanings of place and policy. Although “discourses”, “ideologies”, “knowledge”, “cognition”, “personality” and “perceptions” are identified as important factors to consider, guidance as to how they may be fully integrated and taken into account is relatively sparse. The next section is therefore devoted to an exploration of a more interpretive approach to policy analysis.

3.4.2 An interpretive approach to policy analysis

Several different ways exist to label different approaches to policy inquiry and their more or less positivist or postpositivist approaches. Frank Fischer develops his ideas about alternatives to policy inquiries based on “neopositivism” (understood as logical empirism) in a number of books and articles (see for example Fischer, 1995; 1998; 2000; 2003). Fischer places himself in a “postpositivistic” tradition which emphasises the “multidimensional complexity” of social reality and, thus, the need to situate empirical inquiry in a more interpretive framework (Fischer, 1998). In later publications, he refers to a “postempirist” orientation (Fischer, 2003). In an attempt to organise and label different approaches to policy inquiry, Bacchi (1999) characterises Fischer as “transitional”, understood as moving towards “postpositivism”. The main difference, according to Bacchi, between theorists in transition, like Fischer, and variants of postmodernism (understood to fully embrace postpositivism) is a shift in focus from the role of *values* in policy making to the production of *meaning*. However, Bacchi’s

characterisation of Fischer was made prior to the publication of his book “Reframing Public Policy” (2003), which explicitly discusses interpretive analytical approaches to exploring the role of social meaning in policy and policy making.

In this book Fischer discusses the evolution of policy analysis. He argues that the practices that have defined policy analysis in the contemporary social sciences have been predominantly empiricist, rationalistic, and technocratic. He argues that most of the mainstream efforts to reform have introduced qualitative methods in ways that still subordinate them to the larger empiricist/rationalist project. Fischer, on the other hand, advocates efforts to look more deeply at the nature of socio-political problems and their epistemological implications for policy science. Basic to understanding the politics of policy making, he argues, is an insight about the ongoing discursive struggle to create and control systems of shared social meanings. It is, according to Fischer, an understanding that ought to work on two levels:

“...an interpretation of the first-order meaning and interests of the social actors under investigation, and an assessment of the second-order theoretical interpretations of the analysts themselves.” (Fischer, 2003, p. 13)

Fischer consequently argues for an emphasis on the inherently normative and interpretive character of policy problems. He argues that recognising that human actors discursively construct their social worlds means taking seriously the fact that important parts of the social world do not lend themselves to direct empirical observation and measurement. He concludes:

“A socially relevant approach to policy inquiry has to include the subjectively oriented goals, motives, and intentions of the policy actors. As such it has to be grounded in an interpretive analysis.” (ibid, p. 68)

Fischer, in line with Hill, takes Heclo (1972) as a first point of departure for a discussion of the meaning of public policy. However, Fischer goes further to argue that an “agreement” on a course of action or inaction, as suggested by Heclo, must be seen as an intellectual construct rather than a “self defining phenomenon”. It consequently ought to be interpreted rather than simply identified, uncovered and explained. Fischer suggests that our understanding of policy and its outcomes cannot be separated from the ideas, theories and criteria by which the policy is created, described and analysed. Fischer concludes:

“Each policy related idea is thus an argument, or rather a set of arguments, favouring different ways of looking at the world. The task of the analyst is to examine the multiple understandings of what otherwise appears to be a single concept, in particular how these understandings are created and how they are manipulated as part of political strategy.” (ibid, p. 60)

Along similar lines, Fischer discusses “facts” and their use in the construction of policy problems. A policy problem is usually the result of negotiations among actors with different – and maybe competing – definitions of the “problem”. However, most often not only their definitions of the problem diverge. Actors’ definitions of their own and others’ “interests” in relation to the problem may also diverge. The meaning of “facts” to political actors is, according to Fischer, “...determined by political discourses and these meanings are what the political struggle first and foremost is about” (p. 62). The “problems” that enter the policy process are thus understood as “social constructions” built on an “...intermingling of empirical findings with social meanings and ideological orientations” (p. 62). To understand how a particular condition becomes constructed as a problem, Fischer argues, the range of social constructions in the discourses and texts about it need to be explored in the “situational context from which they are observed” (p. 62). As will be further explained, the analyst consequently has to explore the policy problem from the situated perspectives of the actors involved.

Fischer argues for an understanding of public policy as “discursive politics” and explores different interpreting approaches for its exploration. Discourse analysis, “interpretive frames”, analysis of narratives and policy argumentation are suggested as options for the interpretive policy analyst. With reference to Yanow (1993), Fischer argues for the need for the analysts to immerse themselves in the beliefs, i.e. ideas, values, feelings and meanings, of both the participants and the researchers. Yanow (1993) suggests that asking “...“how” a policy means is asking how a policy accrues meaning; where meaning resides; how they are transmitted to and among various policy stakeholders; how they come to be shared or not shared; how they may be destroyed” (p. 41). Yanow argues that such interpretations on the part of stakeholders are not entirely open to analysis as “objective facts”: “... much of their meaning can only be elicited by an act of interpretation on the part of the researcher” (p. 42). According to Fischer, analysts consequently have to “get inside the heads” of the particular players and try to determine what they have in mind. A central question is, according to

Fischer, how the policy issue is being conceptualised, or “framed”, by the parties to the debate. He asks:

“How is the issue selected, organised, and interpreted in order to make sense of a complex reality? The framing of an issue supplies guideposts for analysing, knowing, arguing and acting.” (Fischer, 2003, p. 143)

Fischer traces the “metaphor of the frame” in interpretive social science to the work of Goffman (1974) who, according to Fischer, defines frames as a principle of organisation “...which governs the subjective meaning we assign to social events” (p. 144). Fischer suggests that in the absence of a definitive definition of frames, we may take a frame to be an “...organising principle that transforms fragmentary information into a structured and meaningful whole” (Van Gorp, 2001, in Fischer, 2003 p. 144). Fischer also refers to Gamson (1995) and Schön and Rein (for example 1994) and their conceptualisations of frames. Frames are thus seen to provide conceptual coherence, to construct the problem’s situation and to lead to normative prescriptions for action. Fischer acknowledges, in line with Schön and Rein (1994), that different frames may give rise to “frame conflicts” and “frame competition”. According to Fischer, “policy frames” and their underlying appreciative systems can be uncovered by the analyses of the “stories” that actors are disposed to tell about policy situations. In such stories, causal accounts of policy problems are linked to particular proposals for action. Postempiricist policy analysis, Fischer suggests, is consequently “frame critical policy analysis”. With a quote from Fairhead and Leach (1998), Fischer concludes:

“Uncovering the multiple and conflicting frames involved in a given policy dispute, it inquires into the sources of conflicting frames by examining the histories, roles, institutional contexts, and interests of those who advance them. Such analysis explores the assumptions, ambiguities and inconsistencies underlying conflicting frames, along with the consequences to which their uses may lead.” (Fairhead and Leach 1998, in Fischer, 2003 p. 146)

Fischer outlines a methodological approach to interpretive policy analysis based on four analytical steps. His starting point is Yanow (2000) who is responsible for the original model. Yanow’s point of departure is the idea of “Interpretive Communities”. Through a process of interaction, members of “...a community – whether a community of scientists or environmentalists or some other group – come to use the same or similar cognitive

mechanisms, engage in the same or similar acts, and use the same or similar language to talk about thought and action” (p. 10). Although the language of “community”, Yanow explains, has its roots in a geographic locale, it is brought into a policy context with broader reference points which are not place specific. “Community” in the present understanding, refers to other dimensions, such as professional training and membership, gender, etc. which lead to a set of values, beliefs and feelings that can bind people together in “communities” of meaning:

“Cognitive, linguistic, and cultural practices reinforce each other, to the point at which shared sense is more common than not, and policy relevant groups become “interpretive communities” sharing thought, speech, practice, and their meanings. Such communities may be fluid, changing from issue to issue...” (Yanow, 2000, p. 10)

Based on the idea of Interpretive Communities, Yanow (2000) develops a four step approach to an interpretive policy analysis. In Fischer’s more practical application, the first step is to identify “Interpretive Communities”, understood as networks of people who share understandings of policy ideas and language different from other groups. His second step is to identify the “artefacts“ through which these meanings are expressed, communicated and interpreted. In other words to identify artefacts “in the form of language, objects and acts” that symbolically represent the meanings (values, beliefs and feelings) that the policy issue in question holds for various policy relevant Interpretive Communities. The third step is to collect data through interviews, observation and document analysis in order to build an “interpretive context” for analysis of the social and political situation. In the interviews the analyst tests assumptions about boundaries of Interpretive Communities, significance of artefacts and meaning of stories. The fourth and final step is to “reflect” over discrepancies between the analyst’s prior expectations and present experience and findings, as a potential source of insight. When discussing discourse analysis as an alternative, or a complementary, analytical approach, Fischer offers additional advice. The task of the “discursive analyst” is, according to Fischer, to explain:

“...how specific discourses become hegemonic, explicate the characteristics of discursive fields (including the nodal points that privilege some arguments over others), identify the defining claims of the particular positions, clarify how individual discourses come to influence others, determine the structure of the arguments, identify which styles of discourse make them effective in

given contexts, uncover the ways that the discursive resources are distributed across social systems, and show how particular socio-historical constellations serve to justify specific courses of action". (Fischer, 2003, p. 90)

Fischer consequently, not only opens a door to, but firmly builds a bridge between policy science and interpretive analytical approaches, such as frame analysis. He convincingly argues for the inherently normative and interpretive character of policy problems, and thus the need to include the subjectively oriented goals, motives, and intentions of the actors in policy inquiry. In this context, he further emphasises the necessity to explore the multiple understandings of the actors, how they are created and how they are manipulated as part of political strategies. Fischer furthermore argues that in order to understand how a particular condition becomes constructed as a problem, the "range of social constructions" needs to be explored in the "situational context" from which they are observed. In politics of natural resource management, place may be seen as an important part of the situational context. Fischer, therefore provides some of the theoretical components needed for linking frame analysis with theories of place and policy analysis in a coherent way.

Fischer suggests "frames" as one possible approach to an interpretive policy inquiry. In discussing the origin and meaning of the frame concept, Fischer refers, for example, to Goffman, Schön, Rein and Gamson. As discussed earlier, Goffman focuses on frames and their role as devices for the organisation of experience. Schön and Rein see frames as products of social institutions and Gamson stresses their function for action bias. My conclusion is consequently that Fischer's and the neo-Durkheimians' understandings of the frame concept are compatible. Fischer's ideas about how frame analysis may contribute to an interpretive policy inquiry should accordingly be possible to combine, for example, with Perri 6's thinking about the origins and functions of frames. A part of this research task, is therefore to explore how Fischer's approach may form part of an integrated analytical framework (to be elaborated in Chapter 4) and applied in the analysis of the empirical material (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Fischer discusses the analysis of frames, or "interpretive frames", as one possibility among several others. Much of his argumentation for an interpretive approach to policy analysis is actually based in a discussion of discourse and discourse analysis. What he does not make really clear is how discourses and frames relate to each other. Neither does he discuss how discourse analysis and frame analysis may intersect. I consequently take his approach as a demonstration of how different, possibly overlapping or

complementary, conceptual and analytical methods may be used in an interpretive policy analysis. Although frames and discourses are not the same thing, they may be used to study and describe the same, or very similar, phenomena.

As mentioned earlier in the text, Fischer stresses the importance of taking the “situational context” of actors into account. Contributing to this context, and the actors’ apprehensions of it, is the political environment in which a policy process is embedded. In order to facilitate a proper characterisation of this political environment, the next section explores the concept of governance.

3.4.3 Governance, the state and public policy

Theories of governance acknowledge different sources of political power as a base for governing, as will be further explained in the following. They consequently acknowledge that a variety of actors in different political functions, within as well as outside of the formal political structures, have important roles to play. This makes governance theories potentially suitable for a characterisation of the political context of the Government Commission under study, and, for this reason, the concept of governance will be further explored. However, the focus of this thesis is not on governance as a phenomenon or concept per se. This theoretical review is therefore limited to aspects that are of relevance to characterisation of the policy context.

According to Pierre and Peters (2000) “governance” is a slippery and confusing term. A multitude of diverging definitions of governance exist in the literature. Pierre and Peters describe the processes that, in their view, have led up to the popularity of the concept as well as its different meanings. A point of departure is changed perspectives on the role of “government”. Pierre and Peters suggest that the “new” emerging way of thinking about government is characterised by three general ideas or concepts. The first one is about a presumed gradual shift in focus among the political and administrative elite, as well as scientists, from “...input control towards outcome and output control”, understood as a growing focus on efficiency and productivity (p. 4). The second may be seen as a shift in perspectives with regard to state-society relationships and dependencies (from domination to dependencies on other actors). The third is capturing a growing critique of the roles which governments have acquired during the post war period (rigid, bureaucratic, expensive and inefficient). These new perspectives on government – its changing role in society and its changing capacity to pursue collective interests under severe external and internal

constraints – are, according to Pierre and Peters, “at the heart of governance” (p. 7). Several other authors offer their attempts to explain, structure or synthesise the proliferation of definitions and approaches to “governance” (see for example Rhodes, 1997; Kooiman, 2000; 2003; Pierre, 2000; Stoker 1998; Bressers & Kuks, 2003; Kickert, Klijn & Koppenjan, 1997). Common to them all is however a focus on a changing role and capacity of the nation state, in other words “government”. “Government” is often used to denote the “old” way of state centralised steering whereas the term “governance” is used to describe what will, or has come, to replace it.

Pierre and Peters (2000) stress the need to carefully examine and evaluate different ways to think about governance and its different definitions. They explore the meaning of governance by discussing it in terms of “structure” and “process”. In terms of structure, they identify four common “governance arrangements” which, in their view, have existed historically and exist today. They are “hierarchies”, “markets”, “networks” and “communities”. In terms of process, they discuss processes of “steering” and “co-ordination”.

“Hierarchy”, understood as governance conducted by and through vertically integrated state structures, is, according to Pierre and Peters, the classic idealised model of democratic government and the public bureaucracy. Hierarchy typically characterised both the state’s exchange with society as well as its internal organisation (“command and control”). The hierarchical mode of governance is now, according to Pierre and Peters, being criticised and to some extent undermined. However, they argue that hierarchies still exist and are important.

The “market” as a “governance mechanism” is something quite different from the market as an arena for economic actors. As a governance mechanism, or mode of governance, it may, according to Pierre and Peters, be understood as a resource allocating mechanism, or more broadly, “...the employment of monetary criteria to measure efficiency” (p. 19). If hierarchies is a “prematurely dismissed” structure of governance, the contemporary image of the market is seen as its opposite. The market, Pierre and Peters argue, has come to be seen as everything that “big government” is not (Pierre & Peters, 2000).

One of the best known modes of contemporary governance is, according to Pierre and Peters, “policy networks”. Such networks comprise a wide variety of actors – state institutions, organised interests – in a given policy sector. They vary considerably in regard to their degree of cohesion, from coherent policy communities to single issue networks (see Rhodes, 1997).

They are typically characterised by interdependence and resource exchange (see also Kickert, Klijn & Koppenjan, 1997). Networks are not necessarily a new phenomenon. What is new is that in their extreme form these networks are said to have become sufficiently concerted and cohesive to resist or even challenge state powers. These networks are essentially seen as self regulatory (see Rhodes, 1997).

This brief discussion of different governance arrangements illustrates some of the changes that modern governments are subject to. How, then, is the role of the contemporary state to be conceptualised? The literature offers several quite different answers to this question with some suggesting that there is an ongoing “hollowing out” of the state. The state is thus seen to lose functions “upwards” (for example to the EU), “downwards” (to local authorities) and “outwards” (to networks, see for example Rhodes, 1997). A more moderate position is suggested by Pierre and Peters (2000) who argue that the role that government plays in governance is variable and context dependent. There are models of governance that are state-centric and some that are more society-centric. They suggest that the role of government and the state in governance is best conceptualised as a continuum. Different governments and different policy areas may be located at different points along this continuum. State strength, they suggest, has become something contextual and entrepreneurial rather than something derived from the constitutional and legal strength of state institutions. This does not necessarily mean that the power of the state is diminishing, but it is changing.

While political science often assumes that political power rests exclusively with formal political structures, governance theories, according to Pierre and Peters, are more wary of different sources of political power as a base for governing. The actors’ formal position in the governance system is not necessarily seen as the privileged analytical point of departure. The very adoption of the governance concept may thus enable the analyst to better understand the role that non-governmental actors play in producing policy outcomes.

A common source of confusion in the governance literature is between governance as a phenomenon, a more or less desired direction of change, and as a theory or analytical framework. Pierre and Peters (2000) explain its analytic function:

“...as well as being something, governance is a way of viewing the world of politics and government. It makes us focus attention on things that happen and the way in which they happen. By so doing it moves the study of

politics away from formal concerns and to some extent returns to the classic question of Lasswell (1935) – “Who gets what?”” (p. 24)

Pierre and Peters (2000) describe governance as well as the processes leading up to its popularity, but they do not really offer a concise definition of the concept. Kooiman (2003) shares Pierre and Peter’s dynamic and interactive approach to governance. He defines social-political governing in terms of interaction. He distinguishes governing “...as the totality of interactions, in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities; attending to the institutions as contexts for these governing interactions; and establishing a normative foundation for all those activities.” Governance can then “...be seen as the totality of theoretical conceptions on governing” (p. 4). In line with Pierre and Peters, Kooiman include all actors, the state as well as non-governmental actors, in his conception of governance and scheme of analysis. He argues for a dynamic conception of the different and varying relationships between society and state. In line with Pierre and Peters, he suggests the existence of several different, parallel and overlapping modes of governance, which he labels “self”, “co” and “hierarchy”.

Adopting “governance” as an analytical concept, as a way of viewing the political world, consequently implies adopting a broad conceptualisation of political analysis and policy making. With a governance approach, governmental as well as non-governmental actors are given equal attention in the political analysis. The focus is more on political skill, entrepreneurship and strategy than on formal functions in the policy making process. This is consistent with an inclusive conceptualisation of politics and political analysis, in line with for example Hay. A governance perspective may actually enable the analyst to better understand the role of non-governmental actors in producing policy outcomes. An interactive governance approach, as suggested by Pierre, Peters and Kooiman, may also help address some of the criticism that conventional policy analysis, for example, the stageist policy life cycle, has been subject to. With a governance perspective, different policy stages, political arenas, government and society are seen as parts of the same integrated process rather than discrete aspects or stages of policy making. In these senses, a governance perspective may facilitate an inclusive and relevant analysis of politics of natural resource management.

However, as evident from the discussion so far, there exist many approaches to governance in the literature. An adoption of “a governance perspective” may consequently risk bringing in a proliferation of different

views of the political world. To avoid such confusion, this review focuses on writings by Pierre, Peters and Kooiman although the literature is far wider than these. In sum, they develop governance as an analytical concept. They stress its dynamic, interactive and process related nature and they share a view about a changing, rather than withdrawing, role of the state in contemporary governance.

3.4.4 Power and influence

Central to any political analysis is the concept of power. Hay (2002) discusses different approaches to the concept. Power, according to Hay, is about “context shaping”, about the capacity of the actors to redefine the parameters of what is socially, politically and economically possible for others. To define power as context shaping is thus “...to emphasise power relations in which structures, institutions and organisations are shaped by human action in such a way as to alter the parameters of subsequent action” (ibid, p. 185). Hay identifies this as an “indirect form of power” in which power is mediated by, and instantiated in, structures. There is however also, according to Hay, “direct power”, understood as power as “conduct shaping”, which is immediate, visible, behavioural and manifest in practice. Hay argues that this way of looking at power is a reformulation, for example compared to that of the classic work of Lukes (1974). Lukes argues for a “three dimensional” analysis of power. Lukes’ first dimension rests on the assumption that A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something B would not otherwise do. The second dimension acknowledges situations where the organisational context within which A exercises his power over B makes it easier for A to achieve his objectives. The third dimension refers to situations when A gets his way without B resisting because B does not know or wish anything different. Lukes’ second and third dimensions consequently include what Hay identifies as “indirect power”, that is power as context shaping. A “three dimensional” view of power, according to Lukes, acknowledges that B’s very interest and preferences may be products of a system which work against “the real” interests of B, even in the absence of an open conflict. Hay (2002) is critical to Luke’s way of differentiating between “real” and “imagined” interests, an approach which, according to Hay, conflates an analytical and normative dimension. The most important benefit of Hay’s “reformulation” of power is thus a differentiation between direct and indirect forms of power which does not rely on value judgements about “real or “imagined” interests of the actors.

Issues of power clearly underlie the question that guides this thesis. With an understanding of politics as concerned with the distribution of power, an inquiry about the role of place perceptions in the politics of natural resource management is implicitly a question about the linkages between place, power and politics. As discussed previously, place representations may be seen as “context shaping”. They consequently are part of redefining the parameters of what is socially, politically and economically possible for others to do. Many of the activities carried out by the actors taking part in the policy process under study are “conduct shaping”. They are thus to be seen as expression of “direct power”. The question of power, and how power is exercised, thus rests immediately under the surface of this inquiry. Yet, the concept of power is not explicitly used. Actors’ constructions of place and policy and their political implications are explored through the lens of frames. The fact that “power” is not used as an analytical concept does, however, not mean that the issue of power is absent. On the contrary, frames may be both “context” and “conduct” shaping and hence represent crucial aspects of direct as well as indirect forms of power. As part of Chapter 7, the actors’ differentiated capacities to influence the policy outcomes are discussed in light of their frames and political activities. “Influence” and “power” are clearly two different things, but a “capacity to influence” is most often a product of the possession of direct as well as indirect power.

3.5 Conclusions: Guiding concepts

In this chapter, theories of natural resource management, frames, social spatialisation and place as well as politics and policy have been explored. The raw material of an analytical framework has thus been developed. One component is represented by Perri 6’s frames. Building on his basic understanding of the frame, Shields’ theory of social spatialisation adds a spatial component. The resulting tool enables an analysis of, what may be understood as, place related frames. Place perceptions form parts of such frames. The third component of an emerging analytical framework is represented by Fischer’s interpretive approach to policy analysis. His ideas, the concept of Interpretive Communities in particular, help form a bridge between frame analysis and the analysis of a policy making process. Governance theories, finally, are used to situate the entire study in its political context. The next step, to be undertaken in Chapter 4, is to join these pieces into an integrated analytical framework.

4 An analytical framework

Chapter 3 aimed at introducing the concepts and theories that will guide the thesis. The objective of this chapter is to synthesise these into an integrated analytical framework. This framework will be used to illuminate the empirical material and guide analysis and discussion. The first section of the chapter is consequently a presentation of the overarching framework. After this general introduction, the approach to frame and policy analysis will be discussed in somewhat greater depth.

4.1 An overarching framework

A generalised and overarching model of the analytical framework is presented in Figure 8. The figure illustrates the relationships between actors' understandings of the world, conceptualised as frames, that of policy making and its contribution to the construction and transformation of place, as will be explained below.

As discussed in Chapter 3, a point of departure is the importance of social meaning to the study of politics of natural resource management. In order to understand how particular conditions become structured as problems, or solutions, their social construction ought to be explored. Drawing on Fischer (2003) and Perri 6 (2005a), the concept of frames is consequently used to examine the “situational context”⁵⁹ that defines and shapes the actors' understanding of the policy problem. As illustrated by the “bubbles” in Figure 8, an analysis of frames helps explore how actors' understandings of the world, including their different perceptions of place, inform their policy preferences and political activities. Shields' (1991) theory of social

⁵⁹ Here referring to Fischer's understanding of the term as explained in Chapter 3.

spatialisation facilitates an understanding of the spatial component of actors' frames. In line with 6, frames are seen as having two basic functions. They organise experience and bias for action, in other words, they represent people's worlds in ways that call forth particular styles of activity. Actors consequently frame problems and solutions in different ways and choose to act accordingly. They may choose to interact, for example in networks, hierarchies and on markets, as described by Pierre and Peters (2000). When interacting with each other, they form different Interpretive Communities, understood as networks or other kinds of groupings that share a certain proportion of frames and policy preferences (see Fischer, 2003). As illustrated in Figure 8, their activities feed into the process of "policy making". Using available political skills and resources, the actors may make more or less successful attempts to influence the policy process. Actors' policy preferences and activities, here seen as products of their frames and interactions in Interpretive Communities, consequently shape the policy process. As indicated by the large arrow at the right of Figure 8, the policy process and its outcomes will contribute to an ongoing construction and transformation of place. Place construction/transformation may include material as well as symbolic and social processes of change. Finally, as indicated by the black, thin arrows, actors' experiences of place, its transformation, and policy making influence their constructions of frames, and we are back to the original starting point.

Figure 8 offers a much simplified and generalised model of relationships which in reality are much more complex. The figure may for example give a very static impression. In reality, the illustrated relationships are both fluid and dynamic. Processes may work both ways and the framework should not be interpreted as a linear causal model. Although not indicated in the figure, the illustrated relationships are also embedded and continuously shaped by changing historical, political and institutional contexts. However, the point is not to present an all-embracing explanatory model. It is to show how three concepts that are at the centre of this thesis may be used together to form a helpful analytical framework. With this framework as a point of departure, the empirical material will be approached in two main ways. Firstly, by analysing actors' frames and, secondly, by analysing the policy process. An assumption is that the analysis of actors' frames is an important part of building the situational context required to understand and interpret the

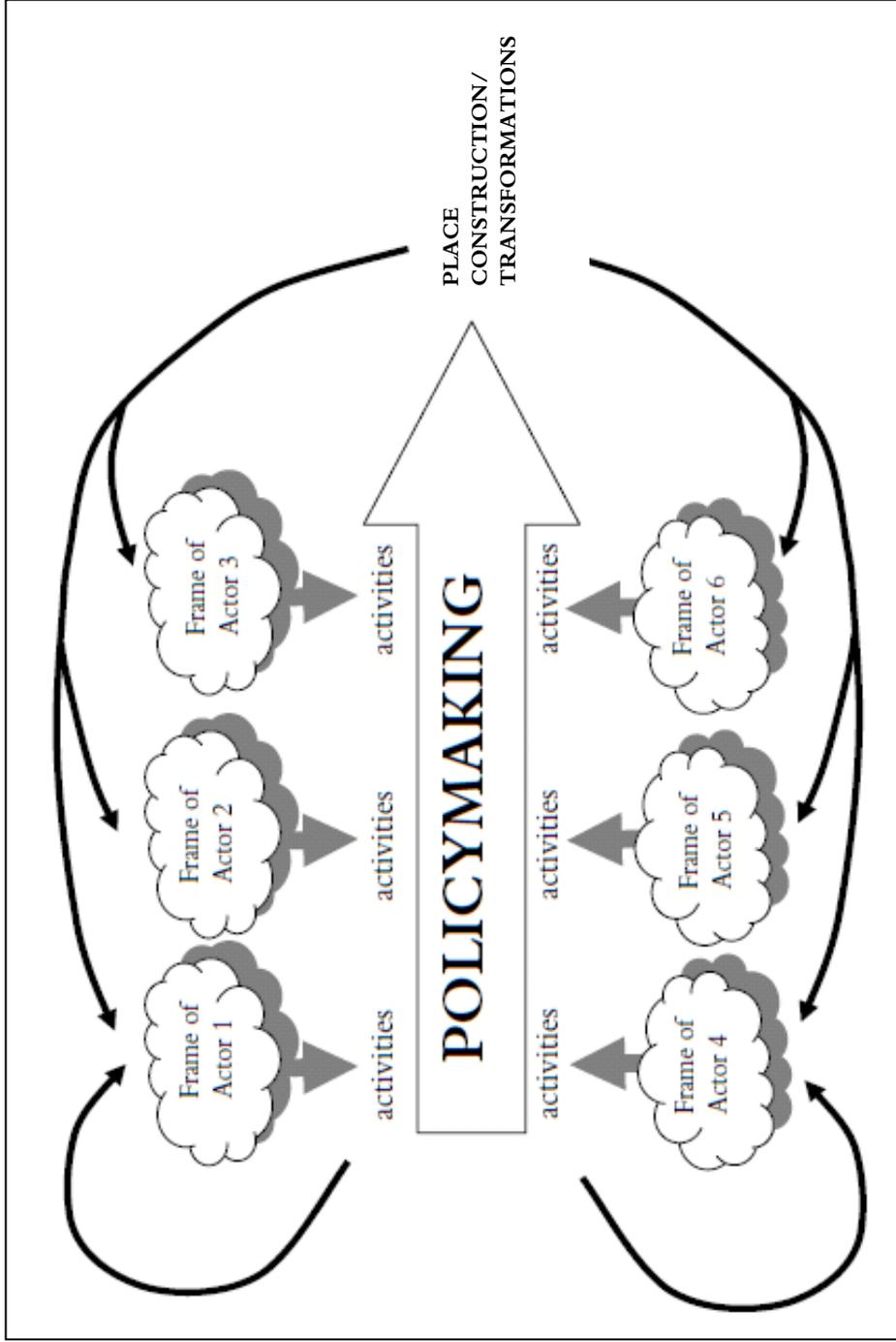


Figure 8. The relationships between actors' frames, their activities, the process of policy making and place construction.

policy process. The analytical approach consequently focuses on actors' frames and their role in shaping policy making and policy outcomes. This priority is also consistent with the research questions of this thesis. The relationships between policy outcomes, place construction/trans-formation and actors' constructions of frames, will not be conceptualised and analysed at the same level of detail. Yet, these relationships represent important parts of presumably dynamic processes, as illustrated in Figure 8, and are therefore relevant to include in an overall framework and discussion.

4.2 Analysing frames

For reasons outlined in Chapter 3, the frame analysis carried out in this thesis will primarily rely on 6's (2005a) conceptualisation of frames. According to 6, frames may in short be understood as specific applications of general "thought styles" that sustain institutional and organisational commitments of actors. Yet, all, or any, frames, which the actors hold or construct are obviously not of interest to this study. The "specific applications" of interest to this thesis, are those concerned with place and politics of natural resource management, more precisely the policy process under study.

In order to focus the analysis of actors' frames on phenomena of primary interest, four central aspects of actors' frames have been selected and further operationalised. They will be at the centre of the analysis. These four aspects correspond to the different functions of the frame: to organise experience and bias for action. The three first aspects, called "basic themes", "place perceptions" and "appreciation of the policy process", explore how actors' organise their experiences on an overarching level, in relation to place and in relation to the policy process under study. The fourth aspect, explores actors' "considerations to act", in other words, their action biases. The selection of these four aspects was moreover assessed and settled in light of a preliminary analysis of the empirical material (as will be further discussed in Chapter 5).

The first aspect is accordingly labelled "basic themes". They may be understood as specific expressions of Perri 6's "thought styles" and will be further explained shortly. The second is "place perceptions" which builds on Shields' (1991) theory of social spatialisation, as outlined in Chapter 3. The understanding of "place perceptions" will also be further explained in a moment. The third aspect, "actors' appreciations of the policy process", is simply comprehended as the actors' understanding of the policy making process. Fischer (2003), suggests that "policy frames" may be uncovered

through the stories that actors are disposed to tell about policy situations. Such stories often include temporal aspects, causal accounts as well as particular proposals and motives for action. Whereas the “stories” with their temporality, list of characters, causal accounts, etc. are understood as actors’ “appreciation of the policy process”, the particular proposals and motives for action count as “considerations to act”. These four aspects of the actors’ frames will, as a next step, be further specified and operationalised to guide interviews and empirical analysis (see Chapter 5).

4.2.1 “Basic themes”

“Basic themes” were identified as the first of four key aspects in an analysis of actors’ frames. But what are basic themes and how are they identified?

6 (2005a) introduces “thought styles” as a kind of overarching cognitive commitments of actors. These commitments are understood as products of social solidarities, i.e. functions of social organisation. The “grid/group”

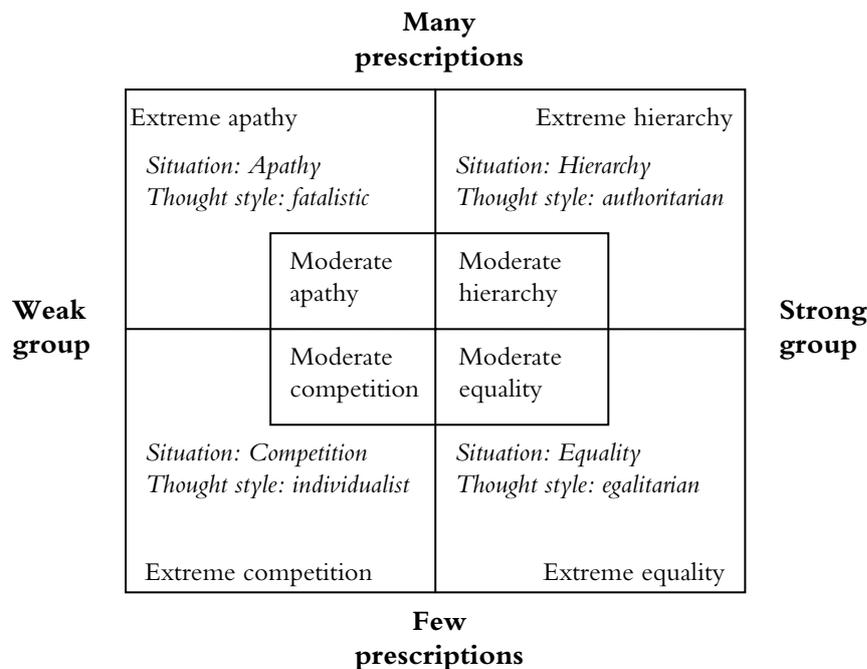


Figure 9. Actors thought styles as functions of social organisation, based on 6’s (2005a) design of the “grid/group” scheme and Wildavsky’s (1987) terminology.

scheme (see Figure 9) was introduced as a taxonomy that can help to explain which features of social organisation matter and what kind of “thought

styles” are expected to evolve. Frames, in turn, are understood as more specific applications of these thought styles. “Basic themes”, then, is here used as a label for the most generalising and overarching aspects of the frame. They reflect the underlying thought style but are applied on a more specific context, or subject. A basic theme is expressed as a recurring argument, or theme, that motivates other, more specific, or situational aspects of the frame. Their identification is consistent with Gamson’s observation that frames are organised thematically and usually defined by one implicit or organising idea.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the neo-Durkheimian grid/group scheme is not expected to provide a taxonomy that can explain all aspects of actors’ thought styles and frames. Neither is this suggested by 6 whose final theory is, in fact, much more extensive. Yet, there may be a risk that the theory, with its claim on functional causalities, is applied in ways that privilege the role of social organisation to an extent that other factors influencing, for example the construction of “basic themes”, are unduly neglected. Perri 6’s conceptualisation of frames is therefore adopted, as a point of departure for further *exploring* the role of social organisation as well as place perceptions in actors’ construction of frames. A modified version of Perri 6’s matrix (see Figure 9), that is his developed version of the neo-Durkheimian grid/group scheme, will be used as a heuristic device in an explorative discussion. In order to make the terminology of the scheme more applicable to the empirical context of this thesis, some terms have been borrowed from Wildavsky’s (1987) way of labelling the axes and squares. To better fit the environmental movements of the policy process under study, the “egalitarian” thought style is also extended to apply to non-human beings and future generations, in addition to the people currently involved.

4.2.2 Place perceptions

“Place perceptions” were identified as the second key aspect in an analysis of actors’ frames. Place perceptions, in this context, refer to the spatial aspects of actors frames. In Chapter 3, it is explained how Shield’s theory of social spatialisation, as an overarching order of space, may be combined with Perri 6’s conceptualisation of frames as products of social solidarities. “Place images” and “place myths” may thus be understood as the particular aspect of the frame that relates to “the spatial”. Place images are in short defined as the meanings associated with places, regardless of their character in reality (Shields, 1991). A collective set of place images, according to Shields, forms a place myth.

In theory, place images and place myths would consequently be appropriate labels for the spatial aspects of frames. However, for purposes of practical communication this vocabulary may be confusing. The problem is not the deeper connotations of the terms, but the associations they may give rise to. The term “image” is easily associated with a visual, figurative metaphor. As such, the broader meaning and implications of place images in a theory of social spatialisation risk being confused. The term “myth” may give rise to questions as to the meaning of the term itself, in what sense the meaning given to place represents a “myth”. In addition, it is difficult to fully grasp the distinction between place images and place myths, especially in an empirical context. This distinction may, as a matter of fact, not even be relevant to this inquiry. For these reasons, “place perceptions”⁶⁰ are used as a collective term referring to Shields’ place images and place myths, in other words, for the meanings associated with places. Beyond these changes in terminology, Shields’ theory of social spatialisation is used to explain, and explore, the spatial aspects of frames, as outlined in Chapter 3. “Place perceptions” will, along with the other key aspects of frames, be further specified and operationalised in Chapter 5 about research methods. In this context, actors’ “senses of place” are explored in terms of their emotional affinities to different places, as discussed in Chapter 3.

4.3 Analysing the policy process

An analysis of actors’ frames alone does not say very much about which frames come to dominate the policy process. Neither does it show which frames are reflected in policy outcomes and which ones that are subordinated and not taken into account. An understanding of these issues requires an analysis of how different actors’ frames are expressed and reflected in the actual process of policy making. Central here, is the question of interaction, how actors get together with others of a like mind and take action to forward their preferences.

Underlying this study is the assumption that each policy related idea is an argument, or a set of arguments, favouring different ways of looking at the world. Integrating G’s theory of frames with Fischer’s interpretive approach to policy analysis, as discussed in Chapter 3, an analysis of the policy process

⁶⁰ When using the term perception, I do not strictly separate, as does Reed (1993), between “perceptions” (awareness about present state), “memory” (past state), “anticipation” (future state) and “planning” (desired future state). Empirically, these dimensions tend to float into each other and the distinction is not relevant to the research questions of this thesis.

may be seen as an inquiry into the tension, and potential struggle, between actors with conflicting and competing frames.

Drawing on Fischer (2003), the policy process will be analysed in three steps. Firstly, by exploring the interactions between the actors in the context of the governance system of which they are part. Secondly, by identifying “Interpretive Communities” and shared policy preferences, seen in light of actors’ frames and interactions. Thirdly, by analysing activities and events, including policy decisions and outcomes. Policy outcomes are understood as products of frame competition (as outlined by Schön and Rein) and struggles between Interpretive Communities with conflicting policy preferences – which, in turn, may become objects for the construction of new, or modified, frames. Each of these steps will be further discussed below.

4.3.1 The actors and their interactions

A policy process does not exist in a political vacuum but is embedded in a political and institutional context, a governance system. Theories of governance, primarily those of Pierre, Peters and Kooiman, as outlined in Chapter 3, will be used to characterise this political environment and the interactions of the actors involved. These theories invite the analyst to choose an inclusive approach, that is including a broad spectrum of actors regardless of their function in the formal policy process. The empirical context of policy making in the natural resource management sector, particularly that of forests, is characterised by a large variety of governmental as well as non-governmental actors. An “actor” is consequently understood as a definable group of people that has taken some sort of action in relation to the policy process. The first task is to identify and characterise the actors. Secondly, their interactions will be identified and analysed. Their forms of interaction are important because they may tell us something about how they, by means of interacting, are able, or not able, to access and influence the policy process. Following Pierre and Peters (2000), their interactions will be analysed in terms of the different “governance arrangements” that they represent” (see discussion in Chapter 3). They are consequently characterised on the basis of the dominating governance structures, for example “hierarchies”, “markets” or “networks”.

4.3.2 Interpretive Communities and policy preferences

Through processes of interaction, social configurations of actors who share frames and policy preferences evolve. Following Yanow (2000) and Fischer (2003), Interpretive Communities may be seen as networks or other

groupings of people who share understandings of policy ideas and language (here seen as components of frames) different from other groups. They may also engage in an exchange of resources in order to forward joint objectives.

A second step in an analysis of the policy process is thus to identify Interpretive Communities and the nature of their shared policy preferences. By exploring the roles and resources of the different Interpretive Communities in the governance system, for example their access to networks, markets and formal decision making fora, an indication of their differentiated capacities to access and influence policy outcomes is obtained.

4.3.3 Activities and policy outcomes

The last step is to explore how actors' activities shape the policy process and generate policy outcomes. As pointed out earlier, a governance perspective in line with that of Pierre, Peters and Kooiman, encourages an inclusive way of viewing the world of politics and government. Rather than limiting analysis to the formal concerns of policy making, it argues for a focus on "things that happen and the way they happen" (Pierre and Peters, 2000). A documentation of actors' activities will consequently be used as a point of departure for an analysis of actors' efforts to influence the policy process. Actors' "activities" will be documented and their linkages to other activities and events will be traced. An activity, in this context, is defined as all types of actions that have some kind of linkage to the policy process under study. Formal policy decisions as well as many other types of actions accordingly qualify for inclusion. Pure formal concerns are thus complemented with a broader focus on political activities, such as lobbying, "direct action", creation of public opinions, and their role in shaping policy outcomes.

As explained in Chapter 3, frames bias for action. Actors' activities will consequently be analysed in the context of the Interpretive Communities that sponsor them as well as the frames that motivate and justify them (see Fischer, 2003 in Chapter 3). With the help of Schön and Rein's distinction between different kinds of frames, actors' efforts to forward their frames will be explored. The identified inconsistencies in their terminology are handled as outlined in Chapter 3. The ambition is thus to understand how actors' frames compete and are manipulated as part of political strategies and, eventually, how they shape the political process and its outcomes. Finally, the broader question of influence will be addressed, who gets what and why? Policy outcomes will thus be identified and the question as to different actors' capacities to influence these outcomes may be addressed.

4.4 Conclusions: An analytical framework

This chapter represents an attempt to synthesise different theoretical contributions into an integrated analytical framework. The result should be understood as a tool intended to guide and facilitate the research process. In the next chapter about research methods, the framework will be further operationalised. In Chapters 6 and 7, it will guide the analysis of the empirical material. Finally, in the concluding Chapter 8 its usefulness will be assessed and discussed.

5 Research process, methodology and method

In this chapter the thesis moves from theory to method. The objective is to present how the research process has been designed and how methods for empirical investigation and analysis have been developed in light of the theory discussed in the previous two chapters. The chapter starts by defining the methodological points of departure. Thereafter, research design and methods are discussed. The chapter ends with a reflection on my own role as a researcher.

5.1 Research approach

The research questions of this thesis are of an explorative nature and aim at increasing *understanding* about the role of place and place perceptions in politics of natural resource management. To accurately explain and understand social phenomena, such as policy making, the investigator must, according to Fischer (2003), first attempt to understand the meaning of the social phenomenon under study from the actors' perspective. Fischer, as well as Yanow (2000), emphasises the contextual nature of actors' knowledge and constructions of meanings. An understanding of actors' constructions of meanings in their specific "situational contexts" is derived by *interpreting* the phenomenon against the social actor's own motives and values, for example by analysing frames (see Fischer, 2003; Yanow, 2000). An assumption underpinning this thesis is consequently that an interpretive, and thus qualitative, research approach is best suited to tackle the research questions. This assumption is also shared with other theorists in the field. Shields (1991) argues for a "hermeneutic mode of investigation" that leads to an "active dialogue between different constructions of reality". Macnaghten

and Urry (1998), as well as Cheng, Kruger and Daniels (2003), generally identify a need for more qualitative studies of contemporary human-nature relationships, including that of natural resource management.

Central to the qualitative empirical procedure is the process of interpretation. Reflexive interpretation, according to Alvesson and Skjöldberg (2000), indicates "...the open play of reflection across various levels of interpretation..." (p. 248) More important than a specific technical or theoretical research procedure (such as hermeneutic, post-modern, etc.) is, in their opinion, the reflective capacities of the researcher:

"Interpretation implies that there are no self evident, simple or unambiguous rules or procedures, and that crucial ingredients in the research process are the researcher's judgment, intuition, ability to "see and point something out", as well as the consideration of a more or less explicit dialogue - with the research subject, with aspects of the researcher herself that are not entrenched behind a research position, and the reader." (Alvesson and Skjöldberg, 2000, p. 248)

In practice, according to Alvesson and Skjöldberg, the research glides more or less consciously between different levels of interpretation (see Table 6): "the handling of the empirical material", "interpretation" (focus on underlying meanings), "critical interpretation" (focus on ideology, power and social reproduction) and "reflections upon language and authority" (focus on own text, claims to authority, selectivity of voices represented).

Table 6. *Levels of interpretation according to Alvesson & Sköldberg (2000, p 250).*

Aspect/level	Focus
Interaction with empirical material	Accounts in interviews, observations of situations and other empirical materials
Interpretation	Underlying meanings
Critical interpretation	Ideology, power, social reproduction
Reflection on text production and language use	Own text, claims to authority, selectivity of the voices represented in the text

Theoretical understanding plays an important role in Alvesson and Skjöldberg's way of conceptualising the interpretive process. The interpretive process is "guided" by ideas that can be related to academic theories. Theories are consequently used as searchlights which help the researcher to distinguish different aspects in the empirical material. Ideally, they argue, the researcher simultaneously allows the empirical material to inspire, develop and reshape the theoretical ideas. What they describe may

be seen as a kind of oscillation between empirical observation and conceptual, theoretical formulations and explanations. A broad and varied “interpretive repertoire”, such as knowledge of theory, is seen as a condition for reflection in this interplay between empirical material and interpretations. Reflexive interpretation, as outlined by Alvesson and Skjöldberg, may be combined with an “abductive” research logic. Abduction may be seen as a specific form of inference based on reasoning from the particular to the general. Whereas induction is reasoning from particulars to a general law, abduction stands for reasoning from effects to cause. The former classifies whereas the latter explains (Fann, 1970). It is not to be seen as a method, but as a logic of discovery by which we are invited to clarify the reflective process which leads from concrete observations to abstract conceptualisations (Ohlsson, 1996).

In the case of this thesis, the research process has been guided by the research questions. They have in turn been developed on the basis of a theoretical as well as empirical pre-understanding of the research field. Based on early and preliminary empirical observations, an analytical framework was developed (see Chapter 4). The early observation that actors’ accounts of place and the political process not only differ in substance, but reflect strongly diverging ways of viewing the world, was important to its final shape. As a next step, the analytical framework guided the design of a more extensive and systematic empirical investigation as well as the analysis of the resulting empirical material (see Chapters 6 and 7). With these findings as a point of departure, the literature was revisited to enable abstraction and reflection on a theoretical level. Finally, I have reflected over the implications of my theoretical and methodological choices as well as my own role in the research process (see Chapter 8). The research process may consequently be envisioned as a continuous movement up and down different interpretive levels. This process has been inspired by the ideas of Alvesson and Skjöldberg and the approach to interpretation that is illustrated by their interpretive scheme. The logic of discovery includes inductive as well as abductive components.

This thesis could be seen as an interdisciplinary study in the sense that it thematically stretches over issues which are usually explored in different disciplinary contexts. However, as evident in Chapters 3 and 4, its main analytical concepts all have their base in the social sciences and to a large extent in sociology. The conceptualisations of frames, social spatialisation, place, and policy making meet in a focus on social organisation, social construction of meaning and social practice. Yet, a thematic focus on natural resources, seen as aspects of nature, rightly indicates that the natural systems

themselves are part of the picture and should not be totally excluded from the analysis. But does a conceptual inclusion of natural systems, as part of the world we live in, make the study interdisciplinary? Or is a common lack of attention to aspects of the natural world in much contemporary social science rather an effect of an artificial and historically accepted division of labour? A limitation which in some contexts it would be desirable to find ways to overcome?

For reasons very well outlined by Macnaghten and Urry (1998), sociology has historically withdrawn from research concerned with “nature” and “the environment”. They argue that it is the discipline where the dichotomy between the social and the natural has been most pronounced. Sociology has, according to Macnaghten and Urry, generally accepted a “division of academic labour” which partly stemmed from the Durkheimian desire to carve out a separate realm of the social which could be investigated and explained autonomously. As argued by Macnaghten and Urry, there are reasons to question this strict divide. They come to the conclusion that nature is not so different an object of analysis from many of the other topics investigated by the so-called social sciences. The project of determining what is “a natural impact” is for example seen as much as a social and cultural project as it is “purely” scientific. Macnaghten and Urry certainly have a point here. Yet, it is important not to forget that specific interdependencies between human beings and the natural systems exist. A social science approach to the study of “nature”, must, for example, be able to accurately capture the active interaction between humans and the natural systems that they inhabit (as is argued in other places in this thesis). Nevertheless, the fact that this thesis explores particular aspects of our interaction with the natural world, does not necessarily turn it into an interdisciplinary endeavour. It may rather be seen as an attempt to develop a sociologically based approach that is suitable for an analysis of people-place, and human-nature, relationships. At the same time it is a political science analysis of power, politics and policy. Concepts with origins in different social science disciplines are consequently used, and, in this respect, it may rightly be labelled multi-disciplinary. However, the social dimensions of all main concepts are emphasised and they are commonly used in different disciplinary contexts without the “multi” or “interdisciplinary” flag being hoisted.

5.1.1 Epistemological and ontological points of departure

How to research people-place and human-nature relations brings questions about the status of “places” and “nature” to the fore. The research question

of this thesis is not about “nature”, it is about place perceptions and the politics of natural resource management. Yet, places include aspects of nature and natural resource management refers to ways to use nature. It is consequently not possible to escape the fundamental ontological question of what nature actually is.

Macnaghten and Urry (1998) argue that there is no singular “nature” as such, only a diversity of contested “natures” and each of these natures is constituted through a variety of socio-cultural processes from which such natures “cannot be plausibly separated”. They are critical to the empiricist, here called environmental realism, claim that the environment is a “real entity” which “...in and of itself and substantially separate from social practice and human experience, has the power to produce unambiguous, observable and rectifiable outcomes” (p. 1). A major task for the social sciences is accordingly to “decipher the social implications” of “...a nature elaborately entangled and fundamentally bound up with social practices and their characteristic models of social representation” (ibid, p. 30). A “bold and convincing” attempt to dissolve the traditional nature/social divide has, according to Macnaghten and Urry, been provided by Ingold (1996). Ingold’s conceptualisation of place, which is discussed in Chapter 3, may be seen as an expression of this attempt. Yet, it is important to note that recognition of the significance of the social construction of nature, does not deny the significance of its material dimensions. On the contrary, Macnaghten and Urry, as well as Ingold, stress the importance of the material referent in shaping our perceptions, i.e. constructions, of nature through our embodied involvement with our environment.

Attempts to bridge the traditional distinction between social and natural domains consequently do not only have implications for how the realm of nature may be conceived. It also has consequences for how “the social” is to be conceptualised. A disbandment of the dichotomy between nature and culture, mind and body, for example skews the conceptual foundations of the sociology of knowledge as established by Durkheim. As outlined in Chapter 4, his idea of collective representations, which is a cornerstone in his attempts to resolve “the knowledge problem”, rests on the assumption of man’s “double constitution”, understood as a separation between “body” and “mind” (see Chapter 4). In as much as the undermining of these dichotomies means “opening up nature” to cultural interpretation, it offers opportunities to include “nature” in social theories of knowledge production, such as representation and conceptual classification. Ingold, Macnaghten, Urry and, in a spatial context, Shields set out a direction for how this may be accomplished. Although different in many respects, they

share a relational approach to knowledge production in which social practice and activity is at the centre of attention. Practice is here understood as people's "dwellings" in the world and refers to people's active interactions with the social as well as natural dimensions of their environment. Knowledge, attitudes, frames, etc. are accordingly seen as interactively and contextually shaped in the business of dwelling. A relational and interactive understanding of knowledge production thus opens up to an integration of "nature" into sociology of knowledge.

The insight that nature is socially and culturally constructed consequently does not imply that it does not exist "in reality", nor that it does not exist as a material world which we can touch, smell, sense and which, as such, conditions human life. Social constructionism may indeed be characterised by anti-essentialism and anti-realism and, at the one extreme, there are authors arguing that nothing exists beyond the text. For others, however, there is a reality that exists outside of discourse, or text, and this reality may structure our understanding of the world, through discourse (see Burr, 1995) or cognitive representation.

Katherine Hayles (1991) is one author who offers a theoretical conceptualisation of this epistemological "middle ground" which she labels "constrained constructivism". It is appealing because it treats "representation" as a dynamic process rather than a static mirroring and is thus consistent with the previous arguments made for a relational and interactive approach to knowledge production. Given that science is socially constructed, she asks, how can we explain "...that entropy increases in a closed system, regardless of the latitude and whatever the ruling class?"⁶¹ (p. 1). She suggests that we think about the reality "out there" as an "unmediated flux". The term, according to Hayles, emphasises that it does not exist in any of the usual conceptual terms we might construct (such as "reality", "the universe", "the world") until it is processed by an observer. It interacts with and comes into consciousness through self-organising, transformative processes that include sensory and cognitive components. Central to Hayles' approach are "contexts", "consistency" and "constraints". By ruling out some possibilities – by negating articulations – constraints "...enable scientific inquiry to tell us something about reality and not only about ourselves" (p. 4). Although constraints that lead to a specific result are interpreted in a variety of ways, they operate universally to eliminate certain configurations from the range of possible answers. Gravity is, for example, always and inevitably a representation. As such it is limited by what we can

⁶¹ The question is posed with reference to Serre (1982) who originally formulated it.

imagine, for example through prevailing modes of representation within our culture, history, and species. However, within this range, constraints can operate to select some representations as consistent with reality, such as gravity. Others may be ruled out as inconsistent by constraints. Constrained constructivism, Hayles argues, points to the interplay between representation and constraints:

“Neither cut free from reality not existing independent of human perception, the world as constrained constructivism sees it is the result of active and complex engagements between reality and human beings.” (p. 5)

Hayles consequently argues that situatedness, rather than being a barrier to knowledge, enables it. Hayles is not the only author trying to conceptualise an epistemological middle ground. However, for the purposes of this thesis, her constrained constructivism offers the tools needed to navigate an ontological and epistemological discussion. By describing perceptual processes in interactive and relational terms, she enables a conceptualisation of knowledge production as open for influences of “nature”, place or “the flux”, in line with arguments made at several other places in this thesis.

5.1.2 Validity and knowledge claims

Social science based in a constructivist epistemology and a reflexive, interpretive logic of discovery can never deliver definitive “truths”. As just discussed, these procedures are rather related to a perception of the relationship between science and reality that denies the existence of definitely true theories. What then is the status of the produced knowledge?

Fischer (2003) discusses truth claims, or “validity”, in relation to outcomes of interpretive policy analysis. Validity, Fischer explains, is normally understood as the degree of confidence in the “truth” of a finding of a particular empirical analysis. Within the empiricist research paradigm, “truth value” is defined in terms of “internal validity” described as the isomorphic relationship between a set of data and the phenomena those data are believed to represent. However, the idea of an objective assessment of correspondence in relation to a world of multiple, or “constrained” multiple, realities, loses its meaning. Fischer consequently suggests that it may be more relevant to assess the “compatibility of the constructed realities that exist in the minds of the inquiry’s respondents with those that are attributed to them” (p. 154). This relationship may, according to Fischer, be termed “credibility” or “trustworthiness”. Credibility may be assessed by

determining whether the description developed through inquiry in a particular setting “rings true” for those persons who are members of that setting.

Steinar Kvale discusses the question of validity in relation to interview research (Kvale, 1997; 2007). Fischer’s approach, validity as credibility, falls into his category “communicative validity”. Kvale however goes further in a discussion about the appropriate selection of people to be part of the validation process, here called the “community of validation”. He suggests that the interviewees themselves are the relevant partners when the interviewer’s interpretations refer to the subjects’ own understandings of their statements. The researcher’s interpretations may also go beyond the subjects’ self understanding, for example what they themselves feel and mean about a topic. One such situation is for example the deliberations of a jury on the trustworthiness of a witness. In this case the interpretations still remain within a critical common sense understanding. In what is described as “audience validation” the relevant community of validation is accordingly the general lay public. In a third context, a theoretical frame for interpreting the meaning of a statement is applied. The interpretation is then, according to Kvale, likely to go beyond the interviewees’ self understanding. The relevant community of validation is, in this case, scholars familiar with the theories applied to the interpretation, and is referred to as “peer validation”.

Kvale (2007) argues for a more comprehensive definition of validation than that of for example Fischer. Referring to Pervin (1984), he explains validity as the degree that a method investigates what it is intended to investigate and to the extent to which our observations indeed reflect the phenomenon or variables of interest to us (p. 122). With this wider conception of validity, he argues that qualitative research in principle can lead to valid scientific knowledge. Validation thus becomes the issue of choosing among competing interpretations, of examining and providing arguments for the relative credibility of alternative knowledge claims. Validation comes to rest on the “quality of craftsmanship” in research, i.e. on the skill of using scientific method and its various tools. Consequently, to validate, Kvale argues, is to “check”, “question” and “theorize” the findings. Ideally, Kvale suggests, the quality of the craftsmanship results in products with knowledge claims that are so powerful and convincing in their own right that they, so to speak, “...carry the validation with them, like a strong piece of art” (p. 124). This implies the research procedure is transparent, the results are “evident” and the conclusions are convincing as “true”, “beautiful” and “good”.

In practice, Fisher's and Kvale's approaches to validation have much in common. Adopted from Kvale is thus the broader definition of validity and with it the understanding that validation may be seen as the "quality of craftsmanship". "Communicative" validation is here seen as a complementary procedure. In this context, Kvale's point that the appropriate membership of the "community of validation" depends on the object of interpretation is accepted. The research subjects, or "members" of the researched setting, do not therefore always constitute the most appropriate target group. The practical approach to validation in this thesis is further discussed in section 5.4.2.

Linked to the question of validation is the issue of generalisation. As already discussed, a point of departure underlying this thesis is the understanding of knowledge as socially and historically contextualised. Accordingly, the appropriate question is not whether the results may be generalised universally, but whether the knowledge produced may be relevant and applicable in other specific situations and contexts. Kvale (2007) argues for an "analytical generalisation". It involves "...a reasoned judgement about the extent to which the findings from one study can be used as a guide to what might occur in another situation" (p. 127). The researcher, in addition to rich specific descriptions, offers arguments about the generality of the findings. The reader, in turn, judges whether the findings may be generalised to a new situation (ibid).

Yin, (2003) develops further the idea of "analytical generalisation". With reference to case studies, he explains why, and how, it is possible to generalise from a single "case", experiment or, as in this case, empirical example:

"...case studies, like experiments, are generalisable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a "sample", and in doing a case study, your goal will be to expand and generalise theories (analytical generalisation) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation)." (p. 10)

Theory development, according to Yin, is consequently not only intended to facilitate the data collection phase. The appropriately developed theory is also at the level at which the generalisation of the case study, or empirical example, will occur. Individual case studies, Yin argues, are therefore to be selected as "...a laboratory investigator selects the topic of a new experiment" (p. 32). Under these circumstances, the mode of "analytical generalisation" is one in which a previously developed theory is

used as a template to which the empirical results may be compared. Yin goes further to discuss how “replication” may be used to strengthen and validate case study findings. However, for the purpose of this thesis, which is based on the analytical exploration of one empirical example, it is sufficient to adopt Yin’s general approach to the process of analytical generalisation.

5.2 Research design

This study has two foci: one theoretical and one empirical. Both contribute to answering the research questions. The objective of the theoretical task is twofold. Firstly it is to develop an integrated analytical framework which illuminates the relationships between place perceptions and the politics of natural resource management from a theoretical point of view. Secondly, it is to provide an analytical framework that may guide the empirical investigation. The empirical investigation may thus, on the one hand, serve as an empirical application of the analytical framework. In this sense it provides the basis for a discussion about its applicability and usefulness. On the other hand, it is an empirical study in its own right with the aim of exploring the research question in a relevant empirical setting.

An overview of the literature reviewed as part of the theoretical study, along with the resulting framework, is presented in Chapters 3 and 4. The design of the empirical inquiry will shortly be outlined and the results are presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

5.2.1 Empirical focus

Critical to the design of a scientific study, is the selection of an empirical setting to be investigated. Drawing on Yin (2003), this setting should be selected so as to enable an appropriate exploration of the theoretical propositions of the study. In this case, it consequently ought to offer conditions that enable a full exploration of the research questions as operationalised in the analytical framework presented in Chapter 4.

The overall research question of this thesis is about the role of place perceptions in the politics of natural resource management. For reasons outlined in the introduction, these relationships will be explored in the setting of traditionally resource dependent communities in the Swedish North. In order to study them empirically, a specific political process will be investigated. The process is one where the relationships between actors’ perceptions of place and politics, on the one hand, and their political preferences and activities, on the other, are clearly expressed. The empirical investigation will accordingly focus on one illustrative policy process and its

expressions in a defined place, more precisely a traditionally resource dependent community in the North. The policy process under study will be thoroughly analysed in light of actors' frames and activities as outlined in Chapter 4. In addition to this in-depth empirical investigation, the broader contextual setting of the selected policy and place will be briefly documented (see Chapter 2). The broader contextual picture aims at situating the entire process in a wider historical, political, economic, geographical, ecological and social context.

One policy process has consequently been selected as the primary object of study. This process is a Government Commission to survey all Swedish forest lands for high conservation values and "virgin-like" forests in need of protection. The focus of this thesis is furthermore on its expressions in Jokkmokk municipality in Norrbotten County, that is in one place. Relevant questions are: Why forests, why Jokkmokk and why this particular policy process?

On the basis of the research questions and analytical framework developed so far, it is possible to formulate a number of qualities that the policy process of choice preferably should possess. It should be a process that involves a definable but broad spectrum of actors, administrative levels and political arenas, in other words a process which illustrates all aspects of the governance system at play. It should ideally include events, or other kinds of arenas, where actors' preferences are expressed and turned into political action (or non-action). The process should be of such a recent date that it is possible to capture the actors' living "stories" about their engagement with it in interviews. In order to offer possibilities to fully explore the question about place perceptions, it should concern a "resource" that is significant to processes of place construction, that has a history and is considered part of the future of the place in question. It is an asset if this resource constitutes a part of "places" which people have developed relations and affinities to. The place of study should moreover be one where the policy has a presumed impact, i.e. where place constructions may be influenced by the outcomes of the policy process. The ideal combination of place and process should therefore enable a study of how the use of the resource in the place in question is actively negotiated by a variety of actors at different administrative levels.

One policy arena that meets most of the criteria just outlined is that of forests. Forest politics involves a broad spectrum of actors at the local, regional and national levels. It includes policy issues that are of fundamental importance to a variety of economic and recreational activities. It is indeed a resource that has been significant to historical and ecological processes of

place construction and it is typically considered very important to future development, albeit in different ways. Forests form an integrated part of places that many people depend on, have relations to, and opinions about. Many people have emotional affinities to forests and care about how they are managed. Rivers and their use for hydro electric power production probably engage people in similar ways. However, whereas forests and forest use are publicly debated today, hydro power production is currently not at the centre of attention in Sweden. Questions as to forests and their management are furthermore issues that are relevant to the construction of place in most parts of northern Sweden, and they are debated on the local, as well as regional and national levels. Mining, as an alternative, is of greater concern to a smaller number of “mining communities” and was, at least not at the time of designing this study, not expressed in policy processes with local, regional as well as national exposure. For these reasons, the empirical focus of this thesis is on the politics of forests.

The Government Commission from 2003 to survey all Swedish forest lands for high conservation values and “virgin-like” forests in need of protection stirred up a broad and intensive debate in the northernmost part of Sweden. This process actually possesses most of the qualities defined as desirable for the policy process of choice. It does involve a definable but broad spectrum of actors at the national, regional and local levels. It includes events, such as demonstrations, actions and a local appeal, which provide opportunities to study actors’ understandings of the policy issues in their “situational contexts”. It offers opportunities to explore different forms of political activity pursued by actors with various positions in the governance system, such as state, non-governmental and local. The process is state initiated and consequently the state hierarchies have a dominant position. Yet, other modes of governance, such as networks and markets, play significant roles. The process is recent enough for actors to be able to recapture the course of events and the circumstances of their own involvement. These are the main reasons underlying the choice to focus on this particular policy process.

The Government Commission selected for study turned out to be a long and complex process, in turn linked to several other policy initiatives, as will be explained in Chapter 6. The empirical study does in fact not embrace the entire policy process, understood as the entire policy life cycle according to Parsons (see Chapter 3). Using her model as a rough guide, this study primarily focuses on the early stages of one particular cycle, which in turn may be seen as the outcome of earlier policy cycles eventually leading up to the decision to form the Commission. This study focuses primarily on what

Parsons would label “problem definition”, “identifying alternative solutions”, “evaluation of options” and “selection of policy option”. In the Commission under study, these phases only stretch over a period of a more than four years. It is not possible to fit a more extended study within a post-graduate project. Moreover, since a policy evaluation is not the objective of this thesis, the information obtained in a study of the first half of the policy cycle should be sufficient to answer the research questions. The process has consequently been followed from 2002, when the Commission was formed, to 2006, when a partial agreement was made. However, the main emphasis of the study is on one year, from August 2003 to August 2004, when the public debate was at its height in Norrbotten County.

With a focus on forest politics and the 2003 Government Commission determined, only the geographical starting point, the “place” at the centre of attention, remains to be defined. Place, in this context, is understood as a local community with its surrounding forests, for example a municipality. The issue of interest here is accordingly to explore how the policy process under study is *expressed* in a local setting. Using a defined place as a starting point for the inquiry, does not mean that actors or political processes located elsewhere are neglected. On the contrary, a large proportion of actors, activities and interactions that shape the expressions of the policy process in this particular place are expected to be located in other places. Yet, it is difficult to study actors’ relations to, and perceptions of, place without a defined place as a point of departure.

As indicated already in the introduction to this thesis, the range of possible places is limited by a focus on the Swedish North. According to the listed desired qualities, the place of choice should be one in which the policy outcomes have significant impacts. It should also be a location where the use of forests, including the policy process under study, is actively negotiated by a variety of actors with different policy preferences. Jokkmokk municipality meets both criteria. It is the municipality which, as a result of the Government Commission, ended up with the largest area of forests identified as valuable and worth protection in the entire country. There is a diversity of land users and actors within Jokkmokk municipality who are more or less actively engaged in trying to influence the policy outcomes and the municipality has a long history of forest struggles. The community has a relatively large Sámi population, including reindeer herders who use the forests for traditional subsistence activities. During the implementation of the Government Commission, the municipality was the site of a Greenpeace action as well as a local appeal “Forest Reserves for Survival”. In addition, the municipality is relatively well documented and researched. These are the

main reasons for selecting Jokkmokk municipality as the place at the centre of this study.

5.2.2 Analytical foci

As outlined in Chapter 4, this thesis has two analytical foci: analysis of actors' frames and of the policy process. A first step towards an operationalisation of the frame concept is outlined Chapter 4. A three step approach to policy analysis is likewise presented there. This section aims at outlining how this analytical approach may be further operationalised to guide the practical process of accessing information. In order to ensure that the empirical investigation actually ends up being relevant in relation to the defined research questions and theoretical perspectives, the empirical procedure ought to be thematised accordingly. Theoretical questions and foci must be reformulated in such a way that they may be empirically explored (see Jensen & Johnsen, 2000; Kvale 1997). With this objective in mind, relevant parts of the analytical framework will consequently be reformulated into empirically identifiable phenomena or themes.

Frame analysis

Four central aspects of actors' frames have already been identified. They are: "basic themes", "place perceptions", "appreciation of the policy process" and "considerations to act". They will be the primary focus of the empirical exploration (see Chapter 4).

Basic themes are defined as empirically recurring arguments, or themes, that are expressed by the actors to motivate, or substantiate, other aspects of their frames. They are identified on the basis of their recurring and motivational structure.

"Place perceptions", on the other hand, have been further thematised to facilitate empirical identification. Place in the empirical context of this study is primarily understood as Jokkmokk municipality and its forests. One aspect of place is thus the population centre Jokkmokk with its surrounding villages, i.e. the local community. The other aspect is the forests that form parts of it. Many of the actors that are involved in the policy process under study have a relationship to Jokkmokk municipality and its forests. However, some do not. These actors may have relations to other places with forests which they, on a general level, relate to when trying to make sense of the policy process and its implications in Jokkmokk. Place perceptions may thus refer to actors' perceptions of Jokkmokk as a local community, of forests in Jokkmokk municipality or, in some cases, perceptions of places and forests elsewhere. A primary interest is actors' accounts of their activities

in these places, their experiences associated with these activities, their perceptions of Jokkmokk as a community as well as their perceptions of different kinds of forests and their uses. Special attention is paid to actors' perceptions of the particular forests that are affected by the Government Commission under study.

"Actors' perceptions of the policy process" are typically identified by exploring actors "stories" about the process under study. Such perceptions typically figure in actors' accounts of the procedural and substantial issues at stake, in their stories about their own involvement as well as in their statements about other actors and the policy outcomes. "Considerations to act", finally, are empirically explored through actors' stories about their deliberations, and possible decisions, to take action, or not to take action.

Analysing the policy process

A three-step approach to policy analysis was outlined in Chapter 4: exploring actors' interactions, identifying Interpretive Communities and analysing activities and events. One empirical theme is consequently about actors' interactions. As outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, actors interact in networks, markets or hierarchies⁶². Their relations may be characterised as neutral, hostile or mutually supportive, and possibly interdependent. Actors' interactions, as well as their characteristics, are empirically explored through the actors' own accounts of their relations with other actors, of the nature of their interactions and interdependencies. Actors are explicitly asked who they ally with, who they co-operate with, feel supported by, etc. Observable public manifestations of actors' interactions, such as meetings, demonstrations, joint press releases, and public debates, are also used to map and explore actors' interactions.

Interpretive Communities, as the next step, are identified on the basis of a prior documentation of actors' interactions. Shared understandings of policy ideas and preferences are then explored for example through actors' "stories" about the policy process and their own stated policy preferences. They are also identified on the basis of written collective statements, such as policy documents and press releases, of actors who interact in networks or other kinds of groupings. A group of interacting individuals with significantly overlapping frames and policy preferences, may consequently be seen as an Interpretive Community.

Finally, activities and events are identified on the basis of their existence in actors' oral accounts in combination with written documentation such as

⁶² See Pierre and Peters 2000 in Chapter 3.

news media or policy documents. The actors involved in such events, their constructions of frames related to the issues at stake, the outcomes as well as other related activities and events are parameters at the centre of attention.

The themes and phenomena identified here have guided the empirical investigation of this thesis. They consequently served as “searchlights”. As such, they provided the basis for the formulation of seven interview themes (see app. 1) which, in turn, guided the formulation of interview questions (see app. 4). They similarly indicated the direction for the inquiry of the written material.

5.3 Accessing information

Two main sources of empirical information have been used: qualitative interviews and written documentation. In order to obtain a rich picture of the phenomena under study, a variety of written sources have been investigated. News media were frequently used to identify relevant actors, activities and events. In-depth information about the actors’ perceptions about the phenomena in question was typically obtained through interviews. Finally, policy documents, press releases, appeals, etc. provided complementary information. This way of using multiple sources of information may be seen as a kind of triangulation. Triangulation, or the use of multiple methods, was first conceptualised as a strategy to guard against the bias that one specific method or source of information might entail and thus to increase validity (see Denzin, 1978). Flick (2006) stresses that the epistemological potentials of an individual method are always limited. He consequently argues that triangulation rather should be used as an approach for further “grounding” the knowledge obtained with qualitative research. Grounding does not mean to assess results but “to systematically extend and complete the possibilities for knowledge production” (p. 390). Triangulation, according to Flick, is consequently not primarily a strategy for validating results and procedures but an alternative to validation which increases scope, depth and consistency in methodological proceedings. Nevertheless, the point is that a combination of multiple methodological practices, empirical materials, perspectives and observers in a single study adds rigour, breadth, complexity, richness and depth to the inquiry. Yin (2003) likewise argues for the use of multiple sources of evidence.

5.3.1 Interviews

Steinar Kvale (1997) outlines a seven step approach to a proper interview investigation. It includes “thematization”, “design”, “interviews”,

“transcription”, “analysis”, “verification” and “reporting”. In line with Kvale’s recommendation, the interview investigation carried out as part of this thesis was preceded by the preparation of an interview plan that reflects all seven stages (see app. 2).

An important part in designing an interview investigation is to decide how many interviews to carry out and to select the informants. In the case of this thesis, this process started with an attempt to identify the actors that are involved in the Government Commission under study. An actor is here understood as a definable group or organisation of people which has taken some sort of action in relation to the policy process (see Chapter 4). The ambition was to capture, not only the formally involved actors, but also those who tried to influence the process without a formal mandate or position. For this reason, news media, and their representation of the public forest debate, were reviewed at the time of the Government Commission under study. The primary, but not exclusive, focus was on the main newspapers in Norrbotten County. All relevant articles and letters to the editor in the two major regional newspapers, *Norrländska Socialdemokraten* and *Norrbottenskuriren*, were collected during a period of one year from August 2003 to August 2004. All the actors were documented. On the basis of this documentation, a parallel review of formal policy documents and the actors’ own written documentation of their involvement, a list of 16–23 main actors (depending on how coalitions of actors such as the Appeal Forest Protection for survival are counted) was compiled (see Table 7).

In order to correctly capture the perspectives and activities of these actors, 31 informants among these groupings were selected to be interviewed (see Table 7). The selected informants may consequently be seen as representatives of, or spokespersons for, their collective constituencies, that is the actors. In this sense, the focus of this study is on a collective rather than individual level. Yet, it is important to point out that it is not the ambition to research these collectives as such, their positions, activities, internal cleavage lines. The focus of this thesis is rather on the way they figure in the debate, how they interact and use their various resources, including their place perceptions, to shape the policy process and influence its outcomes. Given this priority, it is more important to cover the variety of different actors in the policy process, the multitude of “voices”, than it is to capture the possible variation of views within the collective constituencies that the informants represent. In order not to end up with an unreasonable number of interviews, some actors are consequently represented by one informant only. In these cases it is usually the individual that has acted on behalf of the collective in the policy process under study. In order to capture

the local dynamics of the policy process, on the other hand, as many as 12 of the companies and organisations that originally stood behind the appeal Forest Protection for Survival have been interviewed. In this case, a large number of informants is necessary to capture the multitude of voices and activities that constitute the local expressions of the policy process. Altogether, 31 interviews have been carried out with “actors” in the Government

Table 7. List of interviewed actors and informants. The table also shows who stood behind the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival at the time of its launch (x) and who left it to sign the “disclaimer” (x). As evident in the table, a sufficient number of informants represent both groups of actors.

Actors and Informants	Signed appeal	Signed disclaimer	Informant
Jokkmokk Municipality			1
The CAB: County Governor			2
The CAB: Unit for the Environment			3
The CAB: Unit for the Environment			4
The Ministry of the Environment			5
The Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication			6
The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency			7
The National Property Board			8
The National Property Board in Jokkmokk			9
Sveaskog: Chair of the Board			10
Sveaskog			11
Leading Private Sawmill in Norrbotten County			12
The Jokkmokk Forest Common			13
Forestry Entrepreneur in Jokkmokk			14
Greenpeace Nordic			15
The Swedish Society for Nature Conservation: Jokkmokk Chapter	x		16
Sirges Sámi Reindeer Herding Community	x		17
	x		18
Sámi Tourism Enterprise/ Tuorpon Sámi Reindeer Herding Community	x		19
Tourism Enterprise I in Jokkmokk	x		20
Tourism Enterprise II in Jokkmokk	x		21
Jokkmokk Hunting and Fishing Association	x		22
Jokkmokk Snow Mobile Association	x	x	23
Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise	x	x	24
	x	x	25
Transport/petrol Enterprise in Jokkmokk	x	x	26
Carpenter/ building Enterprise in Jokkmokk	x	x	27
Electronics/mechanics Enterprises in Jokkmokk	x		28
Food/home Enterprise in Jokkmokk	x	x	29
The Appeal Forest Reserves for Survival	x		30
	x		31

Commission under study (see Table 7). 29 were originally planned and two were subsequently added as they were identified as strategically important by the informants in the first round.

In line with Kvale's recommendations, an "ethical" protocol was prepared prior to carrying out the interviews (see app. 3). An important issue, particularly at the local level, is that of confidentiality. In a small community like Jokkmokk, it soon became apparent that it would not be possible to obtain information about the local aspects of this policy process without promising to protect the identity of the informants. Consequently, no informants are mentioned by their correct names in this text. In passages where actors may still risk recognition, they have either been consulted and agreed to publication or I have reformulated the text on a higher level of abstraction. For the same reason, no Swedish versions of the interview quotes are appended.

The interviews are best described as "semi-structured life world interviews", as outlined by Kvale (2007). The purpose of such interviews is to understand themes of the lived daily world from the subjects' own perspectives. It comes close to an everyday conversation, but "...has a purpose and it involves a specific approach and technique; it is semi-structured – it is neither open everyday conversation nor a closed questionnaire" (Kvale, 2007, p. 11). A number of interview guides (see one example in app. 4), based on the defined interview themes, were consequently prepared to help structure the interviews. Each interview guide was tailored to fit a certain category of informants, but all interview guides covered all seven interview themes.

Most of the interviews were carried out between January and March, 2005. All interviewees were contacted prior to the interview and briefly informed about the objective and scope of the inquiry. The interviews lasted between one and a half and two hours and they were recorded on tape. The conversation was assisted by a map showing Jokkmokk municipality and the forest areas identified as valuable and worth protection by the Government Commission. The interviews followed the structure of the interview guides but were open in the sense that space was given to the informants' stories and diversions. Follow-up questions were consistently used to test my interpretations at the end of a story or the interview situation, as suggested by Kvale (2007). All interview themes were generally well covered, possibly with the exception of number six (views about outcomes). This question was complicated because the process was delayed and the outcomes not clear at the time of interviewing. When necessary, this issue has been followed up by phone at a later stage.

The originally planned 29 interviews have all been transcribed word by word. Since no linguistic or psychological analysis was planned, no attention was paid to pauses, humming or other types of sounds. 11 interviews were transcribed by myself, 18 were done by others⁶³. The two complementary interviews were carried out at a later stage and were not transcribed. The interviews were transcribed in Swedish and they have remained in Swedish throughout the analysis. As a very last step, the selected quotes have been translated into English.

5.3.2 Written sources

Three types of written documentation have been used: news media, official policy documents and other kinds of policy related texts produced by the actors themselves, such as press releases, letters to the editor, appeals.

As already outlined, news media have primarily been used as a way to obtain an initial overview of the policy process and its actual expressions in the Swedish North. Relevant actors, activities and events were then identified to be further explored with the help of other written documentation and interviews. In some instances, the media's representations of an issue have also been used as part of the frame analysis. In these cases, it is the media's way of framing the phenomenon in question that has been at the centre of attention.

Official policy documents of relevance to the Government Commission, have been systematically collected from the time of its initiation to the point when the outcomes of the two consultation processes were reported back to the Government in June 2006. These documents have served as a primary source of information for an attempt to reconstruct the policy process and map relevant activities and events. They have also been used in the analysis of frames and how particular frames figure in the formal policy process.

Other relevant documentation produced by the actors includes a large number of press releases, two public appeals, a relatively large number of letters to the editors of the regional and national press as well as a variety of written material used for external or internal communication. These texts have contributed to the mapping of activities and events and they provided a rich source of information which was used in the analysis of actors' frames and their roles in the policy process.

⁶³ 10 were transcribed by a professional consultant and 98 were transcribed by a group of pupils at a school for training translators in simultaneous translation for deaf people.

5.4 Methods of analysis

The methods for analysing the policy process have already been more or less outlined in the description of the three step approach and its empirical operationalisation (see Chapters 4 and section 5.2.2). The remaining critical question is how actors' constructions of meanings are analysed and interpreted. How were for example actors' frames constructed and represented on the basis of the available empirical material?

5.4.1 Analysing frames

As Kvale (2007) points out, analysis is not an isolated stage of the research process, but should ideally permeate the entire inquiry. It starts with the thematic questions that were asked from the very start and continues with the design, execution and transcription of, for example, interviews. In the case of this thesis, a first step towards an analysis of meanings was taken with the development of the analytical framework and interview themes. A second step was taken in the interview situations when I, as the interviewer, summarised and tested my interpretations on the informants. A third step involves interpretation of text. "Text", in the context of this thesis, includes transcribed interviews as well as other written documentation. The largest volume of text to be analysed does however derive from the interviews.

There exist several methods for analysing the meanings and deeper implications of what is said in an interview or in a text. In order to structure and explore the texts, a form of "meaning coding" has been applied (see Kvale, 2007). Coding as understood in Grounded Theory, implies a purely inductive process in which the empirical data rather than theoretical assumptions shape the research process and its outcomes (Charmaz, 1989). A more pragmatic approach is suggested by Jensen and Johnsen (2000). Their use of coding as an analytical tool is more in line with the procedure applied in this thesis. They describe "open coding" as a first analytical approach where the researcher reads the text very carefully and notes what the text says. The researcher is thus continuously "naming" his or her observations and associations. In practice, Jensen and Johnsen argue, this is a creative process in which the theoretical and empirical realms meet. The informants' accounts of practice meet the researcher's theoretical pre-understanding and concepts. However, it is the informant's way of describing practice that sets the agenda. This procedure of open coding is moreover succeeded by "focused coding" which involves a structured organisation of the findings into a number of overarching themes. This step leads to an organisation and reduction of the phenomena under study and enables the researcher to

distinguish patterns, clarify relationships or go deeper into specific questions (ibid).

The analysis of the empirical “texts” of this thesis is inspired by the procedure outlined by Jensen and Johnsen. To start with, four interviews were therefore read intensively while phenomena of interest were continuously marked and named (compare open coding). On the basis of these notes, a number of themes were identified. These themes were first used to check, and confirm, the relevance of the four aspects of frames which were selected as particularly central for the analysis in section 4. 2, “Analysing frames”. Secondly, the themes were organised into a check list which was tested on three quite different interviews and accordingly revised. The check list was then turned into a table which guided the analysis of all interviews (compare focused coding). The specific expressions of the identified themes were noted and each interview generated a grand table which was summarised into an eight to 15 pages running text. Due to a large amount of interview text and the time-consuming procedure, the initial 29 interviews were sorted into two categories. One was subject to the procedure just described (19 interviews), and one was analysed on a more general level (10 interviews). The same check list has been used for both groups but not at the same level of detail. The group of interviews analysed at a more general level mostly include actors that are represented by more than one interviewee, such as the group standing behind the appeal Forest Reserve for Survival. On the basis of the summarised interviews, the parameters in the check list, frames and groups of similar frames have been identified. A summary of the outcome of this analysis is presented in Chapter 6.

5.4.2 Are the findings valid?

As concluded earlier, validity may be seen as an issue of the “quality of craftsmanship” in research (see Kvale in 5.1.2). In this thesis, an effort has therefore been made to present the empirical and analytical procedure as thoroughly as possible. It is then a question for the reader to judge whether the findings are valid or not.

In addition, a communicative approach to validation has been applied on two different levels. Firstly, what Fischer calls “credibility” has been assessed by trying out whether the descriptions developed through this inquiry “ring true” for those who are members of the settings in question. Five persons who are, or used to be, members of the five identified Interpretive Communities have consequently been asked to read and comment on Chapters 6 and 7, that is the presentation of the empirical investigation.

Three of them have responded without major objections. Minor comments have been taken into account. These persons are not the interviewees and have been selected because they are well acquainted with the setting and are believed to possess a reflective capacity. In addition, a number of colleagues and peers have read and commented on parts of, or the entire, thesis. The interpretations in the thesis is likely to go beyond the interviewees self understanding, and the appropriate community of validation is then, following Kvale, the academic community.

Contributing to the “grounding”, “rigour”, “validity”, of the thesis, is also the fact that multiple sources of information have been consistently used. The meanings attached to statements, events, decisions and the like, have thus been cross-checked and a coherent picture of the course of events has gradually evolved.

5.5 Role of the researcher

The author of this thesis has lived in Jokkmokk municipality since 1988. During the last ten years I have lived with my family in Mattisudden, a village outside of Jokkmokk. Most of my adult life, I have worked with forest related issues. I am originally a trained biologist, I have worked for E-NGOs and I used to run my own environmental consultancy. My former position on the forest political arena is probably best described as somewhere between what is here described as Interpretive Community A, “biodiversity” and C, “protection for community benefits”. In the eyes of many other actors, I am still associated with the environmentalist camp. I consequently live in my research area and I have been an actor in the political arena I now want to study. What does this imply for the research process and its outcomes?

I am not the first one attempting to do field studies in a familiar environment. Assets and problems associated with such approaches are for example discussed by anthropologists doing research “at home”. A point of departure underpinning this entire thesis is that knowledge is always situated and socially constructed. To borrow Hayles’ terminology, it is never possible to escape “the cusp” and “the theatre of representations” (see section 5.1.1 of this chapter). In the book “Anthropology at Home”, Hastrup (1987) develops this point further:

“...in fieldwork you will always “see” yourself while studying others, just as the anthropological discourse is a discourse with two objects, “selves” and “others”, materialising simultaneously.” (p. 104)

That idea that anyone, regardless of location or previous occupations, would be able to research a presumed reality in a detached and objective fashion must consequently be rejected. More interesting is then to discuss what kinds of specific challenges face the researcher studying the context of his or her everyday life.

To be well acquainted with the empirical field under study offers advantages as well as disadvantages. As a result of my location and previous engagements, I consequently have a good knowledge about the empirical field under study. This is definitely an asset when trying to interpret and make sense of a complicated policy process. Yet it may also be a barrier to “seeing”. Pre-knowledge may blindfold with the risk of prejudging rather than observing what is familiar (see Hastrup, 1987). The strategies adopted for minimising this risk include continuous reflexivity and dialogue with peers having an outside perspective.

To be known also has its positive and negative sides. “Friends” are likely to open up and enable access to information that otherwise would be concealed. Informants identifying me as a potential antagonist, may be expected to do the opposite. Based on her research of her home community in India, Mascarenhas-Keyes (1987) suggests that “the outsider” may have greater access to information because of asymmetrical power relations and conspicuous ignorance. She describes how kinship and associational links may prevent “neutral confidence”. In this respect, I believe I may be alien enough to avoid such problems by being an “incomer”. My impression is that my familiarity with the place and subject matter facilitated dialogue and openness. In order to avoid speculation and insecurity, I introduced every interview by clarifying my past and my purpose with the present study. Yet, it is reasonable to believe that the information I received is flavoured by the informants’ pre-understanding of me and my political views. It may for example have encouraged informants associated with forestry to modify their views in order to please me. Others may have been provoked to radicalise their positions in order to challenge me. However, given an interview situation with positive interpersonal dynamics, it is presumably difficult for an informant to seriously skew his or her account of a specific course of events during a two hour conversation in which his/her own story telling is encouraged. The overall impression of the interviews is that the informants were eager to share and explain their perspectives on the issues in question.

Another issue is loyalties and social commitments. Researching at home means working in the midst of a community of which I and my family are part. How I carry out the research process and how I write about it may

affect social relations that are important for our daily life and well being. By being continuously confronted with the interviewees and the issue under debate, the researcher at home is kept in a state of mental dialogue with the interviewees, and the rest of the community, throughout the research process. In this sense the researcher is forced to constantly question and critically examine his or her findings. This may be a positive thing. Leading to stress and fear of social consequences, however, these relationships may hamper or seriously undermine the research process. Mascarenhas-Keys (1987), drawing on her experiences of researching in India, outlines how anxiety and stressful experiences in the field may be turned into method. By noting and analysing your own emotional reactions as a researcher, knowledge about social mechanisms under study may be obtained. I have consequently deliberately tried to make conscious, verbalise and explore the origins of emotions that have been stirred up during the research process. I have also discussed them with supervisors and peers. Without using these emotions as a systematic source of information, I believe I have been able to deal with and, possibly, make use of them in the research.

5.6 Conclusions: Research process, methodology and method

In this chapter the methodology, research design and methods of this thesis have been defined. An interpretive, qualitative, approach is adopted and “constrained constructivism” is suggested as an “epistemological middle ground” between logical empirism and social constructivism understood as anti-essentialism and anti-realism. An approach to validation, as “credibility”, “peer-validation” and “quality of craftsmanship”, has been outlined. The research design has been presented and empirical as well as theoretical foci have been further defined and operationalised. In the latter part of the chapter, the methods used to access, as well as analyse, empirical information have been defined. Finally, the researcher’s own role in the research process is discussed. In the coming three chapters, this approach will be applied in the empirical analysis of the Government Commission and its expressions in Jokkmokk municipality.

6 A Government Commission and its local expressions I: Analysing actors' frames

As stated in Chapter 1, the overarching research question about the roles of place perceptions in the politics of natural resource management is broken down into two sub-questions. This chapter addresses the first one: How are policy preferences informed by actors' perceptions of place? The chapter will address this question by exploring a particular political process and its expressions in Jokkmokk municipality. The first part describes the political process under study. The second part explores the actors' different understandings of the policy process, forests and place by analysing their frames. In Chapter 7, the second sub-question will be addressed: Whose policy preferences are reflected in policy outcomes – and why? In this chapter the analysis is taken further to look into how actors' frames are expressed and used in the policy making process.

6.1 Introducing the policy process

The objective of this first section is to give the reader a general introduction to the policy process under study and its course of events, in other words “the story”. A schematic overview of the actors, their activities and the most important events are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. *Activities and events*

The Swedish Forest Agency (SFA)	warns for wood shortage		
Sveaskog		<i>questions reserve plans in public (2)</i>	presents alternative strategy at press conference
The National Property Board (NPB)			
The County Administration Board (CAB)	initiates surveys in Norrbotten County		<i>halts establishment of new reserves (3)</i>
The Government, Ministries and the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA)	<i>the Government initiates the Commission (1)</i>	SEPA makes preliminary survey results public	the Commission is extended in time
Greenpeace		carries out action in neighbouring municipality	demonstrates against old growth logging
Other E-NGOs			
Local Coalition Forest Reserves for Survival (FRS)			
Jokkmokk Association for Private Entrepreneurs (JAPE)			
Local Forestry Sector			

2003

			establishes National Strategy
demands decision now	demands priorities and more consultations	takes part in consultation process	reaches agreement with SEPA and CAB and announces results
logs in survey area Pakkojäkkä (4)	debates publicly with GP	takes part in consultation process	does not reach agreement with CAB and SEPA
	restates position new reserves on hold	takes part in consultation processes	finalises consultations and publishes results (7)
SEPA reports back survey results	SEPA instructed to extend consultations (6)	SEPA initiates consultation processes	SEPA establishes National Strategy, finalises consultations and publishes results (7)
stops NPB logging in Pakkojäkkä (4)	demands logging moratorium with other E-NGOs	demonstrates in front of Parliament	criticises "agreement" and presumed outcomes
	demand logging moratorium	lobby and debate	criticise "agreement" and presumed outcome
forms coalition FRS in Jokkmokk	launches Appeal FRS (5)	the coalition falls apart	
		co-ordinates public disclaimer against appeal FRS (5)	
entrepreneur reports GP to the police	assists JAPE with factual information		

— 2004

2005 —>

6.1.1 The Government Commission

In April 2002, the then Minister of the Environment, Kjell Larsson gave a conference speech and announced that he was about to initiate a Commission to identify all state forests with high conservation values and “virgin-like” forests in all Swedish lands. His motivation was that the state was to become a fore-runner, a good example to other land owners by demonstrating best forest practices and sustainable forest management. He also wanted to “guarantee” that no forests of “virgin character” would be logged in the future⁶⁴. Knowledge about the existence and locations of forests with high conservation values was seen as a prerequisite for these ambitions to be realised. Swedish E-NGOs, such as SSNC and Greenpeace, argue that the initiative should be seen in the light of long standing political pressure, actions, and campaigns to protect more forests (interviews with 15 and 16). E-NGOs and scientists launched an appeal in January 2002 in which organisations demanded the state should set a good example, carry out large scale surveys and protect all state owned forests with high conservation values⁶⁵. The local E-NGO in Jokkmokk, “One Step Ahead”, had a co-ordinating role in the launch and preparation of this appeal.

In June 2002, SEPA was formally commissioned by the Government to assess conservation values on state forest lands, to identify “virgin-like” forests on all lands and to suggest how areas in need of protection might be protected in the long term⁶⁶. SEPA was commissioned to carry out the tasks in consultation with the state forest administrators and other relevant state authorities. In January 2003, SEPA asked the CABs to carry out forest surveys and compile existing information and data in line with the Government’s Commission⁶⁷. The surveys started during the spring of 2003.

6.1.2 The start of the public debate

In September 2003, the SEPA invited the actors involved to a public hearing where preliminary survey results were orally presented. Many actors

⁶⁴ Speech delivered by Kjell Larsson at the yearly conference about the management of Flora and Fauna, arranged by the Swedish University of Agriculture, 23 April 2004.

⁶⁵ See statement delivered by E-NGOs and nature conservation associations to the official inquiry on state forests (Statsskogsutredningen) 10 February 2002: “Ett bättre förvaltande av den statliga skogen: Den samlade miljörelsens förslag”. Hard copy accessed from Steget Före, SSNC.

⁶⁶ See Government Decision, 13 June 2002: ”Uppdrag om naturvärdesbedömning och skydd av viss skog”. M2002/2121/NA.

⁶⁷ See request from the SEPA, 08 January 2003: ”Hemställan om medverkan i regeringsuppdrag om naturvärdesbedömning och skydd av viss skog” (M2002/2121/NA). Dnr 300-3998.02 No.

were surprised about the extent of areas that had been identified as valuable. Shortly after the hearing the state forest administrator, Sveaskog, made a number of public interventions based on the preliminary figures received at the hearing. The information that the nature conservation authorities suggested an additional 440,000 hectares of forests with documented conservation values to be taken out of production thus entered the public domain. 305,000 out of these 400,000 hectares were assessed as being located in Norrbotten County. Based on these preliminary figures and a report prepared by the Finnish consultancy Jakko Pöyrö, the Chairman of the Board of Sveaskog, Mr. Bo Dockered, publicly warned that 2,600 jobs could disappear in northern Sweden⁶⁸. His public intervention triggered aggravated responses by the Minister of the Environment and the Head of the SEPA in the national press. They accused the Sveaskog Chair of questioning agreed nature conservation policy objectives and of not contributing to their implementation⁶⁹. This argument marked the start of a period of intense public debate about the findings of the survey, more precisely the need for additional forest protection and its possible consequences for jobs, the forest industry sector and regional economic development in Norrbotten County. In December 2003, the County Governor in Norrbotten publicly claimed that the establishment of additional forest reserves did not have public support in the County⁷⁰. This statement was followed by a policy decision⁷¹ by the CAB to temporarily halt the establishment of new reserves. The initiative was welcomed by the forestry sector but perceived as very provocative by E-NGOs, such as SSNC, and individuals in Norrbotten who were in favour of additional forest protection.

At the end of 2003, the SEPA was given additional time to finish its assignment and prepare the final report of its survey results. All state forest administrators had made agreements with the SEPA to refrain from forestry operations in areas affected by the ongoing surveys. With the expiration of

⁶⁸ See letter to the editor from Bo Dockered: "Naturreservat hotar tusentals skogsjobb", published in Dagens Nyheter 29 September 2003, http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/Page_7290.asp (accessed 19 August 2004). Press release from Sveaskog: "2600 jobb hotas i skogsnäringen i norr", http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/Page_7246.asp (accessed 19 August 2004).

⁶⁹ See letter to the editor from Lars-Erik Liljelund: "Sveaskog underlättar inte naturvårdsarbetet", published in Dagens Nyheter 7 October 2003 and Lena Sommestad cited in Dagens Nyheter 6 October 2003.

⁷⁰ See articles in Norrländska Socialdemokraten: "Tvärstopp för nya reservat", 06 December 2003, and in Norrbottens-Kuriren: "Mindre skydd för skogen", 06 December 2003.

⁷¹ Decision by the CAB, 15 December 2003: "Inriktning av arbetet med Naturreservat 2004-2005".

SEPA's original dead-line for the completion of their assignment, on December 31, the NPB announced that they intended to take all survey areas back into production. The E-NGOs were monitoring the situation and Greenpeace in particular lobbied the government for a logging moratorium in the survey areas.

6.1.3 Timber shortages and protest actions

A number of other events during the autumn of 2003 tied into the policy issues under study and contributed to placing Norrbotten County at the centre of the national forest debate. Actually the public debate started with a letter to the editor⁷² in one of the leading national papers, *Dagens Nyheter*, by the Director General of the SFA, Mr. Göran Enander. He argued that the forests did not produce enough to cover the needs of the forest industry, that current production was not compatible with a satisfaction of the interests of the industry as well as nature conservation, tourism, reindeer husbandry and recreation. The issue about long-term raw material supply for the wood-based industries was consequently highlighted by the SFA roughly at the same time as the preliminary survey results of the Government Commission were made public. Both chains of events focused on Norrbotten as the region where the "problems" were expected to be most accentuated, where most unprotected and ecologically valuable forests had been found, where timber shortages within the coming 20–30 years seemed to be most critical, where there was a living reindeer husbandry, a growing tourism sector and where there was a large regional wood based industry of significant economic importance. The SFA thus initiated a broad debate on forests and forest use which also provided an opportunity for the Sveaskog intervention described earlier.

The issues raised by the SFA and the Chairman of the Sveaskog Board were to some extent addressed as the Government submitted a White Paper about forest policy to the Riksdag⁷³ in December 2003⁷⁴. In the White Paper, the Government announced the start of an official Investigative Commission into forest policy, and it argued for a greater emphasis on the implementation of the so-called Production Objective.

During the autumn of 2003, the E-NGOs monitored the finalisation of the governmental forest survey initiative and protested against ongoing

⁷²See letter to the editor from Göran Enander: "Virkesbrist hotar vår viktigaste exportindustri, visar ny beräkning: Skogen räcker inte till", published in *Dagens Nyheter*, 17 September 2003.

⁷³The "Riksdag" is Sweden's legislative assembly and supreme decision making body.

⁷⁴See White Paper by the Government: "Uppföljning av skogspolitiken". Skr. 2003/04:39.

logging of Swedish “old growth” forests. While waiting for the final survey results to become public, Greenpeace stopped a logging operation of the private forest corporation SCA⁷⁵ in a neighbouring municipality to Jokkmokk⁷⁶ in an attempt to generally highlight conservation and biodiversity issues (interview with 15). SCA eventually agreed to postpone its logging until further field surveys were made. The incident was not directly linked to the Government Commission under study but contributed to deepening the antagonism and polarisation between different actors in Norrbotten County, primarily between “environmentalists” and “forest industry proponents”.

Another event that indirectly influenced the policy controversy without being formally linked was a blockade of Sveaskog’s logging in an area outside the village of Valvträsk⁷⁷ in Norrbotten. A village group, with the support of national E-NGOs, protested against the clear-cutting of 30 hectares on Sörfligget mountain because of the “social values” of this area (recreation and importance for eco-tourism business)⁷⁸. A counter-demonstration by forest workers and contractors was organised and the conflict became highly polarised. The protesters were eventually removed by the police and the area was logged. This incident brought a new dimension, understood as protection “for social values” and “of social key habitats”, into the Swedish forest debate at that time. It also further increased the general polarisation between the actors and thus influenced the ongoing Government Commission under study.

6.1.4 Greenpeace stops NPB logging

After the dispute in Valvträsk, it did not take long until Greenpeace discovered that the NPB planned to log inside an area that was identified as valuable by the Government Commission under study. The area is named Pakkojåkkå and is located in Jokkmokk municipality. As a consequence, Greenpeace accused the Swedish Government of inconsistency and hypocrisy, that is of surveying and logging the same areas. They urged the

⁷⁵ Svenska Cellulosa Aktiebolaget.

⁷⁶ More specifically at Snöberget Mountain in Boden municipality.

⁷⁷ Valvträsk is located in Boden municipality.

⁷⁸ See press release from the SSNC, 20 January 2004: “Statens bolag Sveaskog sviker lokalbefolkningen”, and open letter from the SSNC in Norrbotten 21 January 2004: “SNF Norrbotten till Sveaskog: Tänk om!”, <http://www.snf.se/verksamhet/skog/nyhet-print.cfm?CFID=2973917&CFTOKEN=34>, (accessed 25 August 2004).

Prime Minister to stop all forestry activities inside the survey areas⁷⁹. On February 19, Greenpeace stopped the logging operation, resulting in an open confrontation at the logging site that lasted for about three weeks. NPB rejected the claim that the specific logging area had high conservation values and argued for their right to, and the importance of, managing this and similar areas⁸⁰. The head of the CA Nature Conservation Unit and the Minister of the Environment expressed their concerns about the fact that the NPB was logging inside a survey area⁸¹. This was, however, severely criticised by the forestry as well as wood and paper workers trade unions, the machine entrepreneurs' association and the saw mill that had bought the timber from the area⁸². The County Governor reinforced his position that additional forest reserves did not have public support and that the processes to establish new reserves should be temporarily halted⁸³. Sweden's three large national E-NGOs (WWF, SSNC and Greenpeace) jointly demanded a logging moratorium in the survey areas⁸⁴, but no formal intervention was made from the state. Eventually, the entrepreneur who was contracted to do the harvesting reported Greenpeace to the Jokkmokk police who in turn

⁷⁹ Interview with 15 with Greenpeace Nordic and Greenpeace press communication 09 February 2004 to 06 March 2004 at http://www.greenpeace.se/np/s/NP_onepr.asp?g=press&number (accessed 24 August 2004).

⁸⁰ Interviews with staff persons 8 and 9 at the NPB and press releases from the NPB, 20 February 2004: "Greenpeace känner inte till alla fakta", and 05 March 2004: "Föreslagna reservatsavsättningar – förödande för sysselsättningen och Norrbottens skogsbruk", <http://www.sfv.se> (accessed 24 August 2004).

⁸¹ See articles in Norrländska Socialdemokraten 06 March 2004: "Ministern kritiserar avverkningen", <http://www.nsd.se/index.php?artikel=108298> (accessed 10 June 2004) and 25 February 2004: "Avvakta med avverkningen", <http://www.nsd.se/index.php?artikel=107339>, (accessed 05 August 2005) and 27 March 2004: "Jag har tagit ett tufft beslut som jag står för", <http://www.nsd.se/index.php?artikel=107557> (accessed 09 June 2004).

⁸² See for example letter to the editor from Ulf Sandström and Lars-Erik Larsson: "Vilket ben står länsstyrelsen på..?", published in Norrbottenskuriren 27 February 2004, <http://www.kuriren.nu/utmatningssidan.asp?ArticleID=462750&CategoryID=2769&...> (accessed 02 August 2004) and article in Norrländska Socialdemokraten 18 March 2004: "Ministern kritiseras: Vi vill veta vilka skogar som ska skyddas", <http://www.nsd.se/index.php?artikel=109413> (accessed 09 June 2004).

⁸³ Welcome speech delivered by Per-Ola Eriksson at Skogsvårdsstyrelsens Länskonferens, 9 March 2004. Copy obtained at <http://www.bd.lst.se/Ledning/default.aspx?propID=10008852> (accessed 28 August 2004).

⁸⁴ Press release by Greenpeace 13 April 2004: "Stoppa avverkningen i statens skyddsvärda skogar", http://www.greenpeace.se/np/s/NP_onepr.asp?g=for&number=3281&lang=S (accessed 20 August 2004).

removed activists several times until the logging was completed on March 6, 2004.

During the autumn of 2004, SSNC filed two formal complaints against the NPB to the FSC⁸⁵ for its harvesting in Pakkojåkkå. One of them resulted in a major Corrective Action Request, that is a requirement to take immediate action to correct identified non-compliances, for logging “trees with high biodiversity values”⁸⁶. No local actors were directly involved in the action but the local SSNC chapter and their forest group “One Step Ahead” was consulted and supported the initiative⁸⁷.

6.1.5 The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival

Shortly after Greenpeace had left the logging site in Pakkojåkkå, a coalition of organisations and companies in Jokkmokk launched an appeal “Forest Reserves for Survival”⁸⁸. It was signed by 36 companies, five organisations⁸⁹ and one Sámi Reindeer Herding Community⁹⁰. The appeal was for the protection of valuable forest areas, that is for additional forest reserves, in Jokkmokk municipality. In contrast to Greenpeace, who argued for protection of the Pakkojåkkå area to maintain biodiversity and international commitments, the arguments of the appeal were based on the local inhabitants’ needs for forest for their wellbeing, recreation and development of forest related businesses other than industrial forestry. In addition, the appeal was a response to the County Governor’s claim that additional forest reserves did not have public support in Norrbotten.

The idea to form the appeal came from two private individuals, two “Jokkmokkers” with strong linkages in the area and a background in hunting and fishing circles. The initiators linked up with the local E-NGO “One Step Ahead”, tourist entrepreneurs and Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities who formed an informal ad hoc coalition. On March 25, the appeal was published in the regional press, broadcast on television and

⁸⁵ To the FSC accredited certifier of the NPB, the Soil Association.

⁸⁶ See Woodmark Forest Certification Monitoring Report, 15 April 2004, Corrective Action Register, by Soil Association Certification Ltd, UK.

⁸⁷ Interview with 16 of the local chapter of the SSNC in Jokkmokk.

⁸⁸ Full appeal text and signatures published as letter to the editor: “Jokkmokksbor ställer upp för fler reservat”, published in Norrbottenskuriren 25 March 2004, www.kuriren.nu/utmaningssidan.asp?ArticleID=484279&CategoryID=2769&... (accessed 02 August 2004).

⁸⁹ Including the hunting and fishing association and the snow mobile association which are both very large.

⁹⁰ Sirges which is the largest Sámi Reindeer Herding Community in the municipality.

distributed widely through the network of the local E-NGO⁹¹. Shortly after the release, the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise, “Företagarna”⁹², sent an apology to the County Governor explaining that their members had been “deceived” into signing the appeal⁹³. The same message went out in the press⁹⁴. Two meetings were held to clarify the situation but the stories and experiences of these meetings diverge widely (interviews with actors attending the meetings). On April 11, twelve of the signatory companies and organisations signed a public disclaimer which was co-ordinated and released by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise⁹⁵. The main message was that the companies had been misinformed, that they were *for* forestry on the current level and scale and that they were *against* the establishment of additional forest reserves. Several actors claimed the reason these companies and organisations changed their mind were provocation, boycott threats and group pressure (interviews with actors). Others claim they were misinformed or deceived and abused (interviews with actors). The original plan was to present the petition to the municipal leadership and suggest that they initiate a local land-use planning process, understood as a facilitated local dialogue about forest use. However, this has not yet happened and at the time of the interviews the initiators had no plans to take the issue any further (interviews with actors).

6.1.6 The SEPA reports back survey results

Coinciding with Greenpeace’s action in Pakkojåkkå, was the SEPA’s report of its survey results to the Ministry of Environment. According to the report all together 341,564 hectares of productive forests, out of which 232,241 hectares are located in Norrbotten, were identified as valuable and in need of protection (SEPA, 2004a; 2004b). The ministers involved (Environment, Industry/Forestry and Finance) met informally to discuss how to deal with the survey results and the turbulent situation that had evolved around them, particularly in the North. No formal decision was taken, but a press

⁹¹ See press release by the coalition behind the appeal 24 March 2004: “Stort folkligt stöd för skogsskydd!”. Hard copy accessed from Steget Före, SSNC in Jokkmokk.

⁹² The Jokkmokk chapter of the National Federation of Private Enterprise.

⁹³ Letter from “Företagarna” in Jokkmokk to the County Governor Per-Ola Eriksson, 26 March 2004.

⁹⁴ See article in Norrländska Socialdemokraten 03 April 2004: “Företagare skrev på lista för fler reservat: Vi blev lurade”, <http://www.nsd.se/index.php?artikel=111119> (accessed 10 June 2004).

⁹⁵ Entire disclaimer published by those having signed as letter to the editor: “Vi är för ett aktivt skogsbruk i Jokkmokk”, published in Norrbottenskuriren 16 April 2004, <http://www.kuriren.nu/utmatningssidan.asp?ArticleID=502306&CategoryID=2769&...> (accessed 02 August 2004).

communication from the Ministry of Environment announced the outcome on March 25⁹⁶. First, it was agreed that the CABs in the northernmost counties would be given the summer of 2004 to complete the surveys. Secondly, it was announced that the SEPA would invite the state forest administrators and the CABs to “extended consultations”⁹⁷ in order to handle the question of what to do with the identified areas. Nothing was said about a possible logging moratorium, as demanded by the E-NGOs. This way of handling the survey results was severely criticised by Sweden’s three largest E-NGOs, SSNC, WWF and Greenpeace. Together they presented their demands for a logging moratorium and legal protection for all areas with high conservation values to the Parliamentary Committee of the Environment and Agriculture⁹⁸.

6.1.7 Agreements and outcomes

Little publicly available information exists about what actually happened in the consultations between the different state actors. However, during the autumn of 2004, the consultation process was increasingly intertwined with another related Government Commission aimed at developing a National Strategy for the establishment of formal protection of forest land. This strategy was supposed to suggest how the total “space” for formal forest protection set by the agreed 2010 Interim Target of the Environmental Quality Objective “Sustainable Forests” was to be distributed geographically and between forest types. More specifically, the strategy was supposed to guide the allocation of formally protected areas corresponding to 400,000 hectares of productive forests below the mountain ranges⁹⁹. A proposal was sent out for review in November 2004 and the CAB in Norrbotten submitted a response reflecting different opinions within the agency¹⁰⁰. The CAB argued that Norrbotten County already bore a large responsibility for

⁹⁶ Press release from the Ministry of Environment 25 March 2004: ”Samråd om skyddsvärd skog”, <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/2906/a/16772>, (accessed 20 August 2004).

⁹⁷ “Fördjupat samråd” in Swedish.

⁹⁸ See press release from Greenpeace, 13 April 2004: “Stoppa avverkningen i statens skyddsvärda skogar”, http://www.greenpeace.se/np/s/NP_onepr.asp?g=for&number=3281&lang=S, (accessed 20 August 2004).

⁹⁹ Forests above the border defining mountain forests are not part of the Environmental Quality Objective “Sustainable Forests” and thus not included in the Interim 2010 Target, i.e. an additional 400,000 hectares productive forests formally protected.

¹⁰⁰ See Statement on the proposed National Strategy submitted to the CAB in Norrbotten for consideration, 07 February 2007: “Yttrande över utkast till nationell strategi för formellt skydd av värdefulla natureområden på skogsmark”, <http://www.bd.lst.se/default.aspx?propID=10003553> (accessed 15 March 2005).

national forest protection and objected to any additional large “set asides”, making appeals to the economic importance of forestry for the region. The CA Environmental and Nature Conservation Units did, however, disagree with this position and appended their dissenting views. In the early summer of 2005, the final strategy was agreed and reported back to the Government (SEPA & SFA, 2005).

According to the National Strategy, an additional 70,000 hectares of productive forest land was to be formally protected in Norrbotten County up until 2010 (SEPA & SFA, 2005). This figure should be seen in relation to the 232,241 hectares, including mountain forests that were originally identified as “valuable” and worth protection in the SEPA survey report of March 2004 (SEPA, 2004a). The gap between identified “core areas” in need of protection and the regulatory space and resources allocated to formal forest protection in Norrbotten County was thus significant and considerably higher than in other regions (see SEPA & SFA, 2005). Even without including the mountain forests, the gap is significant and larger than in other parts of the country. The development of national and regional strategies consequently tied into the Government Commission under study by geographically defining the space and resources available for formal forest protection. In this way, it set a frame for the ongoing consultation processes with the state forest administrators. In June 2005, Sveaskog, the SEPA and the CAB in Norrbotten announced that they had reached an agreement¹⁰¹ and in October the SEPA presented their report of the results (SEPA, 2005).

The consultations with the NPB were finalised about a year later but agreement about how to manage, or protect, the areas identified as valuable could not be reached. The SEPA presented the diverging positions of the two authorities in a report in May 2006 (SEPA, 2006). The NPB communicated their views about the outcomes to the Ministry of Environment and demanded economic compensation (amounting to 200 million SEK) for additional “set asides” exceeding their own assessment of conservation needs¹⁰². Since then, there have been a number of state initiatives that deal with the issue of future management of the forests currently administrated by the NPB. However, no decision has been made to date.

¹⁰¹ Press release from the CAB in Norrbotten 27 June 2005: “Enighet om skogskyddet i norra Sverige”, <http://www.bd.lst.se/press/default.aspx?propID=10004656> (accessed 28 June 2005).

¹⁰² Statement from the NPB to the Ministry of Environment 26 June 2006: “Skyddsvärda statliga skogar”, Nr 220-1282/04.

Since no formal decisions have been taken so far, the survey results and the results of the extended consultation processes with the state forest administrators have not been formally referred for consultation to Jokkmokk, or any of the other affected municipalities in Norrbotten County. The municipalities have, however, been consulted about the establishment of individual reserves and about the Regional Strategy, which proposes generic directions for continuing work with protected areas in the County. In their response to the strategy, Jokkmokk municipality expressed a general concern about the establishment of additional forest reserves within the municipality¹⁰³.

In September 2004, Sveaskog replaced its president and announced that they intended to cut down harvesting levels in Norrbotten County by 15 percent. The motivations given by Sveaskog for the reductions were the combined effects of previous high harvesting levels and current restrictions due to other land use objectives, such as nature conservation and reindeer husbandry¹⁰⁴. Once again the question of timber supply shortages was consequently brought to the fore.

6.2 Analysing actors' frames

A closer analysis of the empirical material reveals very different perceptions about policy as well as forests and place among the involved actors. In some cases the same events or phenomena are described in almost contradictory terms. An example is provided by a meeting in Jokkmokk hosted by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise in response to the appeal "Forest Reserves for Survival". Some actors referred to this as repressive, authoritarian and highly undemocratic, as "terribly unpleasant" (interview with 16) and others saw it as calm and orderly, as an attempt to "clear the air" and provide accurate factual information (interviews with 24, 22 and 14). Another example is different actors' images of clear-cuts that range from "battlefields", "war zones" and "ecological deserts" (interviews with 24 and 16) to "construction sites", "investments in the future" and "openings that provide nice views" (interviews with 13, 8, 9).

¹⁰³ Statement on the proposed Regional Strategy submitted by Jokkmokk municipality to the CAB in Norrbotten 21 December 2005: "Remiss-Strategi för formellt skydd av skog i Norrbottens län", dnr 511-4191-04. 117 2005 433.

¹⁰⁴ Press release from Sveaskog 20 September 2004: "Sveaskog minskar avverkningarna i Norra Sverige", http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/NewsPage_12855.aspx (accessed 14 May 2007).

These examples illustrate the contested nature of actors' perceptions of place and policy events. In order to make sense of them, and this policy process, it is thus necessary to understand the context and logic that shapes these actors' perceptions and understandings. For reasons more thoroughly outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, the concept of frames is used to explore how actors' understandings of the world, including their different perceptions of forests and place, inform their policy preferences and political activities. Frames organise experience and bias for action, that is they represent people's worlds in ways that call for particular styles of activities (6, 2005a). In what follows, the frames of the involved actors will be analysed. As a start, relevant frames will be identified, characterised and grouped. In this process, the concept of frames is used as a heuristic device to make clear the differences and dividing lines between the perspectives and positions of the actors. Secondly, the dynamic, overlapping and fluid nature of these frames will be discussed. Finally, the role of place and social organisation in the actors' constructions of frames will be explored. The different groups of frames held by the actors will be thoroughly described in the first section discussing "difference" and "dividing lines". In order to avoid repetition, quotes and basic characterisations of these frames will not be repeated in following discussions about similarities, the role of place and social organisation. If no reference is made to "new" quotes, the discussion is therefore based on the characterisation of actors' frames that is made in section 6.2.1.

6.2.1 Analysis of frames I: Difference and dividing lines

Table 9 provides an overview of the most prominent frames held by the actors in the policy process under study. The table shows groups of similar frames and their main characteristics, as outlined in Chapters 4 and 5. Frames of different actors have been analysed and organised into groups based on their content. Frames with similar basic themes, place perceptions, understandings of the policy process and considerations to act have thus been placed together. The resulting five main groups of frames are presented in the table. Group 1 is called "forestry-for-jobs-and-welfare". It includes a cluster of frames with a shared theme emphasising the need for effective resource use for the benefit of economic growth and welfare on the national as well as local levels. Opposing perspectives are typical for the frames included in Group 2, "forest-protection-for-biodiversity". This group of frames share a common theme stressing the need to increase forest protection in order to maintain biodiversity, in Sweden Europe and globally. Group 3, "forest-protection-for-Sámi-reindeer-husbandry", is

Table 9. Groups of similar frames

Groups of similar frames	Frames Group 1: Forestry for jobs and welfare ⁱ	Frames Group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity ⁱⁱ	Frames Group 3: Forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry ⁱⁱⁱ	Frames Group 4a: Forest protection for community benefits ^{iv}	Frames Group 4b: Enough forest protection ^v	Frames Group 5: Good governance ^{vi}
Basic themes						
	Effective use for economic growth and welfare	Forest protection for the maintenance of biodiversity	Forest protection for the survival of Sámi reindeer husbandry	Forest protection for local recreation, subsistence and development	Maintenance of social relations; trust experts and friends	Forest protection within regulatory agreements and targets
	Reasonable balance; protection to meet agreed targets	Protection to meet ecological needs	Protection to meet needs of reindeer husbandry	Protection to meet local needs	Enough protection already	Balance interests and handle conflicts
Place perceptions						
Jokkmokk	Forestry and hydro electric power dependent community	Wilderness/nature conservation treasure	Sámi centre with long history	Former forestry and hydro el. power dependent community	(Former?) forestry and hydro el. power dependent community	Marginal community with conflicts over NRM ^{vii}
Local economy	Forestry more important than tourism and reindeer herding	Reindeer herding and tourism more important than forestry	Sámi sector and tourism more important than forestry	Reindeer herding and tourism more important than forestry	Forestry important ^{viii}	Non determinate
Forests and forest management (FM) ^{ix}	Dynamic and shaped by humans; FM maintains and restores values	Dynamic within limits; transformed and devastated by human use	As “the land”; integrated part of traditional territory	As “home”; integrated part of local way of life	Non determinate	Non determinate
	(Old growth) forests as renewable; currently sustainable FM	Old growth forests as scarce, non renewable; unsustainable FM	Grazing lands coming to end; unsustainable FM	Mature/old forests coming to end; unsustainable FM	Trust experts that forests are sustainably managed	Non determinate
Survey areas ^x identified as valuable	More important as timber than protected	More important as protected than as timber	More important as protected than as timber	More important as protected than as timber	Non determinate	More important as protected than as timber

Groups of similar frames	Frames group 1: Forestry for jobs and welfare	Frames group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity	Frames group 3: Forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry	Frames group 4a: Forest protection for community benefits	Frames group 4b: Enough forest protection	Frames group 5: Good governance
Appreciation of policy process 1: Formal process						
<i>Process</i>	Unnecessary; threat	Welcome and requested	Not informed or involved	Not informed or involved	Not informed or involved	Part of longer policy development
	At first alarmed; conservation agencies inconsistent and biased; satisfied with outcomes	Policy intentions threatened by political activities of powerful forestry sector				Necessary to enhance collaboration and deal with conflict
<i>Substance</i>	Identified areas important as raw material; enough forests protected in Norrbotten	Unique conservation qualities; all identified areas must be protected to maintain biodiversity	Positive to protection BUT also/rather other more important grazing areas	All identified areas AND areas of local importance should be protected	Enough ^{xi} protected in NB	All identified areas will not be legally protected; alternative solutions
<i>Considerations to act</i>	1. To mobilise against feared policy	1. To monitor/ implement policy initiative		1. No direct involvement; to initiate petition FRS		1. To enhance collaboration and; handle conflicts
	2. Actions to defend status quo/to limit change	2. Actions to defend/ maintain control of policy initiative				2. Actions to facilitate solutions and consensus building

Groups of similar frames	Frames Group 1: Forestry for jobs and welfare	Frames Group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity	Frames Group 3: Forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry	Frames Group 4a: Forest protection for community benefits	Frames Group 4b: Enough forest protection	Frames Group 5: Good governance
Appreciation of policy process 2: GP action in Pakkojåkka						
<i>Process</i>	NPB squeezed between commitments; nowhere to log	NPB logging undermine survey results and policy process	Not consulted or involved	Not consulted or involved	Not consulted or involved	“Accident”; not ill intended; NPB squeezed between commitments
	GP ⁱⁱⁱ action illegal and unacceptable; NPB defends “right” to manage western forests	GP action motivated; highlights state hypocrisy; defends principles of conservation biology	In principle supportive to direct action if consulted	Non determinate	GP action illegal and unacceptable	All actors “right” according to existing policy
<i>Substance</i>	Peripheral “object” without conservation values; ok to log	Part of “landscape” with high conservation values; not ok to log.	Low priority object already given up	Un-intelligible choice of action site	Objectives of GP not clear	
<i>Considerations to act</i>	1. To log and carry through in spite of protest	1. To stop the logging (GP)/ to ask the NPB to wait				1. To seek directions from government; no intervention
	2. To report GP to the police	2. To carry through; to return when removed (GP)				

Groups of similar frames	Frames group 1: Forestry for jobs and welfare	Frames group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity	Frames group 3: Forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry	Frames group 4a: Forest protection for community benefits	Frames group 4b: Enough forest protection	Frames group 5: Good governance
Appreciation of policy process 3: the appeal FRS						
<i>Process</i>	Local forestry attacked and betrayed; signing actors deceived and used	Building local coalition for forest protection and community development	Building local coalition for forest protection and community development	Building local coalition for forest protection and community development	Bad procedure; signing members misinformed and deceived	
	Actors signed disclaimer and apologised; situation normalised	Back lash due to group pressure; power structures and norms overstepped	Back lash due to group pressure; power structures and norms overstepped	Back lash due to group pressure; power structures and norms overstepped	Actors signed disclaimer and apologised; situation normalised	
<i>Sub-stance</i>	Enough forest protection; undermines forestry and community development	More forest protection for biodiversity and community development	More forest protection for reindeer herding and community development	More forest protection for local recreation, subsistence and development	Enough forest protection; reserves restrict access	
<i>Considerations to act</i>	1. to respond to/mobilise against the appeal and those signing it	1. to form coalition; draft/sign appeal and release it in media	1. to sign appeal and take part in media release	1. to form coalition; draft/sign appeal, collect signatures; release it in media	1. to sign appeal; to co-ordinate/sign public disclaimer	
	2. to attend meetings and assist with factual information	2. to call an information meeting; to defend appeal at meetings	2. to defend appeal at meetings	2. to call an information meeting; to defend appeal at meetings	2. to call membership meetings to clear up situation	

ⁱ Primarily based on interviews with 2, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

ⁱⁱ Primarily based on interviews with 4, 7, 15, 16

ⁱⁱⁱ Primarily based on interviews with 17, 18, 19

^{iv} Primarily based on interviews with 20, 21, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31

^v Primarily based on interviews with 1, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27

^{vi} Primarily based on interviews with 3 and 5

^{vii} Natural Resources Management (NMR)

^{viii} According to text of disclaimer which all actors holding these frames have signed. However, interviewees’ images and positions change in the interview situation as discussed in the text presenting this group of frames. Throughout, the interview or interviews are not consistent with the disclaimer text which they all have signed.

^{ix} Forests in Jokkmokk municipality or general images of forests applied to Jokkmokk forests, depending on contexts of the informants

^x Survey areas in Jokkmokk municipality identified as valuable and in need of protection.

^{xi} According to disclaimer that the actors have signed. However, as outlined in the presentation of this group of frames, many actors changed or modified this position during the interviews.

^{xii} Greenpeace

likewise a group of frames supporting activities for more forest protection and alternative ways of managing forests. However, the shared underlying rationale for change is not primarily about biodiversity but the survival of Sámi reindeer husbandry. These three groups of frames are relatively homogenous and subject to relatively little change throughout the time of the investigation.

Group 4, in contrast, includes two clusters of more changeable frames that have evolved in a reciprocal relation to each other. Group 4 A, is called “forest-protection-for-community-benefits” and includes frames supporting arguments for additional forest protection, but for reasons of local recreation and economic development rather than for biodiversity protection. The substance of these frames is summarised in the appeal Forest Reserve for Survival. Closely interlinked with the frames of group 4 A is the emergence of Group 4 B, called “enough-forest-protection”. Included in this group are frames which emerged in response, and in opposition to, the appeal. Shared perspectives and preferences are summarised in the public disclaimer. It emphasises the importance of forestry for local community survival and the view that enough forests are already protected in the municipality. However, these two groups are both inherently instable. A significant number of actors move between the frames of these groups. In contrast to the frames of Groups 1, 2 and 3, which have a longer history and may be recognised from previous debates over forest use in Jokkmokk municipality, the frames of Group 4 represent a rather recent element in the debate. They may thus be seen as a kind of emerging frames.

The last group, number 5, is also a looser assembly of frames. They are a kind of “governance frames” and focus on how to govern the policy process rather than a specific normative output. These frames are typically held by actors with an organisational position that enables, or demands, reflection about their own as well as other actors’ frames. Such positions are for example found in ministries with a co-coordinating role or within organisations harbouring individuals or groups with conflicting frames. The position as such may consequently encourage, or demand “bridge-building” and, thus, reflection.

The objective of this review was to provide a brief overview of the different types of frames that can be traced from the empirical material. As presented here, the table may give an impression of the existence of empirically observable groups or frames, neatly organised to fit the framework of this study. It should therefore be remembered that Table 9, is the end result of a longer analytical process embracing a number of different steps (as outlined in Chapter 5). Much of the original “messiness” has

consequently disappeared in the analytical process which, by nature, aims at making patterns visible, that is creating a sort of order.

To take the analysis further and provide a deeper understanding of how the identified frames represent the actors' ways of seeing the world, and call for particular ways to act, a more in-depth presentation of the different groups of frames follows below. The ambition at this point is primarily to make clear the differences between the frames. By clarifying dividing lines frame conflicts become evident (see Schön and Rein 1994). The overlapping and dynamic nature of the actors' frames will be discussed later.

Frames Group 1: Forestry for jobs and welfare

Basic themes

A prominent basic theme of this group of frames is about the necessity to use natural resources effectively to maintain or increase economic growth and welfare. Nature conservation, and forest reserves in particular, is seen as a threat. In a letter to the editor, the Chair of the Sveaskog Board, Mr. Bo Dockered, warns about the consequences of large additional forest reserves:

“Setting aside different kinds of reserves is not only a question of cash expenditure for the state, it is also a question of withdrawing large areas of forest from wood production. An expansive forest industry thus loses raw material and export incomes. The economic value of these activities amounts to billions of SEK and does not show in any accounts.”¹⁰⁵

Prominent in this group of frames is the perception that the forest industry constitutes a fundamental building block of the Swedish economy and welfare state system. One version emphasises direct gains for rural communities in terms of jobs and direct incomes (interview with 13). In the other version, the forest industry is perceived as a general welfare generator, machinery that brings in resources that are re-distributed through the societal welfare system (interviews with 24, 9, 12, 8). Common to both is the perception that these benefits are threatened by additional forest protection.

Another theme of this group of frames is related to the balance between economic benefits and environmental concerns. This task is understood as an effort to find an appropriate balance by assessing costs and benefits for society at large. Trade-offs are seen as necessary and inevitable. The

¹⁰⁵ See letter to the editor from Bo Dockered: “Naturreservat hotar tusentals skogsjobb”. published in Dagens Nyheter 29 September 2003, http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/Page_7290.asp (accessed 19 August 2004).

perceived space for environmental protection is thus limited by the overarching objectives of maintained growth and satisfaction of various human needs:

“...that is to say, you have to balance, that is what the politicians are forced to do, they have this difficult task, indirectly they have to balance childcare against healthcare and similar things, they have to make these trade-offs concerning this natural resource...” (interview with 11)

A third basic theme is about the forms for political activity and policy development relating to forest use. It is about respect for law and order, established structures as well as regulatory agreements and targets. The state forest administrator provides an example as is Greenpeace’s action in Pakkojääkkå is criticised:

“...civil disobedience is a concept that I think is used when somebody wants to place themselves above the rules eh, if I walk into the Coop or a private store and pinch some things, because I say that they are rich bastards, then I could even call that civil disobedience....” (interview with 11)

This theme is expressed in many different contexts in this policy process. In many cases, it is used as a kind of basic frame by actors who want to limit policy change, for example with reference to what is perceived as legal, due process, established frameworks, etc.

Place perceptions

Actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames share an image of the community of Jokkmokk as a place formed, or moulded, by the development of hydro electric power production and forestry:

“...the transformation is very much linked to the forest, in fact its development has also changed Jokkmokk from a market place to a real local community...Later came the boom of hydro electric power development but that had a much shorter duration...” (interview with 9)

Other actors emphasise the importance of hydro electric power development:

“The first seventy years of the 20th century we lived totally off Vattenfall¹⁰⁶ and forestry....but it was anyway Vattenfall that organised it all and it was Vattenfall that was the main employer and the entire local community was built on that. So, you can say it is a hydro electric power municipality.” (interview with 13)

The locally based actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames share a strong perception of Jokkmokk as a formerly expansive place with an abundance of jobs in forestry and the hydro electric power sector:

“...at that time Jokkmokk was quite large so there were jobs everywhere, precisely everywhere, it was only to pick and choose.” (interview with 14)

A common perception is that the direct economic contribution of forestry to the local economy has diminished over the last thirty years, and particularly since the closure of the saw mill. However, forestry is still seen as an economic foundation of the local community. Locally based actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames tend to stress direct gains, such as the number of jobs in forestry and related businesses including transport, petrol stations, maintenance, etc.:

“...today there are about sixty people [employed in forestry and wood processing]. But I think that there are many people anyway who earn their living from forestry and the forests if you consider the individual private farmers who own forests ...there are probably more people employed in forestry than people in general really believe.” (interview with 13)

Forestry on its current scale is consequently perceived as important for local community and, or, individual survival. Additional set-asides of forest areas for nature conservation purposes are seen as a threat. A private forest machine entrepreneur explains:

“...because if they disappear, then you have to see to the entirety of what is left, somebody will be beaten, some system will have to go, that is the only outcome, if it is going to be me or Svensson or Olsson or who the hell it is going to be.” (interview with 14)

¹⁰⁶ Vattenfall is the state controlled hydro electric power industry.

The perception of forestry as important to community survival and development is shared with actors who are not based in Jokkmokk but hold forestry-for-jobs frames. These actors tend to argue more for the indirect effects of forestry for northern rural communities. A saw mill owner buying wood from Jokkmokk municipality refers to the forest industry as a general “welfare generator” pumping in resources into the welfare system that local communities are part of:

“One thing I am completely convinced about, where forestry dies out people and infra-structure will be crushed for ever, not even the Sámi can stay. They need schools, child care, stores, petrol stations just like everybody else, so you empty these places, period....There has to be some business that pumps money into the system and one has to consider that even if Jokkmokk only has about a hundred forestry workers left that live directly from it, they are tremendously important for the welfare.” (interview with 12)

The perceptions of the future economy of Jokkmokk are rather vague. Forestry, hydro electric power production, small scale manufacturing and, hopefully, local processing of wood are seen as important parts of the future, local economy. Non-timber producing forest related businesses, such as tourism and reindeer herding, are typically given a secondary importance:

“...reindeer herding is an unprofitable business, tourism is an unprofitable business that must be subsidised by the state. Forestry receives hardly any state subsidies but generates an enormous amount of money for the state so that one can afford to invest in tourism and reindeer herding.” (interview with 12)

Even though tourism and reindeer herding are perceived as important businesses for local economic development, they are not believed capable of replacing jobs lost in the forestry sector. As illustrated by the quote above, tourism development is perceived rather as being dependent on resources and infrastructure, such as forest roads, which forestry provides. The relationship between tourism development and forestry is furthermore perceived as unproblematic in the sense that no conflict is seen between forestry and tourism expansion. Undisturbed forests, for example protected forests, are not seen as necessary in order to attract tourists, or they are perceived to exist in abundance already:

“...Looking at the intensity of forestry in Jokkmokk, it would be pretty bad if co-existence was not possible because there are in fact enormous areas...”
(interview with 8)

Perceptions of Forests

A common and prominent perception shared by actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames is that of the forest landscape as dynamic and shaped by humans. So-called “old growth” forests are thus perceived as renewable and possible to manage to a desired state, the outcome is more a question of time and scale. In principal, there is consequently no incompatible conflict between their long-term maintenance and forestry. A common perception of modern forestry is that it is an activity that maintains and creates, rather than damages, nature conservation values:

“...we are not loggers today, we are landscape builders. We build landscapes, we make those core areas with high conservation values. Out of insignificant, ordinary forest land, I create nature conservation values with the machines, higher nature conservation values than already existed.” (interview with 14)

The perception that the forest landscape and its conservation values are products of human-nature interaction, does not mean that actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames totally deny the need for forest protection. However, a strong common perception is that enough forests are already protected in Norrbotten County to maintain biodiversity, in particular in the mountain region. So-called “old growth” forests, are thus not seen as a limited/finite or scarce resource:

“...to start with, it is not finite since there are such enormous areas that are set aside, if we talk about Jokkmokk municipality, and which definitely may be characterised as those old growth forests. So, yes, if one says it is the last that is to be logged then you ignore what is already set aside and I do not like that, I do not buy that line of reasoning.” (interview with 11)

A slightly different kind of place perceptions are those associated with the experience of being in the forests, such as positive or negative feelings associated with particular types of forests. Of special interest in this case are actors’ experiences and perceptions of the managed, or cultivated, and the undisturbed forest. By exploring these kinds of perceptions, this study sometimes crosses the boundary between the interviewees in their role as professional actors and as private individuals. When the actors talk about

these perceptions, they usually refer to forests where they spend time. Professional experiences are thus hard to distinguish from perceptions that have their base in leisure activities. Actors based in Jokkmokk often speak about their experiences of the Jokkmokk forests, whereas actors living elsewhere may talk about forests in other places. Yet it is interesting to note that actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, also share common perceptions of the experience of the cultivated, managed, forests. Images of clear-cuts as well as young regenerated forests¹⁰⁷ are generally positive. A staff person at the NPB in Jokkmokk describes his feelings for a regenerated young growing forest:

“...when I see it then I think, it makes you happy like when you see small children, eh...it is the future and has a power of life that is totally fantastic.”

Also when describing his feelings associated with clear-cuts, he stresses their transient nature and change:

“...think about it like a construction site instead, it is not particularly beautiful when a hole has been dug, but soon there will be a beautiful house standing there...” (interview with 9)

The experiences of “old growth” forest as environments to spend time in, for hunting, fishing or just recreation, are much more mixed and range from very positive to quite negative. However, as illustrated above the images of their alternative, the managed, or cultivated, growing forest, are generally positive. Replacement of “old growth” forests with well managed growing forests are consequently not seen as something negative per se.

In conclusion, a fundamental component of this group of frames is perceptions of place, that is the local community, as shaped by the expansion of forestry and hydro electric power production during the 20th century. More important is perhaps that the community is still perceived as highly dependent on these sectors for its present future survival and development. Forestry is accordingly perceived to be more important to local community development than tourism, reindeer herding and other non-timber based economic activities. Trade-offs between conservation objectives and economic growth are seen as necessary and a common perception is that “enough” forests are already protected. Underlying these understandings are shared perceptions of the forest landscape that stress continuous human

¹⁰⁷ “Ungskog” in Swedish, i.e. planted or naturally regenerated forests between one and thirty years.

impacts and landscape change. Modern forest management is consequently not perceived as having dramatic negative impacts and logging of so-called “old growth” forests is not understood as something irreversible and malicious as such. Given these perceptions of place and forests, it is logical that the survey areas identified as valuable in Jokkmokk municipality are perceived as more important as sources of raw material for forestry than as protected areas.

Appreciation of the policy process 1: The formal process

Although all involved actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, agreed to participate in the implementation of the Government Commission and co-operated as requested, it was generally received with scepticism:

“Yes, we had a really difficult time seeing what it would contribute and, above all, if so to speak the state forest administrators had not contributed with their [internal] material, then it is questionable if it would have added anything at all.” (interview with state forest administrator, 8)

As the work proceeded and the extent of areas identified as valuable became clearer, the Commission was increasingly seen, not only as unnecessary, but as threatening. First, the areas identified as valuable and in need of protection were perceived as important sources of raw material. A Sveaskog executive explains:

“They are more important than people believe because of the uneven age distribution...every percent that you protect of older forests maybe hits three to four to five percent of the harvesting potential just because we have an uneven age distribution...this [the selected areas] is mainly such forests which we...from a silvicultural point of view would log the coming 10 to 15 years.” (interview with 11)

The NPB is operating further west where large areas already are protected and consequently not available for timber production. They emphasised the importance of access to the timber in areas currently identified as valuable in order to meet their current production targets (interview with 8).

Secondly, the extent of areas selected as valuable and in need of protection was seen as unreasonable. Sveaskog argued that they were unreasonable in relation to the agreed 2010 Interim Target of the Environmental Quality Objective “Sustainable Forests”:

“...so information came then during the autumn that 400,000 hectares of forests in need of protection had been identified and then we felt, to speak in a popular way, hello what is happening? We have a nationally agreed Objective for formal protection that Parliament has set to 320,000 hectares...” (interview with 11)

Sveaskog perceived the SEPA’s proposal as a possible way to open up, or prepare the ground, for raising the agreed Interim Target with reference to the long term objective to maintain biodiversity. They perceived the SEPA’s argumentation as biased:

“...we found it astounding that the SEPA in a report pointed out forests in need of protection on a level that was far above what.... Parliament had decided...this passage “does not fit within the currently valid areal objective”...I think that was lobbying and I think a state authority should perform its task, they should not lobby for the conditions to be changed.” (interview with 11)

The NPB was more critical about the overall extent of areas selected by the CAB as valuable and worth protection. In Norrbotten County the selected area exceeded that of the forest administrators’ internal assessments by approximately 50 percent (interviews with 9 and 11). The NPB saw the discrepancy in Norrbotten as an effect of survey methodologies and inconsistencies in the CAB’s implementation of the Commission:

“...the assignment was given to the SEPA and the SEPA then in turn distributed it to the Counties, and there, yes, we thought that the interpretations in the different Counties were very different and the assignment was implemented in different ways...” (interview with 8)

Thirdly, the forestry sector in Norrbotten County objected to what was perceived as a suggestion to protect more forests in the North. The forestry sector argued additional set-asides should rather be located in other parts of the country where biodiversity values are higher and the proportion protected forests is lower:

“But if we look at it this way, in Sweden there is 180,000 hectares of broad-leaf forest¹⁰⁸ with 10,000 red listed species, and we have 300,000 hectares of protected forests, then it is quite obvious that from a biological point of view one should set aside broad-leaf forest. Here, it does not really do any good so the argument that one has to set it aside for the benefits of the beetles, it falls flat, but this has to be done in the south of Sweden and it does not help how much one ever sets aside here if there are other species, so I do not quite understand that at all.” (interview saw mill owner 12 in Norrbotten County)

Along similar lines, Sveaskog argued for the need to develop a national strategy that would guide the geographical distribution of additional forest protection within the limits set by the 2010 Interim Target in a cost efficient way (interview with 11).

The first phase of the policy process (from the Government decision to initiate the Commission to the decision to “extend” the consultation process) was consequently seen as unnecessary and possibly threatening. It was generally perceived as lacking clear procedures and manageable timetables. The conservation authorities, that is the SEPA and the CABs, were seen as acting inconsistently, or according to their own political agenda. Particularly the NPB felt increasingly “squeezed” between conflicting commitments. According to the authority, almost all forests available for harvesting in Norrbotten were identified as “valuable” and their possibilities to meet their commercial commitments were experienced as extremely restricted (interview with 8). Both state forest administrators also expressed frustration with the conservation authorities’ way of handling the process which was perceived to exclude the state forest administrators:

“...so, from the point when we were informed about the areas under investigation to the time when the report was published, we were not within the process and did not have a possibility to provide our view on what [forest areas] should be included and what should not be included.” (interview with 11)

The second half of the policy process, after the informal meeting by the ministers involved resulting in the SEPA extending the consultation process, is described in a much more positive light, particularly by Sveaskog:

¹⁰⁸ “Ädellövskog” in Swedish.

“There were diverging approaches but that was sorted out then in conjunction with the assignment to consult about a categorisation [of the survey areas]...Now we are a real part of this in line with the assignment that we have been given. All three together.” (interview with 11)

From Sveaskog’s point of view, the concerns that were highlighted publicly as well as within the state administration during the autumn and winter of 2003–2004 resulted in the process being “corrected”¹⁰⁹. The perception of the extended consultation process is that it worked well (interview with 11). An agreement was reached in June 2006 and it was perceived as an important positive achievement, publicly as well as in interviews with Sveaskog executives (interviews with 11 and 10).

The NPB was initially positive about the idea of extended consultations, but did not perceive the process as positively as did Sveaskog. Their basic problem was that they were squeezed between, what was perceived as, conflicting commitments and pressed by time. This problem was, if anything, aggravated by the extension of the process. They did not reach an agreement and the perception of the NPB in Jokkmokk was that their perspectives and views were not adequately taken into account, nor fully presented in the final report by the SEPA (interview with 9).

In terms of policy preferences, it may be concluded that both state forest administrators favour policy options that limit, or keep within acceptable limits, restrictions on their access to raw material. Preference is given to policy options that limit additional formal forest protection to levels that are perceived as reasonable in relation to already established regulatory agreements and targets. So-called voluntary protection instruments are typically preferred. Actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames also prefer policy options that are perceived to lead to a more even, in their understanding cost-effective, distribution of investments in forest conservation between geographical areas and conservation approaches. Actions taken during the first phase of the policy process consequently aim to mobilise support and defence of the status quo, or at least limitations on change. Further actions were also taken by the forest administrators to publicly voice their concerns with the evolution of the Commission. The most important action by the NPB was the decision to start logging in Pakkojåkkå. This will be discussed in the next section but should be situated in the context of the entire policy process and how it was apprehended by the NPB. During the second half

¹⁰⁹ “Uppstyrd” in Swedish.

of the process under study, Sveaskog and the NPB were primarily focused on the negotiations within their respective consultation groups.

Appreciation of the policy process 2: Greenpeace's action in Pakkojåkkå

An important component of the local expressions of this policy controversy was the decision of the NPB to log parts of an identified survey area in Pakkojåkkå and Greenpeace's decision to undertake direct action there. The NPB explains its decision to log as a consequence of a pressed situation where they experienced themselves increasingly squeezed by their promise to abstain from logging in the survey areas. This commitment was made with the underlying assumption that the survey results were going to overlap with the results of its own internal surveys and classifications. The NPB explains:

“...to be honest, we certainly had the idea that it would primarily include what we had identified....then it turned out that it was only 50 percent accurate, so to speak. So that meant that we ended up in a very complicated planning situation....and that is I guess what explains why an object such as Pakko came to be.” (interview with 9 at the NPB in Jokkmokk)

The decision to log in Pakkojåkkå was seen as a consequence of having no other viable alternatives. A member of staff at the NPB headquarters explains:

“We were very tied up, enormously, not only a little, we were completely drained at the end....we have a contract with our client, that is the saw mills... they are not able to chew air either.” (interview with 8)

Secondly, the dispute was about “principles”. Actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, explain the logging as a defence of the principal “possibility”, “right”, or “instruction”, to manage and use the western forests, that is the forests close the the mountains¹¹⁰. Presumed local benefits of forest management in these areas are what motivated the NPB's forestry activities in the first place (interview with 8 at the NPB). A member of staff at the NPB headquarters explains the NPB's role in defending forestry in this region:

¹¹⁰ The “Pakkojåkkå” area, however, is located just below the administrative border delimiting forests that in a legal sense constitute “mountain forests”.

“...we have a role in some way in defending use of the resource, for example Pakkojåkkå...it is not easy for a private interest to take, that is why they have to give in, that is to say they can never take such a thing economically...there you also have a role when you are an actor who in any case is able to defend its use.” (interview with 8)

A third issue under dispute, is about scale and boundaries. It comes across very clearly in the dispute in Pakkojåkkå but resides under the surface of the entire policy controversy. A prominent component of the forestry-for-jobs frames is the perception of the forest under dispute as a trivial, previously logged, ordinary pine forests without particular conservation values. Underlying this perception is a focus on the forest under dispute as a silvicultural object, or stand, understood as the relatively small area that is to be logged. In their perception, this object is part of a larger managed “landscape” which is bordering, or including islands of, more undisturbed forests with recognised conservation values. A part of the interview with the NPB in Jokkmokk illustrates this general question of scale and boundaries:

NPB: “I talk, and we talk about this object itself, while Greenpeace, the CAB and others talk about the large area that is 500 hectares.”

Interviewer: “OK, and see this small object as a part of the large area?”

NPB: “Yes, and I maybe would have understood that if it had been located somewhat more centrally towards the middle, but now it was located at the edge...and if you look at it from the other side, also at what is on the other side of the road which is pretty much logged through and disturbed forest, so then it is really a continuation of that...instead of the other way around, eh.” (interview with 9)

The decision to log in the Pakko area was finally justified by the perception that all permits were granted and that the CAB had not explicitly said *no* in spite of their knowledge about the planned logging. The absence of formal intervention from the CAB was understood by the NPB as their consent (interviews with 8 and 9). Greenpeace’s action, in contrast, was generally seen as illegal, illegitimate and unacceptable by actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames.

The entrepreneur contracted by the NPB to do the logging ended up being the one facing Greenpeace at the logging site. He estimated that the

“standstill” cost his private business about 500,000 SEK that was not covered by any insurance or compensation from the NPB. He perceived himself as a victim of a dispute between different parts of the state and felt personally attacked and humiliated by Greenpeace:

“Then people came running with placards around the machine, and they placed themselves just in front of the machine and then there was one standing a little bit further away filming...I can say that that it is difficult to control oneself. Terribly difficult because it was me personally that they attacked, not the NPB, not the CAB, not Göran Persson...I did not have any support or back up with anything but telephone contacts [from the NPB], and I had to report it to the police myself.” (interview with forest machine entrepreneur 14)

He saw Greenpeace’s action as a “game”, an exciting adventure for rich and inexperienced youngsters who lack the ability to see and understand the consequences for other actors.

Appreciation of the policy process 3: The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival

Another important local expression of the policy controversy was the appeal “Forest Reserves for Survival”. This was an event of primary concern for locally based actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames. These actors apprehended the appeal as an attack on the local forestry sector, more specifically on the local private forestry entrepreneurs. The appeal was perceived by actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames as a follow up on the dispute in Pakkojåkkå, where a private forest entrepreneur was seen to have been severely affected (interview with 14). It was understood to be *for* forest reserves and *against* forestry and it was seen as a threat to local community survival. A person with the Jokkmokk Forest Common illustrates this way of understanding the appeal as he reflects about the overall outcome of the dispute:

“Well, the understanding of the importance of the local community Jokkmokk’s surviving in the future was in any case improved...The bottom line is anyway that we must live on together and without forestry the local community will die.” (interview with 13)

The perceptions of the actors who signed the appeal range from seeing them as being misinformed, to more or less as being used by the more

experienced local environmental activists that were part of the coalition behind the appeal:

“...he had been listening to what X [initiator asking for signatures] had said and what X said sounded bloody good then, but X probably excluded or added something, what I do not know...but these signatures were then used for Y’s [local forest activist] purposes...” (interview with local actor involved in forestry 14)

The initiators of the appeal are individuals with roots in local areas. In contrast to the local forest activists, who are coming from outside, they are seen as “local native Jokkmokkers”. A generally accepted perception is that the initiators had been unintentionally dragged into a larger context that they could not control (interviews with 13 and 9). The blame, or the explanation for the dispute, is placed on the environmental movement and the local forest activists for having turned the appeal into something it was not originally intended to be.

As will become evident in the characterisations of other groups of frames, the possible occurrence of group pressure, or harassments, to pressure actors to withdraw from the appeal became an issue. Among actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, such activities were either unheard of (interview with 13) or understood as something that “others” did:

“...many called me up, you should know, during this appeal and asked what the hell this or that person has signed for and I am not going to go there, am going to stop shopping at that petrol station...it was so turbulent at the petrol stations, people went there and threatened to take away their custom, to stop shopping, yes, it simply ended up in total chaos...” (interview with 14)

An important event in the dispute over the appeal was the meeting organised by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise to clarify the situation. Among actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, the meeting was generally perceived as positive, clarifying and soothing. It was also seen as confirming the existence of local support for no further additions to the areas designated as forest reserves:

“I guess I thought it was pretty good, I have to say...very well organised. Now, it may be that this group that delivered this statement here, perhaps did not see it that way because the majority attending the meeting was probably in favour of forestry in the municipality.” (interview with 13)

The forestry entrepreneurs, who felt attacked by the appeal, perceived the meeting as a manifestation of support:

“...they considered one of their members was exposed in a way, it is like throwing away me and my business, you are to disappear you know...And that meeting at Strukturum, that was like those business owners who had signed on, they sort of confessed, and it felt like they did that in front of me, although it was not the case, but that feeling was there...” (interview with 14)

The understanding of the actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames was that most of the originally signatory businesses and organisations signed the disclaimer and apologised to those affected, including the County Governor. The situation was thus perceived as “normalised” (interviews with 14 and 13). Actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames generally seemed to apprehend their own involvement in the dispute as marginal. The situation was seen as being fixed by others who acted in defence of forestry. The need for action on their part is thus seen as limited.

Frames Group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity

Basic themes

An overarching theme of this group of frames is about protection of a living global environment and the maintenance of biodiversity in particular. In the context of this policy process, actors do not elaborate much on why it is important to protect biodiversity. The outstanding question is *how* this objective is to be reached and what it will require to get there. Actors holding biodiversity frames often return to this question when arguing for or against different policy options:

“...in order to maintain biological diversity in boreal forests, the Forest Policy Commission actually talked about up to fifteen percent of the productive forest land [being protected]...In Norrbotten County, we will maybe reach 2.4 percent below the mountain forest border...to say then that we will succeed in maintaining the biological diversity, that is no problem, this I find highly questionable...” (interview with civil servant 4 with the CAB)

Another basic theme is, as in the case of the forestry-for-jobs frames, about the trade-off between economic benefits and environmental

objectives. Actors holding biodiversity frames typically take maintaining of ecological systems and services as their overarching point of departure. A forest activist in an E-NGO explains how forestry must respect its “biological limits” in order to qualify as a truly sustainable activity:

“...wood, or wood products, as such may of course be something very good, as it is a renewable resource. But even wood which basically is a good product has its biological limitations and then the question is, if we are going to have a sustainable forestry, ecological forestry, there are certain limits that must be respected...” (interview with 15)

These “limits” are in a sense perceived as non-negotiable. To use arguments based on what is perceived as sufficient, enough, or too little in relation to biological standards, such as maintained biodiversity, is also common within the conservation authorities. A civil servant at the CAB in Norrbotten explains why the survey areas selected as valuable need to be protected:

“...we will not manage to maintain biological diversity if we log them [survey areas] and all the species disappear...no scientist is able to say today exactly what these species need in order to survive...that is why we must have such large areas that both fires and storm felling can happen...” (interview with 4)

The interviewee acknowledges that the exact knowledge about these “biological limits”, where to draw “the line”, is insufficient. With reference to the biological objective to maintain biodiversity, the civil servant consequently argues for a strategy that is based on risk aversion. By setting aside areas that are large enough to allow for natural dynamics (such as fire and storm felling) and thus allowing natural processes to operate, the risk of ending up having protected too little should be avoided. This approach to the question of trade-offs between production and protection may be summarised as “protection to meet ecological needs”.

A third theme, particularly among the E-NGOs, is about political activity and policy development. Actors’ holding biodiversity frames typically stress a basic responsibility to take action against “wrongs”, in other words to adopt ethical positions on key issues:

“I think that everybody should do something. Then you may choose to work with nature conservation or women’s rights or Save the Children. And

that does not matter...as a human being, if you are not involved in anything, I think that feels quite boring and spineless.” (forest activist 16)

To take action to change the world for the better is thus almost seen as a moral obligation. Protection of the environment is perceived as an overarching responsibility of individuals as well as nations and the international community (interviews with 16 and 15). What is right or wrong in this context is seen as a question of ethics and moral judgments – not necessarily consistent with the standards set by authorities, politicians, the police or the law.

Place perceptions

Actors holding biodiversity frames share a common perception of Jokkmokk as a place with unique and extraordinary forests to explore, enjoy and protect. A local forest activist describes Jokkmokk:

“...there is nothing that is cooler if you are a biologist ...and interested in nature, then this is the dream. It is so to speak like a white spot to explore. To be able to find...unique animals and plants, to be the first one to explore. And that it does not just stop there...here you can explore this most exciting place and then, in fact, you can have a responsibility and role in protecting them as well...” (interview with 16)

A Greenpeace activist not living in Jokkmokk was asked to describe what kind of place Jokkmokk is. He answered:

“Incredible forests...forests with high nature conservation values that are threatened by logging and need protection.” (interview with 15)

All actors holding biodiversity frames recognised the historical importance of forestry and hydro electric power to the development of Jokkmokk as a place. Yet, their perspectives on the history of the landscape and its colonisation are typically longer than the period of intense industrialisation, that is the previous century, when hydro electric power production and forestry boomed (interviews with 16, 4 and 7). Jokkmokk today is described in terms of being a “service centre”, a “meeting point”, an old “Sámi market place” and a place with strong Sámi influences (interviews with 4, 7 and 15). Although *forests* are recognised as being of great local importance, *forestry* is not perceived to be of great significance to the local economy today or to have a place in its future:

“Oh yes, the forest of course means an awful lot in Jokkmokk. And it means a lot as production forest, but really as production forest it actually does not mean so much for Jokkmokk, but more for Sweden really.” (interview with local forest activist 16)

The combined effects of rationalisations, such as mechanisation, and lack of local processing are contributing to the perception of forestry as less important:

“...from harvesting and management of the forest itself, I believe, there cannot be more employment, that I have a very hard time seeing....and even if production is increased over time I think one will become even more efficient...and there will be less employment...” (forest activist 15 with Greenpeace)

A shared understanding is thus that other economic activities, such as tourism and reindeer herding, are potentially more important for the local economy than forestry. Actors holding biodiversity frames see preservation of remaining “old growth” forests as a prerequisite, or at least a great asset, for development of these activities. A civil servant with the SEPA explains:

”I think that if one sees them [the old growth forests] as raw material, then it is only going to look like everywhere else up there...I do not think one should destroy the landscape up there that is left and is special, then one will pretty much lose the prerequisite for continuing.” (interview with 7)

Perceptions of forests

Actors holding biodiversity frames share a perception of the forest landscape as dynamic – but within limits. The typical point of reference is the undisturbed forest landscape and change caused by natural processes. In this context, much of the change that is caused by forestry is perceived as too much, too quick or of the wrong kind. The development of commercial forestry is more often understood as a linear and non-reversible process of deterioration than a dynamic process of cyclic or intended change. The limits for what are seen as reversible and healthy changes are superseded. A prominent perception is that the forest landscape, in Sweden as well as in Europe, is fragmented, transformed and devastated by what is seen as unsustainable forest management. A civil servant with the SEPA describes the landscape transformation of northern Sweden:

“...there has been intensive forestry operating up here for so many years which has consequently transformed the landscape completely, forestry is so to speak standing and chewing at the last remains of natural and virgin forests in northernmost Sweden, and you are not considering this entire harvesting period that has gone before where forestry more or less has slid across the entire landscape.” (interview with 7)

This process, the expansion of modern forestry, is sometimes described in terms of very strong negative metaphors, such as warfare or death:

“...it looks as if there has been a world war, so to speak, as if bombs have been dropped everywhere. Almost nothing is left of the landscape with living animals and plants. That is extremely tragic and it has gone very fast.” (interview with 16)

Many forest living species are understood to have particular requirements that are not satisfied in the managed forest. The “living” landscape, i.e. the original landscape with its plants and animals, is almost considered gone:

“From a Swedish as well as European perspective, these virgin forests are the last ones we have.... from a European, not national, perspective, we should be able to afford to preserve these last remains of a large boreal forest belt that used to exist here, so that there is a remnant of a few percent left.” (interview with civil servant 4 with the CAB)

Swedish “old growth” and “virgin” forests are thus perceived as a scarce and rapidly dwindling non-renewable resource in need of acute rescue. Actors holding biodiversity frames are generally unsympathetic to the argument that “enough” forest are protected already, for example in Norrbotten County. Taking the pristine state as point of reference, the areas claimed for nature conservation purposes are perceived as marginal “islands”. The extent of land areas “conquered” by forestry is in contrast viewed as almost unlimited, like “the ocean”:

“...you can see this when you fly across the landscape. These tiny, tiny spots of natural forest that are left as reserves disappear in an ocean of clear-cuts and young forests, and then to come and say that this is too much and that it [forest protection] has to come to an end at some point and so on, then one

has not really understood the proportions.” (interview with 7 with the SEPA)

Actors frequently refer to science to support their view that too few forests are still protected in order to maintain biodiversity. A Greenpeace activist provides an example while arguing for increased protection in Norrbotten County:

“...if you look at relevant research and the long term conservation objectives that one ought to have for Norrbotten County, where one talks about nine percent, then all the areas pointed out [in the Commission survey] actually fit below the mountain forests and there is still a shortage of hundreds of thousands of hectares...” (interview with GP forest activist 15)

Actors holding biodiversity frames share very positive experiences of spending time in “old growth”, or “biologically diverse” forests. However, this is not unique to this group of frames. More interesting is that actors holding biodiversity frames share very negative experiences of the cultivated forests. These forests are often associated with deterioration, homogeneity, lack of life and excitement or even death and destruction (see quote on previous page). A “forest” is typically described as something qualitatively different from a “cultivated” or “managed” forest. A civil servant with the SEPA describes the managed forest as a “back-drop”, as an artificial product, i.e. a kind of non-forest:

“...you do not stop and look at anything but walk through, it is a backdrop, this is a forest [referring to an old natural forest].” (interview with 7 at the SEPA)

A prominent component of this group of frames is also very strong affinities to particular forests, or special places, in Jokkmokk municipality or elsewhere. A local forest activist explains how he feels about some forests with high conservation values around Jokkmokk:

“I have spent an enormous amount of time and energy and love and whatever on what I have been doing with nature and conservation values and so...so that means so incredibly much...It is, what can I say, it is for this reason I want to live in X or so to speak in Jokkmokk municipality. That is...and when they are being destroyed it is just like friends who die. In some way it is like a piece of one’s self that dies as well.” (interview with 16)

The feelings associated with loss of special places or forests with high conservation values are consequently very negative:

“...it is terrible...it is like a stab in the conservation values and, so to speak, in the nature conservation policy of the nation. And it is a stab in X [name of informant] as well, so it has many dimensions and these places are not interchangeable.” (interview with 16)

Actors living outside of Jokkmokk municipality may have less strong attachments to specific forests in the municipality. Yet they may express strong negative feelings associated with the experience of “losing” forests with high conservation values. Such feelings may for example be based in a perceived moral obligation to protect such forests:

“Because I think that it is so damned wrong to log forest, pine trees which have been standing there for three, maybe sometimes even five, hundred years and then we just go ahead and log them and they are not even good enough for sawn timber, they end up as pulp which we use to wipe our behinds, eh. That makes me sick...” (interview with 4 at the CAB in Norrbotten)

In conclusion, a prominent component of this group of frames is perceptions of the local community that are intimately connected with its forests and their management. Although the importance of forestry and hydro electric power production was recognised in the past, these activities are not seen as very important for local community survival and future development. Tourism and reindeer husbandry, in contrast, are understood to be more important. In line with negative images of the intensively managed landscape, forest protection is seen as a prerequisite, or asset, for development of these activities. Consistent with a strong basic theme about the importance of forest protection for maintenance of biodiversity, is the perception of remaining “old growth” forests as scarce, non-renewable and in need of immediate protection. Logging of “old growth”, “virgin” and natural forests is seen as an irreversible destruction of unique habitats and environments that also may be of great personal significance. Additional forest protection is consequently perceived as positive from a local community as well as environmental and personal point of view. It is therefore logical that the survey areas selected as valuable and in need of

protection are seen as more important for the local community, and the nation, as protected than as a source of raw material for forestry.

Appreciation of the policy process 1: The formal process

Actors holding biodiversity frames share a view of the Government Commission as welcome and requested. The E-NGOs apprehended the initiative as a response to their own campaigns and demands (interviews with 15 and 16). Large scale surveys and protection for areas with high conservation values were demanded by a broad coalition of E-NGOs in a joint appeal co-ordinated by the local E-NGO in Jokkmokk:

“... at the time [2002], we had to do something very quickly with the state owned forests. And there we demanded a survey, to start with, and next we demanded protection of these areas, and I believe it ended up with at least 400,000 members or something like that that stood behind this.” (interview with co-ordinator of appeal based in Jokkmokk)

Actors holding biodiversity frames were also pleased with the survey results. Overall, they are seen as consistent with prevailing perceptions of the forest landscape (interviews with 7, 4, 15, 16). However, as the process proceeded it was increasingly seen as challenged or co-opted by a powerful forestry sector. The public intervention by Sveaskog is generally understood as an attempt to reframe the issue into one about jobs and economics:

“...all of a sudden the entire debate was about the forest and employment and that thousands of jobs would be lost, and somewhere I guess we wanted to try to refocus on the environment, that here one is logging forests that have incredibly high nature conservation values, thousands of species are endangered because of the intensive forestry and this perspective was totally lost, that is to say the biodiversity perspective.” (interview with 15 with Greenpeace)

In terms of substance, Sveaskog and the industry were seen to defend their own interests and their access to raw material. A civil servant within the state administration explains:

“...they [Sveaskog] pointed to them having such an imbalance in wood supply up there and that there is a shortage of wood in the industries and that the age structure of the forests up there is currently in such a state that there is simply a large shortage...” (interview with civil servant 7)

However, a perceived shortage of raw material is not accepted by actors holding biodiversity frames as a legitimate argument for logging “old growth” forest or denying additional forest protection. A current shortage of mature forests to harvest is perceived as something that is caused by the industry’s own expansion and deliberate planning (interviews with 7, 16 and 15). A forest activist of an E-NGO explains why the relatively “marginal” and low productive survey areas have become so economically valuable:

“...it is actually areas which are not in any way economically important or so. And they would not have been either if the forestry sector had not logged too much during a number of years and even expanded the industry too much. And it is these two things that I see as a political standpoint too, that this is something one has done in order to be able to reach the objective to continue to destroy nature conservation values.” (interview with 16)

According to actors holding biodiversity frames, it is more important to protect all remaining forests with high conservation values, including so-called “old growth” forests, than to secure the industries’ raw material supply. Consistent with this general standpoint are strong preferences for policy options that will ensure protection of all survey areas selected as in need of protection. The 2010 Interim Target of the Environmental Quality Objective is typically perceived as a step on the way to meeting the long term Objective about maintained biodiversity. In its first report from March 2004, the SEPA presents its suggestion on how to go forward with the identified survey areas (SEPA, 2004a):

“... the SEPA wants to point out that the large number of forests with high conservation values in region two [the two northernmost counties] will probably to a large extent be impossible to protect within the framework of the currently valid Objective amounting to 320,000 hectares since complete protection in this region would take up such a large proportion of the National Objective that purposeful protection in region three to five will be put at risk.”

In the SEPA’s report, the 2010 Interim Target is expressed as a step on the way based on the best available knowledge that existed about the extent of remaining forests with high conservation values at the time of formulation. The explicit reference to the “currently valid” Objective leaves a door open for a revision, and increase, of the target in light of

improved knowledge. This option is taken much further by the E-NGOs who either explicitly campaigned for a raised target (interview with 15 at Greenpeace) or argued for a rise as the only logical consequence of the survey results (as in the case of the SSNC)¹¹¹. Underlying this discussion about targets and objectives is a struggle over the policy framework that will determine how much of the selected survey areas will become legally protected, commercially managed or handled in other ways. The E-NGOs demand formal legal protection of all survey areas with high conservation values. This would, however, require a revision of the Environmental Quality Objectives as currently formulated. Within the current framework, the SEPA has no mandate or resources to legally protect all areas identified. The actors within the state administration are accordingly more open to alternative solutions such as “voluntary protection”. The E-NGOs, however, are sceptical. They are critical of handing over what is perceived as too much responsibility for forest protection to the forest sector itself. A Greenpeace activist explains why:

“...we believe there are big problems with this such as continuity long term, quality and also a big problem as one is not succeeding in protecting large, continuous areas, but they are fragmented, and we think that there should be more legal protection....” (interview with 15)

Returning to the actors’ appreciation of the evolution of the Government Commission, it is consequently understood as increasingly challenged by an influential forestry sector. The decision in December 2003 by the CAB in Norrbotten to put the establishment of additional forest reserves on hold was for example seen as highly provocative. Particularly the County Governor, and what was perceived as his way of allying with the forestry sector rather than listening to his Nature Conservation Unit, was perceived as inappropriate:

“And he ran over them [the nature conservation unit of the CAB]. He punctured the entire survey. And I mean that he did not fulfil his tasks as a County Governor.” (regionally based forest activist 16)

The argument of the County Governor that the establishment of additional forest protection lacked public support in the County, was also

¹¹¹ See news from the SSNC, 28 February 2004: “Fler Skogar måste skyddas!” at <http://www.snf.se/verksamhet/skog/nyhet-print.cfm?CFID=2973917&CFTOKEN=34...> (accessed 25 August 2004).

seen as provocative by local actors in favour of more protected forests (interview with 16).

The second phase of the process is thus generally seen as one where the perceived opponents have strengthened their positions and gained influence. A forest activist summarises the situation:

“Well, there are some individuals within the forestry sector that are yelling and acting very politically and ugly, as I see it...So, they are used to having power, they know each other, they defend each other. They have access to the network, they know which strings to pull, they possess an unlimited amount of money, they have back up from the media and everything. And there, we are supposed to try to work...to reach out, eh...” (interview with 16)

Greenpeace sees the informal meeting between the four ministers which resulted in the extension of the consultation process with the state forest administrators as a “turning point”. After this meeting the Ministry of Environment is perceived to have lost control and influence over the process:

“...this four-minister-meeting turned out, yes, it turned out to be a big back-lash for the Minister of the Environment, because one week earlier she had said that this is going to go into the Environmental Quality Objectives Bill, a week later it was dead, and that is obviously an unbelievable back-lash.” (interview with 15 at Greenpeace)

An outcome of the meeting between the ministers was the extended consultation process with the state forest administrators. Actors holding biodiversity frames tend to see this process as a reflection of conflicting perceptions of the originally intended role of the stipulated “consultations”:

“So, that is where the problem is, we understood...that we are to carry out this survey with the state forest administrators but it actually does say [the Commission] that the SEPA is to submit a proposal for the conservation measures needed and it can't, it really has to be the conservation authority that does this, don't you think?” (interview with 7 at the SEPA)

The SEPA, as well as other actors with biodiversity frames, consequently interprets the language of the Commission as if they should consult with the state forest administrators about how to obtain the needed information, but

not necessarily about the assessment of conservation values and protection measures.

The E-NGOs found the outcomes of the consultation process weak and were particularly concerned about what they perceived as an unacceptably low proportion of legal protection. Overall, they see the outcomes as a result of intense lobbying of “economic forces”, of a politically “strong” position of forestry and of a correspondingly weak position of “conservation interests” (interviews with 15 and 16). Actors within the state administration tend to have a more positive view. They see the overall process as “messy” and blame a perceived “back-lash” on political pressure from the forestry sector. One civil servant describes the process as a struggle, “a tug-of-war”, between conservation interests and forestry. However, the civil servant also acknowledges a role of the conservation authorities in this struggle and considers their efforts as quite successful after all (interview with 7).

In terms of policy preferences, actors holding biodiversity frames consequently favour policy options that ensure preservation of all remaining forests with high conservation values, including the selected survey areas. Preference is generally, or as far as politically and financially feasible, given to formal, legal protection. At the very outset of the process, actors’ considerations to act concerned activities to push for what was to become the initiation of this Government Commission. In its efforts to carry out the Commission, the SEPA made a number of important decisions as to how to act. One was their decision to carry out large scale field surveys headed by the CABs rather than relying on the internal surveys already carried out by the forest administrators. Another was the decision by the SEPA to invite all actors to a public hearing in September 2003 and thus make the preliminary survey results public. A third was to publicly launch the survey results in March 2004. The report was never circulated as widely as originally intended by the SEPA, but the results nevertheless entered the public domain. As the process became more polarised and its original objectives were seen as increasingly threatened, action was taken by the E-NGOs to reverse this situation. Greenpeace’s decision to carry out an action at Snöberget in December 2003 is an example. The decision to halt the NPB’s logging in Pakkojääkkä, various demonstrations and lobbying activities during the spring 2004 are other.

Appreciation of the policy process 2: Greenpeace’s action in Pakkojääkkä

Actors holding biodiversity frames, see the decision by the NPB to log in Pakko as unacceptable, as a deliberate provocation or as an attack on the

entire survey and its results. Greenpeace explains the reason for the decision to take action:

“...here was something that happened just then and threatened to put the entire Commission at risk if nothing was done politically, if these loggings did not come to an end...” (interview with 15)

Actors holding biodiversity frames within the state administration describe their formal possibilities to actually stop the logging as limited. Only by taking extraordinary measures and thus allowing “threats” to steer the selection process would it be possible (interview with 4).

Another objective for Greenpeace when taking action in Pakkojåkkå was to re-introduce conservation issues on the political agenda (interview with 15). In terms of substance, two outstanding issues were brought to the fore. One was about scale and boundaries and the other about contested “principles”. Starting with the former, a prominent perception of the biodiversity frames was that the forest under dispute in Pakkojåkkå had high conservation values. A local forest activist explains:

“...this was not an any area with a little bit of old forest ...there are species such as Ringlav¹¹² and Lämmelporing¹¹³ of which there are only a few findings altogether in Sweden and even in Finland and Russia, very few findings...” (interview with 16)

To the argument that these species were not located in the smaller object that actually was logged, the same informant replies:

“...that is indeed the whole idea with a survey and delimitations, the nature conservation value is very much the area in its entirety. It is just like a castle. You can't just tear down the castle and save parts of it...” (interview with 16)

The “object”, understood as the smaller area that actually was logged, is thus perceived as an integral part of a “landscape” with high conservation values. Much of the value of this landscape is attributed to its “wholeness”, the sum of all its different parts and qualities. This image underpins the judgment that it was unacceptable of the NPB to log where they did and motivating direct action, as Greenpeace did.

¹¹² Evernia divaricata.

¹¹³ Piloporia sajanensis.

The second substantial issue of interest is about more general “principles” underlying the dispute. A principal issue that Greenpeace wanted to highlight is the state’s hypocrisy: one part of the state identifies forests with high conservation values which another part of the state logs before a proper policy decision is taken (interview with 15). Greenpeace did not only take the NPB’s logging in Pakkojåkkå as evidence on inconsistencies *within* the state. They also apprehended the logging as an expression of hypocrisy in relation to international commitments *made by* the state. The NPB’s logging in Pakkojåkkå occurred simultaneously as a conference in Malaysia about implementation of the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity. Greenpeace’s campaigner explains how this event relates to the logging in Pakkojåkkå:

“...at the same time as one is down there and talking about protection of areas, to maintain biological diversity, the state logs the forests here at home which one knows have high nature conservation values and nobody does anything about it...so...That makes me unbelievably frustrated...and this large perspective in which Pakkojåkkå is included, where all countries of the world meet and Pakkojåkkå is like a part of this...” (interview with 15)

In this context, Pakkojåkkå is consequently seen as an “arena” for conflicting principles and policies, an example of general “wrongs”, rather than a contextualised place. Consistent with a basic theme about the importance of taking action against “wrongs”, the decision to take direct action in Pakkojåkkå is seen as necessary and motivated. An activist with an E-NGO describes the NPB as actually being the one committing the “crime”:

“...that is why I felt disappointed when the police defended the NPB and the entrepreneur, because the crime, or whatever you may call it, as far as I see it, that is to destroy this entire survey, this enormous provocation...” (interview with 16)

Actors within the state administration are generally less directly supportive of Greenpeace’s action. However, nobody with a biodiversity frame condemns it, and some civil servants even described it in clearly positive terms:

“I think it is a little bit of fun...yes, it is a little bit of fun with some discussion and debate, that there is some E-NGO which dares to stick out its chin.” (interview with staff person within the state administration)

A last point of interest is how the interaction between Greenpeace and people in the local community Jokkmokk is understood. Greenpeace generally apprehends the attitude towards the action by local people in Jokkmokk as positive, or even supportive. According to Greenpeace contacts were established with the Sámi Reindeer Herding Community and the local E-NGO prior to the action (interview with 15). Even the relationship with the entrepreneur contracted to do the logging was described in positive terms:

“...so I felt all the time that there was some kind of understanding...why we were there and why we thought that it [the forest] should not be logged... yes, that it might be unreasonable to go into and log an area which the CAB has pointed out as having high nature conservation values...” (interview with 15 at Greenpeace)

The local E-NGO was not directly involved in the action but they were supportive and assisted with factual information behind the scene (interview with 15 and 16). They show more understanding for the situation of the local entrepreneur. However, in this case the entrepreneur is seen as a victim having been “used” by the NPB to win a political battle they could not win with “facts” (interview with 16). The blame for having caused serious problems for the private entrepreneur is thus placed on the NPB, not on Greenpeace.

The most important consideration to act was certainly Greenpeace’s decision to halt the NPB’s logging and to carry through in spite of the intervention by the police. However, other actors holding biodiversity frames also took action. When the NPB had started the logging, a civil servant at the CA Nature Conservation Unit publicly criticised the logging. The Minister of the Environment likewise expressed her concerns in the regional press. The SEPA took informal action by asking the NPB to refrain from logging in their internal communication with the authority. However, both the SEPA and the CAB experienced that they were institutionally constrained to take any further action to actually stop the logging (interviews with 7 and 4).

Appreciation of the policy process 3: The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival

As in the case of the actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, this is an event of primary concern for locally based actors, in other words for the local E-NGO. However, all actors holding biodiversity frames that had heard about the appeal describe the initiative as an expression of a welcome local opinion for additional forest protection. The split and the publication of the disclaimer are accordingly perceived as an expression of repression by dominating local forestry interests (interviews with 15 and 7).

The local E-NGO was part of the coalition initiating the appeal. They see the formation of the coalition as a process of different local groups coming together because of shared views and place perceptions:

“... overall very many “Jokkmokkers” I believe...share this sadness...there cannot be anyone who goes around and sees what it looks like that feels particularly satisfied...one empties the small villages, one empties the forest. Everything disappears from here and it just looks as if there has been a big war, sort of.” (interview with 16)

The objective of the appeal was to enhance local co-operation and build broader local alliances around the idea of additional forest protection. The point of departure was what all local actors obviously have in common, namely Jokkmokk as a place within which to live. As understood by the local E-NGO, the content of the appeal is about forest protection *and* local community development:

“And the point really was that we should co-operate. We should look at reindeer herding, hunting, fishing. Why do people want to live in Jokkmokk?” (interview with 16)

According to actors holding biodiversity frames, reindeer herding, hunting, fishing and recreation are activities that are important to many people in the local community. These activities are seen to require access to forests of certain qualities, that currently may only be maintained by protection. A conceptual link is thus established between forest protection and local community development. The appeal is consequently implicitly an argument for forest protection, since it is seen as a condition for community development (interview with 16).

As understood by local actors holding biodiversity frames, the appeal was also an argument against the County Governor’s statement that additional

forest protection lacked local public support. It was perceived as evidence for the County Governor being wrong:

“...he made himself spokesman for people in Jokkmokk, he made himself spokesman for the inland of Norrbotten County in a false way. So he lied and that irritates me.” (interview with 16)

Whereas the initial positive response to the appeal, that is the number of supporters who signed, is seen as a great success, the disclaimer and the withdrawal of support are understood as a dramatic back-lash:

”So really...what happened here feels like some...like an explosion almost, where you did not understand anything and where you still do not really understand and it became very difficult, really unpleasant, sad and something which you have almost tried, or you have tried to repress.” (interview with 16)

The local E-NGO, did not take really seriously the claim that actors signing the disclaimer were misinformed or had not correctly understood the message of the appeal. They rather see the withdrawal of support as an effect of social pressure by a local power elite perceived to be allied with the forestry sector, in the local community and beyond (interviews with 16). Informants claimed they had heard from others how people had been pressured and threatened for having signed the appeal:

“I have not met those individuals that have done it, but there are several people who have said that there was everything from talking to each other in a disagreeable way, cursing each other, to economic threats. From stopping buying petrol at X or not shopping at Y...” (interview with 16)

In contrast to the actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, actors holding biodiversity frames experienced the meeting arranged by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise as most unpleasant. Ultimately it was perceived as an issue about freedom of speech and local community democracy:

“...it is not about forests but about democracy and freedom of speech and what type of community you live in. Are you allowed to have an opinion at all so to speak? Are you allowed to have different opinions? Are you allowed to express your opinion? And that is when it becomes really scary and it is

very clear that you were not allowed to do that. You are not allowed to think like this about the forest. Possibly some small sect like X [local E-NGO]...that is something you have to take sort of like mosquitoes in the summer, but ordinary Jokkmokkers are not damn well going to come and start to involve themselves in this....it was terribly unpleasant.” (interview with 16)

A distinction is thus made between the perceived response to the activities of the local E-NGO¹¹⁴, as disliked but tolerated, and that of the engagement of ordinary “Jokkmokkers”, as being “stupid” in a more unacceptable way.

In terms of actors’ considerations to act, the representatives of the local E-NGOs did not perceive themselves as in possession of the necessary local credibility to collect signatures in the local community. Instead they took action by assisting with drafting the text and taking care of the media work as the appeal was launched (interview with 16). As the appeal became increasingly questioned and criticised in the local community, the involved actors holding biodiversity frames took action to defend the appeal. In the end, the spokesperson of the local E-NGO concluded that after all it was only 12 out of 42 actors who had signed the disclaimer. Nevertheless, the coalition fell apart, the energy was considered lost and the initiators perceived the resistance and the level of conflict as too high to take further action.

Frames Group 3: Forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry

Basic themes

An overarching theme of actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames is about an urgent need to protect “the land”¹¹⁵ for the survival of Sámi reindeer husbandry. This group of actors is generally positively disposed towards additional forest protection but for reasons of maintaining reindeer husbandry as an economic activity and an integrated part of the Sámi culture. A reindeer herder explains:

“...I believe in order for us to manage this with this land, get protection for reindeer husbandry then we need reserves...But...then one has to take this discussion from a reindeer husbandry perspective...” (interview with 17)

¹¹⁴ The local E-NGO has many members with a relatively short history in the community, or just having moved in.

¹¹⁵ “Markerna” in Swedish.

Key to this group of frames is the perception that the requirements of reindeer husbandry have to be better taken into account in the adjustment between different interests. The issue is thus not understood as a trade-off only between “use” and “protection”. It is also apprehended as a needed, and neglected, need to balance protection for different purposes:

“...the reindeer husbandry ought to be included in this discussion, what kind of land is it that reindeer husbandry needs to have protected...We do have our land use plans which we compiled long ago, but now we are switching to reindeer management plans which we believe can be a help for us, then we have on paper...which land we want to protect.” (interview with 17)

Another prominent theme of actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames is about marginalisation. A young reindeer herder describes the relations with other actors using the land:

“Well, what can I say [laughter], the relations...We are always in an inferior position...that is not only the feeling, that is the way it is.” (interview with 18)

Related to a general feeling of marginalisation is the perception that Sámi land rights are not being respected. Their legal rights to the land are thus seen as being seriously neglected:

“Yes, then at the beginning of the 80’s when we... sued Domänverket [a former state forest administrator], we took the legal way and tried to get a stop on reindeer grazing lands in the Courts but that also failed...yet we had everything one could think about, support in the Reindeer Husbandry Act...it is enough to state that we are a minority. The majority always runs over...or a little bit, over the minority...” (interview with 17)

Place perceptions

Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames share a common understanding of Jokkmokk as a traditional Sámi centre, or meeting point, with a history that stretches far back in time. When asked to describe Jokkmokk a reindeer herder says:

“...then I would first and foremost start...it is a regional Sámi centre. It is so to speak reindeer grazing land and it has always been used by the Sámi...it is a market place, it is old...” (interview with 17)

Friendly co-existence with Swedish settlers and current residents is one part of the story (interviews with 17 and 18). However, the interaction between the Sámi and the expanding Swedish state is also described in terms of colonisation. A prominent perception is that the land has been lost and legal rights have been confiscated without Sámi consent:

“...and the Sámi were in fact the first to be here...the Sámi lost the land, that is a bloody process...it was in fact the Sámi, they even owned, damn it, were able to sell fishing, the reindeer rights, but they took all that away with reindeer husbandry legislation and administrative decisions....yes, we have indeed lost land, in a real legal sense...” (interview with 17)

The industrial heritage of Jokkmokk is recognised but generally downplayed. Forestry and hydro electric power production are thus perceived as important but during a relatively short period of time, not any more and probably not in the future (interviews with 17, 18, 19). Rationalisations and lack of local wood processing are seen as reasons for limited local benefits from forestry. Raw material and incomes are seen as flowing out of the municipality:

“If the forest is managed as it is done today I do not think it will mean so much for Jokkmokk, that is the municipality... most of the earnings go away from here... There are not many crowns that stay in the municipality...Yet, enormous amounts disappear from here.” (interview with 18)

Future development of Jokkmokk is rather associated with a more diversified economy, reindeer husbandry, small scale entrepreneurship and an expanding tourism sector, including Sámi tourism. Reindeer herding and its secondary effects are seen as significant in terms of their contribution to the local economy and employment:

“We did a survey that was in this municipality during the 80’s...at that time we [reindeer husbandry with secondary effects] were the third largest business sector. At the time, Vattenfall¹¹⁶ was still here and the forestry sector had its people who generated tax incomes, people were employed, but it has changed incredibly since then, today then one may say that it is at the least the second largest business sector...” (interview with 17)

¹¹⁶ Vattenfall is the state controlled hydro electro power enterprise.

Reindeer husbandry and tourism are thus seen as more important for the future development of Jokkmokk municipality than forestry and hydro electric power production (interviews with 17, 18, 19). Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames furthermore perceive the development of tourism and commercial forestry in the same geographical areas as problematic. High quality tourism products are not seen as possible in an intensively managed forest landscape:

“...you do not get these people who are ready to pay what it costs so that you make a profit by hiking on clear-cuts, that I am a hundred percent sure about.” (interview with Sámi tourist entrepreneur 19)

Perceptions of forests

Forests are generally seen as part of “the land” which in turn refers to the traditional reindeer grazing lands of the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities. A prominent perception is that the land, with its forests, has been encroached upon, exploited and devastated by forestry and hydro electric power exploitation to a level where reindeer husbandry is not economically or practically feasible any longer:

“For one thing, my Community has been affected very hard by hydro electric power exploitation, and a vast amount of land disappeared, the best grazing lands close to the river...and a large part, yes that is in fact forestry.” (interview with 17)

Access to suitable winter grazing areas is already perceived as a critical bottleneck when practicing reindeer herding. Forestry is typically seen as an activity with very negative impacts on such areas. Roads and clear-cuts lead to fragmentation, clear-cuts make the snow hard and difficult for the reindeer to penetrate, soil scarification and fertilisation destroy the ground lichens, young forest plantations are too dense, etc. Adding to these problems is logging of remaining forests with pendant lichens. These lichens constitute an important source of fodder and grow in forests in late successions which often, but not always, overlap with forests labelled “old growth” forests. Additional logging in what are seen as the last remaining functional winter grazing areas is perceived as critical to the possibilities to maintain reindeer herding:

“Now we have kept the reindeer down in X. There are on the whole no longer any pendant lichens. So, if we have a bad winter we have to feed the reindeer because there is nowhere to move them either... it is a question of survival. It is now so to speak already at the limit that it is possible to practise reindeer herding at all...” (interview with 18)

Another reindeer herder describes this limit as already having been passed:

“...my personal opinion there [in the winter grazing areas] is that the battle is already lost...Practically everything is already logged ...what reindeer husbandry should concentrate on in the future that is to restore the land...” (interview with 19)

A prominent perception of actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames is consequently that suitable reindeer grazing lands are coming to an end due to unsustainable forest management. Protection of forests of importance to reindeer herding is therefore understood as urgent. The space for negotiation with the forest industry about protection is however seen to be limited and successfully occupied by E-NGOs at the expense of Sámi reindeer herding communities:

“...they have been tougher in the negotiations than the reindeer husbandry, for one thing they have received these protected areas, well, which areas have been protected, yes, that is mostly spruce forests, such wetlands, bogs and everything, and I, I do not know if anybody has seen the nature people [E-NGOs] taking a fight for the pine forests, protecting them, no it's been like full speed ahead...” (interview with 17)

Steered by their focus on forest with high conservation values, more influential E-NGOs are perceived to have directed forest protection to forests of little value for the reindeer herders (interviews with 17 and 18). The priority of the herders is winter grazing areas, such as pine forests in the lowland, along the rivers and lower lying mountain forests. These forests have typically been subject to more human disturbances than the more highly located spruce forests and therefore not prioritised from a nature conservation point of view. Given the perception of the space for negotiation as being limited, the activities of the E-NGOs to protect areas with high nature conservation values have not only directed protection efforts to “wrong” areas. They are also perceived as having “shuffled”

forestry out of “spruce areas” and into lower lying pine forests which the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities have been trying to defend in their regular negotiations with forestry (interview with 17).

Perceptions and experiences of spending time in different kinds of forests are often intertwined with family history and the wellbeing of their reindeer. Places which have been used by the family for a long period of time with old, undisturbed forests, in other words “old growth” forests, are typically described in very positive terms. A young reindeer herder describes what makes him/her feel happy in an area with of old forests:

“...I also think a little bit that, just that I know that my family has been there for such a long time, these trees are so to speak as old, at least as old, as my family has been in the same area...” (interview with 18)

An older reindeer herder describes his feelings when entering a National Park while moving the reindeer up to the mountains in the spring:

“...when we go into Muddus every year, into the National Park, then you feel, this is the way it is supposed to be...you see these pendant lichens that are hanging in thick sheets and untouched, its like another feeling...yes, Muddus, then it feels good...this is the way it used to look, and here there are plenty of elk, this is how we used to have it for the reindeer...” (interview with 17)

Strong feelings of belonging, wholeness, roots back in time and memories appear to be important and shared experiences of particular places with undisturbed old forests. Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames typically share negative perceptions of loss when such places are logged. An older reindeer herder describes what the changes in the forest landscape mean to him:

“Well, I think it is terrible...that is why you fight to the bitter end to be able to keep this land...” (interview with 17)

All actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames share negative perceptions of clear-cuts and intensively managed or cultivated forests which are associated with “devastation”, “emptiness” and “death” (interviews with 17, 18, 19). Clear-cuts or intensively cultivated forests are even defined as “non-forests”, as not being “nature”. A reindeer herder involved in Sámi tourism explains:

“Yes, it has to be that [old growth forests]. That is part of the product. It is nature, so to speak, that is an important part of the product. And a clear-cut is not nature.” (interview with 19)

To conclude, reindeer husbandry is understood as an activity that is threatened by, rather than peacefully co-existing with, commercial forestry. Activities that are seen to compete with forestry over land and forest resources generally have prominent positions in actors’ perceptions of Jokkmokk and its economic base. The industrial image of the community is relatively weak and forestry is not seen as an activity of great local economic importance today or in the future. Consistent with negative perceptions of the intensively managed forest landscape, forest protection/restoration are seen as prerequisites for the survival of reindeer husbandry as well as development of tourism. It is therefore logical that actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames come to the conclusion that the selected survey areas are more important for the local community, and for the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities, as protected areas rather than as raw material for forestry. However, consistent with an overarching theme about forest protection for the survival of Sámi reindeer husbandry – rather than biodiversity – a strong preference is that other areas of greater importance for reindeer herding are protected as well, or instead (interviews with 17, 18 and 19).

Appreciation of the policy process 1: The formal process

None of the interviewed Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities were formally involved in the policy process under study. According to the leadership of the largest community, Sirges, they were neither properly informed nor involved (interviews with 17 and 18). Although a discussion about additional forest protection was welcomed, the process was seen as flawed since the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities, in spite of legal rights to the land, were not involved:

“...it is madness if the Sámi are not taking part...because we see that the Supreme Court has stated that we have such a strong right to use these areas that it counts as ownership. And yet we are not part of the discussions...” (interview with 17)

As outlined in Chapter 2, reindeer herding is a policy sector governed by a legal framework that is separate from that of nature conservation.

However, as seen by the Sámi Reindeer Herding Community Sirges, nature conservation policy may be equally relevant for the Reindeer Herding Communities. This view is for example based in the previously discussed perception of the overall “space” for additional forest protection being limited. The more land that is protected for nature conservation purposes, the less is seen to be left for the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities to negotiate with forestry about. In this sense, the policy process under study and the regular legally required consultation procedure between forestry and the Reindeer Herding Communities are perceived as being interlinked. These consultations were already before the initiation of the Government Commission seen as strained¹¹⁷, since both sides are perceived to have less and less suitable forest areas to negotiate about (interviews with 17, 18 and 19). Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames would consequently have preferred a much broader policy initiative in which the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities would have been able to participate on equal terms with forestry and nature conservation interests. Their preference is a survey process linked to the development of the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities’ own planning material.¹¹⁸ In the current situation, lack of capacity, resources and general feelings of distrust, disillusion and disappointment were reasons for the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities not to make an effort to influence, or become more involved in, the process as it evolved (interviews with 17 and 18). Yet, actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames are generally for the protection of the identified survey areas. However, they also – or rather – want to see other areas protected that are considered more critical for the survival of reindeer husbandry. Given the current scope of the Government Commission, they fear the existing “space” for forest protection will be consumed for nature conservation purposes only (interviews with 17 and 18).

Appreciation of the policy process 2: Greenpeace’s action in Pakkojåkkå

Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames generally appreciate the fact that somebody dared to stand up against the forestry sector (interviews with 17, 18 and 19). However, the problem with Greenpeace’s action in Pakkojåkkå was the affected Sámi Reindeer Herding Community, Sirges, did not perceive themselves as having been properly informed or consulted prior to the action. According to the Community

¹¹⁷ “En rävsax” in Swedish.

¹¹⁸ “Renbruksplaner” in Swedish.

leadership, the site to be logged had already been given up in their regular consultations with the NPB. The Sámi Reindeer Herding Community had consequently agreed to the NPB's plans to log this area in order to be able to protect other more valuable areas. According to the chair of the Reindeer Herding Community, they were not informed, or consulted, about Greenpeace's plans. The action was thus perceived as an initiative of E-NGOs to demand protection for another "wrong area":

"...in that case [if they had consulted with the Sámi Reindeer Herding Community] they would know, then they would have been informed about why we let that area go...why we do not use it...So, we did not have much motive to get in there and stop it, because it is this negotiation thing then, we have to balance..." (interview with 17)

Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames generally apprehend the initiative to take direct action as positive. They even could have considered joining the activists, if they had been properly informed and consulted and if Greenpeace had chosen another area for the action (interviews with 17, 18 and 19).

Appreciation of the policy process 3: The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival

Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames see the appeal as a welcome initiative to build broader local coalitions, to promote a more diversified forest use and to steer forest protection to areas of importance to reindeer herding and local recreation. The Sámi Reindeer Herding Community Sirges' representative in the coalition standing behind the appeal explains:

"...you hear that sometimes, even among Jokkmokkers that there is a whole lot of people that are really fed up and irritated with them logging everywhere and that it never slows down ...We are many who are dependent on this old forest and do not want to have forestry everywhere...which made it feel so good to sign...it was not only nature reserves and not only reindeer herding but really all of Jokkmokk. In other words, all the different categories of people who saw that there is another value than to log the forest." (interview with 18)

The appeal is seen as an opportunity to voice a wish for protection of forests that are considered important, not only for nature conservation, but

for reindeer husbandry and other local activities. A more diversified forest use is in turn perceived as a way to increase social as well as economic local benefits from the forests (interviews with 18, 17 and 19). An immediate focus is however on getting an end to logging in what are perceived as valuable forest areas. Sirges' representative explains:

“...for me it was certainly to get a stop for logging...mm, that is what it was. And then that the people in Jokkmokk are going to be able to do so many other things with the forests than just to log them.” (interview with 18)

An immediate stop to logging in specific areas was however never understood as a stop to forestry in general. The argument by the forestry sector about increased unemployment and economic losses due to additional reserves is consequently not perceived as valid:

“We can afford in Sweden to preserve those few spots [old growth forests] that are left. I mean unemployment is not going to rise if we save them.” (interview with reindeer herder 19)

The informants describe the conflict between nature conservation and employment as constructed, as a way for forestry to exercise power and pressure opponents to loyalty (interviews with 17 and 19). The opposition by the forestry sector to the proposed forest reserves is also questioned as a possible show to squeeze economic compensation out of the state, a “speculation in nature conservation” (interview with 19). Underlying the support for the appeal is thus also a more or less expressed wish to challenge the perceived hegemonic power of the forestry corporations and their ruling strategies.

The defections and the publication of the disclaimer are seen as a dramatic back-lash which divided the local community in “two camps”. The defections are rather apprehended as an effect of social pressure and loyalties than of disinformation. The meeting arranged by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise is accordingly perceived as authoritarian with a few leading persons setting the tone and agenda:

“ ... so first these negative guys got to sit there and tell about what a difficult time they would have and what economic bankruptcy they would face....It was the Forest Common and entrepreneur X even before anybody else was able to say anything... They were going to support their members and that

they had been so cheated...yes, they did not dare to say anything the members.” (interview with 18)

The fear of being socially excluded or stigmatised is assumed to be the most likely reason for people not holding on to their previously stated views when coming to the meeting:

“...so they anyway agreed with him [the facilitator of the meeting] when they came there. But, as a matter of fact, I understand them at the same time. It is not a whole lot of fun in a small community to be totally excluded if you go against the stream.” (interview with 18)

The meeting is ultimately described as an attempt by the local power elite to return things to the status quo:

“Yes, but it comes down to that. Yes, that is what it is, a small clique which rules. They know each other these fellows.” (interview with 18)

In the end the back-lash is consequently explained in terms of local democracy, as an effect of local power structures and norms being overstepped. A reindeer herder concludes:

“... the power of the forestry sector is not based on laws, that they have legal rights but they have some kind of dark power in some way...keep to the rules and you are allowed to go out and hunt...If you think too much about nature, stand up for nature, then in your business activities you may...in principle I believe it is the same thing, a little warning signal you know, there are unwritten rules there as well...” (interview with 19)

The informant explains how the large forestry and hydro electric power corporations still “rule” the local community through invisible power structures and “unwritten rules”. It is the “real” Jokkmokkers, with roots in the area and extensive social networks, that are the most sensitive to the power of the “unwritten rules”. That is why they do not involve themselves in questions about nature conservation and resource management. “Outsiders”, on the other hand, are described as “unaware” of the rules or more immune to their disciplinary power. They are the ones who speak up (interview with 19).

In terms of actors’ considerations to act, the board of Sirges Sámi Reindeer Herding Community took action by signing the petition and by

taking part in its launch, spreading and defence. Individual reindeer herding enterprises likewise signed. After the meeting at the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise, the activities ceased as the initiative died out. It was understood as having fallen apart and lost its motivation with the defections and following conflicts. Nevertheless, it was seen as a positive sign of a broader local opinion for a protection of the forests and “the land” (interviews with 18, 17 and 19)

Frames Group 4a: Forest protection for community benefits

Basic themes

An overarching theme of this group of frames is about additional protection of forests for local recreation, subsistence and economic development. An important question is thus about protection priorities, that is what kind of forests are to be protected for whose benefit. Actors holding protection-for-community-benefit frames typically have a broad approach. Their focus is on forests that are perceived to be needed to meet a variety of local needs and to develop the community as a whole. The initiators of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival write:

“In order for Jokkmokk to survive we have to protect the areas that are used the most by tourism enterprises, reindeer herding enterprises, recreation and save areas which contain endangered plants and animals and culturally valuable environments...We must save these areas in order to create more employment in our municipality...”¹¹⁹

Forest protection for local recreation, for maintenance of a “Jokkmokk way of life”, is however seen as an equally important objective:

“The forests are an important reason for people to enjoy living in this part of the country. It has been said that people in Norrbotten do not want to live in reserves – this is not correct! It is in the remaining old growth forests we spend our leisure time moving around, hunting and fishing.”¹²⁰

Another basic theme is about influence in, and benefits from, forest management in the municipality. Actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames share a perception that the distribution of benefits, burdens and influence over resource management is biased or

¹¹⁹ Quote from the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

¹²⁰ Quote from the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

unfair. Forestry as currently practised in the municipality is described as draining the municipality of resources for little local return:

“...we do not have a saw mill, we also felt that all raw material is so to speak leaving the municipality... the money, precisely as in the case with the hydro electric power, it leaves this place and then it is clear that we do not get anything back in the end. At that point this capital is used up.” (interview with an initiator 31)

This theme varies from a perception of the situation as unfortunate to images that are close to a straightforward colonisation theme.

Place perceptions

A dominating perception of Jokkmokk community is that of a community formed by hydro electric power and forestry. It is seen as a formerly expansive place with an abundance of jobs in forestry and the hydro electric power sector (interviews with 30, 31, 22, 28, 20) that is currently stagnating or declining (interviews with 30, 28, 20). Consistent with a basic theme about a biased distribution of benefits and burdens of resource management, actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames tend to see the current local gains of current forestry activities as limited:

“Yes, it does not really generate as much employment today as it used to do, eh. There are unfortunately relatively few jobs which last for a year...and few truck drivers and entrepreneurs who get jobs. It is the coast, eh. Are we going to move and keep them down there supplied with jobs, eh? So, just for Jokkmokk they are [forest areas selected for protection] not as important for employment.” (interview with initiator of the appeal 30)

A prominent perception is consequently that forestry is no longer very important to the local economy (interviews with 30, 31, 22, 28, 20) and that it is unlikely to be so in the future (interviews with 22, 31, 30). An image shared by actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames is that other economic sectors, such as tourism and reindeer herding, may have a greater development potential. The text of the appeal reads:

“In Jokkmokk municipality, forestry generates about 80 jobs a year. These jobs are obviously important in a municipality with as few inhabitants as ours, but they have to be assessed in relation to other business sectors and their needs. The growing tourism business which employs 130 persons may

be mentioned and thanks to reindeer husbandry there are almost 200 reindeer herding enterprises in the municipality. Both of these important business sectors are disadvantaged by the expansion of forestry.”¹²¹

Underlying this statement is the understanding that tourism, reindeer herding as well as hunting, fishing and other kinds of recreational activities require forests with specific qualities that are not perceived to be compatible with large scale forestry (see next section about perceptions of forests). In this sense, additional forest protection is seen as a matter of community survival (see quotes under “basic themes”). Additional protection is not seen as a threat to employment and the economy but a measure that may create local jobs and facilitate economic development in the long term.

Perceptions of forests

Forests are generally perceived as “home”. Access to old forests, undisturbed by modern forestry¹²², is seen as an integrated part of a “Jokkmokk way of life”. One of the persons who initiated the appeal explains why he would like to see the old forest around his home village preserved:

“It is the entirety of the area ... I guess it is like a way of life up here... that...they [large old forests] are supposed to exist. Because I mean, how much fun is it in a twenty year old forest to walk there, there is not a spruce, there are only pine trees...” (interview with 30)

A now retired hydro electric power employee explains:

“...a main reason almost for me to live up here is the surrounding nature, possibilities to wander around in the forest and really do nothing, to fish, to hunt, and if there are clear-cuts of everything, yes, then that is it.” (interview with 28)

A prominent perception is that the forests are coming to an end due to unsustainable forestry. The forests of primary concern in this case are those used for local recreation, subsistence and business development, that is for hunting, fishing, other outdoor activities, reindeer herding and tourism development. These forests sometimes, but not always, overlap with so-

¹²¹ Quote from the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

¹²² In Swedish “gammelskog”, i.e. forests that would be appropriately labelled “old growth” forests as well as other forest in late successions subject to a slightly higher degree of human disturbance.

called “old growth” forests and areas with high nature conservation values. Relatively unfragmented old forests, not necessarily totally undisturbed by previous use but close to Jokkmokk and its surrounding villages, are seen as the most suitable for recreation and tourism activities (interviews with 30, 31, 22, 28, 20, 21). Successful development of the tourism sector is thus perceived to require “intact” forests. A shared image of actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames is that these forests are rapidly dwindling and risk coming to an end. A person with the Jokkmokk Hunting and Fishing Association says:

“Forestry has rolled through everything that it is possible to go through and it is happening quite quickly we have noticed, above all the Karats road, there is an enormous difference from when I started to hunt, at that time it was mainly untouched, a few older clear-cuts, but now there is almost nothing that is untouched...yes, we see that it is coming to an end. It is coming to an end, so to speak these areas that can reasonably be reached on foot on bare ground.” (interview with 22)

A woman from Jokkmokk explains how the forests around her cabin are being replaced by clear-cuts:

“...where we have our cabin, now there are clear-cuts everywhere, it is no fun...We used to have a pair of ospreys there, they are not there any longer ... and ... our nice berry places are no longer there because there are clear-cuts everywhere.” (interview with 29)

Actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames typically share positive, or very positive, experiences of spending time in old forests¹²³ and special places¹²⁴ that are frequently visited for recreation, hunting, fishing, etc. One of the initiators of the appeal describes what is special with a highly valued old forest where he has been hunting and fishing since childhood:

“...it is the diversity in there, you know...an aspen may appear or there is a birch. It is so enormous, there are pines and everything, as well. There is a feeling, a peace in it too...which is linked to hunting, that is to say when you hunt forest birds...” (interview with 30)

¹²³ “Gammelskog” in Swedish.

¹²⁴ Special places typically refer to places in/with forests that are relatively old and undisturbed but not necessarily without previous human intervention and management.

The experience of hunting in a perceived pristine environment is almost expressed in existential terms:

“Well, you feel a bit like a stone age person in some way, that is to say here I am in pristine nature and admittedly with modern aids such as my knife and weapon and all that but...it is this feeling of affinity with nature and origins....I am no philosopher so I have never tried to think, but when you ask the question I guess I feel that it is really the core.”(interview with 22)

Actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames also share very negative perceptions of logged special places and of intensively managed forests and clear-cuts, as land that is “lost”, “trashed”, “sterile”, “ugly” and not capable of generating a feeling of “home” (interviews with 30, 31, 22, 28, 20, 21). One man even describes the intensively managed or cultivated forests, “the industry landscape”, as the antipode of forests that constitute “home”. He describes his experience of the old forest:

“Well, I do not know, a certain feeling of home, a certain feeling of security maybe ...Yes, and I am not living in an industrial landscape, however that is what it is if I end up on a clear-cut.” (interview with 28)

In conclusion, a prominent component of this group of frames is perceptions of the forests as an integrated part of “home” and a local way of life. This home and lifestyle is seen as increasingly threatened by forestry as currently practised. The protection-for-community-benefits frames may even be seen to have emerged as a response to changing perceptions of place and forests. The local benefits of the traditional economic sectors were perceived as declining. At the same time, their impacts on the landscape were experienced as hampering the practice and development of other highly valued activities. The perceived balance between benefits and burdens of different resource management options consequently appears to have changed. Forest protection was thus increasingly perceived as a key to community development and survival rather than as a threat. The survey areas identified as having high conservation values are consequently generally seen as more important for the community as protected than as raw material for a forestry with limited local benefits. However, consistent with an overarching theme about forest protection for local benefits, a strong preference is that other areas of greater importance for local recreation, subsistence and economic development are protected as well, or instead.

Appreciation of the policy process 1: The formal process

None of the actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames were formally involved in, or informed about, the Government Commission. Some knew that it was going on and regret that a broader spectrum of local actors, or the local community as a whole, was not informed and given an opportunity to provide inputs (interviews with 22; 28; 20; 21). It is therefore seen as suffering from a lack of local influence, input and knowledge (interviews with 22; 28; 20; 21)

Actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames are generally supportive of the protection of survey areas identified as having high nature conservation values. Those who have information about the outcomes of the survey and the proceeding consultative processes are concerned about the expected level of legal protection and the perceived risk that valuable areas will be logged (interviews with 22, 30 and 20). In line with basic themes and place images that stress local benefits, actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames would also – or even rather – like to see other areas of greater importance to local recreation, subsistence and development being protected. These areas include what is left of older forests close to the population centres, around villages, along trails and other places that are considered important, for example for tourism and reindeer herding (interviews with 30, 21, 20, 31).

No action was taken in relation to the formal Government Commission. Action was, however, taken in response to the public debate and the County Governor's statement that additional forest reserves lacked local support in Norrbotten County. This statement was not consistent with this group of actors' perceptions of the situation in the municipalities in the inland. It was consequently one reason for them to initiate the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival (interviews with 30 and 31).

Appreciation of the policy process 2: Greenpeace's action in Pakkojåkkå

Actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames were not involved in Greenpeace's action in Pakkojåkkå. The only information they received came from the media. To the extent that the actors had a view about the action, they appreciated the fact that it generated a debate about forest protection (interviews with 30, 22, 28, 20). However, no actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames understood Greenpeace's choice of action site. In comparison with other forest areas it was perceived as uninteresting and not very highly valued. They consequently had difficulties understanding the point with the action which was perceived as a

fight for “the wrong area” (interviews with 30, 22, 20). Some actors also expressed their sympathy with the forestry entrepreneur who was affected economically (interviews with 30 and 21).

Appreciation of the policy process 3: The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival

The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival constitutes a fundamental component of this group of frames. They may even be seen as having evolved, or become articulated, through the evolution of the appeal. The motivation behind the appeal was a wish to facilitate co-operation between local interest groups for the benefits of the forests and local community development. One of the initiators explains:

“I am both hunter and fisherman and spend a lot of time outdoors and I see lots of people with similar interests ...we thought that we should try to initiate a debate in Jokkmokk municipality, partly develop a land use plan ... We heard that there were people from all the different groups that shared the same ideas ... and then he, and I, decided, we had to try to do something more with it. So, we got together with tourism entrepreneurs, this Y who spoke to the others, and started to formulate ideas and said that we had to try to listen to what people out in the local community thought about this issue...” (interview with 31)

Another motivation was to get protection for highly valued forests. The statement of the County Governor that additional forest protection lacked local support is also seen as a reason to take action. One of the initiators explains:

“...it was this thing with the County Governor and at that time I had already started with the reserve at home...I got these terribly large loggings around X [home village]...the reserves are a possibility for tourism, for outdoor life, everybody else who hunts there...and animals... so that people have somewhere to be apart from on clear-cuts.” (interview with 30)

A main message of the appeal and actors holding protection-for-community-benefit frames is that more forests need to be protected for community benefits, for recreation, subsistence and economic development. Areas of great local importance are typically preferred, for example remaining old forests close to population centres and areas used for tourism activities. Additional forest protection is thus perceived as desirable in order

to maintain local people's possibilities to live "a Jokkmokk way of life" as well as to create jobs and incomes for the local community. It is even seen as a condition for "community survival". The text of the appeal reads:

"In times when the forests that have escaped forestry's logging become fewer and fewer at the same time as the logged timber is processed outside of our municipality, additional logging of old forests reduces the municipality's chances to survive...More and more people see that forestry generates little employment and income in areas where the forests grow and are logged. We are many who are fed up with seeing our old forests being logged and large, continuous areas become further fragmented. The forests of Jokkmokk contain unique nature, culture and tourism values for the country – let us protect these for the benefit of future generations!"¹²⁵

In spite of having been accused of wanting to close down forestry, actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames are typically careful to point out that they are not "against forestry" (interviews with 30, 31, 22, 28, 21). The appeal reads:

"Our standpoint in favour of additional forest reserves would not mean the end for the forestry sector – only that the wood supply in our municipality would decrease marginally as it primarily affects low productive forests, such forests that have never before been commercially managed, and which now will be protected from future logging."¹²⁶

The long term objective of the appeal was to facilitate the development of a local land use planning process, including a local protected area network, based on local preferences and needs. In the memorandum the initiators write:

"We would like the responsible persons from Jokkmokk municipality to bring together representatives for forestry, land owners, tourism, reindeer husbandry, nature conservation, culture, outdoor recreation and village associations, to collectively produce a plan for the use of land within Jokkmokk municipality, to avoid future conflicts on the use of the forest and to increase employment."¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Quote from the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

¹²⁶ Quote from the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

¹²⁷ Quote from the informal memorandum written by the initiators of the appeal.

The long term vision was consequently a forum for local dialogue, conflict management and planning. Actors holding protection-for-community-benefit frames share preferences for increased local influence and participation in relevant policy making and land use planning proces.

According to the initiators collecting signatures, the appeal was initially received in a positive way and those approached were eager to sign on. So far the initiative was seen as a great success (interview with 31 and 30). The criticism from the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise, the defections and the disclaimer were, on the other hand, described as a dramatic and unpleasant back-lash. One of the initiators says:

”Then things started to happen ... people called and were very disagreeable...and you can go to hell, sort of. So this was not fun at all.”
(interview with 31)

Group pressure and social loyalties are seen as primary reasons for people turning away from the appeal (interviews with 30, 31, 22, 28, 20, 21). One company owner who signed the disclaimer although principally agreeing with the appeal says:

“...people came in here and told me off, how could I be so stupid and sign this... a man approached me on the street, are you completely stupid, and what have I done? ... But how could I sign something so foolish and did I understand how much money we lost and it can't be like this and I felt, why am I not allowed to have an opinion of my own?” (interview with 29)

This company owner explains how all the company owners collectively decided to withdraw from the appeal:

“...we agreed, all those in business who had signed this, that it couldn't be like this because it is not possible in Jokkmokk, we are not allowed to have an opinion of our own. Because we are in business and lose an awful lot through this...Well, there were a few that remained with their signatures. But those of us who did not really know what we had said and done, we withdrew, and in fact, I almost find it regrettable that you can't have an opinion of your own and say what you think.” (interview with 29)

To the question who the persons were that got so upset about the appeal, the company owner responds:

“Well, that is those who have forestry machines and those who work within the forestry sector. And they thought that you should not sign anything before you know what it is about ... well, it felt as if I had hurt them personally in some way when I signed this. But later I thought that this was quite silly because if there really is so much forest and so on, what were they afraid of?” (interview with 29)

Other actors decided to stand by the appeal in spite of the conflicts. The Hunting and Fishing Association called a membership meeting which made a decision to stand by the appeal. A representative explains:

“...we chose then in our Executive Committee to take a decision to support this appeal...which is why later there were a few sour faces from the forestry sector and some forestry entrepreneurs and so on...I was not exposed because you do not gladly jump on me, but I heard that somebody had received ... some sort of threats directed against them because of this...so we had a membership meeting, then the option to withdraw was up, but there turned out to be huge support for this among the members so there is a decision from a member’s meeting that we are to keep our signature.” (interview with 22)

Those attending the meeting of the Association of Private Enterprise generally perceived it as an attempt to return things to the status quo. The initiators experienced the meeting as hostile, “heavy” and authoritarian. Questions about local democracy and freedom of speech were ignored (interviews with 30 and 31).

After the meeting the initiators perceived the resistance and the level of conflict as too high to take any further action. It was their decision to take action, to initiate the appeal, that started the entire process in the first place. They were the ones to link up with others of a like mind who together took action by producing, signing, launching and defending the appeal. However, after this meeting their energy and motivation for pursuing the initiative was gone. One of the initiators describes the back-lash as a consequence of too mighty interests having been challenged:

“...the powers are too great for a few private individuals to go against, eh. You feel that directly...I believe that it is the entire forestry sector that believes they will lose such a lot of raw material due to this.” (interview with 31)

Other actors perceive the back-lash more in terms of local norms and power structures having been overstepped (interview with 30 and 20). The only interviewed woman holding protection-for-local-benefits frames described it in terms of gender. She experienced that the women who signed the appeal “out of concern of their children”, were “chopped up in little pieces” by dominating men who told them what was right and wrong (interview with 29). As experienced by this woman, the back-lash was about local male power structures being defended.

Frames Group 4b: Enough forest protection

Basic themes

This group of frames has evolved in response to the protection-for-community-benefits frames. The disclaimer is thus a fundamental component. They may even be seen to have evolved, or become articulated, in the efforts to rebuff the appeal and produce the disclaimer. It is a changeable group of frames with considerably less determined perceptions and judgments than other groups presented so far.

An overarching theme is about maintaining social relations, loyalties, trust and keeping peace in the local society. As understood by the leadership of the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise, activities initiated by the association, such as their information meeting, were intended to reduce the level of conflict and restore the peace:

“We wanted to clear the air...we shall try to speak objectively, we are going to walk out of there as normal human beings without scratching out people’s eyes and creating new large headlines in the newspapers...we wanted to try to tone down everything and get peace and quiet to work.” (interview with 24)

However, restoration of peace and social relations, as described by most actors holding enough-protection frames, often means maintaining established social structures and power relations. This approach is expressed as a theme about trusting authorities and friends. A leading person within the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise explains that, in the end, one has to trust that “those who know” make the right management and policy decisions:

“Yes, that those who work with these things attend to them in a good way so that we of course do not destroy more than necessary...I think one has to

learn to trust science...Mr. X and this network Skoglig Samverkan¹²⁸... I think they should be able to lobby for the right thing in this case....one has to have confidence in those who are in it, because as laymen I do not think that we can solve these problems.” (interview with 24)

Trusted friends and authorities are here synonymous with professionals working within the forestry sector and their forestry-for-jobs frames. Enough-protection frames may in this way support and strengthen forestry-for-jobs frames.

Another basic theme is about forest protection and regulation. Actors holding enough-protection frames perceive current level of forest protection as sufficient, or already higher than desired, in Jokkmokk municipality and Norrbotten County. However, underlying this recurring theme are widespread and strong images of protected areas as restricting¹²⁹. Protected areas are generally associated with regulations restricting hunting, fishing and snow mobile driving, that is restrictions on what are perceived as a “Jokkmokk way of life” (interviews with 24, 27, 23, 26). A more overarching theme may thus be formulated as no regulation that restricts a “Jokkmokk way of life”.

Place perceptions

A dominating perception of Jokkmokk community is that of a local society formed by hydro electric power production and forestry. It is seen as a formerly expansive place with an abundance of jobs in forestry and the hydro electric power sector (interviews with 24, 25, 27, 23, 26, 1). The local community is currently seen as stagnating and declining, although possibly “on its way up” again (25, 27, 1).

The understandings of the current and future importance of forestry and hydro electric power to local community development are more indeterminate. As expressed in the text of the disclaimer, the jobs provided by forestry are considered important to the community. They are furthermore seen as threatened by additional forest protection:

“...about 40,000 cubic metres of wood are harvested every year, a volume which has remained constant for many years. From an employment

¹²⁸ Skoglig Samverkan, in English “co-operation in/about forests” is a regional network for actors involved in the forestry sector.

¹²⁹ See quotes in the following text about place perceptions.

perspective, that means a little bit more than one hundred jobs a year. What additional limitations on forestry would imply is easy to calculate.”¹³⁰

However, in interviews with the actors having signed the disclaimer a more complex picture emerges. Some maintain the image of forestry as an activity that is important to local employment (interview with 26). Others understand its importance in terms of a more general generator of national and local welfare (interviews with 25, 1). Yet others perceive forestry as a formerly important economic activity that has lost most of its local significance due to lack of local wood processing (interviews with 27, 23, 1, 24). Some informants mix or move between these positions. In spite of these differences, a shared understanding is that the tourism and reindeer herding sectors are important to future economic development of the local community, and that these activities require access to old forests, or forests with qualities that may not always be compatible with large scale forestry. Additional forest protection is seen as something that may be positive in this respect. A leading person within the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise explains:

“...it ought to be incredibly important for them [the tourist entrepreneurs] to be able to know that this area will look like this in the near future, not only this year but this is the way it is going to look in the foreseeable future.” (interview with 25)

Another shared perception is that access to undisturbed, old forests is a development asset as it raises the attractiveness of Jokkmokk as a place to live in – or move to. However, when it comes to what kind of forests that are valued or needed, and to what extent protection or management is desired, the perceptions of actors holding enough-protection frames diverge.

Perceptions of forests

Perceptions of forests and landscapes of actors holding enough-protection frames vary and are relatively indeterminate. Some actors consequently share the perception that old forests, or special highly valued places, are being logged and irreversibly lost. Yet, they tend to trust that the professionals within the forestry sector know what they are doing. An actor comments on

¹³⁰ Quote from the disclaimer written and published by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise.

information received from the Jokkmokk Forest Common and the network “Skoglig Samverkan”¹³¹:

“Yes it was a couple of months ago, and the production rate which they have planned, I accept it because they say it is a sensible rate and I have to believe those who work professionally with this.” (interview with 24)

As expressed in the text of the disclaimer, a shared perception is that there already exist enough forests that are protected:

“In plain language – we are in favour of practising an active forestry in Jokkmokk municipality to an unchanged extent ... we consider the total area of protected forests in Jokkmokk municipality large enough, which is why we are not positive to the establishment of any additional reserves in the municipality.”¹³²

A preference is consequently that additional forest protection takes place elsewhere, by the coast or in southern Sweden.¹³³ Underling these negative images of additional forest protection are broadly shared understandings of “reserves” as restrictive, that is as hampering access, a “Jokkmokk way of life” and even tourism development:

“...I am afraid that if we make reserves of everything then we have few chances to survive here...if we are to work with the tourism sector and other things then I think we must have a freedom to be able to move around here...I do not know these things other than from the National Parks where you are not allowed to drive with a snow mobile...it is a big thing for us up here, as important as the boats are down at the west coast and in Stockholm’s archipelago...” (interview with 24)

In the interviews, many actors nevertheless show openness to additional forest protection for the benefits of local recreation, preservation of “special places”, reindeer herding and tourism development. More protected forests, although not to the extent proposed by the SEPA, are suggested as a possible option (interviews with 24, 27, 23, 25, 26, 1). Some actors appear to be

¹³¹ Skoglig Samverkan, in English “co-operation in/about forests” is a regional network for actors involved in the forestry sector.

¹³² Quote from text of the disclaimer, co-ordinated by the the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise.

¹³³ According to text of disclaimer.

more critical to the perceived “restrictive” effects of the protected area instruments, particularly the National Parks, than the idea of regulating forest management (interviews with 24 and 23).

Actors’ experiences of spending time in different kinds of forests vary in ways that are consistent with their shifting understandings of forests and landscapes. Some actors share positive images of old forests and “special places” along with negative perceptions of clear-cuts and the intensively managed or cultivated forests (interviews with 24, 27, 26, 1). Others show relatively positive or indeterminate perceptions of the managed forests (23, 25). Interesting to note is however how these actors perceive logging of their “special places” or highly valued forest. A shared perception is that such sacrifices are unavoidable, even among actors who perceive logging of such places as irreversible “losses”:

“... I guess one has accepted that the forest that I do not own...I may not as a private person have any, it is not possible to influence, you learn to accept it even if I do not like it.” (interview with 26)

Rather than seeing such loggings as a motivation for protest and resistance, these actors consequently accept and adapt. Some actors’ see this as a necessary compromise for the sake of development and the common good:

“Yes, you have a society which is developing, changing...and...if anything is going to change for the better, you have to accept a few compromises.” (interview with 28)

In conclusion, a prominent component of this group of frames is perceptions of place, that is the local society, as shaped by the expansion of forestry and hydro electric power production. As stated in the disclaimer, actors holding enough-protection frames share the understanding that forestry is of significant local economic importance, today as well as in the future. They also share the perception that “enough” forests are already protected in the municipality. However, at the same time actors share an image of tourism as a sector of growing importance. Tourism, along with recreation, is seen to benefit from access to undisturbed, old forests. Additional forest protection is therefore also understood as needed in certain places and situations. Consistent with a basic theme about loyalty, trust and keeping the peace, perceptions and positions appear to change depending on social context and relations. In cases where the direct experience of the

forests and landscape clash with the understanding and preferences of established authorities and trusted friends, acceptance, adaptation and conformity appear to be the norm.

Apprehension of the policy process 1: The formal process

None of the actors holding enough-protection frames were formally involved in, or informed about, the Government Commission. Actually most of them had no or very little information prior to the interviews. Having been briefly introduced to the initiative actors holding enough-protection frames do however share the view that local actors were not sufficiently informed. The process was thus seen as suffering from a lack of local participation, input and knowledge (interviews with 24, 25, 27, 26, 23, 1). A preference of most actors holding enough-protection frames is a process in which a broader spectrum of local actors may participate and provide input, preferably prior to decision making (interviews with 26, 1, 25, 27, 23). Some actors rather, or also, argued for leaving the discussions and decisions to those who are professionally involved and “know”, for example the head of the Jokkmokk Forest Common (interviews with 24, 26 and 1).

For reasons already discussed, actors holding enough-protection frames are generally quite negative to the establishment of additional protected areas, including the idea of protecting the selected survey areas. When introduced to the survey results, most actors do however show an openness to the idea of preserving some of these areas. Protection of some, particularly, valuable survey areas consequently appear to be a generally shared preference. A condition is however that local access and benefits are seen as a point of departure for the protection arrangements (interviews with 25, 26, 1, 23, 27, 24).

Appreciation of the policy process 2: Greenpeace’s action in Pakkojåkkå

Actors holding enough-protection frames were not involved in Greenpeace’s action in Pakkojåkkå. To the extent that the actors had a view about the action, it was described in negative terms. Consistent with basic themes honouring trust, loyalty and peace, even respect for established authorities, direct action is typically perceived as flawed. Greenpeace was thus perceived as using “wrong methods” and the objective of their activities was generally not understood (interviews with 24, 25, 26, 23, 27, 1).

Appreciation of the policy process 3: The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival

As perceived by leading persons within the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise, the appeal was introduced and processed in a “wrong way”:

“It would have been fairer if they had said that this and that date we will have a large information meeting and invite the general public, and we have also brought up the issue so that it has gained some approval with our politicians so that we may hear how they look at it....Not to run around in the local community and stick a paper under people’s noses just as they are passing, I do not think that is a fair way to inform people.” (interview with 24)

A fair way to approach the business owners, as understood by this informant, would have been to arrange a public meeting, invite local politicians, and to address the association as a group (interview with 24). Part of the perceived problem is thus that the initiators of the appeal did not respect established structures and procedures. Instead, they approached the members in their capacity as individual company owners and many of the association’s members made individual decisions to sign. Another leading person within the Association described the process as having been way too rushed with too little information and time for deliberation (interview with 25).

As understood by actors holding enough-protection frames, and the Association of Private Enterprise in particular, the business owners who signed the appeal had misunderstood the message. The text of the disclaimer reads:

“A large number of those in business in Jokkmokk some time ago figured as signatories of a letter to the editor which in short was positive to the establishment of additional nature reserves in Jokkmokk municipality...We are many who misunderstood the message. What we believed that we signed was a manifestation for the right of residents in Jokkmokk themselves to be part of the process of deciding what areas were to be logged or protected in the future.”¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Quote from the disclaimer which was co-ordinated and made public by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise.

In the local newspaper, the business owners who signed were presented as having been misinformed or deceived by the initiators of the appeal. The chair of the Association of Private Enterprise is quoted in an article with the headline "...we were deceived":

"I believed that people had minor brain damage. For several were haulage contractors and other company owners who work for the forestry corporations. I contacted those company leaders who had signed. 90 percent distanced themselves from the appeal and said they were deceived."¹³⁵

One of the business owners who signed the appeal on the basis of oral information given in the shop explains:

"Yes, I understood it as if I had been cheated, I was angry at first, why was I not informed in the right way I thought...now it is in fact the case that you have to read everything you sign, right...so I can't blame anybody but myself..." (interview with 26)

The same shop keeper also tells how some of his clients came into the shop and threatened to stop do business when they learned he had signed the appeal:

"Clients came in and returned their credit cards. I have been doing business here with you for 30 years, maybe it was 29, it was good bye...They called from the Jokkmokk Forest Common and asked what I was doing." (interview with 26)

Another business owner signed on believing it was an appeal *against* additional forest reserves. His motivation for signing was that "everybody else did":

"I guess I did not have very many thoughts about why are you signing this, everybody else had done it and than I followed suit, I am not that terribly interested really...yes, damn it the neighbour has signed, I guess I can as well." (interview with 27)

The fact that a significant proportion of the members of the Association of Private Enterprise had signed the appeal, caused tensions within the

¹³⁵ See article in Norrländska Socialdemokraten 03 April 2004: "Företagare skrev på lista för fler reservat: Vi blev lurade".

association. The name of the association was seen as being abused¹³⁶ and other members with their business in, or with, the forestry sector felt betrayed. A person in a leading position explains:

”...it was forestry entrepreneurs mostly those who called and were in a really bad mood about how those, who are affiliated to an organisation, without having been informed can read in the newspaper that there were other association members who, in the name of the association, in principle had signed this...they thought that if I am a member of an association where it is possible to undermine my business that is really not ok...” (interview with 24)

To clear the name of the association, to keep the membership together and to offer members feeling deceived an opportunity to redress themselves, were thus the motives behind the process leading up to the disclaimer (interviews with 24 and 25). An information meeting for members and those standing behind the appeal was organised to restore peace and “clear the air”. The head of the Jokkmokk Forest Common was called in to assist with knowledge and “impartial information” (interview with 24).

Taking the disclaimer as a point of departure, three substantial issues are brought forward in the argumentation against the appeal. First, the amount of forest already protected in the municipality is seen as sufficient:

“Today half a million hectares of forested land is protected in Jokkmokk municipality. That means about 55 percent of the total area of Jokkmokk is already protected areas...We believe that the total area of protected forests in Jokkmokk municipality is already sufficient.”¹³⁷

Secondly, the establishment of additional forest protection is described as having negative impacts on local employment (see quotes presented in section about place perceptions). Third, existing reserves are perceived as being unfairly distributed across regions and the nation:

¹³⁶ The name of the association “Företagarna” was perceived as being abused since the actors, although signing in an individual capacity, were publicly referred to as “företagare”. The name of the Association of Private Enterprise is “Företagarna” in Swedish, i.e. the plural form of “företagare”.

¹³⁷ Quote from disclaimer which was co-ordinated and made public by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise.

“Today, most forests that are protected are located in the inland. Why are more forests not protected by the coast or in southern Sweden?”¹³⁸

In conclusion, the establishment of additional forest reserves in the municipality is perceived as unnecessary and undesired. The disclaimer confirmed a continued support for “an active forestry in Jokkmokk municipality at an unchanged extent”. Full support is also expressed for the County Governor and his suggestion to put the establishment of additional reserves on hold and assess the consequences.¹³⁹ This position was forwarded to the County Governor in a letter of apology intended to restore relations with the head of the CAB (interviews with 24 and 25).

As pointed out before, a more complex picture of actors’ ways of understanding the substantial issues at stake emerges in the interviews where many reassess or develop positions initially taken. Nevertheless, most actors holding enough-protection frames generally experienced the information meeting arranged by the Association of Private Enterprise as calm, orderly and successful in restoring peace (interviews with 24, 23, 26). In the end, after this meeting, the situation was generally perceived as “normalised”. The initiators of the appeal were seen as in retreat, or even excusing themselves for having rushed ahead (interviews with 24 and 26).

Most important in terms of these actors’ considerations to take action, is probably the decision of the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise to respond to members in the forestry sector who felt attacked and betrayed, that is to co-ordinate the disclaimer. Significant were also the decisions of individual business owners to sign the appeal, and later, to defect and sign the disclaimer. Altogether, 12 out of the 43 actors who originally stood behind the appeal defected and signed the disclaimer.

Frames Group 5: Good governance

Basic themes

This group of frames is not as comprehensive and unchangeable as the other frames. Neither are they as changeable as the enough-protection frames. They may rather be seen as a kind of reflective frames, or modes, that different actors may move in and out of depending on context and capacity.

A prominent component of this group of frames is a preoccupation with the governance of natural resources, that is how to steer and co-ordinate

¹³⁸ Quote from disclaimer which was co-ordinated and made public by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise.

¹³⁹ See text of disclaimer, co-ordinated and published by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise.

resource management in the best possible way. A basic theme is thus about forest protection *in line with* existing regulatory agreements and targets. Actors holding good-governance frames do not primarily aspire, or actively try, to influence policy making in one way or the other. They focus on implementation, adaptation or incremental development of policy in accordance with politically agreed objectives. Compromise, prioritisations and adjustments are given prominent roles. A civil servant at the CAB in Norrbotten provides an example as he comments on the planned allocation of available resources for forest protection:

“...so it is about 40-50,000 hectares which will be protected by the formal protection programme...and it does leave a gap there in between and...we are not content, but we conclude that when these areas are distributed we have reached that point when the assignment is completed...” (interview with 3)

On the direct question if the CAB is ready to give up identified areas even if that means they will be logged, the same civil servant answers:

“Yes, the authority has to do that since we simply do not have any possibility, we do not possess the means needed to protect more. Then there are different opinions. The role of the CAB is in fact to balance different opinions, different political directions...” (interview with 3)

A second basic theme is thus about adjustment of interests and conflict management. Procedure is typically in focus. A civil servant at the Ministry of Environment provides an example when arguing for a more process oriented way of working with nature conservation:

“...nature conservation needs to reorient itself from a more bureaucratic, centralistic way of working, I mean when we get down to an individual object level, so to speak, consultation, dialogue, creating platforms for participation.” (interview with 5)

Deliberation, interest mediation and conflict management are thus salient components of the good-governance frames. Too much conflict is typically seen as negative and a need to manage or mitigate conflict is a frequently recurring argument (interviews with 5 and 3).

Perceptions of place and forests

Shared perceptions of place or forests do not constitute a prominent part of this group of frames that is more geared towards procedure. Interesting to note is however the image of Jokkmokk as a place with conflicts over natural resources management, that is as a governance problem. When asked to describe Jokkmokk, a civil servant with the CAB describes locally enacted natural resource management conflicts:

“...well, it is possible that I am simply fed up with fighting, to be frank, during my years here there has all the time been some damned fight somewhere in the inland that you have to deal with...yes, it's Laponia and it's John, the wolf, and it's forests...and it's Pakkojåkkå and it's, God, everything...” (interview with civil servant 3 with the CAB)

This civil servant expresses a deep frustration with the intractability of the environmental disputes in “the inland”, including Jokkmokk. This frustration does, however, also serve as a motivation for trying to find new ways to handle these issues, including new governance approaches.

Appreciation of the policy process

Actors holding good-governance frames are typically more concerned with process than substance and their preferences are more of a general than issue specific nature. For these reasons, their appreciations of the different parts of the policy process, i.e. the formal process, the Greenpeace action and the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival, are not separated in the following presentation. Instead, general characteristics are described and illustrated with examples from the different parts of the policy process.

Actors holding good-governance frames generally tend to place specific events and processes in a larger policy context. By treating the specific as part of an historical context they are able to understand and explain, for example why and how an event became what it is perceived to be. A civil servant at the Ministry of Environment provides an example by explaining the background to the Government Commission:

“...in its directives it said that the State Forest Commission should do an evaluation, or valuation, of the most interesting forest areas from a nature conservation point of view on state lands. The State Forest Commission did not really carry this through and then one had, so to speak, given a directive to a Commission which had not really reached the goal for this part, and then the Government was criticised for not knowing what existed on the

state lands, and that was so to speak the triggering factor for Kjell Larsson to raise the issue...” (interview with 5)

Seen in a longer policy context, pressure from an environmental opinion was not *the* reason for the Commission. It was rather understood as a triggering factor.

A second prominent component of these frames is about enhancing collaboration and reducing conflict. Too much conflict, within the state as well as between the state and other actors, is understood as bad, something to be avoided. The “extended consultation process” between the SEPA, the CAB and the forest administrators, is for example seen as an attempt to deal with conflicts between different parts of the state. The perceived objective is enhanced collaboration and consensus building:

“... it is very important that one has as deep consultations as possible and gets as far as possible in the discussions, one may not be able to reach a consensus solution but one may come a good bit along the way because...it is not good if you have a number of state interests who are in conflict which each other, that gives strange signals, eh ... (interview with 5)

The decision by the CAB to halt the designation of additional forest reserves in December 2003, is likewise described as a decision motivated, at least in parts, by the ambition to reduce the level of conflict between different interest groups and the state in Norrbotten County. A civil servant with the CAB explains:

“...and the objective with the decision was to meet the criticism that PO received, that the County Governor received, for wanting to put a dead hand over...” (interview with 3)

Actors holding good-governance frames typically reflect over process and procedural successes and failures. The perceived lack of local support for nature conservation initiatives in Norrbotten County is for example interpreted by the CAB in terms of self criticism, as a “communication failure”. A civil servant at the CAB reflects:

“...Our big failure, that is the fact that we have not been able to communicate the circumstance that what is protected in Norrbotten is in fact to a very small extent a problem for what people want to do.” (interview with 3)

A third characteristic component of the good-governance frames is thus reflection over policy and policy implementation. An event such as Greenpeace's action in Pakkojåkkå is for example not expressed in terms of "right", "wrong", "good" or "bad". Neither the Government Commission nor the survey process are perceived to be the real problem. It is rather seen as a logical consequence of a much older unresolved, or badly resolved, policy controversy about forest management in the areas close to the mountains (interview with 3).

In terms of substance, actors holding good-governance frames typically take as their point of departure the existing political realities and already agreed frameworks. Prioritisation and selection of the survey areas identified as needing protection is for example seen as a must in order to meet agreed regulatory targets and frameworks. A civil servant at the CAB in Norrbotten explains:

"It has all the time been the idea that they are to be balanced against the Environmental Quality Objective and the distribution of the Environmental Quality Objectives...I do not have any clear opinion if it is more or less that is needed, that I don't know because I am not a natural scientist...I can only conclude that 320,000 hectares from 1998 and onwards are to be formally protected." (interview with 3)

If the regulatory framework, at least for the time being, is understood as set, an important question is what can be done within this framework. In addition to prioritisations, actors holding good-governance frames are generally eager to explore "alternative" solutions that are compatible with policy objectives and agreed regulatory frameworks. A civil servant at the Ministry of Environment explains why it is necessary to explore alternative, for example voluntary, methods to protect forests with high nature conservation values:

"...we can conclude that with the budget we have today, in spite of it having been increased ten-fold, it is not enough in the current situation and then we may...need to look ahead at alternative methods to secure, in different ways, the areas with high nature conservation values and this discussion now that is taking place with the NPB, Sveaskog, the CAB and the SEPA can be important for the future, eh." (interview with 5)

Voluntary protection is thus seen as an acceptable, or even good, solution in a situation where existing resources and political opinion do not allow formal legal protection of all identified survey areas. The informant also points out that the extended consultation process with the forest administrators, referred to as “discussion”, may have a value in preparing the actors for the compromises that will be needed to reach such a solution.

Characteristic for actions taken on the basis of good-governance frames is that they rest on a rationale which refers to agreed targets, agreements made or due process. Another set of activities that evolve out of good-governance frames are efforts to reduce, or manage, conflict, such as disputes that came up as a result of the Government Commission. Such examples are the CAB’s decision to put on hold the establishment of additional reserves and another is activities to facilitate consultation, collaboration and consensus building between the actors. A final set of activities emerging out of good-governance frames are efforts to find viable policy compromises. An example is the deliberations that eventually resulted in the final outcome of the extended consultations between Sveaskog, the SEPA and the CAB.

6.2.2 Conclusions I: Difference and main dividing lines

In the presentation made so far of actors’ frames, difference and dividing lines have been in focus. Making clear the differences in perceptions and preferences may facilitate a deeper understanding of the conflicts and disputes that have evolved. Before looking at the same frames with a different eye, that is with a focus on similarity and overlaps, the most important dividing lines will be summarised (see also Table 9).

One important dividing line goes between the groups of frames (2, 3, 4a) that share a basic theme about protecting forests from forestry, and those (1, 4b) that include a perception of efficient forestry, i.e. as little restriction as possible, as a condition for economic growth and welfare. Underlying this division are important differences in the understandings of how the adjustment between forestry and other interests with claims on the forests is to take place. Actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames tend to see this adjustment as a matter of unavoidable trade-offs. It is thus a matter of finding a reasonable balance between costs and benefits, given maintained economic growth and development. Actors holding biodiversity frames, on the other hand, take the maintenance of biodiversity as an overarching, non-negotiable, point of departure. For actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames, it is what is needed for reindeer husbandry to survive that sets the limit. For actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames, it is local subsistence, recreation and economic development. Unifying the

biodiversity, protection-for-reindeer-husbandry and community-benefit frames (2, 3, 4b) are consequently a shared preference for additional forest protection. Dividing them are different views on what kind of forest is to be protected and how to set protection priorities.

Another main dividing line underlying the actors diverging approaches to forest protection is the perception of forests, including old forests, as a renewable or non-renewable resource. Whereas the forestry-for-jobs and some enough-protection frames share an image of all kinds of forests as dynamic and renewable, the biodiversity, protection-for-reindeer-husbandry and community-benefits frames share a perception that certain types of forests are coming to an irreversible end. These images are also related to fundamentally different perceptions of the current and future role of forestry to the local community economy and development. Again, the main dividing line lies between the forestry-for-jobs and enough-protection frames and the rest. The former groups tend to see access to timber and forestry as more important for the community than protection of “valuable” areas. The latter, in contrast, typically perceive forests identified as valuable for nature conservation, local subsistence or recreation, as more important as protected than as raw material for forestry. They typically see the current and future importance of forestry to the local community as limited and they prefer policy options that lead to their protection. To the extent that there exists a dividing line between the forestry-for-jobs and enough-protection frames, it is about the perceived local benefits of forestry today and in the future. Actors holding enough-protection frames are much more uncertain, or dismissive, about the current and future local benefits of forestry.

In line with these perceptions and preferences are different ways of apprehending the policy process. A main difference between the actors that were involved in the formal policy process is the initial perception of the Government Commission as a “threat” (Group 1: Forestry-for-jobs) or as a “welcome” and “requested” initiative (Group 2: Biodiversity). The actors took actions according to their initial apprehensions of the process and these perceptions gradually came to change. Whereas most actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames apprehend the process with increasing satisfaction, actors holding biodiversity-frames perceive it as increasingly challenged and “threatened”. A third group of actors (3 and 4) apprehend themselves as “excluded” and the process in this respect as flawed. Actors holding good-governance frames are generally satisfied, given political and regulatory conditions. The mission is considered completed.

The Greenpeace action in Pakkojääkkä is also understood in contradictory terms. Actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames perceive the action as illegal

and unacceptable. Actors holding biodiversity frames see the action as motivated and necessary. The principal bottom line, defended by the former group who do not give in to Greenpeace, is the perceived right to manage the disputed and similar forests. On the other side, are actors holding biodiversity frames who defended their apprehensions of the intentions of the Government Commission. Their bottom line is the understanding that all forests with identified high conservation values must be properly protected – and at least not logged by the state. Another dividing line, although not that clear-cut, goes between actors with a de-contextualised, global image of the action site, and those with a more local, contextualised way of perceiving it. This is most obvious in the case of Greenpeace and local actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, for example the forest machine entrepreneur.

An additional dividing line between the actors involved in the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival lies between those who signed the appeal and those who supported and signed the disclaimer. To make things simple, that is taking the texts of the appeal and the disclaimer as points of departure, the main dividing line is between frames arguing *for* additional forest protection (Groups 2, 3, 4a) and those arguing *against* it (Groups 1, 4b). Underlying this division are perceptions of forest protection as, on the one hand, benefiting and, on the other, threatening local community development.

6.3 Analysis of frames II: Similarity and overlap

So far, the concept of frames has been used as a tool to illustrate different ways of seeing the world and apprehending the policy process. The point has been to identify dividing lines and thus illuminate the basis of conflicts and disputes. However, in the real world people's perceptions lend themselves poorly to rigid boxing. A significant amount of complexity and dynamics is lost along the way. From the presentation, it is already evident that elements of frames are shared across the constructed "groups". The interview material indicates that people's perceptions are not always static and stable. Many actors appear to hold more than one frame. Some simultaneously hold several frames and others appear to shift from one to another depending on context and timing. In order to capture this dynamic, the collection of frames will now be explored with a new eye. Rather than looking for difference, I will now search for similarities and points where they meet. The groups of frames discussed and described so far will still be used as a point of departure. However, a focus on similarity rather than difference will eventually lead to the deconstruction of the groups as

meaningful analytical units. As will become evident, they will fall apart. One point with this exercise is to explore the space for co-operation and coalition-building. The assumption is that shared perceptions, preferences and apprehensions open up possibilities for joint activities. In the following sections, components of frames, perceptions and preferences that are shared among a larger or smaller number of actors will be explored. Such overlaps are assumed to be of relevance for possible coalition building.

6.3.1 Local community development

All frames expressed by locally based actors (that is local versions of frames 1-4), share a concern for the future of the local community. Actors holding frames previously identified as opposing may thus meet in a shared preference for policy options that increase the local benefits from resource management that de facto is taking place. This is illustrated by many actors' preferences for increased local wood processing and use of local labour. The latter is a prominent component of the protection-for-community-benefits frames¹⁴⁰ as well as a local version of the forestry-for-jobs frames (interviews with 13 and 14). However, the local E-NGO also argues for more local jobs and increased economic returns from forestry and hydro electric power production that is already there. For the benefit of the local community and the people who live there, the local E-NGO argues for more local jobs in forestry and hydro power production:

“... the type of jobs you would like to see are in fact jobs that are connected to hydro electric power and forestry. If it is the case that Vattenfall has destroyed the river as a natural resource for hunting and fishing and being beautiful and so on, then I guess it is jobs within the hydro electric power sector that are supposed to end up here...jobs and some of the money have to stay here in the municipality...jobs have to come for the practical guys...”
(interview with 16)

Another image that unifies actors from all previously identified groups of frames is that of Jokkmokk and its surrounding forests as ”home”. As outlined in the presentation of the protection-for-community-benefits frames, access to forests, preferably old forests, is seen as an integrated part of a local way of life. Forests understood as part of “the land” have a similar

¹⁴⁰ Interviews with 14 and 30 and internal memorandum written by the initiators of the appeal and quoted in description of frames Group 4a: Forest protection for local community benefits.

role for actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames¹⁴¹. Also in the case of local actors holding biodiversity frames, access to forests with specific qualities constitutes an important part of life and a reason for living in the municipality¹⁴². Less predictable is maybe that some actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames appear to share this perception. Access to old forests for hunting and fishing is seen as an integrated part of a highly valued lifestyle (interviews with 9 and 14). A man working in the local forestry sector explains his experience of hunting in a large undisturbed forest area:

“Yes, you feel some sense of your origins...I am really fascinated by hunting because then...I feel how close you really are to your origins ...” (interview with 9)

Hunting without the experience of the large undisturbed landscape is not the same:

“I have in fact hunted rabbit and pheasant in southern Sweden...but that I think is something else, it is something completely different. Then you have separated it...” (interview with 9)

The perception of forests, preferably large, old and relatively undisturbed forests, as an integrated part of what constitutes Jokkmokk as “home” and a local way of life, is thus shared among many local actors across all the identified groups of frames. This image, along with a shared concern for the future of the local community, could theoretically serve as a basis for broad local dialogue and coalition formation. However, this has not happened in this case.

6.3.2 Forest protection for local community benefits

A large number of locally held frames share an argument for additional forest protection for the sake of local community benefits. The most prominent example is a significant overlap between the local versions of the biodiversity, protection-for-reindeer-husbandry and community-benefits frames. This overlap constitutes the basis for the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival. As already pointed out, these groups of frames share images of specific, or highly valued, forests becoming increasingly deteriorated and coming to an end. They also share the perception of forestry not being very

¹⁴¹ See presentation of Frames Group 3: Forest protection for the survival of reindeer husbandry.

¹⁴² See presentation of Frames Group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity.

important to the current or future economy of the local community. With an explicit focus on the local community and the use of its forests, the difference between the local biodiversity and the protection-for-community-benefits frames almost dissolves. The most prominent example of an explicit “colonisation” theme, typically constituting a component of the protection-for-community-benefits frames, is for example expressed by a member of the local E-NGO when she describes Jokkmokk:

“But it is a place that is deceived, it is a place that is sucked out, it is a place where wealth and welfare have been distributed somewhere else in the country, without people being really aware about it maybe.” (interview with 16)

One of the strongest arguments for protecting all survey areas identified as valuable without compromising on buffer zones and so-called development land, which is a typical “conservation argument”, comes from a tourist entrepreneur with a strong protection-for-community-benefits frame:

“... those areas I want to add they do not have qualities [nature conservation qualities] today...but they are strategically important. They will get qualities with time.” (interview with 20)

There is consequently a considerable overlap, or exchange, between the local versions of the three groups of frames including arguments for additional forest protection (Groups 2, 3, 4). There also appears to be an emerging realisation of interdependence and opportunities for co-operation in the local community. This is most clearly expressed by one of the tourist entrepreneurs that were part of initiating the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival. Quality tourism, as understood by the entrepreneur, is indirectly dependent on a living Sámi culture with active reindeer herding, that is protection of reindeer grazing land, and the existence of forests with high nature conservation values:

“Reindeer herding is important to the tourism sector because as long as reindeer herding is a living means of livelihood tourists will come because it is a Sámi cultural centre here. In other words, we are indirectly dependent on the reindeer grazing lands...And the tourists are also dependent on the existence of...nature conservation...and high nature conservation values

...Even if they do not go to these places they want to know they exist.”
(interview with tourist entrepreneur 20)

Development of high quality nature tourism is thus seen as dependent, not only on the protection of forests that are suitable for the tourism activities per se, but also on the successful preservation of forests needed for reindeer husbandry and nature conservation. Such an insight involves a capacity to reflect about one's own as well as other actors' frames. In such a process the actors move between, combine or invent new frames.

Typical of the kind of combinations, or shifts, between frames, discussed above is that the resulting collection of perceptions, preferences, or frames, held by the actors is relatively stable over time. In the case investigated they were stable enough to serve as a basis for the evolution of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival. The actors' combinations of frames are also internally consistent, or at least not contradictory. A quite different situation is observable with actors moving in and out of very different, even mutually contradicting, frames depending on context, timing or other circumstances. This phenomenon is particularly notable in relation to the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival. In signing the disclaimer, actors expressed their sympathy with the view that additional forest protection is detrimental to local community development. Several actors signed the disclaimer just after having signed the appeal with an opposing message. However, the circumstances around these activities are unclear and many of the actors again reassessed, developed or modified their perceptions and preferences in the interview situation. These actors typically express a feeling of being torn between conflicting perceptions, interests and arguments. A company owner who first signed the appeal and then the disclaimer explains:

“... as a citizen you are split between two interests, and the interest for nature...I am very divided on taking a decision in this case...yes, if I take a firm position here I could easily change my mind, it is difficult to have an opinion about this...I am torn between them, I am.” (interview with 26)

These actors accordingly appear to move in and out of different, even seemingly contradictory frames. In certain contexts, there therefore appears to be an exchange between enough-protection frames and the groups of frames sharing preferences for additional forest protection for community benefits (Groups 2, 3, 4a). A shared common denominator may be summarised as an openness to (interviews with 26, 24) – or preference for (interviews with 23, 25, 27, 1) – additional forest protection, but within

limits and on the condition of local access and benefits. Although unstable, it may be significant in terms of potential for co-operation and coalition building.

6.3.3 Enough forest protection

A point of departure that appears to be shared by most actors holding forestry-for-jobs and enough-protection frames is that enough forests are protected in Jokkmokk municipality, or Norrbotten County, as it is today. Taking the text of the disclaimer as the only point of departure, the overlap between these groups of frames is even larger. Images of forestry as important to the local economy, and forest protection as detrimental to community development, are also shared. The disclaimer basically provides support for the maintenance of forestry activities on the current level, that is for maintaining the status quo¹⁴³. The disclaimer may in many ways be seen as an expression of support for the forestry-for-jobs frames. However, the actors standing behind it appear to move in and out of different frames and their rejection of additional forest reserves is not very stable. Yet, their capacity to share vital components of the forestry-for-jobs frames offers opportunities for co-operation and coalition building, as evident in the dispute over the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

6.3.4 Good governance

As explained in the presentation of the good-governance frames, these frames may also be seen as a reflective mode which actors may move in and out of. Some actors in central positions within the state administration hold predominantly good-governance frames¹⁴⁴. The more typical situation is however actors moving in and out depending on the context. An actor may for example first argue for a position in line with a purer version of a biodiversity or forestry-for-jobs frame. For various reasons the same actor may later move into a more compromise oriented mode, that is adopting a good-governance frame. This, or an alternation between the two modes/frames, is for example typical of several of the interviewed civil servants placed within the state administration. A civil servant at the SEPA provides an example. He basically holds an “authority version” of the biodiversity frames as presented earlier¹⁴⁵. However, while telling his story about the policy process, he shifts perspective. At one moment while

¹⁴³ See text of disclaimer co-ordinated and presented by the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise.

¹⁴⁴ See presentation of Frames Group 5: Good governance.

¹⁴⁵ See presentation of Frames Group 2: Biodiversity.

summarising his impressions of the entire process he perceives the process as a “tug-of-war” between conservation and forestry interests:

“Yes, it is a tug-of-war which I believe we have been quite good at, carrying out a very fast and comprehensive and convincing survey...the E-NGOs have contributed a lot plus the survey itself and methodology....so it was surely a tug-of-war then from our side which surprised Sveaskog...”
(interview with 7)

Here, the civil servant holds a biodiversity frame. The process is described as a fight, a tug-of-war, between conservation and forestry interests. The “we” in this quote is clearly taking sides with the E-NGOs against Sveaskog. At another time he distances himself from the E-NGOs and argues in a much more impartial way:

“We have to put this behind us and work with something else. But I do believe that with these additional prioritisations that we are now making here, we will decide on the very finest core areas, and those parts of the core areas that end up outside them, so to speak we have to accept that they can’t be protected since there is a limited objective, and this we will say, and then if Greenpeace and others accept this or not that is more up to them.”
(interview with 7)

The *assigned task* is completed, *prioritisations* are made, *agreed targets* are respected, *compromises* are *accepted* and the duly processed results will be defended, also in relation to Greenpeace. Here, the civil servant holds a good-governance frame. Examples on similar kinds of shifts can also be observed between the forestry-for-jobs and the good-governance frames.

6.3.5 Conclusions II: Similarity and overlap

There appear to be two issue or process related areas where a large number of frames intersect, or are exchanged. The first issue is that of the local community and its future development. All locally represented frames meet in an ambition to find ways to manage forests which benefit the local community in the long term. They diverge when it comes to how this is best done but more or less all of them include an explicit preference for the local forest being used for forestry, tourism, reindeer herding and recreation (see for example interviews with 16, 30, 31, 24, 13, 22). They value the respective contributions of these activities differently, yet recognise the importance of some level of diversity. They furthermore include wishes for

an increased local return from forestry, for example by increased local wood processing or use of local labour. Many actors, particularly those not professionally involved in the forestry sector, share a preference for increased local deliberation, influence and participation in policy and planning of natural resource management¹⁴⁶. This collection of shared perceptions and preferences could theoretically serve as a basis for co-operation. However, that has not happened so far in this case. Instead two more or less stable coalitions have been formed on the local level. One is based on frames supporting claims for more forest protection and the other is based on frames arguing against more protection.

The second area where a large number of frames intersect, or are exchanged, is process related, it is about “good governance”. At the centre is an ambition to handle conflicts, to compromise and to find viable policy solutions that the actors can “live with”. Interesting to note is that these two areas of intense frame overlap, or exchange, do not really seem to intersect. The former has place at the centre of attention, and is represented in locally expressed frames. The latter is focused on process and is primarily represented in frames expressed by actors who are involved in the formal policy process on a regional or national level. Concerns about place may thus appear to be separated from serious efforts to handle conflicts and find viable policy solutions, and the other way around. However, it is not correct to say that all non-local frames (i.e. frames not expressed at the local level) lack perceptions and considerations of place. As discussed in the presentation of the forestry-for-jobs frames, non-local versions do for example include strong images of local communities being threatened by possible logging restriction. Non-local versions of the biodiversity frames also include images and views about the future of local communities. However, the rhetoric regarding local communities coming out of these frames appears to polarise rather than facilitate dialogue among local actors (as will be further discussed in the next section). Some actors holding good-governance frames also make clear attempts to approach issues of local participation and benefits in relation to the local level. In these cases, the issues tend to be treated as a long term political objective (interview with 5) or as a general communication challenge (interview with 3). Many local actors with a shared concern for place argue for participation and influence as something

¹⁴⁶ See presentation of the biodiversity, protection-for-reindeer-husbandry, community-benefits and enough-protection frames as well as the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

more than information and communication¹⁴⁷. They also see participation and influence as needed now, in this and similar policy processes, rather than as a general and abstract objective.

6.4 Analysis of frames III: The role of place perceptions

The objective of this section is to look closer at the role of place and place perceptions in actors' frames. According to Fischer (2003), it is important to examine the logic of the situational context that defines and shares our understanding of policy problems. The discussion of actors' frames made so far indicates that actors' perceptions of, and affinity to, place and its forests may constitute a significant part of the "situational context" of this case. Questions at the centre of this section are consequently in what way, and how, such perceptions and affinities are important to actors' apprehensions of the policy process. In this context, Shields' (1991) concept of social spatialisation will also be used (see Chapter 3). It relates to the construction of spatial images, how they are created and recreated through a combination of actors' imaginations and interventions in the physical landscape.

So far, it can be concluded that the actors' frames include quite different perceptions and affinities to place and forests. It is also evident that these differences are part of shaping the actors' understanding of policy problems and options. In the following, three sets of perceptions and affinities that appear to be particularly significant will be discussed. At the same time, their nature and construction will be briefly explored.

6.4.1 Perceptions of forests and landscape dynamics

Some perceptions of place and place use may explain, or motivate, other more changeable components of actors' frames. An example is perceptions of forest and landscape dynamics. Underlying conflicting preferences regarding the survey areas are for example a number of different, or even conflicting, perceptions of forest and landscape change. As pointed out before, a general dividing line lies between actors who share a preference for protecting more forests from forestry, and those who are opposed to additional forest protection. Underpinning the division between the forestry-for-jobs and biodiversity frames are, for example, different perceptions of the level of human induced change and disturbance that is

¹⁴⁷ See for example ideas about local land use planning processes of the appeal initiators, presented in relation to the protection-for-community-benefits frames, and wishes for increased participation and influence discussed in the presentation of the enough-benefits frames.

perceived to be inherent to, and tolerable for, the ecosystem. The perception of the forest landscape as dynamic and shaped by humans, typical of actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, has already been presented. As perceived by this group of actors, today's intensively managed and changing landscape may be viewed as a temporary – and acceptable – state in a long term succession. Human influences are perceived as an integral and accepted component of this succession. Conservation values that may be lost, are to a large extent seen as possible to restore and replace¹⁴⁸. The perception of the same landscape shared by actors holding biodiversity frames is quite different. As perceived by these actors, the intensively managed landscape with its mosaic of clear-cuts, planted young forests and decreasing proportion of old forests is heavily transformed and steadily deteriorating. The preferred point of reference for assessing change is a “natural state”¹⁴⁹. In the former situation the ongoing conversion of the landscape is seen as temporary and quite acceptable. In the latter, it is seen as irreversible, totally unsustainable and alarming.

Related to these different perceptions of landscape change, are conflicting understandings of the state of the current landscape, that is the proportion of forests that is commercially managed vs. protected. “What is left” of “natural forests” is by some actors perceived as “disappearing dots” in “an ocean of clear-cuts” (interview with 7)¹⁵⁰. By others, the entire idea of “old growth” forest representing a limited resource is rejected with reference to the “enormous” areas that exist in the already established reserves, for example in Jokkmokk municipality (interview with 24)¹⁵¹. These fundamentally different perceptions are further reflected in actors' views of, for example, “old growth” forests as an in principle renewable resource (as in the case of forestry-for-jobs frames) or limited, scarce and rapidly dwindling resources (as in the case of the biodiversity frames). Different perceptions of forest and landscape change are consequently essential to the entire conception of the policy problem. They are fundamental to the actors' judgements if, to what extent and in what way, the observed changes in the forest landscape constitute a policy problem that needs to be fixed.

So far, the perceptions of actors holding forestry-for-jobs and biodiversity frames have been discussed. However, other actors hold different

¹⁴⁸ See quotes in the presentation of Frames Group 1: Forestry for jobs and welfare.

¹⁴⁹ See quotes in the presentation of Frames Group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity.

¹⁵⁰ See quote in the presentation of Frames Group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity, perceptions of forests.

¹⁵¹ See quote in the presentation of Frames Group 1: Forestry for jobs and welfare, perceptions of forests.

perceptions of forest and landscape change. Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry and community-development frames both include a basic image of forests with certain desired qualities as coming to an end. This point is shared with actors holding biodiversity frames. Yet, the perceptions of the forest landscape vary considerably between these groups. Taking the protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames as an example, their perceptions of landscape change evolve from a point of departure that is quite different from that of the biodiversity frames. The level of human induced disturbance seen in relation to a perceived “natural state”, may not be the most functional parameter for evaluating what is happening to the reindeer grazing lands. Instead, the capacity of the land to support reindeer herding as currently and traditionally performed, is a much more common point of departure when the herders describe how “the land” has changed:

“Normally, we manage [to feed the reindeer] on this land where we have customary rights, which we used before. What has become more common recently is that one has to make use of the coast more than we did before...because the land and the hydro electric power regulation, these encroachments that have taken place, it has become worse and we have to expand our grazing lands.” (interview with 17)

Functionality in relation to the needs of reindeer herding, for example access to suitable grazing land, is consequently used as a parameter to assess change. The argument that the land is not capable of supporting as many reindeer in ways that it used to do, is for example used to substantiate the claim that the grazing lands are deteriorating, “shrinking” and risk coming to an end¹⁵².

This analysis of how perceptions of forest and landscape change figure in different actors’ frames is far from exhaustive. However, the point is to demonstrate that perceptions of forest and landscape dynamics are fundamental to how the policy problem under study is perceived. Even when perceptions of landscape change are partly shared, as in the case of all frames favouring additional forest protection, different points of departure for assessing change may generate quite disparate understandings of the problem. They in turn, bias for different policy preferences and considerations to act. This is for example evident in the case of the protection-for-reindeer-husbandry and biodiversity frames which support arguments to protect different kinds of forests.

¹⁵² See quotes in the presentation of Frames Group 3: forest protection for the survival of Sámi reindeer husbandry.

Underlying these diverging perceptions of the dynamics of the forest landscape are different social constructions of the spatial. Following Shields, overarching orders of space are constructed through processes of social spatialisation. They are explained as social frameworks, as embodied cultural formations that are learned through practice in a social and physical environment. In this case such processes may be illustrated by the relationships between actors' place perceptions and the kind of practices that they are thought to carry out in the forest. A "dynamic" image of forest and landscape change, as typical of the forestry-for-jobs frames, may thus be seen as such a framework learned through the practice of forestry. Practising forestry, becoming a forester or forestry worker, involves a constant learning and co-ordination of the social imaginary (collective mythologies, presuppositions), group activities and the physical landscape. The actors holding the most typical forestry-for-jobs frames are all working in the forestry sector and many are trained foresters (interviews with 13, 9, 14, 8, 11, 12). A dynamic replacement of old forests with young ones, cultivation, is at the heart of this practice which typically is carried out together with other foresters or forest workers in the physical forest landscape. Most actors holding biodiversity frames are trained biologists, or active members of E-NGOs. In these capacities they practise nature conservation. They carry out surveys, make excursions, site visits, carry out actions, etc., typically together with other likeminded people. Protection of a natural heritage and biodiversity is the purpose of these practices which shape these actors' spatial construction of the forest landscape. Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames practice reindeer herding and are therefore taught to "order" the landscape according to the purposes of this practice (interviews with 17, 18 and 19).

Spatialisation is furthermore facilitated by the process of "labelling". Places associated with particular activities become characterised as being appropriate for exactly those activities. Actors diverging ways to "label" the disputed forest in the Pakkojåkkå area provide a good example of how labelling contributes to images that have very concrete practical implications. A "previously managed trivial pine forest", as the disputed forest was labelled by actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, is thus considered appropriate for harvesting and long term commercial forestry. A "forest with high conservation qualities constituting an integrated part of a larger landscape of unfragmented "old growth" forests, as the same areas was labelled by actors holding biodiversity frames, is not seen as an appropriate place for commercial forestry. The plethora of labels for different kinds of forests, for example "managed forests", "old growth forests", "mountain

forests”, “virgin forests”, “natural” or “semi natural forests” thus display competing claims on their appropriate management. Where to stake out the boundary between what is perceived as a “trivial managed forest” and a “high conservation value forest” becomes a matter of balancing conflicting claims on their future management. Conflicting perceptions and labels consequently reflect different groups’ diverging experiences of, and struggle for power over, place and place use. The dispute in Pakkojåkkå accordingly illustrates how politics of a place and its resources, mediated by processes of social spatialisation, is acted out in a discussion over labels, boundaries and delimitations.

6.4.2 Affinities to place and forests

Another set of place-related perceptions that appear to be important to actors’ ways of constructing the policy problem, concerns their experiences of being in the forests. Many actors across the identified groups of frames perceive forests as an integrated part of “home” and a local way of life. It is typically relatively unfragmented and old forests, although not necessarily totally undisturbed, that are associated with “home”¹⁵³. Maintained access to such forests is seen as a condition for being able to live a local way of life. Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames express a similar affinity to “the land”, the traditional reindeer grazing lands. Strong and emotionally loaded affinities to specific old forests, the hunting grounds, the land of the ancestors, etc. are consequently expressed by the actors.

Before going further, the nature of these affinities will be explored in somewhat greater depth. As evident from the presentations of the different frames, certain places and forest types become particularly significant because they are infused with personal meaning and feelings. These feelings are typically closely associated with the embodied experience of particular activities taking place in these places, for example hunting, fishing, observing birds, making fires, drinking coffee. They are typically reflections of a deep sense of well being and they are often described in very positive, almost existential terms. A member of the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise describes a normal weekend expedition by snow mobile:

“...I was out during the weekend and rode 50 kilometres on my snow mobile and just taking a thermos of coffee and going out is good relaxation. I can stop and sit and look at a pine tree for minutes and maybe half an hour

¹⁵³ See presentations of the different groups of frames and section about similarity and overlapping frames.

just to experience the silence...Well...it is as if all stress it just falls off you the time you spend outside, you enjoy life.” (interview with 24)

The emotional affinities to places and forests that evolve out of this kind of experience are what geographers want to capture with the concept “sense of place”. Following Rose (1995), a sense of place is something that develops from every aspect of the individual’s life experience and senses of place pervade everyday life and experience. Some forests and places consequently become very important parts of the lives of these persons. Maintained access to them is a question of well being. A significant number of actors perceive access to such forests and the possibilities of maintaining a local way of life as a main reason for living in Jokkmokk¹⁵⁴. For actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames, possibilities of practising reindeer herding are a question of maintaining a Sámi way of life. For some actors, forestry is therefore perceived as a threat, not only to the forests, but also to a highly valued life style, personal well being, maybe even culture, that is seen to depend on access to these forests. Fear of losing such forests seems to be a strong motivational force to take action. In the case of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival, affinities and concern for such forest areas appear to be the main motivating force at least for one of the two initial initiators¹⁵⁵. Frustration with “loss” of hunting and fishing grounds is used as a general motivational argument in the text of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival. Fear of losing forests and places that provide the basis for highly valued activities, experiences and lifestyles, that are infused with personal meaning and emotions, consequently appears to be an important reason for social mobilisation and resistance.

However, all actors who share the view that access to particular types of forests constitutes an integrated part of “home” and local way of life, do not find it necessary to defend “their” forests from forestry. As pointed out earlier, there are several actors with forestry-for-jobs frames who value access to old and relatively undisturbed forests for their recreational activities. Common to these actors is that they share positive perceptions of the intensively managed forest landscape. They also share perceptions of the forest landscape as highly dynamic. Possible tensions between their professional activity, such as the logging of mature forests, and a private preference for recreation in old forests, appear to be resolved by extending

¹⁵⁴ See for example presentations of the biodiversity, protection-for-community-benefits and enough-protection frames.

¹⁵⁵ See quote in the presentation of Frames Group 4a: Forest protection for local community benefits, appreciation of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

temporal and spatial scales. On a larger scale, the disappearance of one area may be replaced by another. The forest is logged but it is continuously re-growing. A forestry professional, moreover passionate hunter, living in Jokkmokk explains:

“I usually recommend people in order to understand this, to really follow such areas in the immediate surroundings themselves so that they see the change...Imagine a clear-cut as a construction site instead, it is not especially beautiful when a hole has been dug there...but soon a beautiful house will stand and it is almost the same way one has to see this, although it takes much longer. And then it is easier to understand really.” (interview with 9)

The “loss” is seen as temporal and there is no obvious reason to react against forestry. The understanding of the policy problem is then again quite different from that of the actors who perceive “the loss” as irreversible and definite.

Yet other actors choose to cope with the feeling of “loss” rather than to protest. A common attitude among actors holding enough-protection frames is, as discussed earlier, to recognise the individual “loss” but accept it – as impossible to avoid or for the benefit of the common good. This type of approach will be further explored in the next section. The point here, is to conclude that actors’ affinities to, or senses of, place constitute important components of their social spatialisation, that is their construction of an overarching “order” of space that is reproduced in concrete form as various preferences and practices. These affinities thus bias for action. Judging from the interview material, they actually appear to be among the most important reasons for actors taking action for forest protection.

6.4.3 Perceptions of place dependencies

It has already been concluded that perceptions of place dependencies, such as the importance of forestry to the economy of the local community, divide different groups of frames¹⁵⁶. However, it is interesting to take a closer look at how these perceptions are constructed and explore what these divisions represent. Looking at the local level, all actors share a more or less prominent perception of the local community as forestry and hydro electric power dependent in the past. When it comes to the present and future situation, only actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames share an unambiguous image of forestry still being a very important local economic activity. All

¹⁵⁶ See “Analysis of Frames I: Difference and dividing lines”.

actors who still perceive the community as being forestry dependent, are negative to additional forest protection in the municipality. Actors, who share perceptions of the local community as no longer very economically dependent on the forestry sector, also share preferences for additional forest protection. Many of the actors who are ambiguous on this point, are likewise uncertain in their positions towards forest protection. The perceived degree of local forestry dependence appears to be another place related perception that is of critical importance to actors' understanding of policy problems and options. Several local actors motivate their standpoints and actions with reference to the perceived role of forestry in the local economy. A hunter and fisherman, moreover local company leader, motivates his decision to support the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival:

“As a private person and businessman I want to know how many jobs the state's forestry will generate in 15 to 20 years. My fear, which I very much want know the answer to, is if state forestry is a shrinking business sector which consumes a resource that other expanding business sectors intend to live off. For me it is the employment perspective that is the most important thing.” (letter from informant 22 to the Association of Private Enterprise)

A leading person within the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise explains why he/she is ambivalent to additional forest reserves:

“... maybe 40 persons may earn their living in the forestry sector and then that should be placed in relation to what this land would be able to generate instead for example as an actively used tourist area, but as long as people do not see the real value of a nature reserve, that it actually may generate possibilities for earning a living and so on, then they may not have so much understanding for the reserves either, that was what I said to myself...” (interview with 25)

Local actors' perceptions of the importance of forestry to the local economy and development are consequently crucial for how they apprehend the policy options. The economic significance of forestry to local communities as well as to the nation as a whole was also a publicly debated issue as explained in the introduction to this chapter. Some influential state actors, such as Sveaskog and the NPB, actively promoted the image of northern local communities as highly forestry dependent. Supported by a consultancy report from Jaakko Pöyry, Sveaskog warned that 2,600 jobs would disappear in northern Sweden if the plans of the conservation

authorities were to go ahead¹⁵⁷. To the extent that actors on the national level in favour of more protection went into a debate about local employment and development, they responded on the basis of their biodiversity frames. They argued that the local communities would benefit more from protecting than logging forests with high conservation values¹⁵⁸. Underlying these diverging perceptions of place are once again processes of social spatialisation which shape overarching orders of space, orders that prescribe what to do when and where. Facilitated by labels and perceptions, places become characterised as appropriate for specific activities. Maintaining forestry and access to raw material is for example critical to a “forestry dependent community”. Large scale industrial forestry is on the other hand inappropriate in a “wilderness area” or a “centre for nature tourism”. As in the case of Pakkojåkkå, conflicting labels and place perceptions reflect competing claims on place and its resources. Here, competing images of the local community are used in a struggle over access to its surrounding forests, as raw material or protected areas. Little impartial information is available about the local economic significance of forestry activities, especially to local actors. Actors without knowledge and sufficient experiences to form their own opinion are thus exposed to a cavalcade of competing and contradictory perceptions and labels. It is left to themselves to make sense of the situation and, as evident in the interviews, many end up indecisive. In such a situation, actors easily become manipulated and disempowered.

Also relevant is the existence of another kind of tension between different perceptions of the local community that exists in the interview material. It is not primarily about its economic foundation, but about ethnic identity and ownership. In addition to the perception of the community as more or less forestry dependent, images of the community as a “wilderness area” and “Sámi centre” also exist¹⁵⁹. The latter two are not very salient in the public debate, yet say something about the role of perceptions and labels in political struggles over land and resources. The perception of Jokkmokk as a Sámi centre rests on the perception of a long standing Sámi presence, a strong Sámi economic sector and Jokkmokk as a traditional meeting and market place, as explained in the presentation of the reindeer-husbandry frames. According to Shields, a function of place perceptions is to define what kind of activities a place is appropriate for. It may be added: “by whom”. A “Sámi centre” or “meeting point” is a place for Sámi people.

¹⁵⁷ See press release from Sveaskog 2003 October 07: ”2,600 jobb hotas i skogsnärigen i norr”, http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/Page_7246.asp, (accessed 2004 August 19).

¹⁵⁸ See presentation of Frames Group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity.

¹⁵⁹ See presentations of Frames, Groups 1-5.

The image consequently has an ethnic connotation. Nothing is said about it being for Sámi only – interdependence is recognised (interviews with 17 and 18). It may, however, be assumed that it is a place where the Sámi see themselves as being able to develop their way of life and culture, a place which even in the future is “good to live in as Sámi”¹⁶⁰. All actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames share perceptions of the Sámi being marginalised in this and similar policy processes¹⁶¹. Sámi actors perceive themselves as having been colonised by the Swedish state, and their legal rights to land and water having been removed¹⁶². The perception of Jokkmokk as a Sámi centre, a perception with a focus on Sámi presence, may also be seen as an attempt to reclaim place, discursively as well as materially. A place where Sámi have a future is a place where their rights are honoured and their culture is respected. It is a place where the Sámi can develop their businesses and activities, for example Sámi reindeer herding. As evident in the interview material, this is perceived to require not only fundamental changes in forest management but also shifts in conservation priorities, such as more influence and power in policy making and planning.

An important component of Sámi attempts to reclaim place is reference to a long standing presence in, and use of, the landscape. As pointed out in one of the interviews, the perception of having been there first, before the Swedes, underpins legal claims to the land¹⁶³. Actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames typically oppose the use of the “wilderness label”. A reindeer herder comments on the perception of their “lands” as “the last wilderness of Europe”:

“... there is a lot of talk about this...this last wilderness of Europe, that is what the Swedes call it, for us it is no wilderness.” (interview with 17)

The label “wilderness” ignores the long standing Sámi presence in the landscape. It may thus be seen to undermine Sámi aspirations to reclaim place and future possibilities to continue to “use” the landscape. The point, again, is to demonstrate how different – and in this case not even obviously conflicting – place perceptions may reflect social, political and even ethnic

¹⁶⁰ See quote in the presentation of Frames Group 3: Forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry.

¹⁶¹ See quote in the presentaiton of Frames Group 3: Forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry.

¹⁶² See quote in the presentation of Frames Group 3: Forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry, “place perceptions”.

¹⁶³ See quote in the presentation of Frames Group 3: forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry, “place perceptions”.

divides. It has already been shown how perceptions and labels of forest and landscape change are used in struggles over forest management. Politics of resource management, may however also be enacted through the use of different, more or less apparently conflicting, images of the local community. These images do not always have an obvious link to resource management, such as the perception of Jokkmokk as a Sámi centre, or meeting point, but they may nevertheless be underpinned by diverging claims on natural resources.

6.4.4 Conclusions III: The role of place of place perceptions

A number of conclusions can be drawn in relation to the role of place perceptions for actors' apprehension of the policy problem. First, different understandings of forest and landscape change appear to be essential to the conception of the issue at stake. These perceptions are fundamental to actors' understandings of whether, and to what extent, the observable changes in the forest landscape constitute a policy problem that needs to be fixed. They are also instrumental to actors' understandings of the nature of these problems and thus their judgements as to how they ought to be attended to.

Secondly, this study suggests that the use of conflicting images and labels reflects different groups' struggle for power over place and place use. The dispute in Pakkojåkkå illustrates how such struggles, mediated by processes of social spatialisation, are acted out in a discussion over labels, boundaries and delimitations. However, labels and place perceptions underpinning conflicting claims on natural resource management are not always directly linked to the resource in question. More or less apparently conflicting perceptions of the local community may for example play a similar role.

A third conclusion relates to actors' affinities to, or senses of, place. They appear to constitute important components of actors' social spatialisation, that is their construction of overarching "orders" of space. This study suggests that these affinities and senses bias for action and are among the most important reasons for actors taking action for forest protection.

6.5 Analysis of frames IV: The role of social organisation

Although place and place perceptions are clearly important components of actors' frames, there are also situations when they do not do very well in explaining actors' frames and activities. An example is situations where the actors motivate views and activities primarily with reference to other people's opinions, or wishes to keep the peace, rather than their perception

of place and forests (as discussed above). Shields' (1991) argumentation for a social level of "imaginary geography" may help to explore such phenomena (see Chapter 3). He suggests that people transcend and suppress their own experience in order to identify with broader social groups. Spatialisation thus enters into and underscores the perceived unity of social groups. As outlined in Chapter 3, an ambition of this thesis is to combine these insights of Shields with Perri 6's (2005a) conceptualisation of frames. A point of departure for 6, and the neo-Durkheimians, is that frames are seen as products of social solidarities. In this section the role of actors' social organisation in their construction of frames will consequently be explored. As outlined in Chapter 3, a slightly modified version of 6's "grid/group" (see Figure 9) scheme will be used as a heuristic device to explore if, and how, social organisation matters to the actors' ways of apprehending policy problems and policy events. Rather than discussing all possible aspects of this issue, the discussion will focus on three areas where the analysis made so far indicate that social organisation may play a significant role.

6.5.1 Hierarchies and authoritarian frames

A significant number of actors, particularly those holding enough-protection frames, motivate their views and activities with reference to other people's opinions, or wishes to keep the peace, rather than their place based experiences. They also tend to move between frames depending on social context. In what way then, does social context, and social organisation influence these actors' construction of frames? To start with, what do we know about the organisational context of these actors, for example the local community Jokkmokk and the Association of Private Enterprise?

As outlined in Chapter 2, Jokkmokk may be seen as a traditional forestry and hydro electric power community. Much of the economic as well as social structure of the community has evolved with the development of these activities. In previous research, the organisation of the public life of the community has been described as a typically traditional, male dominated hierarchy (Härnsten et al., 2005). What do the local actors say about their organisational context at the time of the appeal?

Many local actors across most of the identified groups of frames actually describe the community and/or their immediate organisational context in terms of social constraint. Maintenance of good relations appears to be very important. A company owner who moved into Jokkmokk describes the local community:

“Yes, it was an open community, an easy community to come into so to speak...but at the same time...it is certainly easy to get enemies here as well...In such a small community you have to play your cards right, or you are in trouble rather quickly.” (interview with 27)

Some actors point to the occurrence of disciplining social activities, such as pressure or threats for example towards those who were perceived as betraying the forest sector in the dispute over the appeal¹⁶⁴. Yet others describe the community in more general authoritarian and hierarchical terms. Many actors holding biodiversity, protection-for-community-benefits and reindeer-husbandry frames, for example use the meeting with the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise as a basis for more general conclusions about perceived shortcomings in the local democracy¹⁶⁵. Others tell about disciplining “unwritten rules”¹⁶⁶. These kinds of observations are however not restricted to actors challenging current forestry practices. A company owner and member of the Association of Private Enterprise explains:

“Yes, I guess...we live in a municipality where we are a collective at the same time, it takes a lot before you come out and argue for your opinion...Because if you stick out then you have to be rather strong and stand steady and it is a small municipality with a small and shrinking market, it does not take so much for a business man to be blacklisted...” (interview with 25)

Many local actors across most of the identified groups of frames consequently describe the community and/or their own organisational context, in terms of social constraint. What these actors express may also be articulated by the neo-Durkheimian idea of “grid” (see Chapters 3 and 4, Figure 9). “Grid” constitutes the vertical axis of the neo-Durkheimian scheme and indicates the extent to which a situation is set about with constraints of rules, roles and facts that have been taken more or less for given (6, 2005a). The “grid” of the community Jokkmokk consequently appears to be high, at least in the situation of the appeal. In the presentation

¹⁶⁴ See quotes in presentation of Frames Group 4a and b, Appreciation of the policy process 3: the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

¹⁶⁵ See quotes in the presentation of Frames Groups 2-4a, Appreciation of the policy process 3: The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

¹⁶⁶ See quote in the presentation of Frames Group 3: Forest protection for the survival of Sámi reindeer husbandry, Appreciation of the policy process 3: the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

of the enough-protection and protection-for-community-benefits frames, quotes by several actors indicate that members of the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise, experienced “pressure” to conform. The “grid” of the association may thus also be seen as high. The other organisational parameter of interest to the neo-Durkheimians is “group”, understood as the degree of accountability of the individual to a bounded group. Most of the actors that are relevant to this discussion are not free floating individuals. They are organised in highly bounded groups such as the Association of Private Enterprise. The local community may also be seen as a form of bounded group. As evident from preceding quotes, actors refer to the local community as a collective, or group, to which the individuals are held accountable. According to the scheme (Figure 9) presented in Chapter 4, the combination of “high grid” (many social prescriptions) and “high group” (high accountability of the individual to a bounded group), yields a style of social organisation that is labelled “hierarchy”. A neo-Durkheimian analysis of the organisational context of this group of actors consequently supports previous, and more general, conclusions that Jokkmokk is a hierarchically organised place. The Association of Private Enterprise likewise falls into the category of hierarchies.

According to 6, types of social organisation, or “social solidarities”, evoke sense making in ways that elicit action of the kind that sustains the institutional and organisational commitments of the actors. Actors existing in an organisational context characterised as hierarchical, are thus expected to develop authoritarian or collectivist thought styles and frames. As evident from the presentation of frames, such thought styles, or “themes”, are prominent components of the enough-protection frames¹⁶⁷. An example is the theme about maintaining social relations and trusting “experts” and “friends”. An overriding commitment to the maintenance of primary social solidarities, in this case the established local hierarchy, may thus explain the urge which prompted the leadership of the Association of Private Enterprise to take action against the appeal although it was not totally rejected in substance. As illustrated by the disputes that the appeal gave rise to, it was difficult for the Association of Private Enterprise, as well as the broader community to handle claims for additional forest protection. One reason may be that such claims risked breaking apart traditionally strong social solidarities. In fact, they challenged activities that traditionally had served as the very foundation of these hierarchies. It is important to remember in this context the history of Jokkmokk as a traditional forestry and hydro electric

¹⁶⁷ See presentation of Frames Group 4b: Enough forest protection.

power community. Economic as well as social structures of the community have evolved with the development of these activities.

Strong social solidarities and authoritarian/collectivist frames also help explain why some actors chose rather to accept a loss than to take up a fight for their highly valued forests and places. In line with an authoritarian/collectivist way of thinking, they choose to adapt for the sake of the common good although the price is loss of personally highly valued forests and places. A tension between some actors' direct experiences of place and their overarching commitments to a social solidarity holding different place perceptions, may also be a reason for actors shifting or moving between frames. Perceptions of forests in need of protection and social commitments to a local hierarchy traditionally opposed to forest protection may clash. Depending on the situation, actors may oscillate between these frames and the social solidarities that support them. However, the compelling nature of the primary social solidarities may override preferences which have grown out of direct experiences and affinities to place and forests, individually or in secondary social solidarities. This appears to have been the case with some of the actors who first signed the appeal and then the disclaimer. A hierarchical organisational context, particularly of actors holding enough-protection frames, may thus help explain the apparently changeable nature of these frames. It also helps to clarify the occurrence of seemingly contradictory positions and activities of many actors holding these frames

6.5.2 Equality and egalitarian frames

Two, or possibly three, of the identified groups of frames may, according to the neo-Durkheimian scheme (see Figure 9), be classified as "egalitarian". Fundamental elements of these frames as well as the organisational context of the actors holding them are supposedly similar. What does this mean for possible co-operation and coalition building?

As apprehended in the scheme (Figure 9) egalitarian thought styles, or basic frames, are seen as products of an organisational situation labelled "equity". As outlined in Chapter 4, it is characterised by a high degree of accountability of individuals to a bounded group and relatively low "grid", that is low degree of social constraint. In the preceding text, it was demonstrated how adherents of hierarchy perceive acts of social deviance to be dangerous because such behaviour may disrupt their preferred form of social relations. Egalitarians, in contrast are predicted to reject the prescriptions associated with hierarchy (understood as who is allowed to do what with whom) and thus show much less concern about social deviance.

As advocates of greater equality and combatants of injustices, they typically abhor the role of differentiation characteristic of hierarchy because ranked stations signify inequality (see Wildavsky, 1987).

In the context of this policy process, the E-NGOs and the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities show organisational situations that may be characterised as “equity”. Although different, they both represent strongly bounded groups with a relatively high degree of liberty in relation to the hierarchical prescriptions discussed previously. A relatively low “grid” is for example illustrated by their tendency to challenge hierarchies rather than to subordinate themselves. The most obvious example is Greenpeace and their action in Pakkojåkkå. However, both the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities and the local E-NGOs stood by and defended the appeal throughout the local dispute. The protection-for-community-benefits frames, actually also share many traits of the egalitarian frames. Yet, the organisational contexts of the actors holding them are slightly different from those of the E-NGOs and reindeer herding communities. The initiators of the appeal do for example appear to be expected to adhere to the norms of the local hierarchy to a significantly higher extent than the Sámi reindeer herders and the “environmental activists”¹⁶⁸. The degree to which their organisational situation is set by social constraint consequently seems to be higher, that is the “grid” is higher. Actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames are also relatively loosely organised. There is not yet a very strongly bounded group, so “group” is consequently lower. This may be a typical organisational situation for emerging frames. Yet, comparably high “grid” and low “group” may be a reason for the disintegration of this group of frames. The social deviance of the actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames was not accepted by the local hierarchy and there was no strong group to provide an alternative social solidarity.

Although there are differences between the social contexts of the actors holding these three groups of frames, they all share the basic components of typical egalitarian frames. Firstly, they all share a positive view of deviance in relation to established structures and institutions, such as hierarchies. In addition to the launch of the appeal itself, this is demonstrated by in principle positive judgements of Greenpeace’s direct action in Pakkojåkkå. They share strong images of what is right, wrong, good or bad, that is strong normative values such as protection of the environment, survival of a Sámi

¹⁶⁸ See quotes and discussion in Frames Group 1: Forestry for jobs, Group 2: Biodiversity and Group 3a: Enough protection; appreciation of the policy process 3: The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival.

way of life or survival and development of the local community. They also share an injustice component, such as the perception of the local community having been unfairly exploited by externally placed actors. They moreover express some sort of solidarity or liberation theme, for example in terms of Sámi rights, local community empowerment, or environmental rescue¹⁶⁹. As outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, the E-NGOs fit nicely into the ideal egalitarian frame when the “equality” situation is extended to include non-human beings and future generations. The object of the perceived injustice, or wrong, may consequently vary, but common to all is a tendency to blame the perceived repressive structures and dominant actors. The state, the market, specific enterprise or power structures are typically accused of failures to protect the environment, violation of rights and unfair distribution of benefits¹⁷⁰.

Actors holding these three groups of frames consequently share a number of fundamental ways of seeing and organising the world. A logical assumption is that it is easier to change the perceived objects of injustices, protection failures, etc., than to change fundamental ways of apprehending the world. Coalition formation between groups with similar organisational contexts and basic frames would thus be expected. The formation of the group standing behind the appeal may serve as an example. In this case, the actors appear to have adjusted their frames in order to facilitate coalition building. Actors holding biodiversity frames for example adopted key elements of the protection-for-community-benefits frames. Their focus is typically on perceived injustices to the environment, to non-human beings, and future generations. However, when the local E-NGO argues for the appeal, the local community has replaced the environment as the main object of perceived injustices and wrongs¹⁷¹. The state and market are still to be blamed for their perceived failures and the basic egalitarian frame is not significantly changed. In the case of actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames, their motive for supporting the appeal was to build broader and stronger local coalitions. The scope of their argumentation is thus extended from a primary focus on Sámi conditions to include that of the local community as a whole. Perceived injustices and wrongs by E-NGOs and other local actors are down-played, presumably for the sake of

¹⁶⁹ See presentation of Frames Groups 2 and 3.

¹⁷⁰ See presentation of Frames Groups 2, 3 and 4a.

¹⁷¹ See quote in Analysis of frames II: Similarity and overlap, forest protection for community benefits and presentation of Frames Group 2: Biodiversity.

building broader coalitions¹⁷². However, the basic elements of their egalitarian frames were not fundamentally altered.

Similar organisational contexts are certainly no guarantee for the successful formation of coalitions, but they may help. As illustrated by the actors standing behind the appeal, they were able to establish a common platform with minor adjustments of their basic egalitarian frames. The fact that this coalition fell apart may possibly be attributed to a poorly developed organisational “equity situation” of actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames, that is a relatively high “grid” but no strong protecting group. This question will be further developed below.

6.5.3 Persuasion and shifting frames

According to 6, mobility between frames is possible, for example as an effect of persuasion. However, 6 also suggests that there are socially set limitations to the scope for persuasion because of the greater importance of the primary situation, understood as the actors’ primary location in social organisation. An actor who is subject to persuasion, or other influences that suggest a frame shift, thus easily moves back to a thought style that reflects the primary location. Let us explore the activities of the initiators of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival with this theory in mind. Taking forest issues and the appeal as a point of departure, the primary location of both initiators may be characterised as “apathy” with a predicted fatalistic thought style. They were not previously organised in relation to this issue. This means low “group”. They moreover acted in a social context characterised by a high degree of social constraint. This means “grid” is high. Strong affinities to place, experiences of landscape change and conversations with each other and like-minded people appear to have been the main reasons for a modified way of thinking¹⁷³. They consequently shifted from a fatalistic to a more egalitarian frame and took action accordingly. They organised themselves and initiated the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival. As the disputes arose, they made an attempt to defend their fragile “group” but failed and reverted back to the thought style reflecting their primary situation. Constrained by a high level of “grid”, they reverted to their original fatalistic frames. A similar analysis is also applicable to many of the actors who signed the appeal out of a desire to protect more forests but later changed their minds. However, some of the latter, such as the members of the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise, were recruited out of a hierarchical rather

¹⁷² See presentation of Frames Group 3: Forest protection for Sámi reindeer husbandry.

¹⁷³ See quotes in the presentation of Frames Group 4a: Forest protection for community benefits, appreciation of the policy process 3: The appeal Forest Protection for Survival.

than fatalistic social situation. According to 6, such a move, that is vertically or horizontally in the neo-Durkheimian scheme (see Figure 9 in Chapter 4), is even more difficult than moving along the diagonal from the fatalist to the egalitarian corner. The underlying logic is that the fatalists and the egalitarians reflect each other's blame/mobilising role. It is thus relatively easy to move from an egalitarian mobilising "injustice" frame to a fatalistic passive "lack of control" frame, and vice versa. For this reason, 6 suggests that radical movements tend to recruit support from the fatalists, just as government looks to support from the business world. The evolution of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival appears to exemplify such movements at the same time as it clearly demonstrates the vulnerabilities and difficulties also involved in so-called diagonal frame shifts.

6 argues that movements from an "authoritarian" to a more "egalitarian", protection oriented way of thinking, that is vertically in the neo-Durkheimian scheme, face relatively high hurdles. Such a move involves a shift from one strongly bounded group to another that is organised according to quite different principles. This appeared to be difficult for most members of the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise who signed the appeal. Yet, such moves seem to happen for example when state civil servants shift between good-governance and biodiversity frames. An example is civil servants who, on the one hand, defend policy outcomes as acceptable and reasonable and, on the other hand, express appreciation for direct action or associate themselves with the E-NGOs¹⁷⁴. These actors appear to be able to uphold more than one social solidarity at a time. They are part of the state administration which is a typical "hierarchy", but they are also part of other social situations. The civil servants who show this tendency to move between good-governance and biodiversity frames are all biologists and some of them share a past in E-NGOs (interviews with 4, 5, 7). Their egalitarian frames may thus reflect some type of association with a social situation that is characterised by "equality". One plausible explanation for their ability to shift between frames in this way may be a primary location, maybe at an earlier point in time, in the "equality" situation and a current professional location in the hierarchical situation. Movements between, or simultaneous presences in, these organisational contexts may thus explain the multiple, or shifting, frames of these actors.

As pointed out before, mobility along the diagonals of the neo-Durkheimian scheme, that is from the hierarchy to the competition corner, is supposed to face lower hurdles (see Chapter 3). Actually quite a few actors

¹⁷⁴ See quotes in presentation of Frames Group 2: Forest protection for biodiversity; basic themes and analysis of frames II: similarity and overlap.

in this case appear to slide up and down this very diagonal depending on context. This is particularly evident with actors who have a presence in the market as well as within the state organisation, for example Sveaskog and the NPB. It also occurs among purely commercial actors such as private wood processing companies. They consequently move between an organisational situation characterised as “competition”, with a predicted “individualist” basic frame, and a “hierarchical” situation with an authoritarian frame. Wildavsky (1987) makes an attempt to clarify in what kind of situations the “individualists” are prone to ally with the “hierarchists” of government. He suggests this primarily occurs in attempts to maintain “order”. In cases when “order” signifies support for the stability and legitimacy necessary for market relationships, individualists will support government actions toward that end. It is thus predictable that Sveaskog, the NPB and the private wood processing businesses will ask for law enforcement and support the government’s attempt to remove Greenpeace from the action site in Pakkojåkkå. It is likewise foreseeable that the same actors will go against the government when it is suggesting additional regulation to protect forests from commercial forestry. The point here, as well as in the preceding paragraphs, is that some types of frame shifts and alliances are more likely to evolve than others. The scope for other types may be less likely because of higher hurdles that derive from social solidarities and the presumed greater importance of the primary situation.

6.5.4 Conclusions IV: The role of social organisation

This study suggests that it makes sense to pay attention to the social roots of the variation of frames and activities that are observed. There appear to be socially set limitations to the kind and degree of frame shifts that are likely. This implies there are socially set limitations to the prospects of persuasion, coalition formation as well as frame shifts motivated by actors’ perceptions of place and forests. Strong social solidarities and authoritarian/collectivist frames may for example help explain why some actors choose rather to accept a loss than to take up a fight for their highly valued forests and places. Tensions between some actors’ direct experiences of place and their overarching commitments to a primary social solidarity holding other ways to perceive place may also explain how actors shift or move between frames. Frame shifts and broad coalition formation may, as in the case of the appeal, be hampered by actors’ primary commitments to different social solidarities. However, similar organisational contexts may accordingly facilitate coalition formation. As illustrated by the group of actors standing behind the appeal

throughout the dispute, they were able to establish a common basis for co-operation with only minor adjustments to their basic egalitarian frames.

Finally, it was demonstrated how some types of frame shifts and alliances across different organisational contexts are more likely to evolve than others. Movements from a hierarchical to a more equity-like context, that is from authoritarian to egalitarian basic frames, face relatively high hurdles. This was the case for most of the company owners signing and later disclaiming the appeal. Movements along the diagonals in the neo-Durkheimian scheme, for example from hierarchy to competition or from apathy to equality, appear to face lower hurdles. Examples of business-government relations as well as the initiation of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival appear to confirm this theory. However, the initiators of the appeal, when pressured, reverted back to the fatalistic thought style reflecting their primary social situation. The example thus clearly illustrates the force of the primary social location and the vulnerabilities and difficulties involved in such frame shifts.

6.6 Conclusions: Analysing actors' frames

In this chapter the Government Commission under study has been briefly introduced. The actors and their frames have been identified, grouped and explored. Six groups of similar frames were analysed with respect to actors' perceptions of place and the policy making process. Firstly, difference and dividing lines were discussed in order to illuminate frame competition and frame conflicts. Secondly, similarity and frame overlap were in focus. Thirdly, a number of conclusions were drawn about the role of place perceptions for actors' shifting understandings of the policy problem. It was demonstrated how place perceptions help explain divisions as well as overlap between the identified frames. Finally, the role of actors' social organisation was discussed. It was concluded that there appear to be socially set limitations to the kind and degree of frame shifts that are likely to occur. The role of place perceptions in the construction of actors' frames may consequently not be properly understood without also taking the social context into account. The next step is to link the actors' frames to the process of policy making. In the next chapter, the analysis will therefore be taken further to explore how actors' frames are expressed and used in the policy making processes.

7 A Government Commission and its local expressions II: Analysing the policy process

This chapter addresses the second of the two sub-questions posed in this thesis. Whose policy preferences are reflected in policy decisions – and why? An analysis of actors' frames serves to explain how actors' understanding of the world informs their policy preferences and political activities. However, the frames as such do not say anything about if, and how, they matter to the policy making process. It is in a study of the policy process that it becomes evident why some frames are dominant and influential whereas others are suppressed. This is the reason for now placing the policy process at the centre of attention.

Before entering an analysis of the policy process, the factors that enable groups to influence policy making will be briefly discussed. A first prerequisite for influence is access to the formal policy process and its decision making procedures. The character of the governance system is consequently one factor determining which actors have the opportunity to influence policy making. In this context, traditional political science analysis emphasises the role of formal political structures, such as hierarchical and vertical state structures. "New" governance theories, on the other hand, focus on the significance of a much broader spectrum of actors who seek to influence a policy process in many different ways (see for example Pierre and Peters, 2000, in Chapter 3). In the policy process under study, it is quite obvious that traditional hierarchies as well as a broader spectrum of interest groups have a role. In line with Pierre and Peters (2000), actors' interactions and their access to the policy making process will consequently be explored in light of existing hierarchies *as well as* markets *and* networks.

Access to the policy making process, or possession of formal political power, may not be all that is needed to influence policy outcomes. In a

“new” governance setting, Pierre and Peters (2000) argue that political leverage also requires “entrepreneurship” and “political skill”. Skill may, for example, entail familiarity with political procedures and knowledge about the issues. Entrepreneurship may include capacity to form strategic alliances and take advantage of strategic opportunities. In order to influence the policy process actors are bound to liaise with others who share their perceptions, or frames. They may also engage in an exchange of resources and skills in order to forward joint objectives more efficiently. As a result, social configurations of actors who share policy preferences and frames evolve. In order to illuminate the formation of such groupings, and thus the ability of different actors to efficiently voice their policy preferences, Fischer’s (2003) concept of Interpretive Communities is used. The concept is needed to explore how actors’ frames are expressed in the policy making process. The groups of frames, presented in Chapter 6, are simply assemblies of similar frames. Interpretive Communities, in contrast, indicate how actors, who share policy preferences and frames, interact and take action to influence the policy process.

With continued reference to Fischer, policy making may be seen as a discursive struggle in which each policy related idea is an argument, or set of arguments, favouring different ways of looking at the world, that is a competition between different frames. In order to influence policy outcomes, it is consequently not enough to be part of an Interpretive Community and promote its shared policy preferences. It is also necessary to possess an ability to influence the selection, organisation and interpretation of reality in such a way that the preferred solutions make the most sense to other actors in the debate, particularly those making decisions. Of importance is thus the capacity of actors to gain support for their ways of perceiving the policy problems and events. In this context, the broader context of the policy process, such as past policy and style of policy making, are also of relevance.

This chapter therefore starts with an overview of the actors and their interactions in the policy process under study. It is followed by a presentation and analysis of the Interpretive Communities at play. This is followed by an analysis of how the actors, through their Interpretive Communities, act to promote their policy preferences and frames and thus influence policy outcomes. Finally there is a presentation and discussion of the policy outcomes.

7.1 The actors and their interactions

Figure 10 is an attempt to show the actors' interactions in the policy process under study. It also provides an illustration of the governance system and thus serves as an entry point to a discussion about actors' access to the policy process. Actors who are actively participating in the process, in a formal or informal capacity, are indicated by white squares. Actors who are not actively participating in this particular process but have a passive role, for example as policy providers, are shaded. Solid lines indicate institutionalised relations and dotted lines represent more informal relations and interactions.

At the centre of the figure are the state actors that are formally involved in the Government Commission. In addition to the Government itself, they include relevant ministries, authorities, the state forest administrators and the CAB in Norrbotten. The ministries primarily involved are Environment, Finance as well as, what at the time used to be, Industry, Employment and Communication. The latter ministry had the main responsibility for forestry issues. The state actors are typically hierarchically organised. The SEPA for example operates under the Ministry of Environment and Sveaskog under the leadership of the then Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication. The NPB is headed by the Ministry of Finance. In addition, the Ministry of Defence is involved in its capacity as Head of the National Fortifications Administration which owns forests. The role of the CAB in Norrbotten was expanded as the process evolved. It became particularly significant as the authority is one of the three parties heading the extended consultation processes with the forest administrators. These "core actors" are formally involved in the policy process and are the ones that have authority to make decisions.

In addition to these formally engaged actors, there are a large number of actors who are involved in more external capacities. As indicated in Figure 10, they interact with the formally involved core actors through networks and markets. The private forestry sector and the E-NGOs provide the most prominent and influential examples.

Locally based actors are presented on the bottom row of Figure 10. The local forestry sector includes local organisations involved in forestry, such as the local office of the NPB, the Jokkmokk Forest Common, the district office of the SFA and various private forestry entrepreneurs. Some local forestry actors are formally involved in the policy process in their capacity as land owners and local units of the state forest administration, such as the Jokkmokk office of the NBP and the district office of the SFA. Most of these actors are part of vertically integrated networks, that is networks which operate across local, regional, national, European and, even, international

levels. Jokkmokk Forest Common and the local NPB are for example part of the regional network “Skoglig Samverkan”¹⁷⁵ which also includes Sveaskog and other large private forest corporations with a nationwide or global presence. The smaller private forest owners are organised in regional and national forest owners associations and some of the entrepreneurs are members of the national association of forest machine entrepreneurs¹⁷⁶. Many of these actors are part of international networks and are for example members of different international certification organisations, notably the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) or the Programme for the Endorsement of Forest Certification Schemes (PEFC). On a local, as well as regional, national, EU and international levels, the state forest administrators and the private forestry sector interact in common markets. These networks and markets include actors that are part of, or have access to, the formal policy process. Actors who are not themselves formally involved in the process are thus able to access and influence it through their networks.

Another local actor with well developed vertical networks, and thus access to the formal policy process, is the local E-NGO. It constitutes the local chapter of the SSNC and is part of the national network “Protect the Forests”¹⁷⁷. The SSNC is in turn a participant in, or co-operates with, a number of well developed international networks such as the Taiga Rescue Network, Forest Movement Europe, the World Rainforest Movement and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). The organisation is moreover a member of the international forest certification organisation FSC. Greenpeace and WWF are also part of some of these networks in addition to having European as well as international presences themselves. Co-operation between different E-NGOs is common. Although Greenpeace does not have any local presence in Jokkmokk, they did for example consult and informally co-operate with the existing local E-NGO about the action in Pakkojåkkå.

¹⁷⁵ Skoglig Samverkan, in English “co-operation in/about forests”, is a regional network for actors involved in the forestry sector.

¹⁷⁶ “SMF Skogsentreprenörerna” in Swedish.

¹⁷⁷ “Nätverket Skydda Skogen” in Swedish.

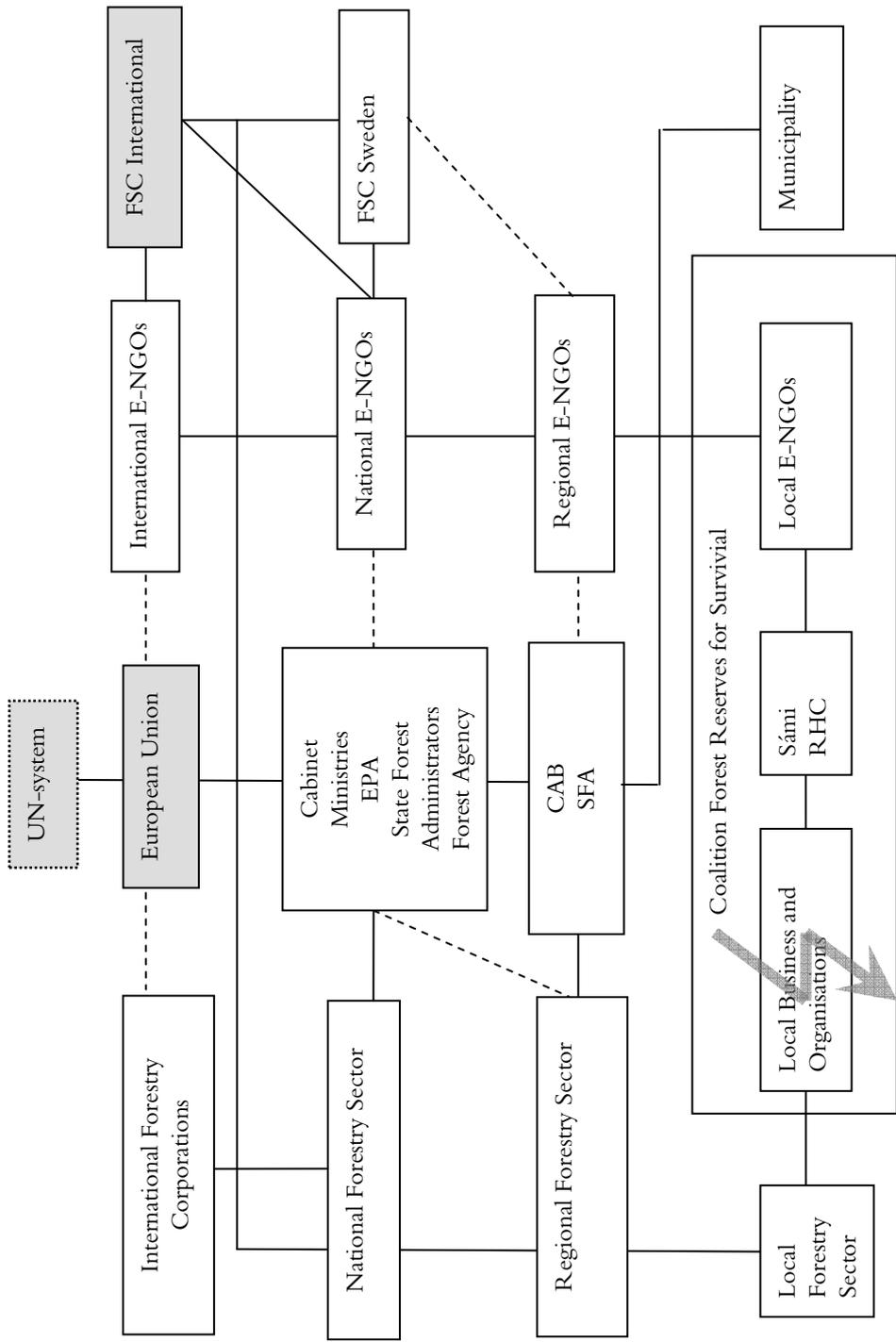


Figure 10. The actors and their interactions in the Government Commission under study.

The interactions between the E-NGOs and the actors involved in the formal policy process are not as institutionalised as those of the forestry sectors'. However, informal relations exist and particularly Greenpeace refers to frequent communication with the SEPA, the Ministry of Environment as well as the CAB in Norrbotten throughout the policy process (interview with 15). There is also a significant flow of personnel between the E-NGOs and the state administration. The current heads of the SEPA, the SFA and the involved department of the Ministry of Environment for example all share a past as employees or elected representatives of the SSNC. Although, the E-NGOs do not have direct access to the decision making process, they consequently do have well developed informal channels to access information and provide influence.

Other local actors do not have access to the same kind of well developed or institutionalised networks and their involvement in the policy process is limited. The Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities are for example not formally involved in the process. Their networks, for example the Federation of Swedish Sámi (SSR), are primarily geared towards "Sámi" politics (see Chapter 2) and were not activated in this case. However, through the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival, the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities as well as a large number of locally based companies and organisations, were drawn into the policy process. Through the networks and expertise of the local E-NGO, they were theoretically able to access and influence the formal process. However, with the split of the group behind the appeal, the possibilities of these actors accessing the policy process were seriously diminished. One section of appeal supporters, headed by the Association of Private Enterprise joined forces with the local forestry sector. Strong institutionalised relationships between the local forestry sector and the association exist as there are a significant number of members with business within the forestry sector. Through the networks of the association and the forestry sector, this group of actors is able to influence the process, for example by the public launch of the disclaimer.

So far the municipality has not been formally informed, involved or consulted about the policy process under study. It has not played an active role. This may appear remarkable given the extent of land within the municipality that is affected by the survey areas under negotiation. However, the reports presenting the survey results have not been referred for public consideration and no formal decisions that require the involvement of the municipal level have yet been made. The municipality's involvement is therefore, so far, restricted to informal communication between the mayor and the County Governor as part of recurring meetings

between the CAB and the municipality leaders. The municipality may be invited to submit statements on the establishment of individual nature reserves, once proposed by the CAB. However, as a comprehensive, strategic land use issue, forest protection is not on this municipality's agenda. The policy process and its implications have consequently not been discussed within the municipal organisation and no dialogue with local interest groups or residents has taken place (interview with mayor 1).

Swedish forest and nature conservation politics does not operate in isolation from the rest of the world. Although not active in this specific policy process, international actors such as the European Union and the United Nations influence Swedish policy making as outlined in Chapter 2 and illustrated in Figure 10. The UN Convention on Biological Diversity is an example of an international agreement that guides for example the national Environmental Quality Objectives process. It likewise serves as an overarching framework for the EU Birds and Habitat Directives and its Natura 2000 protected area programme. The development of the latter has direct implications for the Swedish forest protection programmes, including the Government Commission under study. The Swedish state is consequently part of a multi-levelled governance system although the international actors do not have a direct role in this particular policy process.

Another actor with an international presence is the FSC. The FSC's active involvement in this policy process restricts itself to processing a formal complaint from the SSNC regarding the NPB's logging in Pakkojåkkå. However, since both the NPB and Sveaskog are certified according to the standards of the FSC, their indirect influence is significant. The E-NGOs and the Federation of Swedish Sámi are, in addition to the state forest administrators and several private forestry corporations, members of the FSC. That gives them access to the FSC's decision making, appeal and dispute resolution mechanisms.

7.1.1 Conclusions I: Interactions between the actors

A limited number of state actors, "core actors" are formally involved in the policy process. They negotiate the future of the survey areas and have the authority to make decisions. At the same time they interact with external actors through different networks and markets. Most local actors have weakly developed vertical networks and limited involvement in the formal policy process. This does however not imply that all local actors are marginalised. Some local actors such as the E-NGO and the local forestry sector, have access to the process, directly or through well developed networks. They receive information and they may provide input. By

forming the coalition behind the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival, a broader spectrum of local actors could take advantage of the E-NGO's networks and voice their policy preferences. As the coalition fell apart, most of these actors retreated to a passive and isolated position. Others joined forces with the local forestry sector and took advantage of their expertise and networks. The municipality, which is theoretically suitable to communicate the views of a broad spectrum of residents across administrative borders and levels, was not informed or very much involved in the process.

Figure 10 may also be seen as an illustration of the governance system at work. As outlined in Chapter 3, the term governance may capture "new" ways of thinking about government that are characterised by decentralisation, diffusion and new kinds of dependencies of the state (Pierre & Peters, 2000). At a first glance, a prominent component of the governance system illustrated by Figure 10 is vertically integrated state hierarchies, structures that are usually associated with the traditional way of steering. Clearly, the state hierarchies play a significant role. However, at a closer look it is also evident how these hierarchies interact with networks, markets and institutions involving a wide variety of actors within, outside and beyond the state. The networks, of the private forestry sector as well as those of the E-NGOs, for example extend into the state and group of core actors although they vary considerably in their degree of cohesion. The forest administrators, who are both parts of the state administration and commercial actors in the forest products market, help blur the divide between what is public and private. The FSC is an example of a non-state market driven governance system that operates parallel to the state centred system. Other international institutions evolving out of the EU and UN illustrate the multi-levelled character of the governance system. New forms for deliberation and negotiation cutting across the traditional state hierarchies are also evident. An example is the arrangement for extended consultations set up between the forest administrators, the SEPA and the CAB in Norrbotten. Without going into an in-depth analysis of the governance system as such, a few conclusions of interest to the further discussion can be made.

A first observation is that the state hierarchies still appear to constitute a dominating mode of governance. The decision making power is limited to a relatively small number of state actors. No formal arrangements to consult with broader interest groups have been made. The role of other actors with an interest in the policy outcomes is consequently limited to efforts to informally access and influence involved state actors to take their preferred policy preferences into consideration.

A second observation concerns the emergence of “new” forms for deliberation and negotiation. To the extent that such arrangements exist, they primarily appear to strengthen the dominating position of the state actors already formally involved. The group that was set up to extend the consultation process with the forest administrators may have reduced conflicts within the state. By limiting the transparency of, and access to, the negotiation process, it did, however, further exclude other actors with an interest in the policy outcomes. Its informal, deliberative way of working also raises questions about accountability. The status of the outcomes is unclear and it is difficult to figure out whom to hold accountable for the decisions actually made, for example in the case of the consultations with Sveaskog.

A third observation is that the existence of market driven governance systems offers ways to circumvent the state. E-NGOs which are not satisfied with the state’s way of handling the survey areas may for example turn to the market to get support for a more restricting approach. An example is provided by the SSNC who filed a formal complaint to the FSC in order to challenge the NPB’s logging in Pakkojåkkå. Dissatisfied E-NGOs may also launch market driven campaigns and boycotts to keep logging operations out of areas perceived as particularly valuable, regardless of their formal protection status.

A fourth observation - and conclusion - is that the present governance system(s) offer no, or only weak and indirect, mechanisms for broad local deliberation and involvement. The state hierarchies’ attempts to facilitate “consultation” are restricted to centrally or regionally placed state actors. The role of the local municipality has thus far been limited. The market driven system FSC, theoretically offers “local communities” participation and influence. However, so far broader “community” interests have not been represented in the Swedish FSC context. In this case, the FSC has not been a tool that has been available or used by local actors other than the E-NGO.

7.2 Identifying Interpretive Communities

Interpretive Communities are defined as networks or other groupings of people who share understandings of policy ideas and language different from other groups (see Fisher, 2003). As used in this study, they are understood as networks or other groups of actors with a sufficient proportion of shared frames and policy preferences (see Chapters 3 and 4). Interpretive Communities may thus be seen as products of actors’ frames and their

strategic interactions. Not to contribute to an overly static picture, it is important to remember that this relationship is dynamic and reciprocal. Frames may also evolve and change as an effect of actors' interactions in Interpretive Communities. Frames as presented in Chapter 6 do not say very much about their significance in the policy making process. The point of analysing Interpretive Communities is to investigate how actors, on the basis of varying proportions of shared frames, interact and take actions to promote their policy preferences. Only then, is it possible to start an analysis of the policy implications of actors' constructions of frames. In the following analysis, actors' "frames" as well as "Interpretive Communities" will be discussed. However, it is important to remember that a focus on Interpretive Communities does not mean that the concept of frames has collapsed. A proportion of shared frames constitute one component of the Interpretive Community. Interactions with other actors represent the other element. To discuss Interpretive Communities is consequently not to neglect the importance of the frames. It is rather a way to shift analytic focus to a level where actors' interactions and joint activities may also be taken into account.

Figure 11 is an illustration of the most prominent Interpretive Communities identified in this policy process. The distinctive Interpretive Communities are indicated by different colours. In the following they will be briefly introduced.

7.2.1 Interpretive Community A: Forest protection for biodiversity (green)

The core of this Interpretive Community consists of E-NGOs and parts of the state administration, for example the SEPA and the CA Nature Conservation Unit. These actors include a large number of trained biologists and they share many components of the protection-for-biodiversity frames. As discussed above, the civil servants within the state administration may also adopt good-governance frames. However, shared policy preferences include protection for remaining forests with high nature conservation values, for example what is left of "old-growth" forests, in order to maintain biodiversity. They consequently share a preference for protection of all, or as much as possible, of the survey areas identified as having high nature conservation values. Their considerations

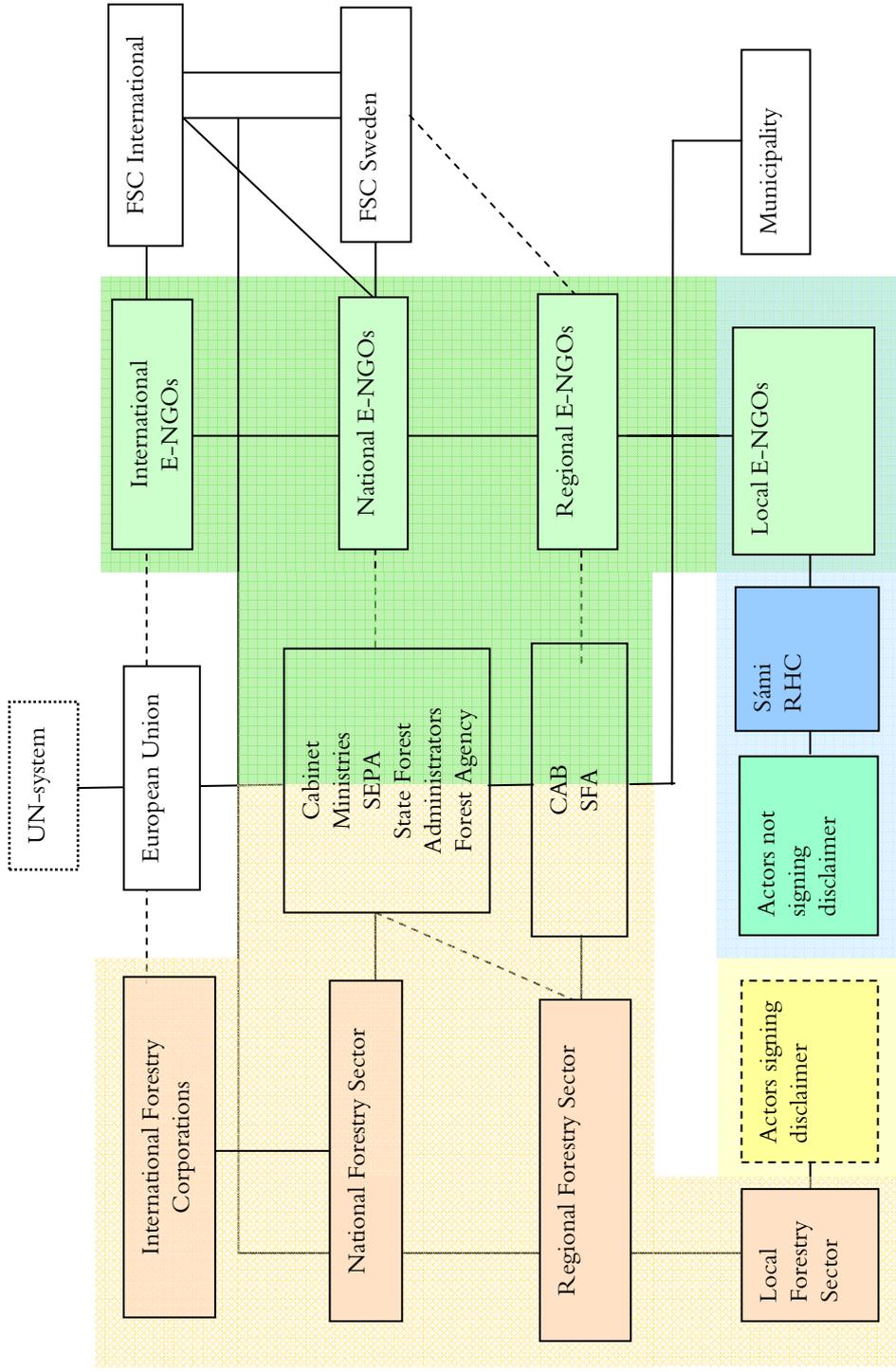


Figure 11. Interpretive Communities seen as the products of the actors' frames and interactions.

on acting vary with the actors' position in the governance system, but they often complement each other. The E-NGOs provide pressure from outside. They consequently create political momentum and opportunities which the civil servants within the administration can take advantage of. This was for example evident in the initiation and early phase of the Government Commission when the E-NGOs lobbied and campaigned for a new forest survey. It is also noticeable how civil servants provide the E-NGOs with information that enables, or facilitates their lobby and campaign activities (interview with 15).

7.2.2 Interpretive community B: Forestry for jobs and welfare (orange)

The core of this Interpretive Community consists of the forestry sector and parts of the state administration. In addition to actors with the private forestry sector, it consequently includes the state forest administrators, the Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communication as well as the Ministry of Finance. It also includes parts of the CAB in Norrbotten headed by the County Governor. These actors include a relatively large number of people trained in forestry. They share many components of the forestry-for-jobs frames, although actors within the ministries and the CAB typically alternate between forestry-for-jobs and good-governance frames. Shared policy preferences thus include the views that additional forest protection should take place within already agreed regulatory frameworks and that enough forests are already protected in Norrbotten County in order to maintain biodiversity. A preference is that survey areas identified as having high conservation values, but not fitting within the formal protected area programme, are "voluntarily" protected or taken into commercial management. The division of roles and labour between these actors is less evident than in the case of Interpretive Community A, biodiversity. It is not as obvious, and possibly not as significant, since the boundary between formally and externally involved actors is more blurred. As pointed out before, the state forest administrators for example act both in their capacity as state authorities/organisations and commercial players on a market which they share with the rest of the forestry and forest industry sector.

7.2.3 Interpretive Community C: Forest protection for community benefits (blue large square)

This Interpretive Community consists of a temporary coalition of actors on the local level who signed and continuously supported the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival. The actors who make up this Interpretive Community are in turn part of other, tighter and more specific Interpretive

Communities (as indicated by the smaller coloured squares). The E-NGOs are for example part of the biodiversity community (A). The Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities may be placed in a Sámi Interpretive Community. These actors share many components of the protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames. The remaining signatory businesses and organisations may be placed in a looser but still distinct Interpretive Community sharing the protection-for-community-benefits frames. However, with the exception of the local E-NGOs, who contribute significantly to the political process through Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, most policy relevant activities were carried out collectively within the broader coalition that is indicated by the blue larger square. Of greater interest than the tighter, group specific Interpretive Communities is thus this broader assembly of actors, i.e. Interpretive Community C. The actors making up this coalition share components of the protection-for-community-benefits frames and their common policy preferences are defined in the text of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival. In the preparation and launch of the appeal, roles and responsibilities were shared between the groups of actors making up the coalition. The E-NGO contributed with their expertise and networks. The initiators of the appeal, who are locally integrated, provided the local legitimacy that the E-NGO lacks but needs in order to reach out for broader community support.

7.2.4 Interpretive Community D: Enough forest protection (yellow)

This Interpretive Community is made up of a loose group of actors on the local level. It includes the organisations and businesses that signed the disclaimer as well as parts of the local forestry sector. The local forestry sector is also part of Interpretive Community B, forestry for jobs and welfare. This group of actors consequently shares many, but not all, components of the forestry-for-jobs frames as outlined in section 6.3 about frame overlap. Shared policy preferences, as defined in the disclaimer, include the views that enough forests are protected in Jokkmokk municipality and that additional protection will hamper local community survival and development. The dotted lines around the actors standing behind the disclaimer indicate the changeable nature of this Interpretive Community. Policy preferences as well as loyalties are continuously shifting. To the extent that stable roles or division of responsibilities are discernible, the local forestry sector provides the other local actors with expertise and networks, that is access to the policy process. The Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise and other local organisations signing the disclaimer, on the other hand, provide legitimacy to claims made by the entire Interpretive

Community B, forestry for jobs. Without their support, as expressed in the disclaimer, the perception of this and other local communities as forestry dependent would, for example, be much more difficult to maintain publicly.

7.2.5 Conclusions II: Interpretive Communities

Looking at the policy process as a whole, there are two dominating and competing Interpretive Communities. They are Community A, forest protection for biodiversity, and B, forestry for jobs. Actors within Interpretive Community A share a sufficient proportion of the biodiversity frames and actors within Interpretive Community B share forestry-for-jobs frames. Underlying the competition and disputes between these Interpretive Communities are thus conflicts between these sets of frames (see Schön and Rein 1994). The nature of the frame conflicts, understood as the dividing lines between the forestry-for-jobs and biodiversity frames are discussed in section 6.2. Both Interpretive Communities have the organisational capacity and skills needed to influence the policy process from “within” as well as from “outside”. However, Interpretive Community B, forestry, has access to more established, institutionalised networks that extend into, or include, core actors of the formal process. A higher degree of integration between Interpretive Community B and the decision making state administration may consequently advance its possibilities of efficiently influencing the policy process in a preferred direction.

The situation at the local level is more complex. The local E-NGO and the local forestry sector influence the formal policy process through Interpretive Communities A, biodiversity, and B, forestry for jobs. Interpretive Community D, enough protection, and C, protection for community benefits, appear as two competing local alliances. Underlying this competition and the disputes are frame conflicts related to place as well as social organisation, as outlined in sections 6.4 and 6.5. To the extent that distinct policy preferences are possible to distinguish within Interpretive Community D, enough protection, they mostly are in line with that of Interpretive Community B, forestry for jobs. Interpretive Community D consequently lends its support to Interpretive Community B. To some extent, the perspectives of this group of actors are also fed into the formal policy process through Interpretive Community B.

With the exception of the local E-NGO, Interpretive Community C, protection for community benefits, is not represented in, and does not have access to, the formal policy process. With the disintegration of the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival, this Interpretive Community does not have the means to reach out of the local community, much less to practise efficient

influence. Neither the forest-protection-for-community-benefits frames nor the protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames are thus represented in the formal policy process. The domination of two out of four, or even five, existing Interpretive Communities results in subordination, or even suppression, of several locally based frames. This in turn leads to a homogenisation of local perspectives in the policy deliberation. Important local perceptions of the significance of forests to local community development are for example not part of the dominating construction of policy problems and solutions. This situation leaves room for the dominating Interpretive Communities to ascribe perceptions and preferences to local actors as a strategy to strengthen their own frames and policy preferences. In this way the perception forwarded by Interpretive Communities B, forestry for jobs, and C, enough protection, of the local society as forestry dependent could for example remain relatively unchallenged although competing perspectives exist.

A final note is devoted to the state actors. As evident in Figure 11, the state as represented in this policy process is not monolithic. On the contrary, the two dominating and conflicting Interpretive Communities, biodiversity and forestry for jobs, cut through the state administration. In this particular policy process, Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, is represented by the Ministry of Environment, by the SEPA and by the CA Nature Conservation Unit in Norrbotten. The competing forestry-for-jobs community is represented by the state forest administrators, the Ministries of Finance, Industry, Employment and Communication as well as the CAB in Norrbotten. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to present a complete picture of the roles of and struggles between the different parts of the state. However, it is clear that the presence of two competing Interpretive Communities in different parts of the state leads to power struggles as well as open disputes between different state actors. Right from the start, the language of the Government Commission was described as a result of a power struggle between the involved ministries (interview with 6). The entire process was described by a civil servant at the SEPA as a “tug-of-war” between nature conservation and forestry, including the conservation authorities and the state forest administrators, that is different state authorities and organisations (interview with 7). At the CAB in Norrbotten the conflict between the two Interpretive Communities went as far as an open dispute when the CA Nature Conservation Unit registered a reservation against the

CAB's response to the proposed National Strategy¹⁷⁸. Since the decision making authority rests with the state actors, the outcomes of the policy process very much depend on the power struggle between Interpretive Community A and B (biodiversity and forestry for jobs) that is taking place within the state. That does however not imply that externally placed actors are unimportant. On the contrary, as discussed in the previous section, it is in the interplay between formally involved and more externally placed actors that the power struggle between these two dominating Interpretive Communities is played out.

7.3 Analysing struggles for influence

The point of this section is to explore, and explain, how actors shape the policy process and its outcomes by forming Interpretive Communities and taking action in accordance with their frames. In their efforts to influence, they try to gain support, not only for their policy preferences, but also for their ways of constructing policy problems and solutions, in other words their frames. Frame competition and frame conflicts evolve accordingly.

Table 8 (in Chapter 6) provides a chronological overview of activities and events that are relevant to an understanding of the policy process. These activities as well as the policy process as a whole are described in the introduction to this chapter. Rather than trying to analyse all of these activities, a smaller number of events identified as particularly illuminating will be analysed in greater depth. Such key activities and events are numbered and indicated with black squares. They represent occasions in the policy process when dominating frames and policy preferences/options have been challenged or altered.

1. The Government launches the Commission

The initiative to the Government Commission came from the former Minister of the Environment Kjell Larsson. In a conference speech at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences in April 2002, he announced:

“The state shall serve as a good example when it comes to the administration of the people's forests...I do not want... it...to be possible to blame idiotic logging on lack of information about the values of the forest. To have a solid comprehensive picture of what nature conservation values exist is a

¹⁷⁸ Statement on the proposed National Strategy for Formal Protection of Forests with high nature conservation values, submitted by the CAB in Norrbotten to the SEPA, 7 February 2005.

prerequisite for this... In addition, I will make changes in the budget document to the SEPA so that we guarantee that no forests of virgin forest character will be logged. It shall never be possible to argue that there is not enough money to preserve real “old growth” forests.”¹⁷⁹

This speech was preceded by extensive pressure by Swedish E-NGOs to improve the management of state forests. In January the same year, 12 E-NGOs and botanical associations delivered a joint appeal to the ongoing State Forest Commission¹⁸⁰. In the appeal they demand:

“The state must be a forerunner in matters of nature conservation...we suggest that: all state owned forests with high nature conservation values are given long term protection...In order to identify forests in need of protection, new comprehensive surveys are required...”¹⁸¹

As the Government formally instigated the Commission it was subject to negotiations between the involved ministries and reads:

“The Government instructs the SEPA to carry out an evaluation of nature conservation values on all state lands...The SEPA shall also assess what areas are in need of formal protection, primarily in the form of nature reserves...The Government is furthermore assigning to the SEPA, in collaboration with the CABs and the SFA, the task of identifying all so-called virgin-like forests in the country which are in need of protection and submitting a proposal for how they may be protected long term...As pointed out by the Government before...the most valuable forests shall be preserved.”¹⁸²

In an accompanying press release, the former Minister of the Environment adds:

¹⁷⁹ Quote from speech delivered by the former Minister of Environment Kjell Larsson at the yearly conference about the management of Flora and Fauna, arranged by the Swedish University of Agriculture, 2002-04-23.

¹⁸⁰ “Statsskogsutredningen” in Swedish.

¹⁸¹ See appeal “Ett bättre förvaltande av den statliga skogen: Den samlade miljörörelsens förslag”, from 10 January 2002, delivered to the State Forest Commission (Statsskogsutredningen). Hard copy accessed from the SSNC in Jokkmokk.

¹⁸² Quote from Government decision, 13 June 2002: Uppdrag om naturvärdesbedömning och skydd av viss skog. M2002/2121/NA.

“There is reason to point out which state owned forests need to be protected...It is also very important to ensure that no more virgin-like forests are logged...”¹⁸³

As illustrated by the quotes above, the Government Commission may be seen as a response to demands made by the E-NGOs. In many ways it reflects perceptions and preferences of Interpretive Community A and the biodiversity frames. The task and mandate of the SEPA may, for example, be interpreted as more or less open-ended. The point of departure is not politically agreed targets and objectives. It is rather ecological conditions, for example how many forests with high nature conservation qualities exist and are in need of protection. The language surrounding the initiative, in the speech and statements from the Minister, furthermore allows the interpretation that the ambition is to protect the high conservation value forests that are to be found. It underscores the perception of “old growth”, or “virgin-like” forests as a limited and precious resource in need of immediate protection. The rationale underpinning the initiative is consequently consistent with the biodiversity frames: “old growth” and “virgin-like” forests are coming to an end and actions need to be taken immediately to protect them. Although, the policy initiative also has a history in past policy commitments, it may thus be seen as an advancement of Interpretive Community A, biodiversity. A combination of actions, campaigns and direct lobbying by E-NGOs helped to pressurise, or create space for, the Minister of the Environment to take action. The initiative and the language surrounding its launch reflect a strong position of the biodiversity frames. The initiative was consequently applauded by Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, and received with scepticism by Interpretive Community B, forestry.

2. Sveaskog debates survey results and reserve plans in the North

In September 2003, the SEPA released the preliminary survey results and the Chairman of the Sveaskog Board of Directors made a number of public interventions, for example in the national press. He warned for the consequences of the “proposed forest reserved” and argued that the plans for additional forest reserves threatened thousands of jobs and industries in the North. The Chairman of the Sveaskog Board called for respect for forestry as an economic foundation of the Swedish economy and its role as an

¹⁸³ See press release from the Ministry of Environment: “All statlig skog ska naturvärdesbedömas”, <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/757/a/6127>, (accessed 20 August 2004).

engine for economic growth. The Sveaskog Chair also presented 10 suggestions for more “optimal” nature conservation without losing jobs in the forests. They were based on a “balance” between conservation and production objectives, understood as an alternative way forward¹⁸⁴.

The Government Commission was originally firmly anchored in a biodiversity frame. As Sveaskog pushed the forestry-for-jobs frames, it was placed in a new context. Possible conservation benefits were to be assessed against jobs, growth, welfare and local community survival. The biodiversity frame was challenged and a period of intense frame competition between different state actors followed. The Minister of the Environment and the Head of the SEPA for example made public efforts to replace the policy initiative in its biodiversity context. They consequently defended the biodiversity frame. The message of Sveaskog was nevertheless picked up and reinforced by private as well as state forestry related actors in northern Sweden, particularly in Norrbotten County. The preliminary survey results were suddenly debated in the Norrbotten press as if they were final and in a context of local and regional economy, jobs and development. Interpretive Community B, forestry, was thus mobilised and ready to promote shared policy preferences and frames. The intervention by Sveaskog may consequently be seen as a successful way to challenge the dominating biodiversity frame and to reframe the policy initiative into an issue of conservation against jobs and development, consistent with Sveaskog’s forestry-for-jobs frame. Sveaskog was able to use its dual role as state core actor, with access to relevant information, and independent joint stock company at liberty to create public opinion. With its public interventions Sveaskog stimulated a critical public debate and mobilised support for the forestry-for-jobs frame, that is for a particular way of viewing the world in which additional forest protection in the north makes little sense.

3. The CAB in Norrbotten halts establishment of new reserves

In December 2003, all relevant units of the CAB made a decision to temporarily halt, or drastically slow down, the designation of new forest reserves in Norrbotten County. In the regional press, the decision was presented as an attempt to meet a growing public opinion headed by the forest industries, the forest owners and a number of inland municipalities. The County Governor is quoted:

¹⁸⁴ See press release from Sveaskog 29 October 2003: “10 förslag på mer optimal natuvård – så går jobben inte åt skogen!”, http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/Page_7287.asp , (accessed 19 August 2004).

“One ought to take this debate seriously. The assignment that we are set to implement by the state, parts of it has not the people’s approval...”¹⁸⁵

In a conference speech later in the spring, the County Governor reiterated his position:

“Let’s agree about a moratorium in order to have a sensible debate and analysis about these important issues...My conclusion – and clear position – is that there is no broad public support in Norrbotten County for setting aside large areas from forestry as suggested by the SEPA.”¹⁸⁶

Civil servants within the CAB also describe the decision as ”organisational”, as a way to handle the workload and to deal with increasing polarisation and conflict within the County (interviews with 3 and 4). However, in the public debate it was presented within a forestry-for-jobs frame. The NPB, at the time disputing with Greenpeace in Pakkojåkka, accordingly perceived the decision as a clear sign of support for their position that logging in Pakko and similar areas was needed in order for local communities to survive and develop:

“...we received his opinion then [at the conference of the Forest Agency] on how he understood the municipalities, which we felt to be support, of course.” (interview with 8)

This decision by the CAB may thus be seen as confirming – or even institutionalising – an increasingly dominant position in Norrbotten County of Interpretive Community B, forestry, and the forestry-for-jobs frames which they promote. Pressure from a critical public opinion, partly triggered by the intervention by Sveaskog, was publicly used as motivation to change rules and practices of the CAB, a state authority. The decision contributed to further weakening the biodiversity frame which had been dominating forest related nature conservation policy for a long period of time. The decision was applauded by the forestry sector in the County, that is Interpretive Community B, but received with scepticism by the SEPA, the

¹⁸⁵ See article in Norrbottens-Kuriren, 06 December 2003: “Mindre skydd för skogen”, <http://www.kuriren.nu/utmantningsidan.asp?ArticleID=402852&CategoryID=2764&...>, (accessed 02 August 2004).

¹⁸⁶ Quote from speech given by County Governor Per-Ola Eriksson at the Swedish Forest Agency’s regional conference in Norrbotten, 9 March, 2004, <http://www.bd.lst.se/Ledning/default.aspx?propID=10008852> (accessed at 28 August 2004).

Ministry of Environment and the E-NGOs, in other words Interpretive Community A. Among the latter, it is perceived as an act in conflict with agreed state policy which is to establish additional forest reserves according to a centrally agreed framework and timetable. Frame conflicts within the state are consequently brought to the fore.

A fundamental component of the County Governor's argumentation is the claim that the centrally agreed policy lacks local public support, for example by the inland municipalities. As a matter of fact, this claim is what legitimised the decision. According to the mayor in Jokkmokk, the claim is based on informal communication between the mayor and the County Governor. The municipality has not been formally informed or consulted about the Government Commission. The issue of additional forest protection as a result of the surveys has not been discussed in the municipal organisation or with the public (interview with 1). Policy preferences of one (B; forestry), or possibly two (B and D; enough protection), out of four (A; biodiversity, B, D, C; protection for community benefits) or five (including the Sámi) locally represented Interpretive Communities were thus used to legitimise this decision of the CAB. The perceived inappropriateness of the County Governor's attempt to correctly represent local policy preferences was a reason for Interpretive Community C, protection for community benefits, to initiate the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival (to be discussed shortly).

4. The NPB starts logging inside survey area

The NPB found itself increasingly squeezed between conflicting commitments and in February, 2004, they started to log an area identified as having high nature conservation values in Pakkojåkkå. By starting to log in Pakkojåkkå the NPB resisted the conservation authorities' implementation of the Government Commission and confronted the competing Interpretive Community, A, biodiversity. By publicly arguing for the right to manage this and similar areas for the economic benefits of local communities, the NPB strengthened the forestry-for-jobs frames. They also challenged the legitimacy and authority of claims made by Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, by arguing that the conservation authorities were acting inconsistently, without proper process and without sensitivity for the practical and economic consequences of their activities. They consequently challenged the biodiversity frames in similar ways to Sveaskog but now the challenge was not restricted to a rhetorical or political level. This time it was of a much more irrevocable and material nature as the NPB actually logged

trees which the competing Interpretive Community (biodiversity) argued should be left standing, at least for the time being.

These activities by the NPB were perceived as a straightforward declaration of war by the E-NGO community and parts of the larger Interpretive Community A, biodiversity. However, it may also be seen as an opportunity that the E-NGOs had been waiting for. Excluded from the formal process and with little publicly available information about the progress of the Commission, they lacked evidence that could be publicly used to justify an intervention. The NPB's logging of a documented survey area under negotiation offered an opportunity for Greenpeace to act to re-establish the weakened biodiversity frame. Greenpeace presented two objectives for the action. First, to stop the logging in Pakkojääkkä and thus win the very material battle over the specific trees under dispute, in other words to set an example. Second, to reintroduce nature conservation and conservation biology onto the agenda, that is to reframe the policy making process (interview with 15). They failed with the first one but succeeded, at least to some extent, with the second. They publicly defended the policy initiative and their perceptions of its original intentions. They consequently tried to re-establish the biodiversity frame which originally embedded the initiative. However, although Greenpeace received a considerable amount of attention and the NPB was criticised by the Ministry of Environment as well as the CA Nature Conservation Unit, there was no real public opinion that came to Greenpeace's support. Their action accordingly did not result in the policy decision, a logging moratorium, that Greenpeace had hoped for. Neither did it really re-establish the biodiversity Community's control of the policy process.

One reason for Greenpeace's failure to mobilise broad public support for its action may lie with its lack of local integration. With the exception of the local E-NGO, locally based actors had limited information and little understanding of what the action really was about. Local actors who potentially could have come to Greenpeace's support, and thus legitimised the action in the eyes of the broader public, were not properly informed or actively involved. Greenpeace furthermore failed to show appropriate understanding of the exposed situation of the local forestry entrepreneur. This produced images of local "victims" rather than "supporters" and helped undermine the legitimacy of the action as well as Greenpeace and their message. At the local level, the action consequently contributed to strengthening the forestry-for-jobs frames and the Interpretive Communities that promoted them. The perception of the action being linked to the

appeal Forest Reserves for Survival, also contributed to undermining the local credibility of the appeal.

5. The appeal Forest Reserves for Survival is launched

On March 25, the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival was launched. The appeal was a way of challenging the dominating image of the opinion of local people and communities in Norrbotten and addressed to the County Governor and other proponents of the forestry-for-jobs frames. It was however also a way to reframe the issue of forest protection in order to enhance local co-operation and mobilisation. The launch of the appeal in the regional media accordingly meant the introduction of a “new” Interpretive Community in the policy arena and a “new” way of perceiving the policy issue. Interpretive Community C and their protection-for-community-benefits frames, not only challenged the forestry-for-jobs frames and their claims regarding local opinions. By suggesting that local people in Jokkmokk requested additional forest protection for their well-being and survival, they actually risked seriously undermining fundamental parts of these frames. The emergence of Interpretive Community C therefore constituted a serious threat towards Interpretive Community B. It had the potential to erode the credibility and legitimacy of claims made regarding local place perceptions and opinions. However, the coalition standing behind the appeal fell apart and Interpretive Community D, enough forest protection, emerged, or reconstituted itself. With the launch of the disclaimer, they confirmed a continued local support for fundamental parts of the forestry-for-jobs frames, including the perception of the local community as economically dependent on the disputed forests as raw material. Interpretive Community D consequently continued to provide Interpretive Community B, forestry, with the local legitimacy that was crucial to its spread and success. The coalition behind the appeal never recovered from the conflicts that erupted as it was launched. In the end, the turmoil around the appeal appears to have consolidated the dominating but temporarily challenged forestry-for-jobs frames on the local level. As a result, local ways of perceiving the world in which additional forest protection makes sense are not part of the formal policy process or the broader public debate.

One reason contributing to the rapid disintegration of the coalition initially behind the appeal may have been the division of labour within its core group. Whereas the locally integrated “initiators” collected signatures, the E-NGO used its expertise and networks to reach out through the media. As the appeal was launched, the spokesperson of the E-NGO criticised the

County Governor for his statements regarding local opinions. This criticism was picked up in the media and the appeal was brought into a larger political arena where it was perceived as being against the County Governor and the forestry interests that he was seen to represent. As evident in Figure 11, the appeal initiators and the E-NGOs represent different Interpretive Communities within the broader, common Interpretive Community C, protection for community benefits. The message of the appeal, as communicated by the initiators when collecting signatures, and by the E-NGO, when communicating through news media, may thus have differed enough to make some actors feel uncomfortable. The fact that the E-NGO, in the eyes of the local actors, was strongly associated with Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, may have added to this feeling of unease. By signing the appeal many actors actually went beyond their primary basic frames and social solidarities (as discussed in section 6.5). This may not have been clear to them at the time of signing. It may, however, have become very obvious – even reinforced – as the appeal was represented in the media by the local E-NGO.

5. The SEPA is instructed to extend consultations

In February 2004, the SEPA presented a report to the Government on the survey results completed thus far. The SEPA had compiled the results, made its recommendations and prepared for an anticipated deferral of the report for consultation with external actors (interview with 7). At the same time, the CAB in Norrbotten was requesting political guidance on how to handle Greenpeace and the NPB's logging in Pakkojåkkå (interview with 3). Greenpeace together with other NGOs were demanding political action, for example a logging moratorium. Both dominating Interpretive Communities (A; biodiversity and B; forestry) were engaged in an intense lobbying of their perceived allies within the state administration. No formal decision was however made. Instead the relevant ministers met and made an informal agreement as outlined in section 6.1. The outcome was communicated in a press release by the Ministry of Environment. In short, the SEPA was instructed to complete the surveys and to extend the consultation process with the state forest administrators with the objective of reaching consensus about future management of the identified survey areas. This “non-decision” may, however, be seen as a concession to Interpretive Community B, forestry, and Sveaskog in particular, who claimed they had not been properly consulted. Underlying this concern were diverging ways of understanding the initially intended division of tasks and power between the relevant state actors. The SEPA, as well as Interpretive Community A,

biodiversity, placed the main responsibility for final delimitations, prioritisations, selection and protection strategies with the nature conservation authorities. The state forest administrators, backed by Interpretive Community B, wished to be part of the entire process on equal terms. The instruction to extend the consultation process with the explicit expectation that the SEPA, the forest administrators and the CAB in Norrbotten reached consensus, may thus be seen as a way to acknowledge the preferences of Interpretive Community B, forestry. The “non-decision” by the ministers altered the existing division of power between the core actors to the advantage of Interpretive Community B and their shared forestry-for-jobs frames. Nothing was said in the ministry communication about the logging moratorium that was demanded by the competing Interpretive Community A, biodiversity. Interpretive Community B, forestry, consequently appreciated the initiative which in their perceptions reflected the initial intentions of the Commission. Among the E-NGOs, it was seen as an ultimate “loss of control” and defeat for the Ministry of Environment – and Interpretive Community A, biodiversity (interviews with 15 and 16).

An option, prior to the ministers’ meeting, was that the survey report including the SEPA’s recommendations would be subject to some kind of formal decision, alternatively fed into the Environmental Quality Objectives process. Following such a policy track, it would have been possible to adjust the 2010 Interim Target of the Environmental Quality Objectives to reflect the new information generated by the surveys. This alternative is consistent with the preferences of Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, and their shared biodiversity frames. By asking the state actors to internally negotiate the survey results in an “extended consultation process”, they were instructed to reach an agreement within the current, politically agreed institutional framework. That meant formal protection of survey areas below the mountain range had to fit within the agreed 2010 Interim Target. Discussion about protection of survey areas in the mountain areas likewise had to take into account the mission of the NPB as then stated. As a consequence, negotiations about the future of the survey areas were, at least for the time being, separated from the more long term deliberation about how to implement the overarching Environmental Quality Objectives. The option of adjusting the interim targets in the light of the survey results was not present. This policy track is consistent with the preference of Interpretive Community B, forestry, and their shared forestry-for-jobs frames.

7. National Strategy set

In the spring of 2005, the National Strategy for Formal Protection of Forests was set (SEPA & SFA, 2005). The Strategy was instrumental in shaping the policy outcome as it further defined the regulatory space for additional forest protection below the mountain region in Norrbotten County. Firstly, it should be noted that the need for a comprehensive strategy for continued nature conservation efforts was, in the context of this policy process, first voiced by Sveaskog. Actually it was one out of ten points suggested by the Chairman of the Sveaskog Board for a more optimal and balanced nature conservation approach¹⁸⁷. Secondly, an important component of the strategy was prioritisation of additional protection of southern nemoral forests. Formal protection of northern boreal forests was given lower priority. The result of these priorities is a gap between estimated short term protection needs and available resources for formal protection of approximately 200,000 hectares in the northern boreal region and in Norrbotten in particular (SFA & SEPA, 2005). These priorities reflect the perceptions of the relevant authorities of southern, nemoral forests as not having received proper attention in the past. They are also motivated by the prevailing land ownership structure and an explicit expectation that the state forest administrators with large holdings in the north take significant “voluntary” responsibilities for protection (ibid). However, a displacement of protection priorities towards the south is also a clearly expressed policy preference of Interpretive Community B, forestry. Greater reliance on “voluntary” protection instruments administered by the landowners themselves is likewise consistent with the forestry-for-jobs frames. In fact, it represents another of Sveaskog’s ten suggestions for an optimal balance between forestry and nature conservation. On several critical points that are of importance to the Government Commission under study, the National Strategy therefore harmonises with preferences of Interpretive Community B and their shared forestry-for-jobs frames. That is not to say that it was unanimously applauded. The CAB and the County Governor in Norrbotten County, for example, responded negatively to the Strategy proposal as it did not satisfy their general opposition to additional forest protection in Norrbotten County.

Nevertheless, the adoption of the National Strategy meant that Interpretive Community B, forestry, in many ways could advance their positions in their consultations about the northern forest areas. This is

¹⁸⁷ See presentation by Bo Dockered at press conference 29 October 2003: “Balans mellan skogsbruk och naturvård” (hard copy accessed at press conference).

particularly evident in the case of Sveaskog. On their land below the mountain range, the 2010 Interim Environmental Quality Objective Target came to set a firm upper limit for the possible designation of additional formally protected areas. The National Strategy helped to further adjust this limit in accordance with the preferences of Interpretive Community B, forestry. The National Strategy also had implications for the outcomes on private lands below the mountain area. The Strategy defined an overall maximum space for formal protection that was available for the CAB to distribute among all affected land owner categories. The possibilities of the CAB requesting private owners to voluntarily protect valuable areas are limited. Privately owned survey areas which do not fit within the space set by the Environmental Quality Objective and the National Strategy are consequently likely to be opened up for commercial management.

The situation for the NPB is somewhat different as 60 percent of the areas identified as valuable on their lands in Norrbotten County are located west of the so-called Cultivation Border, that means in the mountain region (SEPA, 2006). A large proportion of the forests under negotiation is thus not affected by the Environmental Quality Objective “Sustainable Forests”. The National Strategy clearly states that forests with high conservation values in the mountain region generally should be given low priority for establishment of additional formal protection (SEPA & SFA, 2005). However, the Government Commission under study did not differentiate between forests in or below the mountain region. In a proposition to the Environmental Quality Objectives process from 2004, the Government furthermore pointed out that protection of mountain forests is addressed by another Objective, that is number three “Magnificent Mountain Landscape”. According to this document, “most areas” with high nature conservation values in the mountain region, including forests, should receive long term protection before 2010¹⁸⁸. The current policy framework regarding additional protection of mountain forests is consequently not very clear. Sufficient space thus exists for the actors to bring their frame competition into negotiations over their preferred interpretation and implementation of this framework. This appears to have been the case in the extended negotiations with the NPB. The regulatory framework that is relevant to this consultation process was not at all defined and set to the same extent as in the case with Sveaskog and many of the private land owners. This may have given both Interpretive Communities, A and B,

¹⁸⁸ See Miljömålspropositionen (2004/05:150): ”Svenska miljömål – ett gemensamt uppdrag”.

more leverage to try to realise their policy preferences without making painful compromises.

7.3.1 Conclusions III: Struggles for power and influence

At the time of the initiation of the Government Commission, the position of Interpretive Community A and their shared biodiversity frames was strong. Drawing on the terminology of Schön and Rein (1994), the biodiversity frames may be seen as “metacultural frames” that shaped nature conservation policy at the time. Metacultural frames are defined as broad, culturally shared systems of belief. In this case, the dominating “metacultural frames” build on shared perceptions of place and forests as discussed in Chapter 6. The initiation of the Commission may thus be seen as advancement for, or a confirmation of a dominant position of, Interpretive Community A, biodiversity. A combination of actions, campaigns and direct lobbying by E-NGOs had helped to pressure, or create space for, action by politicians and civil servants within the state administration. According to Schön and Rein, “rhetorical frames” underlie the persuasive use of story and argument in policy debate whereas “action frames” inform policy practice. As the Government initiated the Commission, the “rhetorical frames” used by the biodiversity community were turned into a “policy frame”, that is a type of action frame used by institutional actors to articulate the problems and actions of a specific policy situation (see Schön and Rein 1994).

The initiation of the Government Commission was, however, seen as a threat and received with scepticism by Interpretive Community B, forestry. The public intervention by the Chairman of the Sveaskog Board may be seen as a successful way to challenge the dominating biodiversity frame and to mobilise Interpretive Community B, forestry. It was moreover an attempt to reframe the policy initiative into an issue of conservation or jobs and development, that is to introduce an alternative, competing “metacultural frame”. At the outset, the Chair of the Sveaskog Board was primarily using the forestry-for-jobs frame as a “rhetoric frame”. He was consequently using it as a persuasive story and argument for a way of viewing the world in which additional forest protection in the north made little sense. When focusing on action and introducing his ten suggestions for a more responsible nature conservation policy he moved into an “action frame”. Drawing on Schön and Rein (1994), he introduced a so-called institutional action frame. Such a frame is understood as a generic action frame from which other actors could derive more specific policy frames suiting their specific situation. In this way he mobilised support, particularly in Norrbotten County. The CAB headed by the County Governor,

accordingly, took a decision to temporarily halt, or drastically slow down, the designation of additional nature reserves in the County. This decision was firmly based in a “policy frame” that stressed the need to handle a perceived growing negative public opinion opposing additional forest protection. By actually changing rules and practices of the CAB, it resulted in an institutionalisation of the increasingly dominating forestry-for-jobs frames.

The NPB’s decision to enter Pakkojåkkå may be seen as a way for Interpretive Community B, forestry, to further challenge the biodiversity frames and the conservation authorities’ perceived control of the implementation of the policy initiative. Sveaskog and the NPB basically sponsor the same “metacultural frames”, that is the forestry-for-jobs frames, according to which additional forestry protection in the North does not make much sense. However, whereas the Sveaskog Chair intervened on a rhetorical and general level, the NPB took specific and concrete action by logging trees in a disputed survey area. The NPB consequently drew on the already well established “metacultural”, “rhetoric” and “institutional action frames” in their construction of a more specific “policy frame” supporting forestry in, what is perceived as, the western forest areas.

However, as already explained, the NPB’s logging in Pakkojåkkå also provided an opportunity for the biodiversity community to defend and re-establish the weakened biodiversity frame. With a “policy frame” supporting direct action, Greenpeace hoped to generate pressure for a political intervention. Through an extensive media effort they cabled out their “rhetoric frame” aiming at re-establishing the biodiversity frames as dominating “metacultural frames”. However, Greenpeace did not succeed in generating the necessary public support and the action did not result in the desired policy decision. Neither did it really re-establish Interpretive Community A’s initially dominating position in the policy initiative.

During the first phase of this policy process, the activities of Interpretive Community B, forestry, to resist the policy initiative were significant. Competition between Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, and B, forestry for jobs occurred in different policy forums and at various policy levels, also within the state administration. Actors within Interpretive Community B, forestry, started out by challenging the biodiversity frames on a metacultural and rhetorical level. However, with the decisions of the CAB to halt the designation of protected areas and the NPB to log in Pakkojåkkå, the forestry-for-jobs frames came to shape institutional action as well as the construction of specific policy problems and forest management decisions. Interpretive Community B, forestry, may thus be seen as

successfully having advanced its perspectives and preferences on a discursive as well as institutional and practical, material level.

So far in the process, an important component of the “rhetoric frames” of Interpretive Community B, forestry, was the claim that the centrally agreed conservation policy lacked local public support, particularly in the North. Reference to broadly supported public opposition to additional forest protection was made. The legitimacy of claims about perceived benefits of additional protection made by Interpretive Community A, biodiversity was undermined. Interpretive Community B, forestry, could thus gain power and influence. The claimed existence of a broad negative public opinion in affected areas was in fact a very important component of the “rhetoric” as well as “action frames” of this Interpretive Community. In an attempt to challenge the dominating forestry-for-jobs frame and its prescriptive perceptions of local community dependencies and preferences, Interpretive Community C introduced a “new” metacultural frame. Their protection-for-community-benefits frames seriously challenged – or even risked undermining – the domination of the forestry-for-jobs frames. However, the coalition behind the appeal fell apart and Interpretive Community D, enough protection, re-established itself. With “rhetoric” as well as “action frames” organised around the idea that enough forests are already protected, it continued to provide Interpretive Community B, forestry, with the local legitimacy that was critical to its success. As a result of the disintegration of the appeal, local ways of perceiving the world in which additional forest protection makes sense were not part of the formal policy process or the broader public debate.

The informal meeting held by the four relevant ministers in March 2004, is described by many actors as the “turning point” of the policy process. It is understood, by actors holding biodiversity frames, as a moment when the Ministry of Environment ultimately lost control. Actors holding forestry for jobs frames, in contrast, see it as a point when the policy process was redirected and put on the right track. Whatever was said behind closed doors, it is evident that the meeting in many ways may be seen as an advancement for Interpretive Community B, forestry. Its claim on increased influence and power in the delimitation and selection process was met by the instruction to extend the consultation process. Its preference for this process to take place within the exiting regulatory framework was also, at least indirectly, satisfied. The demands by Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, for a logging moratorium were dismissed. Its wish to place the prioritisation and selection process in the context of the more long-term Environmental Quality Objectives process was similarly not responded to.

This does not mean that the preferences of actors within Interpretive Community B, forestry, were met without compromise. The CAB headed by the County Governor, who initially had opposed more forest reserves in Norrbotten County, did for example become a part of the consultation group with an explicit instruction to reach an agreement about *additional* forest protection. Sveaskog, headed by a new ED announced a 15 percent cut on harvesting levels in Norrbotten County half way through the consultation process. The primary reason for this cut was not said to be nature conservation demands but it nevertheless indicates an adjustment of future forest management to a reassessed raw material supply situation¹⁸⁹. Yet, overall the ministers' meeting illustrates how an increasing domination of Interpretive Community B, forestry, and their metacultural forestry-for-jobs frames, were reflected in specific "policy frames". The resulting political action, or "non-action", satisfied important policy preferences of Interpretive Community B but very few, if any, of the competing Interpretive Community A, biodiversity. The outcomes of the consultation processes will be further presented and discussed in the next section.

7.4 Outcomes

Policy outcomes may be understood in different ways and studied at different levels. This study does not primarily aim at a strict assessment, or evaluation, of the outcomes in relation to the policy objectives. Neither does it claim to reveal the specific causes of the observed outcomes. The ambition is rather to explain the outcomes in light of actors' frames, interactions and political activities. This section accordingly aims to answer the question as to whose perceptions and policy preferences are reflected in the policy outcomes. With this knowledge as a point of departure, the actors' different capacities to influence the policy process will be discussed.

As a start, the tangible outcomes that influence the practical management of the forests under discussion will be identified. Secondly, the question as to whose perceptions and policy preferences are reflected in the overall outcomes of the policy process will be explored. In this context, one point of departure is the tangible outcomes in terms of practical forest management decisions. However, also of interest are outcomes that influence the continuing negotiation over natural resource management. The implications of the observed changes in patterns of domination and

¹⁸⁹ See press release from Sveaskog "Sveaskog minskar avverkningarna i norra Sverige", 20 September 2004, http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/NewsPage_128555.aspx, (accessed 14 May 2007).

subordination between Interpretive Communities and frames will therefore be discussed. A dominating frame is a construction of the world in which some types of preferences and activities are logical. Frames that have gained dominance during this policy process are not likely to suddenly disappear but will shape ongoing and future negotiations over forest management.

Outcomes may be assessed at different administrative levels. The empirical focus of this thesis is on a specific part of a Government Commission and its expressions in Jokkmokk municipality. However, as outlined in section 7.1, the governance system under study involves interactions between a wide variety of actors placed at different administrative levels, from the local to the international. Therefore, it does not make sense to restrict a discussion of outcomes to a specific place or administrative level. The local, place specific, expressions of the policy process must be seen in the context of the overall outcomes in order to make sense. The overall outcomes in the North, as well as their specific implications in Jokkmokk municipality, will consequently be discussed in an integrated manner.

7.4.1 Forest management

A first outcome of the policy process is the survey results. It should first be noted that, although the entire country was surveyed, a very large proportion of the forests identified as valuable are located in the two northernmost counties, Norrbotten County in particular. This is the explanation as to why the policy controversy has such a northern focus. Nevertheless, the SEPA's selection of survey areas identified as having high nature conservation values on the land of Sveaskog and the NPB are presented in a number of publicly available reports (SEPA, 2004b, 2005, and 2006). Selected areas on private or military lands are not compiled and publicly available.

Table 10 is consequently an assessment of the outcomes so far of the surveys and the deliberations about future management of identified areas on the land of Sveaskog and the NPB in Norrbotten County. The table also shows how the selected survey areas are distributed respectively above and below the administrative border delimiting the "mountain forests"¹⁹⁰.

¹⁹⁰ More specifically land located west or east of the administrative border delimiting the mountain forests, in Swedish "Fjällskogar".

Table 10. *Categorisation of the selected survey areas on the land of Sveaskog and the NPB in Norrbotten County according to planned management status. Am= above the border delimiting mountain forests and bm = below the mountain forests. The percentages are rounded off and therefore do not always add up to exactly 100 percent. Sources: SEPA, 2005;2006.*

Management status/ hectares productive forests	Sveaskog			The National Property Board		
	am	bm	total	am	bm	total
Formal protection		36,752 (38%)	36,752 (24%)			
Voluntary protection	29,897 (53%)	43,971 (46%)	73,868 (48%)			
Commercial management with ordinary or reinforced nature considerations	4,077 (7%)	9,608 (10%)	13,685 (9%)			
Subject to further exploration or negotiation	22,641 (40%)	6,494 (7%)	29,135 (19%)	56,400 (100%)	37,400 (100%)	93,800 (100%)
In total	56,391 (100%)	95,889 (100%)	15,2280 (100%)	56,400 (100%)	37,400 (100%)	93,800 (100%)

Table 11 includes the same information for Jokkmokk municipality, but for all categories of land owners. The lack of reliable forest statistics in the mountain areas, for example figures of the total area of productive forest land, makes it difficult to calculate the proportion of forests in the municipality that are affected. However, based on available data, the proportion of the total productive forest land now being identified as valuable and in need of protection is approximately 18 percent¹⁹¹. 66 percent of these areas are located above the boundary delimiting the mountain forests, that is in relatively remote and low productive areas. Identified survey areas consequently constitute significant areas of forests, particularly in Jokkmokk municipality and other inland municipalities. The documentation of the existence of these forests and their nature conservation qualities represents new knowledge and is as such an important policy outcome.

Tables 10 and 11 also show how the survey areas identified as having high nature conservation values will be managed in the future. This question was negotiated with the state forest administrators within the framework of the extended consultation process. An agreement was reached with Sveaskog in June 2005 but no consensus could be achieved with the NPB. The tables

¹⁹¹ Based on Riksskogstaxeringen, 2003, and their assessment of the total area of productive forest land in Jokkmokk municipality to 538,000 hectares.

show the proportion of the selected areas that will be subject to a) formal legal protection, b) different kinds of “voluntary” protection, c) commercial management with ordinary or reinforced nature consideration and d) further exploration and negotiations. The physical distribution of these areas is shown in the maps in Figure 12.

As evident in the tables, the outcomes vary significantly between land owners and location in relation to the administrative border delimiting “mountain forests”. For this reason, the outcomes of the various land owners will be discussed separately. Firstly, the outcomes on the land of Sveaskog, secondly those of the NPB and finally the situation on private and military lands will be discussed.

Sveaskog

Sveaskog is the land owner/administrator in Norrbotten County with the largest total area of productive forests ending up being selected as having high nature conservation values. The selected areas in Norrbotten County correspond to 4.6 percent of Sveaskog’s overall area of productive forests. Slightly more than a third (37 %) of these areas are located in the mountain region. After the NPB, Sveaskog is the land owner/administrator in Jokkmokk municipality with the second largest area of selected survey areas on their lands (see Table 11). In total, 18, 260 hectares on Sveaskog’s land in Jokkmokk municipality are selected as valuable and in need of protection. Approximately half of this area is mountain forests. As the situation is today, approximately 25 percent of the selected survey area on Sveaskog’s land below the mountain area in Jokkmokk municipality will receive formal protection. In addition, 36 percent will be voluntarily protected as so-called eco-parks or “larger areas for nature consideration”¹⁹². These areas do not have the formal legal protection status of, for example, National Parks and Nature Reserves. According to Sveaskog, the conservation ambitions in the eco-parks range from management for nature conservation only, to management for mixed commercial and conservation objectives, and are

¹⁹² “Större hänsynsområden” in Swedish.

Table 11. Categorisation of the selected survey areas in Jokkmokk municipality according to planned management status. *Am* = above the border delimiting mountain forests and *bm* = below the mountain forests. The percentages are rounded off and therefore do not always add up to exactly 100 percent. Source: the Table is based on an assessment of the current situation made by the CAB in Norrbotten.

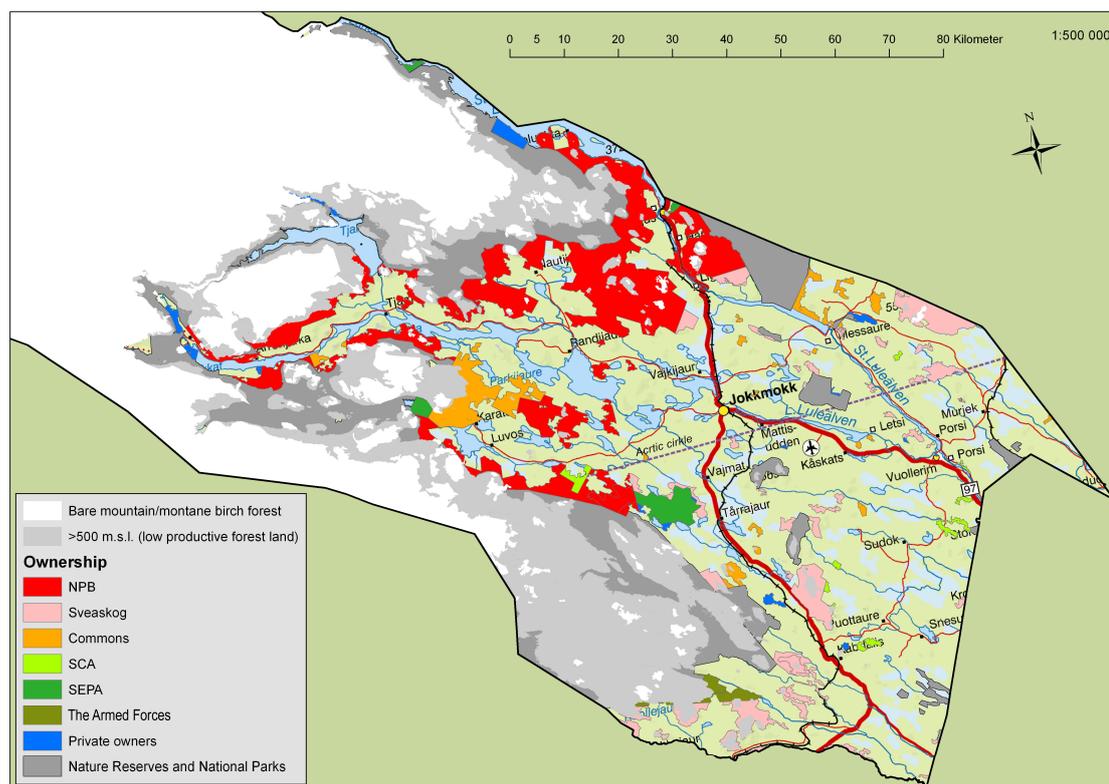
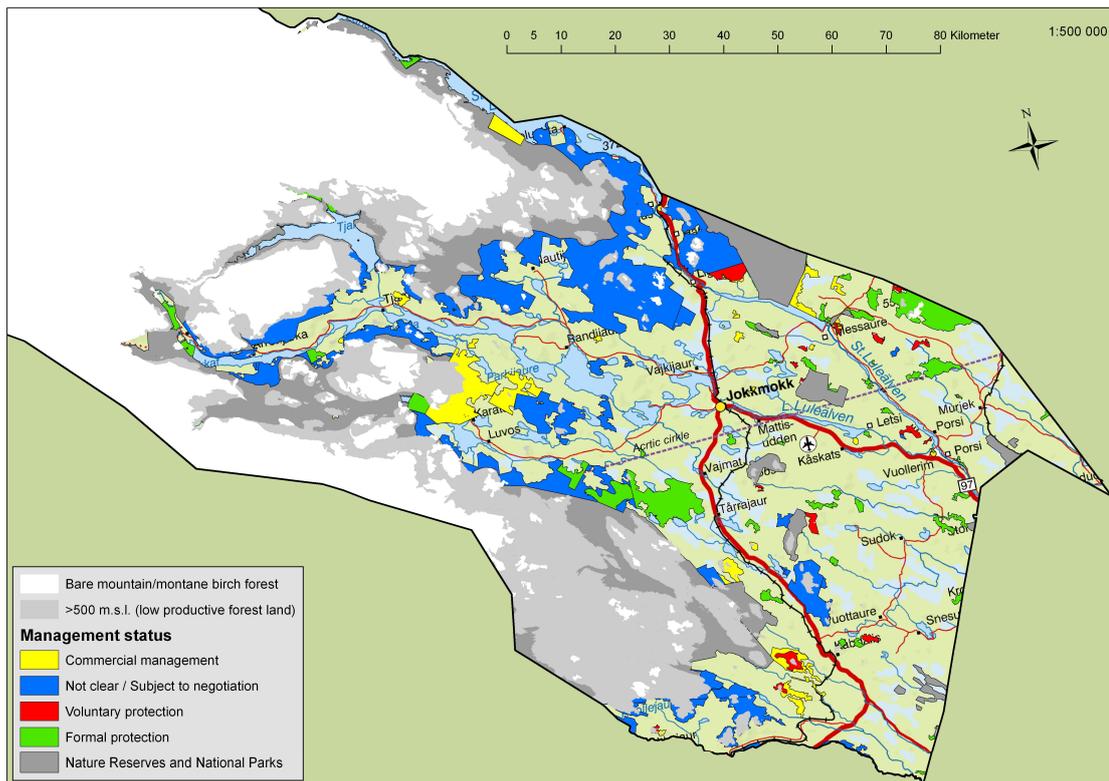
Management status/ hectares prod. forests	Sveaskog			The National Property Board			The Armed Forces			Private land owners			All land owners		
	am (53%)	bm (25%)	total (78%)	am (73%)	bm	total	am (72%)	bm	total	am (45%)	bm	total	am (66%)	bm	total
Formal protection		2,097	2,097 (11%)							201	2,850	3,501 (25%)	201	4,947	5,148 (5%)
Voluntary protection	3,603 (37%)	3,098 (36%)	6,701 (37%)								208	208 (1%)	3,603 (6%)	3,306 (10%)	6,909 (7%)
Commercial management with ordinary or reinforced nature considerations	798 (8%)	1,379 (16%)	2,177 (12%)				2,688 (100%)	1,049 (100%)	3,737 (100%)	6,126 (97%)	3,850 (52%)	9,976 (70%)	9,612 (15%)	6,278 (19%)	15,890 (17%)
Subject to further exploration or negotiation	5,313 (55%)	1,972 (23%)	7,285 (40%)	43,296 (100%)	15,613 (100%)	58,909 (100%)					506 (7%)	506 (4%)	48,609 (78%)	18,091 (55%)	66,700 (70%)
In total	9,714 (100%)	8,546 (100%)	18,260 (100%)							6,327 (100%)	7,414 (100%)	14,191 (100%)	62,025 (100%)	32,622 (100%)	94,647 (100%)

decided following analysis of each individual area¹⁹³. The final decision about forest management in the eco-parks is made by Sveaskog in consultation with the CAB and other affected authorities (SEPA, 2005). Larger areas for nature consideration include forests with high nature conservation values which Sveaskog decide to set aside. Commercial forestry is not going to take place within these areas. However, the voluntary set-asides may be reassessed in light of “new” knowledge about the conservation benefits of different management options (ibid).

16 percent of the selected survey area below the mountains in Jokkmokk municipality is furthermore placed in a category for commercial management with ordinary or reinforced considerations to conservation values. They are consequently open for logging and other forest management activities. 23 percent, finally, are still subject to further exploration or negotiation. The main difference in the more westerly located mountain forests is that no formal, legal protection is planned there. The level of voluntarily protected survey area is the same but the share open for commercial management is currently smaller. However, more than half of the selected survey area west of the border delimiting the mountain forests (55 %), is subject to further exploration and negotiation. The future of the selected mountain forest areas on Sveaskog’s land is consequently to a large extent still unclear. No forest management activities will however take place in these areas until a decision about their future status is taken. The main differences between the SEPA’s original suggestions for protection and the final agreement are questions of delimitations and scale. Areas originally classified as valuable, now planned for commercial management, are generally forests bordering the core areas, for example so-called “development land” (SEPA, 2005). The total area is relatively limited but may, potentially, lead to fragmentation of larger areas and landscapes.

Figure 12. The upper map shows forests identified as having high nature conservation values (SEPA 2005;2006) and their current management status. The lower map shows forests identified as having high nature conservation values (as above) distributed on land owners/administrators. The maps are based on an assessment of the current situation made by the CAB in Norrbotten. © Lantmäterieverket Gävle 2008. Medgivande I 2008/1394.

¹⁹³ According to Sveaskog’s description of “Eco-parks” at http://www.sveaskog.se/templates/subentranceext_12235.aspx, (accessed 27 October 2007).



The National Property Board

The NPB administers state land west of the “Cultivation Boundary” that runs along the mountain range. The authority manages 93,000 hectares of land that has been selected as valuable in Norrbotten County and makes up the second largest owner/administrator of selected survey areas in the County. In Jokkmokk municipality, the NPB administers the single largest share of the survey area selected as valuable. A major difference between the NPB and Sveaskog is the geographical distribution of their land. A large proportion of the NPB’s holdings in Norrbotten County is mountain forest. A significant share of their land was already before the surveys protected or not suitable for commercial management. The NPB’s capacity to compensate for areas taken out of production is in this sense more limited than that of Sveaskog.

As shown in Tables 10 and 11, all of the NPB’s selected survey areas are currently placed in the category that is subject to further exploration and negotiations. Their management status is accordingly unclear. This reflects the outcome of the extended consultations¹⁹⁴ with the NPB and the group’s failure to reach agreement. Instead the NPB and the SEPA submitted their individual reports to the Ministry of Environment in June 2006. In short, the SEPA suggests that 110,000 hectares of selected survey area should be voluntarily protected by the NPB. This would imply that land is taken out of commercial management without economic compensation. The SEPA backs up its suggestion, by pointing, firstly, to the existence of very high nature conservation qualities and, secondly, to the fact that Sveaskog has made a comparable voluntary commitment¹⁹⁵. The NPB, on the other hand, reports that they are the Swedish land owner/administrator with the largest proportion of their forest holdings already protected. If all selected survey areas are to be protected, according to the boundaries proposed by the SEPA, the NPB wants them to be formally protected as nature reserves and the NPB duly compensated economically. They demand economic compensation for areas exceeding their own, internal, assessment of forests to be set aside and estimate the cost to 200 million SEK¹⁹⁶. No further formal agreement or decision has been made about the selected survey areas on the NPB’s land. The NPB has not formally abstained from forest

¹⁹⁴ See section 7.3:5, The SEPA is instructed to extend the consultations.

¹⁹⁵ See Decision by the SEPA, 22 June 2006: “Redovisning av fördjupat samråd mellan Naturvårdsverket och Statens Fastighetsverk om skyddsvärda statliga skogar”, Dnr. 300-3998-02 No.

¹⁹⁶ See letter, “Skyddsvärda statliga Skogar”, from the NPB, 26 June 2006, to the Ministry of Environment, 220-1282/04.

management in the selected survey areas and no formal logging moratorium is in place. However, no forest management activities in these areas are known to the SEPA (Lövgren, personal communication).

The future management of the selected survey areas, as delimited by the conservation authorities, is consequently unclear. However, this situation does not imply that the NPB and the SEPA are in complete disagreement about all of these forests. In fact, the two authorities agree about conservation values and voluntary protection on 67,000 hectares. They disagree on 45,000 hectares which the NPB wants to take into commercial management¹⁹⁷. As in the case of Sveaskog, a significant part of this discrepancy comes down to questions of boundaries and scale. In this sense, significant areas on the land of the NPB may thus also be seen as voluntarily protected.

7.4.2 Other land owners

Reliable data for survey outcomes on the lands of non-state owners are much more difficult to access. No complete compilation of survey results on private lands in the County as a whole exists with the CAB. Nor in the case of the National Fortifications Administration are complete survey results compiled and publicly available. The outcomes of the surveys on private and Armed Forces' land in Jokkmokk municipality are however presented in table 11. Taken together, the selected survey areas on lands owned by the Armed Forces and private owners more or less equal the area selected as valuable on Sveaskog's land. However, the level of planned protection is much lower. Nothing of what was selected as valuable on the land of the Armed Forces is currently planned for any form of protection. It is consequently open for commercial management. Almost nothing (three percent) of what was selected on private lands in the mountain area is prioritised for formal protection. Below the mountain forests, 38 percent of the selected survey area on private lands is planned for formal protection as nature reserves. The level of voluntary protection is low (3%) and the remaining area (52%) is consequently opened for commercial management. In the case of private land owners, the CAB has less leverage to demand voluntary protection. Most of what is not formally protected as nature reserves will thus be open for commercial forest management.

¹⁹⁷ See Decision by the SEPA, 22 June 2006: "Redovisning av fördjupat samråd mellan Naturvårdsverket och Statens Fastighetsverk om skyddsvärda statliga skogar", Dnr. 300-3998-02 No.

7.4.3 Conclusions IV: Whose preferences are reflected?

Which actors' preferences are reflected in policy outcomes and who has the capacity to influence policy making? To start on an overarching level, it can safely be concluded that the pattern of domination between Interpretive Communities and frames has changed as the policy process has evolved. Interpretive Community B, forestry, and their forestry-for-jobs frames have generally gained influence and power. This development is reflected in a number of formal and informal policy decisions that have shaped the further evolution of the process, as previously discussed. Interpretive Community B, forestry, has successfully disrupted the biodiversity Community's original control of the policy process and challenged the position of the biodiversity frames as dominating "metacultural frames". It has consequently advanced its position on a discursive level. On important points, Interpretive Community B, forestry, has been able to direct the policy process in the preferred direction. In these senses, the preferences of Interpretive Community B, forestry, have been reflected to a greater extent than that of the competing Interpretive Community A, biodiversity. However, as will be further discussed shortly, it is important to remember that Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, dominated the early phases of the policy process. For this reason, the initiation and the early implementation of the process, including the organisation of the surveys, reflect the preferences of Interpretive Community A, biodiversity.

Continuing the analysis on this overarching level, the Interpretive Community that appears to have come out weakest is community C, protection for community benefits. Their frames are not represented in the formal policy discussion and their preferences have not been reflected in the design and evolution of the policy process at any level. In this sense, this group of actors appears to be the one that is the most marginalised. Ways of constructing the world in which additional forest protection makes sense, not only from a global biodiversity point of view, but also from a local community development perspective, are generally subordinated to the more dominating frames. The preferences of Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities and other locally based actors with preferences for additional forest protection have consequently not been taken into account. To the extent that their preferences have been met, it is a by-product of the fact that their preferences to some extent overlap with those of Interpretive Community A, biodiversity.

As a next step, the relations between actors' preferences and policy outcomes on a forest management level will be discussed. Firstly, the outcomes of the surveys in the northern counties as a whole will be

explored. Secondly, the outcomes of specific land owners and the outcomes in Jokkmokk municipality will be discussed. An overarching preference of Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, is that all survey areas with high conservation values shall be immediately preserved in order to maintain biodiversity. Generally, they share a preference for formal, legal protection rather than voluntary arrangements. The outcomes so far on Sveaskog's land in the two northernmost counties (Norrbotten and Västerbotten) show a level of formal protection that ends up at around 25 percent of the total area selected as valuable. The level of formal protection of selected survey areas on private lands in Jokkmokk municipality is approximately the same. The level of voluntary protection of selected survey areas on Sveaskog's land is generally somewhat higher. However, as much as 70 percent of the selected area on private lands and 12 percent on Sveaskog's land in Jokkmokk municipality are opened up for commercial forestry (see Tables 10 and 11). The preferences of Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, are consequently met to a limited extent. This is also the understanding of the E-NGO community who perceive the outcome so far as a sell out. They are concerned about the extent of selected areas in the North that are likely to end up without legal protection. Actors with biodiversity frames placed within the state administration are generally more positive. They have followed the negotiations more closely and seen the compromises that have been made on the other side of the table. The apparent gap between needs and resources for formal protection in the North furthermore appears to have stimulated their efforts to explore alternatives to formal legal protection. Regardless of their original preferences, they may consequently not have seen much alternative to voluntary protection. Given these limitations they generally appear to be reasonably content with the outcomes to date.

At the outset of the policy process, Interpretive Community B, forestry, expressed a fear that all survey areas identified as having high conservation values would be subject to formal protection. In response to this feared development, an explicit preference, particularly of Sveaskog, was that the level of formal protection would not exceed the area defined in the 2010 Interim Environmental Objective Target. As the process has evolved, this will not be the case. In this sense, the policy preferences of Interpretive Community B, forestry, have been well reflected in the outcomes. Sveaskog and many other representatives of Interpretive Community B, forestry, accordingly express a satisfaction with the outcomes so far.

However, on a more fundamental level, Interpretive Community B, forestry, is generally sceptical of the need for any additional formal forest

protection in the northern inland. As far as the need for more legal protection is recognised, their preference is that it should be located in the south or by the northern coast. In relation to this position, it is obvious that the preferences of Interpretive Community B, forestry, also have been subject to modification and compromise. Significant areas of forests in the northern inland will inevitably become Nature Reserves. Although still under the control and influence of Sveaskog, substantial areas of productive forests in their eco-parks, etc. will be taken out of production. In spite of successfully having influenced the development of the policy process, Interpretive Community B, forestry, still has to accept a significant amount of additional forest protection in the northern inland. Contributing to this outcome was probably a strong position of Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, in the early phases of the Government Commission. Their preferences were very much reflected in the design and early implementation of the process. They were for example quick to take control of the practical survey process, for example by placing it within the CA Nature Conservation Units. At the time when Interpretive Community B, forestry, had something to formally react to, the surveys were more or less completed and a thorough documentation of forests with high conservation values already existed. A solid documentation firmly embedded in a biodiversity frame gave Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, a lead. In spite of Interpretive Community B, forestry, increasing their influence and power in the process, the existence of these forests and their documented nature conservation qualities could not be ignored, at least not while maintaining their environmental reputation. In this sense the outcomes on the ground may actually be seen as a compromise reflecting preferences of both Interpretive Communities.

Looking at the individual land owners, it is clear that the actors have been more or less successful in realising their policy preferences. Sveaskog, already prior to the Government Commission made a commitment to voluntarily set aside 20 percent of their productive forest land to be managed for nature conservation objectives. The agreement to voluntarily set aside a substantial share of their selected survey areas consequently did not significantly raise the overall level of Sveaskog's voluntary commitment. The voluntary nature of the commitment also ensures Sveaskog a certain flexibility and influence as to the future management of these areas. The kind of intervention that Sveaskog has the least possibility to influence is formal protection, such as the establishment of Nature Reserves. The regulatory space for additional formal protection in the North was however effectively reduced by the 2010 Interim Environmental Quality Objectives

Target and the adoption of the National Strategy, as previously discussed. All in all, the policy preferences of Sveaskog therefore appear to be fairly well reflected in the policy outcomes. It is also worth noting that a clear majority of the ten suggestions for a more balanced nature conservation approach, which the Chairman of the Sveaskog Board launched in September 2003, have been addressed. Sveaskog has consequently been very efficient in influencing the overall policy development.

The outcomes on private land are difficult to assess on a County level. Taking Jokkmokk municipality as the point of departure, the proportion of the originally selected areas that are planned for protection is relatively low, and substantially lower than on state lands. In this sense the preferences of the private land owners appear to be satisfied in the policy outcomes. In relation to the private owners' objections to any additional protection in the municipality for biodiversity reasons, the outcomes of course represent a sacrifice. Yet, this sacrifice is smaller than that of the state forest administrators. The outcomes on private lands are, however, related to the solutions on state lands since the total space for formal forest protection applies to all land owners. The more of this space consumed to buy state land, the less left to distribute on private land. In a situation where a substantial part of the limited resources available for formal protection is used to compensate Sveaskog or NPB, the nature conservation authorities do not have an alternative to releasing a substantial share of the selected survey areas on private lands for commercial management¹⁹⁸. This situation is not in agreement with the policy preferences of Interpretive Community A, biodiversity.

The outcomes on the lands of the NPB are hard to assess since the future of the selected survey areas, particularly in the mountain forests, is still unclear. Sveaskog also have substantial areas in or adjacent to the mountain area that are subject to further exploration and negotiation. This stalemate, at least partly, reflects an absence of clear and unambiguous forest policy in the mountain region. Another part is ambiguities regarding the future

¹⁹⁸ On June 13, 2008, when this analysis was already completed, Sveaskog and SEPA announced an agreement in which Sveaskog accepts the establishment of formal Nature Reserves on 20,559 hectares of their productive forest land without economic compensation. This decision releases a substantial amount of economic resources for formal forest protection on lands of other land owners. However, it does not increase the area related "space" for additional formal forest protection set by the 2010 Interim Target of the Environmental Quality Objective "Living Forests". It consequently does not significantly change the outcomes of the policy process under study. See Agreement made 6 June 2008: "Överenskommelse om långsiktigt skydd av särskilt värdefulla naturskogsområden", Dnr. 329-4904-08-No.

organisation of the administration of state forest land. The former, in turn, reflects conflicting frames and preferences of the competing Interpretive Communities that extend into the state administration, Parliament and Government. As outlined in Chapter 2, conflicts over forestry in the mountain areas have a long history and are in a way built into the very construction of the mission of the NPB. The mission of this authority is to administer “strategical values” of the state, such as the mountain forests and their nature conservation values. At the same time they are set to practise an economically viable forestry and generate a defined economic return. They are consequently asked to practise commercial forestry as a part of their task to administrate the “strategical values” of the mountain forests¹⁹⁹. However, in the perception of many actors, the maintenance of these values is incompatible with most forest management activities. The Government Commission has not managed to advance this long standing policy conflict. It has rather accentuated it. The resulting stalemate is not really in any of the actors’ interest. However, as long as the forest administrators do not log the areas under negotiation, the stalemate is less disturbing to Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, than it is to Interpretive Community B, forestry. The preference of Interpretive Community B, forestry, is to commercially manage a significant proportion of the areas that are not already protected. This Interpretive Community includes actors whose economic activities are dependent on clarity regarding access to the raw material standing in the disputed survey areas. Their activities and planning, particularly the NPB’s, may be hampered by a long-standing stalemate. The current situation is consequently not consistent with the preferences of the NPB and other actors with interest in the raw material of the selected survey areas.

So far the focus of this discussion has been on a regional or national level. It will now shift to the local level, that is Jokkmokk municipality, and an analysis of the outcomes in relation to the preferences of locally based actors. To start with Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, and B, forestry, it is generally fair to say that the general conclusions already made are valid also for the local components of these Interpretive Communities. The preferences of Interpretive Community D, enough forest protection, are to a large extent in line with those of Interpretive Community B, forestry. Much of what has been concluded in relation to community B is consequently valid also for community D, enough protection. Their preference is to limit the establishment of additional nature reserves that are seen as restricting in

¹⁹⁹ See Government Decision, 21 December 2006, Regleringsbrev för budgetåret 2007 avseende Statens Fastighetsverk, Fi2006/7384.

many different ways. So far, they have to accept additional nature reserves on 11 percent of the selected survey area on Sveaskog's land and 25 percent on selected private land. This represents an increase, and is in this sense in disagreement with their preferences. However, compared to alternative scenarios in line with the preferences of competing Interpretive Communities, it is a relatively limited increase.

Interpretive Community C, protection for community benefits, on the other hand, is positively disposed towards the protection of all selected survey areas but prioritises protection of areas important to local recreation, tourism and reindeer husbandry. Their primary preference is consequently protection of old forests close to the population centres, trails as well as important recreation, hunting and reindeer grazing areas. The upper map in Figure 12, clearly shows that very little additional forest is planned for protection close to Jokkmokk and its surrounding villages, that is in the population centres and their immediate recreation and tourism areas. In this sense the outcomes do not reflect the preferences of Interpretive Community C, protection for community benefits. As outlined in section 7.2, this Interpretive Community includes other, tighter Interpretive Communities, such as that of the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities. They are also positively disposed to the protection of all selected survey areas but not at the expense of other areas considered more important to reindeer husbandry. Compared to the outcomes, the largest and most involved Reindeer Herding Community Sirges would have liked to see more lowland pine forest and forests with pendant lichens protected, that is more important winter grazing areas. Areas currently designated for protection in the eastern part of the municipality (green and red on the map) are considered of limited value for reindeer herding (interview with 17). Many of their most highly valued forest areas in the western part of the municipality are on the land of the NPB which is still under negotiation (blue on the map). It is therefore difficult to fully judge to what extent their preferences have been met to date.

Preferences of Interpretive Community C do, however, also include protection of frequently visited recreation and hunting areas, as well as forests with a potential value for the developing tourism sector, at a distance from the population centres. They correspond fairly well with the areas under negotiation on the NPB's land in the western part of the municipality (blue on the map). These forests represent the remaining old forests along the river valleys and are selected for their nature conservation qualities. Here, the preferences of Interpretive Community C and B, biodiversity,

consequently converge. The extent to which these preferences will be reflected in the actual outcomes depends on the future process.

Whereas Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, controlled the initiation and the very early implementation of the Government Commission, Interpretive Community B, forestry, has successfully influenced subsequent policy phases. This ongoing competition is reflected in the outcomes as discussed above. However, the “tug-of-war” is far from ended and interpretive Community A, biodiversity, represented by the E-NGOs, has a potential resource that has not been used very much so far in this policy process. That is the market. If disappointed with the state’s ability to regulate the perceived problems, they may turn to the market to get support for their more far-reaching preferences. Regardless of how much forest the state decides to legally protect, there is now an extensive and publicly available documentation of forests with high nature conservation values. The documentation as such provides an excellent point of departure for monitoring and market based campaigns to stop logging in the survey areas. However, a condition for such campaigns is biodiversity frames that are strong enough among individual and corporate consumers in important domestic and export markets. Selected survey areas with high conservation values that are not legally protected may thus in the end become difficult to log without high costs.

7.5 Conclusions: Analysing the policy process

In this chapter, the policy process has been at the centre of attention. It has been explored with the analysis of actors’ frames as a point of departure. As a start, a number of factors were established as being essential to the actors’ differentiated abilities to influence the policy making process. By analysing the governance system at play, it was accordingly concluded that several of the locally based actors lack access to the formal policy process and its decision making procedures. With the help of Fischer’s concept of Interpretive Communities, it was moreover possible to show how actors sharing a sufficient proportion of frames and policy preferences chose to interact and take action to influence the policy process. This analytical step enabled the conclusion that only two, out of five groups of locally represented frames, were represented in the formal policy deliberation and the larger public debate. Finally a number of key policy events and their outcomes were explored in some depth. This generated a concluding discussion about the extent to which different actors’ preferences were reflected in the policy outcomes – and why. This chapter consequently addressed the question as to how frames are used and expressed in a policy

controversy and its struggles over influence and power. The next chapter aims at concluding the thesis and will discuss the empirical findings on a more general and theoretical level.

8 Discussion and overall conclusions

This chapter aims at concluding the results of this thesis. In Chapter 1, the objectives and questions of the thesis were presented. The overarching research question is about the roles of actors' perceptions of place in the politics of natural resource management. On a theoretical level, the task is to develop an analytical framework and explore the usefulness of frame analysis. On an empirical level, the tasks are, firstly, to explore the roles of place perceptions in actors' political understandings and activities and, secondly, to explore whose preferences are reflected in policy outcomes – and why.

This concluding discussion is introduced by an illustration of how the analytical framework, which in itself represents a result, may be used to sum up the main findings of the empirical investigation. Thereafter, the overarching research question is addressed. The roles of place perceptions in politics of natural resource management are consequently discussed. Firstly, by an exploration of the nature and roles of place perceptions, and secondly by an analysis of the policy process and its outcomes. This is followed by a reflection on the choice of methodology and method. Finally, the usefulness of the analytical approach and the overall contribution of the thesis will be discussed.

8.1 A policy process seen through the lens of actors' frames

At first contact, the policy process under study appeared as extremely messy, contradictory and difficult to grasp. Frame analysis was used as an attempt to explore the “messiness”, in other words, to try to understand it through the lens of the involved actors' own ways of seeing and acting. For this purpose, an integrated analytical framework was developed to explore the relationships between actors' frames, their activities, policy making and the resulting construction/transformation of place (see Figure 8 in Chapter 4).

This framework has guided the empirical study and the analysis. Figure 13 shows how it may be used to illuminate the empirical findings and facilitate a concluding discussion.

Seen through the lens of actors' frames, the issues at stake appear in very different guises. Actor 1, in Figure 13, holds a forestry-for-jobs frame. This actor consequently sees efficient forestry with no, or limited, additional forest protection as a prerequisite for economic growth and welfare. Actor 1 perceives forests, including "old growth" forests, as dynamic and renewable, and the local community as forestry dependent. Actors holding enough protection frames (not included in the figure) share important components of their frames, such as problem definitions and policy preferences, with actor 1. Together, they make up Interpretive Communities (B and D) which take action to limit additional forest protection. Actors 2 and 3, in Figure 11, represent two additional Interpretive Communities (A and C) which are partly overlapping and compete, primarily with Interpretive Community B, forestry. Actor 2 holds a biodiversity frame and actor 3 a protection-for-community-benefits frame. Together with actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames, they take action to increase the level of forest protection.

In the process of policy making (indicated by the large arrow), actors "market" their frames. Problem definitions are influenced by the resulting frame competition and the agendas and preferences of the most influential actors therefore appear as the most logical solutions. As outlined in Chapters 6 and 7, a main dividing line may be drawn between Interpretive Communities B, forestry, and D, enough protection, on the one hand, and Interpretive Communities A, biodiversity, and C, protection for community benefits, on the other. Yet, the frame analysis reveals significant differences within these two overarching groupings. In the case of the former, quite different or even conflicting perceptions of place and forests are discernible. However, shared social solidarities and organisational commitments still appear to keep these Interpretive Communities together. In the case of the latter, conflicting social loyalties and organisational commitments seem rather to create tensions and disintegration, in spite of many overlapping perceptions of place and forests. As an effect of the disintegration of Interpretive Community C, community benefits, actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry and community-benefits frames lost their link

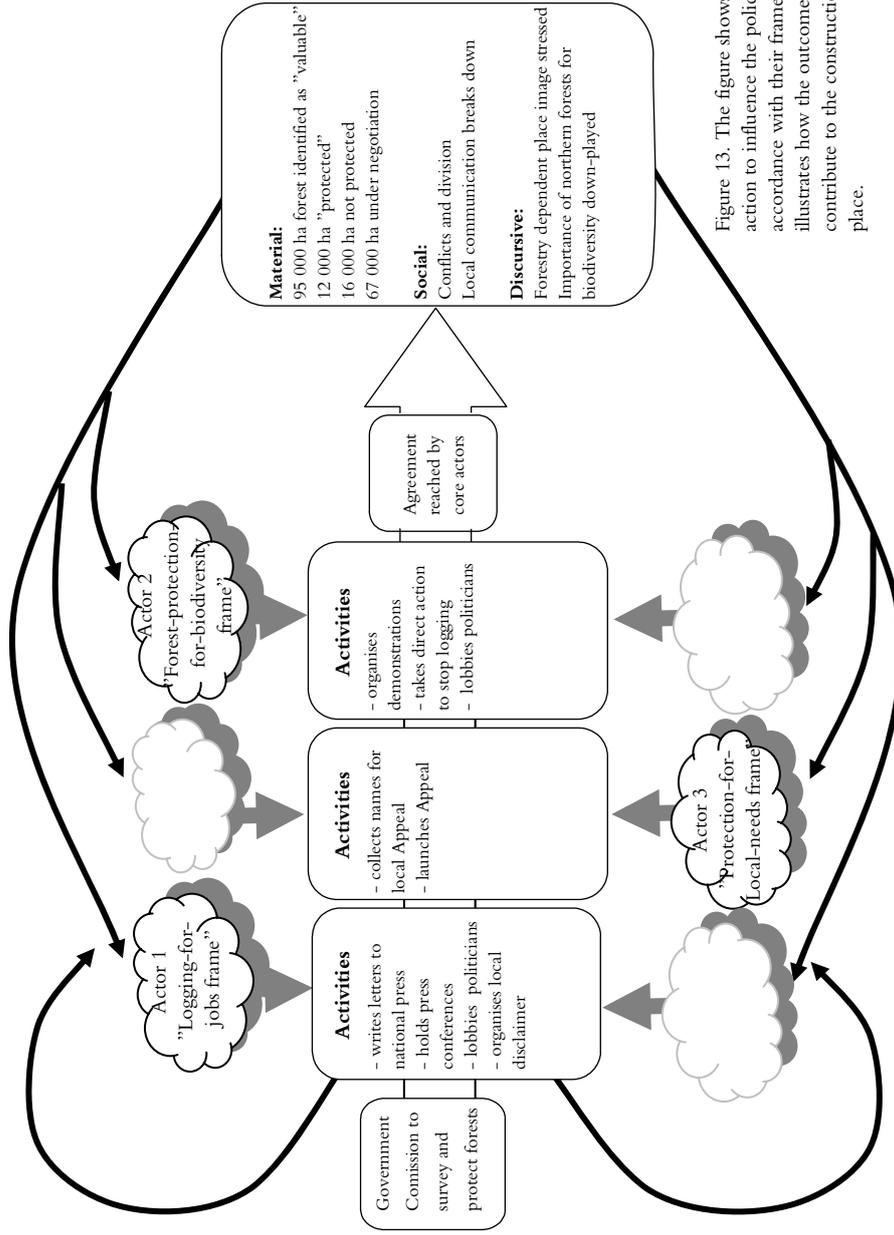


Figure 13. The figure shows how the actors take action to influence the policy process in accordance with their frames. The last box illustrates how the outcomes of this policy process contribute to the construction/transformation of place.

to the formal policy making process. The policy making process, as indicated by the large arrow in Figure 13, is consequently characterised by an intense competition between the two dominating Interpretive Communities: “forestry” and “biodiversity”. As discussed in Chapter 7, different actors have been more or less successful in their attempts to influence the process and their relative dominance has shifted over time. Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, was strong, even dominant, at the time of policy initiation. Interpretive Community B, forestry, successively strengthened its position, challenged the dominating biodiversity frame that embedded the policy initiative and ended up seeing a relatively large proportion of their preferences reflected in the policy outcomes. This is not to say that Interpretive Community B did not have to compromise, or that Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, in all respects came out short, as discussed in Chapter 7. Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that their initial control of the process was replaced by an increasingly influential Interpretive Community B, forestry. The latter’s advancement is discernible on a discursive level, for example by a more dominating position of the forestry-for-jobs frames. It is notable on an institutional level where several policy decisions were made in line with preferences of Interpretive Community B. Lastly, it is expressed on a material level where the area suggested for formal forest protection at the time of writing must be considered relatively limited in relation to recognised nature conservation values and the stated policy intentions. The policy process accordingly influences the construction of place on discursive, institutional, social as well as material levels. However, it is important to note that these transformations are not to be seen solely as an end result. They simultaneously constitute an input to actors’ ongoing construction of frames, as indicated by the arrows in Figure 13. The model should consequently not be interpreted as a one way linear, or causal, process. It rather illustrates a frozen moment of highly dynamic, reciprocal and interrelated relationships.

The study, facilitated by this analytical framework, therefore illustrates how disputes over natural resource management may express underlying frame conflicts, including different perceptions of place. Frame analysis illuminates the dividing lines between competing actors and Interpretive Communities and it offers possibilities of seeing commonalities and possibilities for dialogue and resolution. As a result it offers possibilities of penetrating the policy process at a level where its intractability may be understood and explained. Moreover, it enables an analysis of different actors’ capacities to influence policy outcomes, i.e. of power although in a limited sense.

A more in depth discussion of the usefulness of this analytical approach can be found at the end of this chapter. In the next section, the specific role of place perceptions in the process of policy making will be further discussed.

8.2 The role of place perceptions

The overarching research question to be answered in this thesis is about the role of place perceptions in the politics of natural resource management. In the following, the findings about the role and nature of actors' place perceptions will be discussed and conclusions drawn.

8.2.1 Struggles over place meanings

In the study of the Government Commission and its expressions in Jokkmokk municipality, different, and sometimes conflicting, perceptions of place and forests stand out as essential components of actors' frames. The policy process may thus be conceptualised as a struggle over different place meanings. Two sets of place perceptions appear to be particularly essential to actors' understandings of the policy problem: perceptions of forest and landscape change and perceptions of community dependencies. The perception of "old growth" forests as in principle renewable and manageable vs. original, scarce and non-renewable may illustrate the former. Images of the local community as more, less, or not at all forestry dependent illustrate the latter.

Actors' perceptions of how landscapes and forests have evolved historically are key to their understandings of the current policy problem. Their conceptions of a "natural" state, or dynamics, are central as they are part of defining actors' points of reference, how "it is supposed to be". Human activities are obviously seen as a more or less integrated part of this referential state. Nevertheless, it serves as a point of reference in relation to which deviance caused by current human use is judged. As the biodiversity frames (Group 2) have gained terrain in the Swedish forest debate, the language of conservation biology has been increasingly adopted to describe forest and landscape change (see Chapter 2). However, there are no uncontested, universal meanings attached to frequently used terms such as "natural", "disturbed", "adaptive", "diverse", "dynamic", "continuity", etc. Underlying their use are often struggles over problem definitions, for example if and to what extent observable changes constitute a problem that needs to be fixed, and if so how. Actors' constructions of "a natural state" typically set a point of reference. The amount of desired and acceptable

deviance from this state is moreover indicated by constructions of a forest or landscape history. By emphasising human disturbance as a critical factor leading to a desired forest state, actors may substantiate claims on future interference. Conversely, claims on future protection are often substantiated by reference to a historical “continuity”, understood as absence of human disturbance. Actors’ perceptions of landscape and forest change are consequently more than theoretical disagreements over forest and landscape properties. They are also, or maybe primarily, expressions of underlying claims on how forests and landscapes are to be maintained and managed in the future.

The frame analysis also illustrates how perceptions of the local community are used in struggles over forest management. Perceptions about the importance of forests and forestry to the economy of the local community clearly divide competing frames and Interpretive Communities, as outlined in Chapters 6 and 7. The local community is thus infused with different meanings which are intimately linked to activities whose maintenance prescribes certain ways of forest management. The image of the local community as forestry dependent, for example, calls for conditions to be able to continue to practise an economically efficient forestry. Such conditions include limitations on additional forest protection. In the marketing of this image, actors accordingly argue that additional forest protection is a threat to the maintenance of forestry activities and local employment. Images of the local community as a wilderness/nature conservation treasure, tourism destination or Sámi centre are linked to other activities such as recreation, nature conservation, nature based tourism or reindeer herding. Their maintenance, in contrast, is seen as dependent on more forest protection, albeit of different kinds. In the current situation, competing perceptions of the local community consequently come to be used as political tools in a power struggle over its surrounding forests, as will be further discussed in section 8.2.4.

However, disputes reflecting conflicting perceptions of forests, landscape change and community dependencies are nothing new in the Swedish forest debate. As outlined in Chapters 1 and 2, conflicting place meanings have historically divided environmentalists and forestry proponents. Different perceptions of the forest landscape, its use and change, are essential to this conflict. Diverging perceptions of community dependencies have also been seen in previous struggles over forest management, particularly in areas where unemployment and community development are important issues. As forestry in the mountain forests was debated in the 1980’s, images of forest dependent local communities were frequently raised against the

understanding of these places as sites for wilderness recreation, nature conservation, reindeer herding or tourism (see Enander, 2003; Lisberg Jensen, 2002). Lisberg Jensen's analysis of the Njakafjäll conflict and her description of it as a struggle over problem definitions moreover shares many characteristics with the Government Commission and its expressions in Jokkmokk municipality. Who should be given the preferential right to interpret the meaning of a place and its forests? Logging proponents with their emphasis on instrumental economic values, efficiency and welfare? Or, the environmentalists with their focus on ecological uniqueness and more abstract benefits of preserving a last remnant of the original forest? As in the case of the Pakkojåkkå dispute, Greenpeace used the particular forest in Njakafjäll as a universal "example" which came to stand against local perceptions of the area as a contextualised place of specific economic importance. Conflicts over place related perceptions are consequently discernible throughout the Swedish forest debate. The environmental side has repeatedly voiced perceptions of *ecological uniqueness* and *functionality* that are understood as *threatened*, *exploited* and *destroyed* (see *ibid*). What may be understood as a general fragility and scarcity theme consequently has a long history. These days it is expressed in terms of biodiversity and forms prominent parts of the biodiversity frames. However, earlier in the debate it also appears to have been attributed to other values and aspects of the forest (see Chapter 2). Characteristic for the forestry oriented frames, today as well as in the past, is a focus on *economic efficiency*, *production* and *welfare*.

In spite of many similarities, there are also differences between the findings of this thesis and studies of previous Swedish forest controversies, for example that of Lisberg Jensen. One thing that makes this study turn out different is that actors sharing protection-for-community-benefit frames, i.e. Interpretive Community C, organised themselves, took action and thus became visible as a distinct group of actors. The picture of environmentalists as urban colonisers fighting against a more or less unified local rural opinion defending their place thus appears in a different light. With the articulation of protection-for-community-benefits frames, the traditionally dominating image of northern inland communities as forestry dependent was challenged. According to actors holding these frames, additional forest protection is seen as both logical and beneficial from a local community point of view. This group of actors have often been quiet or referred to as those who "whisper in the darkness" (Lisberg Jensen, 2002). Regardless of their success in influencing policy making, the articulation of their protection-for-community-benefit frames is important. They add a critical dimension of place meanings to the public debate. In contrast to actors holding

biodiversity or protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames, who may be perceived as representing specific interests, this group of actors carry the local legitimacy needed to challenge the traditionally dominating image of northern inland communities as forestry dependent. They therefore have the potential to seriously change the established patterns and power relationships of Swedish forest struggles.

A comparison of forest politics and forest disputes over time, or in different places, is beyond the scope of this thesis. Yet, with some important exceptions, as discussed above, the persistence of struggles over similar sets of conflicting place meanings is striking even in a very brief exploration of the last twenty years of the Swedish forest debate. This is interesting as the nature of this debate has changed substantially in many other respects (see Chapter 2). In an equally brief look at literature describing forest conflicts outside of Sweden, conflicts over similar sets of place meanings are also identifiable. As outlined in Chapter 1, Hellström and Reunala (1995) have studied forest conflicts in six European countries from 1950 to 1983. They describe how issues such as clear-cutting and herbicide spraying became symbolic issues in conflicts between environmentalists and forestry over the intensification of forestry for purposes of commercial wood production, in other words, over the meaning of forests and their use. These types of conflicts are evident in their accounts from Finland, Sweden, Norway and the U.S. Raitio (2008) has used frame analysis to show how conflicting perceptions of forest use and landscape change divide environmentalists, reindeer herders and forestry proponents in two Finnish forest disputes. Lange (1993) and Moore (1993a) do not use frame analysis, but they rely on other theoretical tools to show that conflicting meanings attributed to the spotted owl, to “old growth” forests as well as their alternative, the “tree farms”, were at the heart of the conflict between environmentalists and the timber industry in the U.S. Pacific North West. As outlined in Chapter 1, Nie (2006) likewise describes how actors’ conflicting perceptions of forest use and landscape change are expressed in the conflict over Tongas National Forest in Alaska.

These authors have used a variety of theoretical approaches to make sense of forest conflicts. Raitio is the only one who has applied frame analysis. Nobody has focused on the role of place or used a place based approach. Yet, in all of these studies conflicts over place meanings, similar to those identified in this thesis, are discernible. Conflicting perceptions of forests, landscape change and community dependencies appear to be common. As a matter of fact, many components of, what in this thesis is identified as,

biodiversity, forestry-for-jobs and protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames are discernible.

Without claiming to have presented a complete overview, it appears safe to conclude that similar frames and place perceptions may be recognised in the history of the Swedish forest debate as well as in forest controversies in other comparable places in the world. How, and to what extent, they are expressed and reflected in policy outcomes obviously varies depending on context. Yet, at the heart of political disputes over forest management appear to be struggles over a number of recognisable, and contested, place meanings. This finding is consistent with Cheng, Kruger and Daniel's (2003) claim that politics of resources management, at a fundamental level, is the politics of place. The place meanings in question moreover appear to form integrated parts of a set of equally recognisable frames that actors use to make sense of forest management and forest politics. Particularly prominent themes of the biodiversity frames seem to be about *scarcity*, *fragility* and *threats*. *Efficiency*, *resource dependency*, *welfare* and *dynamics*, in other words adaptability of forests and landscapes, appear to be equally prominent themes of the forestry-for-jobs frames. *Subsistence* and *maintenance of local cultures and lifestyles* are themes which frequently figure in frames of different indigenous and local groupings in very different geographical settings.

8.2.2 Persistence and change

One conclusion so far is that some of the observed frames and place perceptions appear to exist elsewhere and be relatively stable over time. Protection-for-biodiversity, forestry-for-jobs and variations of protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames belong to this category. Other frames, with a primary orientation towards local community benefits (compare protection-for-community-benefits and enough-protection frames) may, at least in a Swedish context, be seen as emerging and thus represent change. In other geographical settings, such as the Canadian West Coast, these kinds of frames appear to constitute much more established elements of the forest and natural resource management debate (see Hannah, 2005; Bullock & Hanna, 2008). How can this mix of persistence and change be understood? Why are some frames so similar in spite of varying contexts? What about change? In what follows, the theories of Shields and Perri 6's will be used to explore possible explanations. I do not expect this approach to generate a comprehensive or unambiguous answer. As one possible approach, it may however contribute with some explanations.

Biodiversity, forestry-for-jobs and protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames, along with their integrated place perceptions, have been identified as

relatively persistent elements of the Swedish forestry debate. They, or their related versions, also appear in descriptions of forest struggles in other forest producing countries, as outlined in the previous section. In this discussion, they may consequently be seen to represent persistence and resistance to change. Shields (1991) suggests that place images, or perceptions, are expressions of underlying orders of space that are constructed through processes of social spatialisation. The key to the persistence of spatialisation, according to Shields, is that it is not proposed "...just as a cognitive structure which individuals learn". It is understood as a "cultural formation embodied not in learned rules but in bodily gestures (exis) and trained postures in and toward the world, in sets of practical paradigms and algorithms co-ordinating group activities and sites..." (p. 63). It is consequently suggested as a social framework more than a mental structure. In the same spirit, Macnaghten and Urry (1998), suggest that people's diverging understandings of "natures" are constructed through their "temporally and spatially organised social practices, their complexly organised patterns of dwellingness" (p. 250). Biodiversity frames, along with their integrated place perceptions, may be seen as having evolved through the practice of nature conservation. Nature conservation, as a social practice, may in turn include a variety of activities ranging from scientific research, professional conservation to activism and recreational activities with a focus on education and nature conservation. It may consequently include a broad range of ways to spend time in, as well as outside, forests with the higher objective of studying and protecting their ecological qualities. Today, nature conservation represents an increasingly globalised practice where international networks, campaigns and intergovernmental policy processes offer arenas for joint communication and activities. Forestry-for-jobs frames may accordingly be seen as products of practising forestry and protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames of practising reindeer husbandry. Modern forestry may, as in the case of nature conservation, be regarded as an increasingly globalised practice. The observed commonalities, such as the persistence of frames and place perceptions may thus possibly be explained by their evolution through specific practices which, at a fundamental level, remain relatively similar over time and across space. As social practices, these activities change, but only slowly and much slower than policy and public discourses shift.

In a Swedish context, forest management has changed considerably over the last twenty years, particularly at a discursive and policy level. However, at the very core this practice is still about cultivating and harvesting forests. It represents a completely different kind of "dwellingness" than that of

practising nature conservation or reindeer herding. Actors' involvement in fundamentally different social practices which, at a basic level, change relatively little across time and space may consequently help explain the observed persistence of some frames and place perceptions. It likewise helps explain why forest conflicts appear to be surprisingly similar in spite of different and changing contexts.

Perri 6 (2005a) and the neo-Durkheimians conceptualise frames, including place perceptions, as products of social organisation. Stability and resistance to change are hardly anything that would surprise the neo-Durkheimians who have contributed with the "static element" of 6's frames. According to the neo-Durkheimians, social solidarities elicit sense making in particular thought styles in ways that elicit action of the kind that sustains actors' institutional and organisational commitments, expressed in terms of "grid" and "group". In other words, actors are predicted to make sense of the world in ways that enable them to maintain their social relations and ways of life. Biodiversity as well as forestry-for-jobs and reindeer-husbandry frames have evolved in different organisational contexts which each offer different ways of life, for example as a forester in a forest corporation, as a reindeer herder in a Sámi Reindeer Herding Community, as a biologist within the nature conservation administration, as a forest activist with Greenpeace. The evolution of different place perceptions which sustain the *raison d'être* of their respective organisations and enable their different ways of life, can consequently be predicted. As long as the organisational commitments of the actors do not change drastically, there is little in the neo-Durkheimian theory that supports arguments for why actors' basic ways of perceiving the world should change.

More interesting in relation to the neo-Durkheimian theories is therefore to look at the assembly of "emerging frames" which in the Swedish context represents change, for example the protection-for-community-benefits frames. What appears to unify actors holding these frames are preferences for a range of social practices including hunting, fishing, snowmobiling all of which constitute parts of a perceived local way of life. These actors are recruited from different organisational contexts and share few organisational commitments. What unifies them to take action primarily seems to be a fear of not being able to maintain their preferred way of life, a specific dwellingness, due to observed changes in place such as lack of suitable forests. The shared perception of a changing local economy, for example decreasing dependence on forestry, is also part of the picture. Perceived place transformations and possibilities of maintaining highly valued social practices therefore appear to be important reasons for these frames to

emerge, or become articulated. However, when considering the rapid disintegration of this group of frames, it is rather the role of social organisation that stands out. As discussed in Chapter 6, the lack of strongly bonded groups among actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames may have been what caused their disintegration. As “grid” increased, the greater importance of the primary social location made actors revert to positions that were consistent with these locations, as predicted by 6.

This analytical example consequently suggests that processes of social spatialisation, based in shared social practices, are important to the evolution of frames and place perceptions. Actors’ experiences of place transformation, such as changes in the community or the forest landscape, may moreover be reasons for frames to change, or for new frames to emerge or become articulated. Organisational commitments and social solidarities appear to have a more “stabilising” role. In the case of the biodiversity, forestry-for-jobs and reindeer-husbandry frames, shared social practices, organisational commitments and social solidarities reinforce each other and result in very persistent frames. However, in the case of the protection-for-community-benefits frames, organisational commitments produce a social glue that works against their emergence and articulation in spite of shared perceptions of place and place transformations. It may consequently be concluded that place perceptions, based in shared social practices, are important to an understanding of actors’ frames and political activities. However, equally important is social organisation. In situations where actors’ organisational commitments and place perceptions are consistent and reinforce each other, this circumstance does not necessarily become visible. When actors’ organisational commitments and place perceptions end up being in conflict, the Jokkmokk case indicates that social loyalties and commitments may take precedence. Organisational commitments and social loyalties may consequently prevent new frames from becoming articulated and enacted. People’s perceptions and relationships to place, as political drivers, are accordingly not appropriately understood without the social and institutional context also being taken into consideration.

This research suggests that a number of recognisable and contested place meanings, which form integrated parts of a set of equally recognisable frames, are at the heart of political disputes over forest management, in Sweden, in other locations, today as well as in the past. Does this mean nothing has changed, nothing can change and everything will always remain the same regardless of how we tackle these issues? No. Obviously policy as well as practical forest management have changed significantly in Sweden as well as elsewhere during the last thirty years (see Chapter 2). What has come

out of this study may rather help understanding why forest conflicts are so persistent and difficult to resolve – in spite of obvious changes taking place in policy as well as management. At a basic level the disputes appear to come down to fundamentally conflicting ways of seeing the world, ways that are learned and embodied through temporally and spatially organised social practices. They may be expressed as a dislike for clear-cuts, a wish to preserve mountain forests, an engagement for the spotted owl or a particular biodiversity “hot-spot”. Where one group of actors sees development options, richness and possibilities to maintain shared social practices and lifestyles, the other side sees scarcity, fragility and threats towards the maintenance of their preferred way of life. A new piece of legislation, modification of forest management or the introduction of forest certification are not likely to seriously change these fundamentally different ways to see and value place. They are more likely to provide the actors with new arenas and tools which may serve to redress the underlying conflicts. The insight that disputes over forest use actually seem to have changed relatively little in spite of significant efforts, speaks in favour of testing new and different approaches to their management and resolution. To expose, address and acknowledge the underlying, and possibly conflicting, place meanings may be a first step.

8.2.3 Sense of place and political action

As outlined in Chapter 6, many actors express strong and emotionally loaded affinities to places and their forests. Places and forests become significant because they are infused with personal meanings and feelings, often referred to as sense of place. Some places and forests may become very important parts of the lives of these persons. Natural resource management activities create, transform or destroy place meanings. They may thus threaten people’s abilities to maintain their sense of place. In these cases, forestry may be perceived as a threat, not only to the forest, but to a personal wellbeing, culture, identity, or way of life that is intertwined with the forest or place in question (see Torgerson, 1999). As expressed in the interview material, fear of losing such forests seems to be a strong motivational force for people to take action for forest protection. Such fears, albeit for different reasons, for example appear to have unified the actors behind the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival. The opportunity to enjoy the growth, development and benefits of forests, similarly motivates other actors to defend their ability to practise forestry.

However, the empirical material does not suggest a given correspondence between actors’ sense of place and their considerations about acting.

Negative, or even very negative, experiences associated with the intensively managed or cultivated forests admittedly unify all actors taking action for additional forest protection. All actors associating old and unexploited forests with positive emotional experiences, on the other hand, do not take action for additional forest protection. Some actors develop multiple senses of place and deal with their possible tensions or conflicts. Tensions between highly valued recreational activities in old forests and professional involvement in forestry may, for example, be resolved by emphasising landscape dynamics and change, as explained in Chapter 6. The possible “loss” is thus experienced as temporal or limited. Other actors accept a lack of influence and intellectually subordinate their personal sense of place to other more highly prioritised collective gains, such as economic development. Yet others abstain from taking action because of social loyalties and fears of social sanctions.

As expressed in the interviews, emotional bonds to forests and places are nevertheless what motivate *many* actors to take action to defend place. According to Torgerson (1999), such resistance is usually more than a matter of individual imagination and personal feelings. What is primarily involved is an effort to protect a culturally achieved meaningfulness of a particular way of life. It is therefore something of a paradox that the current Swedish forest debate, the Government Commission included, is almost free from references to cultural, spiritual or emotional experiences of forests and places. At the centre of the public debate are, in contrast, factual matters and scientific arguments. There is a general tendency of conventional public discourse to exclude whatever cannot be clearly and explicitly stated in accredited terms (*ibid*). An inability to translate social, emotional and spiritual dimensions into what is perceived as politically appropriate and credible language may consequently be a reason for the absence of such arguments. Some actors may choose to remain quiet. Others express their concerns in terms of factual arguments, for example about biodiversity protection or technicalities of reindeer herding. This is not to say that the latter is unimportant or wrong. However, the unspoken emotional arguments that are not believed to survive the clash and glare of politics, are nevertheless likely to lurk underneath the surface. In this way strong emotional affinities to places and valued lifestyles may add fuel to long lasting disputes over seemingly factual matters.

This discussion highlights the complexity of actors’ emotional affinities to place and their role as precursor to political action. They also underscore the social construction of sense of place and how it may reflect organisational commitments, social loyalties and processes of social spatialisation as

previously discussed. Senses of place may be very personal but they are, as argued by Rose (1995) as well as Massey and Jess (1995), rarely the result of one individual's feeling and meanings. Neither are they inherent to the place. As the concept sense of place is adopted in resource management research, as suggested by Williams and Stewart (1998), Cantrill (1998), Cheng, Kruger and Daniels (2003) and others, it is important that its social component is recognised. This is not to deny its significance for the individual, the uniqueness of places or its role as precursor to political action. However, recognition of its social construction is critical to efforts to understand its complex roles and expressions in natural resource management conflicts.

8.2.4 Place meanings as political tools

It has already been discussed how controversies over natural resource management may be seen as struggles over place meanings. It has likewise been explained how conflicting place perceptions may form prominent parts of actors' frames which bias for political action. However, these processes may also work the other way around. Place meanings may be constructed, manipulated and used to gain political objectives. They may consequently be used as political tools. In the Government Commission under study, this occurs in a number of different ways.

In the previous section, the roles of actors' emotional affinities to place, their sense of place, were discussed. It was concluded that the Swedish public debate currently leaves little room for emotional arguments and that actors accordingly tend to express what is perceived as threatened values in terms of biodiversity. Throughout the Swedish forest debate, the environmental movement has used different concepts in their efforts to define the set of values that are perceived as threatened by forestry. Biodiversity surfaced as the key concept at the beginning of the nineties. Lisberg Jensen (2002) shows in detail how the concept was embraced by the environmental movement, how it was regarded and used as a new "weapon" in its struggles with the forestry corporations. It thus enabled the environmental movement to dress claims about threats, scarcity and vulnerabilities, themes with a much longer history, in scientifically credible terms. The biodiversity argument is accordingly being used by Greenpeace as well as the local E-NGOs in the Pakkojåkkå dispute. The values of the area are expressed in terms of endangered species and ecological functionality. The primary meaning of the place as a biodiversity container is consequently stressed and the classic claims about scarcity, threats and vulnerabilities are expressed in terms of conservation biology. The argument

here is not that biodiversity, or conservation biology, as such are irrelevant or would not have a solid scientific base. It is rather to highlight actors', in this case the environmental movement's, tendency to construct, or angle, place meanings to fit into, what is perceived to be, a politically credible and rewarding discourse. In the present situation, this discourse is evolving around biodiversity and conservation biology.

Another example illustrating how place meanings may be actively used as political tools is the promotion of northern inland communities as forestry dependent. The spreading of this image paves the way for arguments about how forest protection constitutes a threat to local employment and economic development. Actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames consequently put forward an image of place according to which their policy preferences to limit additional forest protection are logical and make sense. By actively trying to launch a counter-image of the local community as being unfairly exploited, actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames similarly pave the way for their preferences, such as increased local influence and additional forest protection.

Schön and Rein (1994) divide the process of problem definition, or frame construction, in two parts. The first is about a special way of seeing and perceiving the problem. The second is a complementary process of "naming" and "framing". Things are selected for attention and named in such a way to fit the frame constructed for the situation. This is, according to Schön and Rein, when the "story" makes the normative leap from fact to value, from "is" to "ought". This is also the point when place meanings are constructed to fit the discourse and when places are "named" in ways that infuse them with purpose and values which call for certain types of activity. *Natural forests, old growth forests, virgin forests* and *forests with long continuity* are for example infused with values and meanings that are linked to a history of no, or little, human disturbance. When naming a forest a *virgin forest*, an implicit claim is made that only by continued absence of human disturbance, understood as protection, can this forest maintain its value and meaning. Naming a forest a *trivial pine forest, a managed or cultivated forest, a cultural forest* or a *hall of pillars*²⁰⁰ implies corresponding claims supporting active management and use.

Cheng, Kruger and Daniels (2003) suggest that groups intentionally manipulate the meanings of places hoping to influence the outcomes of natural resource controversies. They argue that the eventual use of a place, or resource, depends on the ability of each individual or affiliated group to

²⁰⁰ In Swedish "brukad skog", "kulturskog" and "pelarsal", which means a special kind of mature managed pine forest.

manipulate and market its place meanings to policy makers. To what extent the actors in the Government Commission under study actively manipulate place meanings, or unintentionally act on what they “see” and “name”, is difficult to judge. Efficient “marketing” does, however, take more than just voicing preferred perspectives and preferences. As shown in Chapter 7, it requires access to the formal policy process, to networks and various other resources. All actors do not have equal access to these resources and some actors are consequently more successful than others in marketing their place meanings to the policy makers. In the case of the Government Commission under study, actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames were successful in marketing the image of northern inland communities, and Sweden as a whole, as forestry dependent. The ground was consequently prepared for decisions that aimed at limiting additional forest protection, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. Seen from the other side, Greenpeace and other E-NGOs were initially successful in marketing the image of the remaining Swedish “old growth” forests as threatened and dwindling. The initiation of the Government Commission was accordingly a logical policy initiative.

In his book “Places on the Margin”, Shields (1991) shows how “space myths” about the Canadian North have impacts on the development of the region. He shows how the image of the “True North” is more than a myth, how it motivates, and is articulated within, a set of institutional and personal practices which have effects on patterns of economic and political development. He consequently concludes that the presence of this dominating myth has its costs for the inhabitants of the region. As outlined in Chapter 3, Massey and Jess (1995) as well as Rose (1995) similarly discuss how place representations and sense of place may have roles in the production of uneven development.

In the case of the Government Commission under study, the issue comes down to a question of power and democracy. What actors have the capacities to market their constructions of place and whose images and language will influence policy outcomes? As shown in Chapter 7, two, maybe three, out of five locally expressed groups of frames, were represented in the formal policy process and the public debate. Actors holding protection-for-community-benefits as well as reindeer-husbandry frames were not able to market their place meanings to the policy makers. The images of the local community as forestry dependent, and the forest as an economic resource or a biodiversity container, could as a result remain relatively unchallenged.

8.2.5 Place as an integrating concept

So far, the focus of this discussion has been on what divides actors from each other. However, as outlined in Chapter 6 all locally expressed frames actually meet in a shared concern for the place that the actors collectively inhabit, i.e. Jokkmokk municipality. They all share an ambition to manage the local forests in ways that benefit the community long term. Most of the locally placed actors furthermore share a preference for increased local deliberation, influence and participation in policy and planning of natural resource management in the municipality. Shared place based experiences and affiliations could thus provide a platform for local dialogue and co-operation. Such observations have been made in studies of forest related disputes elsewhere, notably in the U.S. (see for example Cheng, Kruger and Daniels, 2003; Brandenburg and Carroll, 1995; Stuertervant and Lange, 1996).

In the case of the investigated Government Commission, shared experiences and concerns for the local community have not resulted in local dialogue and co-operation. Instead, the situation with two polarised camps prevails. This circumstance may reflect the strength of primary organisational commitments and social loyalties of the actors, as previously discussed. However, in contrast to most of the place based success stories reported in the literature, the disputes in Jokkmokk were never actively facilitated. As evident in the analysis of actors' frames, shared concerns for good governance, an observed common element of non-local frames, did not necessarily include actors and disputes at the local level. Perceptions of the local community as a place with frequent and intractable conflicts over natural resource management, shared by actors holding good-governance frames, did not result in active efforts to inform, involve, or mediate conflicts among, local actors. Conflicts with their origins at the national, regional or even international level were rather enacted in the local community through interventions by centrally placed actors such as Greenpeace, the CAB and Sveaskog.

In this case, shared concerns for a jointly inhabited place therefore did not result in local dialogue or co-operation. Based on the empirically observed commonalities and the experiences reported in the literature, it is nevertheless reasonable to believe that some potential for local dialogue and co-operation exists. The observed place based commonalities are present in a large majority, and in all different kinds of, locally expressed frames. They are, however, absent in frames of non-local actors. A concern for the future of a jointly inhabited place consequently cuts across Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, and B, forestry, and marks a difference between

locally and non-locally based actors. Whether these shared place based experiences and affiliations are enough to overcome existing conflicts and integrate currently opposing groups of actors is an open question. Nevertheless, they represent a possibility for an emerging local dialogue, learning and co-operation which, however, would benefit from active and professional facilitation, maybe even conflict management.

8.2.6 Conclusions I: The role of place perceptions

This research suggests that a number of recognisable and contested place meanings, which form integrated parts of a set of equally recognisable frames, are at the heart of political disputes over forest management. Biodiversity, forestry-for-jobs and protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames (along with their indigenous equivalents) are identifiable in the Government Commission under study as well as in previous forest conflicts in Sweden and other parts of the world. At a basic level, these disputes appear to come down to fundamentally conflicting ways of seeing place and forests, ways that are learned and embodied through temporally, spatially and socially organised practices. Forestry, nature conservation, reindeer herding and other indigenous subsistence activities are examples of such practices. They represent different kinds of “dwellingness” which, at a fundamental level, are relatively similar in different geographical settings and change only slowly. Forest conflicts consequently appear to endure in relatively similar forms in spite of changed legislation, new governance systems and developed management methods. This insight calls for new approaches to their resolution and management.

Many actors involved in the Government Commission under study express strong and emotionally loaded affinities to place and forests. Fear of losing such forests in fact appears to motivate many of them to take action. Yet, most of the public argumentation for forest protection is expressed in terms of biodiversity and conservation biology. Place meanings may consequently be angled, or constructed, to fit what is perceived to be a scientifically credible and politically rewarding discourse. The study actually shows how place meanings, in a number of different ways, are used as political tools. Through “naming” and “labelling”, places and forests are infused with values and meanings which call for particular styles of action. By manipulating and marketing place meanings, actors try to influence the outcome of the policy process.

Perceptions of place and forest obviously form essential components of actors’ frames. They are consequently important to an understanding of their political activities. However, it is also evident that social organisation may be

equally important to an understanding of how frames are constructed, and how place perceptions accordingly become articulated and enacted. In situations when actors' organisational commitments and place perceptions end up in conflict, the study indicates that social loyalties and commitments tend to take precedence. Actors may consequently choose to abstain from taking action in ways that are logical and consistent with their perceptions of place and forest use. They may revert to frames that are consistent with their organisational commitments or they may choose not to articulate their frames. Based on these observations, this study suggests that actors' perceptions and relationships to place, as political drivers, are not appropriately understood without the social and institutional context *also* being taken into consideration.

8.3 The capacity to influence outcomes

The previous section focused on the role of place perceptions in actors' constructions of frames. Here, the political perspective will be at the centre of attention. What can be learned about actors' different capacities to influence the outcomes? How may they be understood in the context of Swedish forest and environmental politics and what are their implications?

As a start, the formal process and the capacities of the actors who are formally involved are discussed. Next, the focus is moved to the broader group of actors who try to influence the policy process although they are not formally involved. The section ends by a discussion about the issue of local participation and involvement.

8.3.1 Power struggles in between two steering traditions

As outlined in Chapter 2, Swedish environmental politics has generally gone through a shift from regulative steering to steering through objectives²⁰¹. This process of change is also reflected in the evolution of the Government Commission under study. This Commission was actually not initiated as a part of the ongoing systematic development of overarching Operational and Sectorial Objectives intended to steer nature conservation and forest management. Instead, it addressed an issue that was left unattended to by the State Forest Inquiry and came about as an effect of pressure from the E-NGOs. However, the objective of the Commission was not only to find out how much forest with high nature conservation values currently exists. It

²⁰¹ "Från regel- till målstyrning" in Swedish.

was also to protect such forests. How much, became an object of interpretation and struggle.

By stipulating additional protection of an unknown amount of forest, the initiative tied into, or maybe even collided with, the systematic and objectives related approach which involved the forest and nature conservation sectors at the time. Yet, the Commission was initiated without explicit reference to already agreed objectives and targets. As more valuable forests than expected were found, it became apparent that protection of all identified forests with high nature conservation qualities would not be possible within the agreed 2010 Interim Target. The total area of protection would exceed the target and the economic resources allocated to reach it. As evident in Chapter 6, some actors perceived such a scenario as an outright violation of the intentions and procedure of the entire objectives related steering process. Some of the problems which the Government Commission faced may consequently be seen as a clash between two related, but uncoordinated, policy processes with their origins in two different political steering traditions. The Government Commission to survey Swedish forests represented, at least at the outset, a traditional hierarchical sector dominated approach. The 2010 Forest Protection Interim Target may be seen as an expression of a decentralised and goal steered process, more precisely the operationalisation of the overarching Environmental Objectives.

The question as to how these two policy initiatives were supposed to relate to each other was not addressed when the Government Commission was initiated. Neither was it brought up in the system for political consideration at a later stage. The fundamental question dividing the actors and their frames, how much of the identified forests with high nature conservation values was actually going to be protected, was likewise never raised for political discussion. Instead, this question was left for the involved sectors and their corporatively organised members to fight about. The intersection, or clash, between different steering traditions and uncoordinated policy processes, created a space of “messiness” and lack of procedural clarity. This space left the actors room to construct their own preferred interpretations and became an arena for frame competition and power struggles. As shown in the frame analysis, the meanings of the regulatory instruments themselves, such as the plethora of objectives, were contested and used as political tools. However, underlying arguments about targets and administrative objectives was a struggle about place meanings and the fundamental adjustment between environmental protection and economic production. Issues which maybe should have been determined on

a political level were thus blurred in a technical and process related discussion on the administrative level.

Sundström (2005) has studied the process to operationalise the forest related Sectorial Environmental Objectives. His observation is that issues of political adjustments have a tendency to become blurred and invisible. In the past, Sundström explains, the authorities involved represented one of the conflicting interests. The SEPA consequently represented the environmental interest, the SFA the forest production interest and they both argued for their respective cases. When issues could not be resolved on an administrative level, they could be raised and determined on a political level. With the new organisation, the adjustment of issues is to be resolved by one enlarged and integrated “sector”, co-ordinated for example by the SFA. The mechanisms for raising issues to the political level have become weakened. There is thus, Sundström argues, a risk that issues that should be determined on a political level do not reach this level.

8.3.2 Sector integration and informal consultations – who benefits?

The Government Commission under study represents a kind of mixture between the traditional hierarchical and the new goal related form of steering. It started as a quite traditional, sectorised policy initiative controlled by the SEPA. With the instruction to develop further the consultations with the actors involved, the SEPA was given more of a co-ordinating role. The implementation of the Government Commission was thus becoming more consistent with the overarching goal steering approach. Conflicts were accordingly referred back to the integrated “sector” where the necessary adjustments were expected to be made by informal consultation groups. In this case, these groups included actors which represented two conflicting Interpretive Communities and groups of frames, biodiversity as well as forestry-for-jobs. Which are the actors that have gained, respectively lost, influence in the observed transition from traditional government to a more governance oriented form of steering?

The obvious answer is that the organised corporate interests which are represented in the fora where the adjustments and decisions are made, are winners. Those who are left outside are the apparent losers. In the case of the Government Commission under study, the consultation groups included representatives of Interpretive Community B, forestry, and Interpretive Community A, biodiversity. However, Sundström (2005) points out that all the actors in these arenas are not equally influential. He suggests that it is the already large and influential organisations that benefit. As outlined in Chapter 7, the state forest administrators, particularly Sveaskog backed by

Interpretive Community B (forestry), appear to have been influential. The SEPA, and thus Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, obviously lost control as their position in the top of the formerly sectorially organised hierarchy was changed. In this case Sveaskog appears to be the one which gained the most from a shift from traditional sector politics to cross sectorial dialogue and consensus oriented negotiations, such as the consultation processes.

Co-operation, dialogue and consensus building are generally prominent features of the Swedish political system, as outlined in Chapter 2. They are also historically important components of Swedish forest politics. As a matter of fact, they are even considered of fundamental importance for its success (see Sundström, 2005). However, as Sundström points out this relationship is historically characterised by resource dependence. Since the state and its authority, the SFA, do not own all forest land they depend on the co-operation of the private forest owners to reach their objectives. The state, on the other hand, possesses resources that are attractive to the forest owners (ibid). The state and the private forest sector moreover share an overarching interest in a strong and competitive forest industry. They are in this sense part of a common Interpretive Community. A kind of “contract” historically emerged between the state and the private forest sector (ibid).

A shift to steering through cross sectorial objectives and frameworks implies that this traditionally established Community had to open up to include other, even quite conflicting, interests. The same is true on the conservation side. The Government Commission under study actually illustrates how Interpretive Community A, biodiversity, which initially controlled the process, was forced to open up for a cross sectorial “consultation”, in other words to share power. The idea of integrating traditionally separate policy sectors and creating arenas for deliberation and dialogue is obviously important. However, the question remains as to whether these traditionally corporately organised sectors have the capacity to take on their new task? To facilitate co-operation and dialogue within a sector characterised by resources dependency and shared frames, such as an Interpretive Community, is one thing. To function as an arena for dialogue across groupings with quite different frames and interdependencies is a very different matter. Mechanisms for frame reflection, conflict resolution as well as transparent and democratically legitimate forms for deliberation and decision making consequently have to be developed. The point here is not to deny the value of joint learning which, according to the informants, have come out of the consultation processes in the Government Commission under study. Yet, as should be evident from Chapters 6 and 7, there is a

long way to go before these consultative groups function as arenas for conflict resolution, equitable dialogue and democratically anchored decision making. As long as that is the case, there is an obvious risk that the already large, influential and economically important actors come out as the winners.

8.3.3 Participation and influence

So far it is primarily the negotiations of actors that are part of the formal decision making process that have been discussed. However, as outlined in Chapter 7, all actors do not have access to the formal policy process. Their frames and place perceptions are accordingly not represented in the decision making process. Three groups of actors appear to be significantly marginalised. The first one is actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames. They constitute a part of Interpretive Community C. This group of actors is weakly organised and lacks networking capacities. The second is actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames, that is another part of Interpretive Community C. They are relatively well organised and could probably, if involved, access the formal process through their networks. However, they are not involved. The third marginalised group is actors holding enough-protection frames. They put forward some of their policy preferences through actors holding forestry-for-jobs frames, that is Interpretive Communities D and B, and are in this sense not without a voice. However, their lack of information, knowledge and conflicting social commitments make them vulnerable to social pressure and manipulation. In this sense they may be seen as marginalised.

All three groups are locally based. None of them was formally informed about, or involved in, the policy process. The local municipality, which theoretically would be suitable to represent local perspectives, has not involved itself in a broad dialogue with local actors. It is consequently not capable of representing the variety of local perspectives and preferences. On the other hand, the municipality itself has no clearly defined role in the Government Commission and its implementation. It had not, at the time of writing, been formally informed or consulted about the entirety of the policy process and its outcomes.

As a result of this lack of local participation, important local perspectives and preferences are not represented in the formal policy making process, in spite of substantial local forest areas being affected by the policy outcomes. Centrally placed actors may consequently unchallenged market their place meanings to policy makers as part of their strategies to promote their preferred forest use. As pointed out earlier, this does not mean that all locally

based actors are marginalised and lack the means to make a difference. The local forest sector and the E-NGOs are able to access the formal policy process through well developed networks and markets. Through these channels, they are able to access the fora where negotiations and decision making take place, as discussed in the previous two sections. The relative strength of their positions and possibilities to succeed may certainly be discussed. Nevertheless, in comparison with other locally based actors, both groups are relatively well equipped. A major problem therefore boils down to the observation that only those locally based actors who have access to certain skills and resources appear to be able to influence the conditions for local forest use. The Government Commission selected for study consequently suffers from a lack of local participation, inclusion of local perspectives and, thus, legitimacy.

8.3.4 Sámi rights and participation

Before discussing the general question of local participation, the situation of the Sámi actors holding protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames deserves some attention. As discussed in Chapter 2, this group of actors differs from the others because of their status as an indigenous people with legally defined rights to land and water. The Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities have strong customary rights to some of the disputed forest areas. For reasons explained in Chapter 2, Sámi actors argue that the status of these rights is equivalent to ownership. Yet, they did not find themselves invited to the consultations about the future management of these areas. The Swedish state, in its capacity as a land owner²⁰², was however represented by its involved authorities. This circumstance was in itself perceived, by some of the Sámi informants, as an unacceptable disregard of Sámi rights. The interpretations of Sámi land rights are admittedly contested and the Swedish state has not yet come to a clear position on the matter. Neither has the Swedish state made a definite decision as to ratifying the International Labour Organisation's Convention 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent States. The lack of formal involvement of the Reindeer Herding Communities in the Government Commission under study thus reflects a general lack of clarity as regards the legal Sámi rights to land and water. The effect, however, is that Sámi frames and place meanings did not reach the negotiation table.

As outlined in Chapter 2, the supervision of the reindeer herding right is the responsibility of a separate policy sector headed by the Ministry of

²⁰² No Title.

Agriculture and the Sámi Parliament. An argument may thus be made that it is by no means self-evident that the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities ought to be actively involved in this Government Commission which primarily is a matter for the nature conservation and forestry sectors. However, in the northern areas there is currently increasing competition over certain types of mature, or old, forests. These forests are important for forestry, nature conservation as well as reindeer herding. The making of policy within the aforementioned individual sectors, that affect the use of these forests, consequently has implications for the conditions of the other sectors. This linkage is recognised by the reindeer herding informants. They fear that, what is perceived as a limited economic and political “space” for additional forest protection will be consumed by the conservationists before the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities get to the table. They are consequently afraid of losing their slice of the cake. More precisely, they see a risk that they will not be able to get protection for forests that are valuable as reindeer grazing lands, for example in the form of “cultural reserves” as suggested by Allard (2006). In a situation where the competition over the forests is likely to increase even more, for example as an effect of the climate crisis, these fears may be well grounded. As outlined in Chapter 2, Allard concludes that the overall regulation for planning and environmental protection give raise to a number of concerns from a reindeer husbandry point of view. In this case, an integration of reindeer husbandry into the making of forest related nature conservation policy would help. On a more general level, the development of a more integrated planning approach, including forestry, nature conservation, reindeer herding and other possible interests making use of forests that are subject to intensified competition, may prevent a situation where certain groups are privileged, or excluded, due to the nature of the planning procedure.

8.3.5 Local participation

Returning to the more general matter of local participation, the question remains as to whether the observed weaknesses are unique to this policy process. Or, to what extent they reflect more general features of the Swedish way of governing the management of northern forests.

The importance of local participation to management of nature conservation and natural resources is generally recognised in Swedish environmental and nature conservation policy. The extent to which these new trends actually are reflected in the prevailing conditions for local participation in environmental politics is however an open question (see Baker & Eckerberg, 2008). This issue is also the focus of a forthcoming

anthology by Sandström, Hovik and Falleth (eds). Based on the comparison of case studies from Sweden, Finland and Norway, they conclude that although there are examples on participatory management, the examples on hierarchical steering are significantly greater. Facilitating local “approval” and “legitimation” still appears to be more common than providing real possibilities for influence. The identified participatory approaches are moreover often found to be in the form of projects which exist next to the traditional hierarchies (Hovik & Sandström, forthcoming). The authors establish that traditional management of natural resources in all three Nordic countries has been a state responsibility with strong elements of hierarchical and expert oriented steering, in other words top-down politics. However, based on the cases studied, they also suggest that this situation is on its way to changing.

Sandström, Hovik and Falleth argue that the different Nordic states have chosen different strategies in their efforts to cope with the demands on local participation. Whereas Norway has prioritised involvement of the municipalities, Finland and Sweden have concentrated on involving different interest groups within the framework of the sector politics. Norway has consequently chosen to channel local participation through the representative democratic system. Sweden, in contrast, has chosen well established corporative channels to increase local involvement. In the case of the Government Commission under study, no active efforts were made to facilitate local participation. Yet, the process shows that involvement of established corporate channels (such as the forest and nature conservation sectors) is no guarantee for including all relevant local actors or perspectives. On the contrary, there is an obvious risk that such approaches enable some local actors’ involvement while others remain left outside.

Sandström, Hovik and Falleth moreover suggest that the degree and nature of involvement depends on the relationship between the state and the local actors in question. In situations where the power relationship is symmetric, for example when the state is dependent on the local actors’ support, the latter are involved and given possibilities to influence collective decision making. In situations where the dependencies between the state and local actors are asymmetrical, the state tends to respond to actors’ expectations on increased participation by involving them on its own premises. In the context of forestry, as practised today, the state is not very dependent on local actors not owning land or industrial capacity. In many municipalities in the inland of northern Sweden, the level of private land ownership and wood processing is low. Here, the power relationship consequently appears to be quite asymmetric. In the context of nature

conservation, the state is dependent on the co-operation of the land owners to be able to establish Nature Reserves, Biotope Protection Sites, etc. However, its need for an active involvement of other segments of the local population is limited as long as the locals do not become involved in organised social protest. These circumstances suggest that the incitement for the state to give local actors in the North possibilities to effectively influence collective decision making about forestry and forest protection is relatively low.

As mentioned previously, the municipality has a central, and potentially decisive, role in efforts to involve a variety of local actors. There has also been a deliberate ambition from the side of the Government to stimulate the municipalities to increase their activities in the field of nature conservation (Skr. 2001/02: 173). Actually, the regulatory system provides for their active involvement. Yet, their role in strategies to cope with demands for increased local participation does not appear to be very significant in Sweden (see Hovik & Sandström forthcoming). The Government itself has also observed that some of the means offered have been used to a quite limited extent (Skr. 2001/02:173). In the Government Commission under study, the local municipality was not formally informed about the process and not actively involved. The individual areas to be proposed for protection as Nature Reserves will, nevertheless, be referred for municipal consideration prior to the CAB's final decision. The regional strategy for forest protection was likewise deferred to the municipal level for consultation prior to decision. However, in the absence of formal decision making, the Government Commission, as a comprehensive land use planning process, proceeded without formal municipal involvement although significant land areas within the municipality are affected. Taken together, this situation gives rise to questions. Is there a discrepancy between the role that the municipalities theoretically are able, and hoped, to take on, and the reality? To answer if, to what extent and why, this is the case, is a task that obviously goes beyond the scope of this thesis. However, lack of competence and nature conservation traditions are some suggested reasons for the weak municipal response to the possibility to apply for grants for establishment of protected areas (Skr. 2001/02:173). Lack of local "demand" for nature conservation in many municipalities is another theory for why the municipalities' involvement remains low (see Sandström, Hovik & Falleth, forthcoming).

Although the municipalities' general involvement in the management of natural resources appears to be relatively low, many municipalities in Norrbotten County applied for and received funding from the LONA programme for specific nature conservation projects. A brief review of the

projects which have received funds shows that most projects focus on information, education or recreation related matters. They are typically project based and not linked to more overarching land use planning or decision making²⁰³. In the context of the NOLA programme, the involvement of the northern municipalities consequently appears to take the form of isolated projects which exist parallel to the traditional hierarchical forms of steering. Similar observations have been made by Sandström, Hovik and Falleth (forthcoming) in relation to overall efforts to enable increased local participation in Sweden. Municipal initiatives, to the extent that they exist, are consequently not necessarily linked to those political and administrative processes that shape the overall use of the landscape in the municipality. One reason may be lack of influence, in spite of increased formal competence. Such a problem was already identified in 1994 by Arnell, Eckerberg and Lidestav (1994). The forest and agricultural landscapes in many municipalities are to a large extent shaped by factors which lie outside of the municipal planning systems. Steering through sector specific legislation, such as the Forest Act, is the responsibility of other authorities and do not necessarily involve the municipalities. Involvement in nature conservation matters comes down to procedures for co-operation between the municipalities and the CABs. To some extent these landscapes are even shaped by demands, rationalisations, etc. that go beyond the state's capacity to influence. In this respect, the municipalities' possibilities to practically influence the use of land which they do not themselves own may, in spite of increased formal competences, be quite limited. The incitements for such municipalities to become involved in a local dialogue about forest use may accordingly be weak.

8.3.6 Involving local actors?

An observation so far is consequently that some of the observed weaknesses in regards to local participation appear to be of a more general character rather than unique to the Government Commission selected for study. Development of ways to increase the participation of local actors in the management of these resources seems to be desirable in order for Sweden to meet its own policy ambitions as well as international commitments. Local participation and forms for co-management are often seen as ways to increase the local legitimacy, quality and effectiveness, of natural resource management (Pinkerton, 1989; Carlson & Berkes, 2005). Increased

²⁰³ See SEPA, http://swenviro.naturvaradsverket.se/dokument/epi/lona/visa/visa_sok_overgrip.php, (accessed 24 April 2008).

legitimacy and establishment of common arenas for problem solving are moreover understood as ways to reduce conflicts (Carlsson, forthcoming). However, decentralisation of management decisions does not automatically ensure inclusion of marginalised groups and views, at least not in small communities where resource use is contested. Three critical questions are: Who to involve, in what setting and under what premises?

One observation made in the study of the selected Government Commission is that the most marginalised actors are weakly organised. They are consequently not immediately recognisable as an interest group to be invited to round table discussions. They are furthermore squeezed between conflicting organisational commitments and social loyalties. Different forms of social pressure appear to restrict their participation and ability to express themselves freely. The Sámi experiences of the legally required consultations with the forest owners furthermore highlight the difficulty to negotiate when power relations are unequal (see Sandström, 2003; Sandström & Widmark, 2007). This is not to say that local participation, co-management of resources and similar initiatives are bad ideas or impossible to implement. The argument here is rather that true local involvement requires more than technical governance solutions. Participation has to go beyond the easily identifiable interest groups. This requires an involvement of the local municipality or the creation of another arena with capacity to represent the variety of local citizens. An open and honest local deliberation moreover presupposes participants who feel secure about expressing their views without fear of social sanctions and conflicts. In many cases, active conflict resolution and professional facilitation may be needed to create such an atmosphere. A feeling of trust may for example be a prerequisite for joint frame reflection. A constructive process for local deliberation furthermore presupposes informed and knowledgeable participants who take part on reasonably equal conditions. Without paying attention to these issues, efforts to involve local actors risk reproducing the traditional social structures in which certain local groups and views are marginalised and suppressed.

8.3.7 A question about local community development

From the perspective of the local society, these issues of participation and dialogue go far beyond the question of forest protection. As evident in the study of the selected Government Commission, the controversy comes down to a struggle about conflicting place meanings. At the heart of this struggle are conflicting perceptions of the community itself, of its history, economic conditions, identity and future development. Many local communities in the Swedish North currently find themselves in a process of

transformation. All locally based actors interviewed in the Jokkmokk example agree that the natural resources, particularly the forests, are their most important development asset. Yet, locally enacted conflicts hamper their opportunity to explore and take advantage of this resource. The absence of an open and reflexive dialogue about future forest use, inhibits the actors from exploring the common ground that obviously exists. Admittedly, there are significant differences between local actors' ideas about how the forests should be used to develop the community in the future. However, by not engaging in a dialogue to explore possibilities of handling these differences, the local actors leave room for other interests to set the rules and take the lead. Local conflicts over natural resource management consequently tie into critical processes of development and transformation. As such, they are issues of concern, not only for the governance of natural resources but also for the future development of rural areas.

8.3.8 Conclusions II: The capacity to influence outcomes

The Government Commission under study represents a mixture between the traditional hierarchical and the new goal related form of steering. Some of the “messiness” which faced the formal process may be understood as a clash between two related but unco-ordinated policy processes with their origins in different political steering traditions. Their intersection created a space, a lack of clarity, which actors tried to fill with their preferred interpretations and meanings. However, underlying their arguments about procedure and targets was a struggle over fundamental adjustments between protection and economic production. It may be argued that such issues should be determined on a political level. In this case, they were blurred in a technical and process related discussion on the administrative level.

Conflicts were consequently referred back to the integrated “sector” where the necessary adjustments were expected to be made by informal “consultation groups”. The idea of integrating traditionally separate policy sectors and creating arenas for dialogue and problem solving obviously has its merits. Nevertheless, its implementation also raises questions, for example about the status, accountability and legitimacy of decisions made. A shift from traditional hierarchical to more co-ordinating, “governance” oriented, forms of steering brings a question of power to the fore: Whose capacities to influence are strengthened respectively weakened?

In the Government Commission under study it is the state forest administrator Sveaskog which appears to have increased its capacity to influence the most. This is obviously not something that can only be attributed to intersecting policy processes or shifting steering traditions.

However, as a large, economically important and corporately well organised actor, Sveaskog was efficient in taking advantage of the political opportunities that unco-ordinated and partly clashing, policy processes and steering traditions offered. Obviously, Sveaskog along with the rest of Interpretive Community B, forestry, benefited from the disbandment of the traditional nature conservation sector's hierarchical control of the formal policy process. In this policy context, it consequently appears to be the already large, corporately organised and economically important actors that benefit the most in the current situation of political transition and change.

However, all actors do not have access to this formal decision making process. Three groups of locally based actors appear to be significantly marginalised: actors holding protection-for-community-benefits frames, protection-for-reindeer-husbandry frames and enough-protection frames. This does not mean that all locally based actors are marginalised and lack means to make a difference. The problem, however, is that only those locally based actors who have access to certain skills and resources, in this case actors holding forestry-for-jobs and biodiversity frames, are able to influence the policy making process. The Government Commission under study consequently suffers from a lack of local participation, inclusion of local perspectives and, thus, legitimacy. The lack of involvement of the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities also raises fundamental questions as to their legally defined rights. The local municipality, which theoretically would be suitable to represent the variety of local perspectives, has no clear role in the policy making process.

Many of these weaknesses do not appear to be unique to the policy process under study. Finding ways of increasing local participation therefore seems necessary for Sweden to meet its own policy ambitions as well as international commitments. However, true local involvement requires more than technical government solutions. Participation has to go beyond easily identifiable interest groups. Open and honest local deliberation presupposes participants who feel secure about expressing their views without fear of social sanctions and conflicts. A constructive process also assumes informed and knowledgeable participants who take part on reasonably equal conditions. Without paying attention to these issues, efforts to involve local actors risk reproducing the traditional social structures in which certain local groups and views are marginalised and suppressed.

8.4 Reflections on methodology and methods

This part of the discussion is intended to provide a space for reflection on the choices of methodology and methods of this thesis. How good were they for answering the research questions and how useful were they for capturing the phenomena of interest? It starts with a discussion of the methodology, continues with the choice of methods and ends with a reflection on my own role and knowledge framework.

8.4.1 Methodology

A first question to be posed is about the research questions. How good were they for capturing the phenomena I wanted to research? An answer to this question requires a brief explanation of my initial research interest. The research questions primarily evolved out of an interest to understand the nature and persistence of natural resource management conflicts, particularly at the local level. I was particularly interested in the role of place as an obviously integrating, yet, contested concept. People's conflicting, and sometimes incongruous, place perceptions and political activities puzzled me. As a person with an undergraduate degree in biology, I was also curious about the place concept's capacity to bridge what was perceived as a conceptual gap between the material and discursive aspects of natural resource management in much of the theory used. An overarching research question evolved: What are the roles of actors' perceptions of place in politics of natural resource management? Two sub questions were also developed: How are actors' policy preferences and political activities informed by their place perceptions, and whose policy preferences are reflected in policy outcomes – and why? Did these questions guide the thesis to investigate the phenomena I was originally interested in?

The research questions are broad and explorative. The results are accordingly of a relatively all embracing character. They certainly guided the thesis to explore issues that reflect my initial research interest. Yet, with a more limited and precise question, more in-depth and exhaustive knowledge about a more clearly defined aspect of the phenomenon under study could probably have been obtained. In the absence of this initial general exploration, it would however have been difficult to identify these aspects and thus formulate the right questions.

As the thesis is coming to an end, it is possible to conclude that it actually does provide clues to some of the initially puzzling and contradictory features of perception of place and forests in natural resource controversies. Along with clarifying the role of place perceptions, it brings the role of social organisation to the fore. Social loyalties and organisational

commitments may in fact explain why people sometimes act in ways that do not seem to be consistent with their place perceptions. However, this achievement can hardly be attributed to the formulation of the overarching research question. It has an exclusive focus on the role of place perceptions. The two sub questions, on the other hand, focus attention on the mechanisms that influence the political expressions and implications of actors' place perceptions. Here, the role of social organisation came to stand out. Moreover, the choice of a neo-Durkheimian approach to frame analysis, which presupposes a fundamental role of social organisation, is likely to have steered the analysis in this direction (as will be further discussed below).

One part of my initial research interest which has not been completely satisfied concerns the relationships between the material and discursive aspects of place. At an early stage, the research questions focused on the role of place *construction*, rather than place *perceptions*. The former includes material as well as discursive and social processes of construction and the ambition was thus to explicitly explore their interrelationships and roles in policy making. However, this ambition soon turned out to be too demanding and I was forced to prioritise. The lack of attention to these relationships may thus rather be seen as a deliberate choice than an unintended effect of the formulation of the research questions.

Another priority, which likewise is reflected in the current wording of the research questions, is a primary focus on an exploration of actors' perceptions of place, corresponding to sub question one. In order to manage an in-depth investigation of the relationship between actors' place perceptions and their political preferences and activities, the ambition to investigate the process of policy making had to be somewhat reduced. The second sub question is currently formulated as an ambition to find out whose policy preferences are reflected in policy outcomes – and why. A more ambitious formulation reflecting my initial research interest would have been “ – and how”. The latter would however have required another and more time consuming type of policy analysis. The current approach is thus a compromise. It makes it possible to link frame and policy analysis, and thus allows the thesis to say something about how actors' frames actually are expressed and used in the political process. The frame analysis helps to explain *why* the outcomes look the way they do, but the analytical approach does not make it possible to say exactly *how* they came about.

A following question is if the methodology that was chosen has provided answers to the research questions, as currently formulated. The analytical framework which has guided the research process has two foci: one on

actors' frames and one on the policy process. They are both needed in order to answer the research questions fully. However, for reasons just outlined, the final balance between the two foci represents a compromise. The questions could consequently have been answered more fully with more time available for a more in-depth policy analysis. This possible shortcoming is thus rather an effect of the thesis framework and prioritisations made, than a limitation of the methodology as such.

This study shows that actors' perceptions of place stand out as essential elements of their frames. They are thus important to an understanding of their political activities, and the evolution of the policy process, in a number of different ways. The conclusion that place perceptions have an important role to play is not overly surprising, taking into account that place perceptions were already given a prominent role in the formulation of research questions and methodology. However, what this study also shows is that without paying attention to the social organisation of the actors, the role of their place perceptions may not be fully comprehended. This insight may be the result of an intuitive interest in, or openness to, finding explanations to initially observed "contradictions" and "inconsistencies". It may also be an effect of choosing neo-Durkheimian frame analysis as the theoretical lens, since it presupposes that social organisation is a decisive factor. On the other hand, this theoretical choice was influenced by the preliminary empirical study and the observation that social loyalties and commitments appeared to play a role.

It should be acknowledged that all theoretical approaches have their benefits and limitations in the sense that they privilege one way of seeing the empirical material at the expense of the alternatives. An important methodological component of this thesis is frame analysis, inspired by the neo-Durkheimians and Shields. As should be evident by the analysis presented so far, frame analysis proved to be a useful way to make sense of actors' multiple understandings of place and policy. The combined use of G's approach to frames and Shields' concept of social spatialisation, enabled an analysis of the interrelated roles of place perceptions and social organisation. However, the neo-Durkheimian approach builds on the presupposition that social organisation is fundamental to the evolution of frames. Shields' theory of social spatialisation focuses on the spatial. Empirical observations were admittedly reasons for the choice of the aforementioned theories. Nevertheless, this theoretical choice has focused the study on these very parameters. With an alternative theoretical framework, the study might have generated new insights about the role of other aspects such as ownership, gender, institutions or class. Another theoretical approach, such as Actor

Network Theory, may for example have generated deeper insights about the human-nature relationships at play. Power is likewise a concept that is central to the study but not explicitly used in the analysis. By using the concept of power and actively engaging in a discussion of its production and use, its role might accordingly have stood out clearer.

Frame analysis, as all kinds of “boxing” and categorisation, are simplifications. As such they may become prescriptive and static. There is always the temptation to interpret the empirical material to fit the “boxes” rather than to let it speak freely. Complexity and “messiness” may thus be lost. Models such as frames, or the analytical framework of this thesis, may similarly encourage ideas of a given causality. They risk being interpreted as linear processes starting with perceptions and ending in political action. However, these processes may also work the other way around. Whether frames and other models end up disciplining the material or creatively exploring it, obviously depends on how they are used. As long as frames are used as a heuristic device to illuminate the material, if possible in a variety of ways and from different perspectives, the risk for prescriptive boxing appears to be small. Frames may be constructed and deconstructed. New ways of seeing the empirical material may accordingly evolve in a dynamic and creative process of inquiry.

Different approaches to validation have been combined in this thesis. “Communicative validation” as “credibility” (in line with Fischer) “peer validation” (in line with Kvale) and validation as “the quality of craftsmanship in research” (as suggested by Kvale) have been applied. In addition multiple sources of information have been used to increase the rigour and quality of the research process. As outlined in Chapter 5, five persons were asked to read and comment parts of the thesis text as part of checking its validity in terms of “credibility”, in other words, assessing whether it “rings true”. Only three managed to get through the text and submit comments. A limitation of this method is consequently that it presupposes a substantial voluntary commitment by qualified members of the relevant community of validation, persons who in the first place are not so easy to find. Alternatively, the researcher has to invest time in presenting the findings in a reader friendly format. Taking seriously validity as an assessment of the quality of “craftsmanship” may also be quite a demanding task as it presupposes a transparency of, and engagement with, all steps of the research process. These methods consequently have their merits and disadvantages. Nevertheless, used together, as in the case of this thesis, they should ensure the validity of the findings.

8.4.2 Methods

How good was the choice of methods for answering the research questions of this thesis? As a first attempt to answer this question, the choice of empirical foci, the selected “place” and “policy process”, will be discussed. In many ways, the choice of Jokkmokk municipality and the selected Government Commission proved to be a good choice. Particularly fortunate was the existence of intersecting local non-governmentally driven (the appeal Forest Reserves for Survival), central non-governmentally driven (Greenpeace’s action) and governmentally driven processes (the implementation of the Government Commission) within the same overall policy process and place (Jokkmokk municipality). This enabled an analysis of how place perceptions of actors located at different administrative levels, and in different organisational contexts, related to each other. It also made possible an analysis of the interactions between this broad variety of actors, administrative levels, Interpretive Communities and frames. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the outcomes of a study such as this will inevitably differ depending on the choice of empirical examples. It may for example be argued that the choice of this Government Commission gave state actors and state driven steering mechanisms too much of a central position. It may accordingly be objected that some groups of actors, for example private forest owners and their frames, were not given appropriate attention. However, this is an analytical thesis and the point is to show how these types of policy processes may be understood, how they may be analysed and how place perceptions figure and are used by the actors involved. All policy processes and places have their specificities. The task, as made clear in Chapter 5, is to use the Government Commission as an empirical example that can serve as a basis for theoretical, or analytical, generalisations and conclusions. As such, the Government Commission as well as Jokkmokk municipality served their purpose.

The selection of informants for interviews is another critical methodical choice. As outlined in Chapter 5, two informants, the County Governor in Norrbotten and the Chair of the Board of Directors of Sveaskog, were added to the list of informants after the first round of interviews. The initial design of the interview study was consequently adjusted to ensure inclusion of all relevant perspectives and voices. Moreover, the interviews did not constitute the only source of empirical information. As a matter of fact, they have consistently been supplemented by, and thus checked against, policy documents, news media and other texts produced by the actors themselves. It therefore appears safe to conclude that the most relevant perspectives, or frames, have been captured. What could have been desirable is a higher

number of informants representing some of the larger actors. As outlined in Chapter 5, this option was ruled out as it would have been too resource and time demanding. It would not have changed the overall picture of actors' frames and negotiations. However, it could have allowed the thesis to say more about the internal variation and consistency of the identified groups of frames.

More significant methodical difficulties are caused by having to work in two languages and promise actors to maintain their confidentiality. It is for example very difficult to translate quotes in such a way that meanings that were originally expressed in oral Swedish come across in written English. Word by word translation does not work. In order to communicate these meanings, an additional layer of interpretation is thus inferred on the material. Promises to keep the identity of actors concealed, add to this problem. To be sure not to expose the true identity of some easily recognisable actors, particularly at the local level, it has been necessary to use more general formulations than originally desired. Taken together, these circumstances create a non-desirable distance between the reader and the empirical sources. These problems have been tackled, firstly, by having a professional translator go over the quotes. Secondly, sensitive quotes have been checked with the informants in order not to have to be more general than absolutely necessary.

8.4.3 Role of the researcher

In Chapter 5, my own situatedness and its implications for the research process and its outcomes are discussed on a general level. Here, the ambition is to take one step further. How did the choice of doing research in a location where I live, and in a context where I have a prominent pre-history, influence what I can see, say and do as a researcher? How did my knowledge framework influence the outcomes?

For obvious reasons, it is difficult for me to write about the implications of what I cannot see because I am blindfolded, for example by familiarity or fears of social consequences. What I cannot see, is not visible to me. What I can do is to use the method of Mascarenhas-Keys (1987) to note and analyse my own emotional reactions as a way to identify areas where it is likely that I am blindfolded or biased. Judging from my own feelings, I can note two kinds of situations associated with fears, or feelings of uneasiness, which have occurred during the research process and are likely to have influenced my "seeing" and "doing". One is associated with fears of not standing up to the expectations of old friends and peers in the environmental camp. This would presumably exert a pull towards the biodiversity frames and, thus, a

bias for actors holding them. Another is associated with fears of being socially excluded by the genuine “Jokkmokkers”, for example rejected as an outsider by neighbours, friends and other acquaintances in the local community. The latter may presumably express itself in many different ways, for example as a general wish to keep a low profile and be cautious with criticising dominating local values, structures and actors. It would, in contrast, exert a push out of the biodiversity frames and rather generate a cautious attitude vis-à-vis the enough-protection and forestry-for-jobs frames, a bias in the form of carefulness.

Going beyond the local community, I have a well known profile with a past as an actor in the political arena I am now attempting to study. As outlined in Chapter 5, it is almost impossible to judge how this circumstance has affected the actors’ responses to my person, for example in the interview situations. However, the fact that multiple sources of information are used reduces the risk of such biases. Policy documents and other analysed written material are presumably produced by the actors independently of me. In most cases, there have been no significant contradictions between actors’ written and oral statements. An exception is the actors holding enough-protection frames. As outlined in Chapter 6, some actors who initially signed the disclaimer expressed quite different views in the interviews. Here, my role and influence cannot be neglected. At the same time, this circumstance rather underscores the conclusion that the enough-protection frames are inherently unstable, and that actors holding them tend to shift frames according to social contexts and loyalties. More importantly, therefore, is maybe to discuss how my pre-history has formed by own knowledge framework and how this influences my research.

As everybody else, I see the world through frames which are the products of past and present activities and organisational commitments. My way of seeing the world has consequently evolved through an involvement in the study of biology and the social practice of nature conservation, in running a private enterprise and, currently, of doing academic research. It is also a product of living a Jokkmokk way of life with its recreational activities in the surrounding forests. A wish to maintain this lifestyle, and the social relations that constitute it, may thus also be assumed to influence my construction of frames. However, this background does not mean that I am unable to shift or change frames, or to reflect on other actors’ frame. In fact, this research process may be seen as a way to practise a kind of frame reflection (see Schön and Rein, 1994).

Doing research and writing a thesis is in itself a social practice which moulds a particular way of seeing the world, in other words a frame. As all

frames, the research frame privileges some ways of understanding over others. As such, it defines the knowledge that qualifies as academic and it guides the writing of an academic thesis. It would however be presumptuous to believe that because I am now writing a thesis, I am altogether able to escape previous, or other, cognitive commitments. Equally unrealistic, however, is the idea that anybody would be able to approach the subject without a prehistory and, thus, one or more frames. In the end, it also has to be remembered that the research frame, although well founded and useful, represents but one among many ways of seeing and learning about the world.

8.5 An approach for exploring place and politics

One of the explicit research tasks of this thesis was to develop an analytical framework that could guide the empirical exploration of the research questions. An exploration of the usefulness of frame analysis forms a part of this task. On a more overarching theoretical level, an objective is to contribute to an integration of “place” in theory guiding natural resource management and resource politics. In order to achieve this task, and meet the theoretical objective, an integrated analytical framework was developed and presented in Chapter 4 (see Figure 8). The framework has subsequently been used to guide the research process as outlined in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. This part of Chapter 8 is devoted to a discussion about the usefulness of this framework in order to conclude the overall theoretical contribution of the thesis.

Underlying the design of the analytical framework was a search for solutions to a number of challenges that faced the initial attempts to make sense of the Government Commission selected for study. Firstly, ways to conceptualise actors’ diverging perceptions of place and policy making were needed. An understanding of the implications of the variety of perceptions for actors’ judgements to take political action was also desirable. For these reasons, Perri 6’s (2005a) conceptualisation of frames was used together with Shields’ (1991) theory of social spatialisation. The ambition was to construct a functional tool for what may be seen as a place related frame analysis. Secondly, tools to explore how the range of actors and their diverging frames actually shape the policy process and its outcomes were desirable. The place related frames were consequently used as a point of departure for an interpretive policy analysis, in line with that of Fischer (2003). In the following, the usefulness of this framework will be discussed on the basis of its application in the study of the selected Government Commission. Some

of the limitations, or risks, with the approach, have already been discussed in the context of methods and methodology.

8.5.1 Exploring multiple understandings

A true challenge is to show and explain how sane people can have quite different understandings of the same problem without ending up in the position that there is no real problem to disagree about (see 6, 2005a). Based on the analysis of the Government Commission, an argument of this thesis is that frame analysis, inspired by Perri 6's theory, meets this challenge. It offers possibilities for an analysis of actors' multiple understandings together with tools that may be used to explore the reasons and origins of the variation observed. By showing clear and specific social bases for frames, it suggests that the plurality of frames that actors may hold and adopt is limited. The adoption of any, or an unlimited amount of, frames by an individual is consequently not socially viable. By enabling the analyst to "get in inside the heads" of the actors, frame analysis offers a tool to explore the "situational context" from which the policy process is observed and enacted, as advocated for example by Fischer (2003). It consequently contributes with some of the raw material needed for an interpretive analysis of the policy process. Frames may be applied in different ways. As mentioned previously, a potential risk is that they end up being used as a static scheme for classification which, rather than illuminating the empirical material, imposes itself on it. In order to avoid this trap, they have been used as a heuristic tool to explore the material from different perspectives, first to identify dividing lines and, later, to see commonalities. The value of frame analysis consequently lies primarily in its capacity to help the analyst "to see" the empirical material. As such it may contribute to a creative interpretive process.

8.5.2 Addressing the role of place

The neo-Durkheimian understanding of frames is strong in its general capacity to explain multiple understandings of the world as well as their reasons and implications. However, it does not specifically address spatiality or reasons, other than social organisation, for different place perceptions to evolve. As concluded in 8.2.1, conflicting place perceptions, or place meanings, are a prominent feature of politics of natural resource management (see also Cheng, Kruger & Daniels, 2003). An analytical tool intended to be used in natural resource management contexts consequently must be suitable to explore spatial perceptions. This was the motive for adding Shields' theory about social spatialisation. The resulting framework

enables an analysis of what may be conceptualised as place related frames and their role in the politics of natural resource management.

Shields asks many things of his concept of social spatialisation. For the purpose of this study it may, however, be concluded that it does provide a much needed linkage between a socially constructed spatial “order” (to be compared with G’s social solidarities), actors’ spatial images or perceptions, their political activities and their political implications. Although Shields and Perri G come from quite different theoretical traditions and it is not possible to simply “merge” their concepts, their combined use proved fruitful. When used together in an analytical framework, they helped make visible the interrelated roles of actors’ place perceptions and social organisation in the policy making process. The study consequently demonstrates how a systematic analysis of place related frames in fact may help to explain important aspects of the policy making process. In this case, it for example shows how fundamentally conflicting place meanings divide the actors, their frames and the Interpretive Communities that evolved in the policy making process. However, the study also shows that actors’ perceptions of place do not always explain their political activities. Sometimes the importance of actors’ social organisation takes precedence. Place perceptions or place meanings, are consequently not a panacea to understanding natural resource management conflicts, at least not if seen in isolation from other social factors.

8.5.3 A focus on the social level

The neo-Durkheimians, Perri G and Shields emphasise the importance of social processes to the formation of frames and place perceptions. The former argue for an understanding of frames as outcomes of social organisation. Shields conceptualises spatial images as products of social spatialisations which he, in turn, describes as social frameworks.

A conclusion of this thesis is that the social element introduced by the neo-Durkheimians adds an important dimension to frame analysis. Not only does it add plausible theories about the origin, evolution and nature of frames, such as the relationships between sense making and action bias. It also permits an analysis of the role of social organisation in politics of natural resource management. Questions of group identity, social loyalties, risk of exclusion, opportunities to maintain collectively valued lifestyles etc. are not uncommon in resource management conflicts (see for example Cheng, Kruger and Daniels, 2003; Moore, 1993a; Peterson et al., 2002). Durkheim's ideas about how society moulds its individuals through “discipline” and “attachments” are thus relevant and help elucidate

important social processes. In the study of the Government Commission, a modified version of G's "grid/group" scheme is used as a heuristic device for exploring the role of social organisation in actors' construction of frames. As discussed in Chapter 3, a strict application of the original "grid/group" scheme may become overly static and structuralistic. To be fair to G and other neo-Durkheimian authors, their efforts to incorporate dynamics should be recognised. Nevertheless, by using the scheme more freely, it may serve as a creative tool for highlighting critical aspects of actors' frames without imposing its structure on the empirical material.

Shields' theory of social spatialisation similarly offers social explanations as to the emergence and persistence of diverging place perceptions. It highlights the role of shared social practices and thus helps the analyst to explore their role in the evolution of place perceptions and frames.

As outlined in Chapter 3, one strand of theorists emphasise the cognitive origin of our categories of classifications, such as frames, representations and perceptions. Others, such as the neo-Durkheimians and Perri G stress their social origin. Shields, Ingold, Macnaghten and Urry conceptualise place perceptions as ways of seeing the world that are learned through social practice. Cheng, Kruger and Daniels (2003) argue strongly for an integration of a place perspective in research about natural resource management but belong to the group who favour a focus on cognitive processes.

Clearly, cognitive processes have a role to play. Whether the cognitive level is the most relevant and fruitful analytical focus is, however, an open question. The references to cognitive schemas, categories, etc. in the literature about frames offer little explanation as to their origin, variability, evolution or change (see Chapter 3). The conclusion of this thesis is that much can be learned about the role of place in the politics of natural resource management by focusing on social processes and social organisation. With the help of Perri G and the neo-Durkheimian theory, it is for example able to offer plausible explanations as to why some actors shift frames but others do not, why some coalitions appear to be viable but others fall apart. Shields' theory of social spatialisation likewise offers possible explanations as to the evolution, and thus persistence, of place perceptions and conflicting place meanings. The realisation that the social components of frame conflicts may be significant suggests moreover that keys to their resolution, or management, may also be found in the social realm.

8.5.4 Taking human nature relations into account

The neo-Durkheimian theories are weak when it comes to integrating humans and nature. As discussed in Chapter 3, our classificatory systems are

understood as collective products of the human mind. The Durkheimian ideas about the evolution of these systems offer little space for influences from the natural environment. In fact, they rather presuppose a strict dichotomisation between “man” and “nature”. A different perspective is therefore imported with Shields’ theory of social spatialisation and ideas of Ingold, Urry and Macnaghten. They argue for a relational and interactive perspective in which actors learn to perceive in certain manners through practice and experience in a natural and social environment. The role of people’s interactions with the physical and other than human dimensions of their environment is thus recognised. In the analytical framework of this thesis, the reciprocal natures of these interactions are captured by reference to processes of *place construction*. Policy making for example influences the construction of place in a very physical and material sense. However, as shown in the study of the Government Commission, the character of place also influences actors’ construction of frames and thus the process of policy making. The concept of “dwelling” captures some of these relationships and helps illuminate how different kinds of interaction with an environment are significant to actors’ meaning constructions.

For reasons explained in the previous section, prioritisations had to be made which prevented this study from fully exploring the role of *place construction*. However, this is a matter of priorities rather than the design of the analytical framework. The framework as such consequently offers a sociologically based approach to an analysis of human-nature relations which are central to the politics of natural resource management. It does so, with possibilities of avoiding the traditional sociological dichotomisation between human beings and nature (see Chapters 3 and 5).

8.5.5 Understanding the meaning of policy and policy controversies

Much of the value of this analytical approach lies in the combination of a place based frame analysis and an interpretive policy analysis. An analysis of frames only does not say anything about their expression in policy making or policy outcomes. Studying policy making without reference to actors’ frames, is likewise partial as it neglects the importance of actors’ constructions of meaning and different ways to see the world. It is the combination of the two analytical approaches that generates insights about the significance of actors’ frames, including their place perceptions, in the politics of natural resource management.

For reasons discussed elsewhere, a main focus of this study of the Government Commission has been on the analysis of actors’ frames. The empirical investigation nevertheless demonstrates how the two analytical

approaches complement each other. Place based frame analysis enables the analyst to identify actors' multiple understandings of the policy problems and their bias for different kinds of action. By exploring Interpretive Communities, as suggested by Fischer (2003) and Yanow (2000), the analyst may take a next step to examine how these understandings are created, manipulated, suppressed and marketed as parts of their political strategies and interactions. The framework thus enables the analyst to explain policy outcomes in light of frame conflicts and frame competition. It consequently offers possibilities for a deeper understanding of the nature of intractable policy controversies.

8.5.6 Governing natural resources

Recommendations as to how controversies over the use of natural resources are to be resolved, or managed, are beyond the scope of this thesis. Yet, it seems reasonable to believe that a deeper understanding of their nature, causes and implications, may be needed in order to resolve or avoid them. It is by contributing to such an understanding that this analytical framework may play a role. Authorities, managers, local municipalities and actors who are frustrated with the persistence and intractability of natural resource management conflicts may find the approach interesting. From a conflict management point of view, a next step could be to find forms for joint reflection and active mediation.

However, this analytical framework is not limited to analysis of natural resource management controversies. By providing a deeper understanding, not only of the disputes, but of the policy making process as such, the framework may contribute to general reflections on the question of governance. As such it may facilitate the development of more equitable and democratic ways of defining and making decisions about places and their resources. Decision makers pondering the design of efficient and democratic governance systems, may for example find such knowledge useful.

Beyond these obvious applications, there are other reasons why the design of an analytical approach is more than a question of academic purpose and rigour. The design also has a role in determining whose voices about the politics of natural resource management are allowed to influence the scientific discourse - and thus the construction of problem definitions and practical management solutions. By incorporating a broad spectrum of actors with different kinds of involvement in the policy process, as in the study of the Government Commission, voice is given to a multitude of meanings and preferences. By using place as a point of departure, a variety of place meanings that may not otherwise be expressed in studies of natural resource

management may be heard (see Cheng, Kruger and Daniels, 2003). An inclusive and integrating analytical framework is consequently important in order to fairly represent politics of natural resource management. These representations, in turn, are essential to the evolution of other attempts to manage conflicts or create governance solutions.

8.5.7 Applicability

This framework was developed with the primary objective of guiding the empirical investigation of this thesis, more precisely the Government Commission selected for study. This policy process is characterised by a large number of different actors who take action to influence the policy process in a variety of ways. Most of the actors belong to identifiable groupings who share obviously disparate understandings of the policy problem. It is relatively easy to access a rich empirical material that is suitable for frame analysis. It moreover concerns management of a natural resource which gives meaning to places in a clear and obvious way. This is not to suggest that the usefulness of this analytical framework is limited to this particular policy process or the politics of forests. On the contrary, there are good reasons to believe that it may be used in other contexts which share some of the characteristics just mentioned. However, there may be limitations as to its usefulness in policy contexts that are very different, for example where other parameters than “place” is in focus, where access to a variety of voices and “stories” is restricted or where a larger part of policy negotiation takes place behind closed doors, or by a few formally involved actors.

An analysis of actors’ frames is primarily a way to illuminate a policy process in order to facilitate a deeper understanding of it. It is not necessarily the most appropriate approach for evaluating a policy process in a more normative sense. It may consequently help to illuminate what is good or bad according to the standards and norms of the actors whose frames are investigated. In this way it improves the analyst’s understanding of the range of benefits and limitations associated with different policy options. It, however, hardly provides an unambiguous answer as to what is “the best” policy option, or to what extent a policy initiative “delivered” as intended.

The overall question about usefulness actually comes down to the choice of research question. Frame analysis is a time consuming exercise. It only makes sense in policy research that acknowledges and focuses on the importance of actors’ constructions of meaning. The growing insight that politics of natural resource management usually involves struggles over different sets of meanings, however, suggests an expanding role for policy interpretation based on frame analysis. The realisation that politics of natural

resource management often involves conflicts over place meanings (see for example Cheng, Kruger & Daniels, 2003; Young, Freimund & Belsky, 2003) likewise points to a role for place related frame analysis as developed in this thesis.

8.5.8 Conclusions III: Theoretical contribution

A theoretical objective of this thesis is to contribute to an integration of place in theory guiding natural resource management. Part of the contribution is thus an analytical framework that may be used to study the politics of natural resource management in relation to place and its different resources. Such analysis may offer in-depth understanding of the nature of policy making and intractable policy controversies. By contributing to such understanding, the analytical approach may play a role for future efforts to manage conflicts as well as to develop more equitable and democratic governance systems.

However, beyond these immediately recognisable applications, this thesis generates insights that are of more general theoretical relevance. It makes a contribution to quite different sets of theories that are relevant to natural resource management research in more or less obvious ways. These theories are found in quite separate disciplinary contexts.

The most obvious contribution is to the growing body of social science that is evolving around the term “natural resources”, for example within the framework of the International Association for Society and Natural Resources. As outlined in Chapters 1 and 3, there is a growing interest among researchers within this tradition to explore the concept of place and its role in natural resource management research. Cheng, Kruger and Daniels (2003) for example invite social scientists in natural resources to adopt a “place perspective”, “turn a conceptual corner” and thus look at natural resource politics in a new way. The primary contribution of this thesis to this “research agenda” is a sociologically based approach to conceptualising place perceptions and their role in the politics of natural resource management. Place related frame analysis, based on Perri 6 and Shields, may be seen as a complement to the more phenomenologically or cognitively based approaches presented in the literature.

A quite different theoretical context is represented by the neo-Durkheimians and Perri 6. It is not explicitly linked to research on natural resources. Nevertheless, it may be useful to such research. The contribution to this field is actually to show how the neo-Durkheimian theory may be applied in natural resource management contexts. However, in order for it to become useful, Durkheim’s dichotomisation of “man” and “nature” has

to be softened up. Material, and other than human, dimensions of the world have to find a place in the Durkheimian conceptualisations of how our categories of understanding evolve. An effort to incorporate a more interactive perspective on human-nature relations is actually a theme running through this entire thesis. The contribution to the neo-Durkheimian sociology of knowledge is consequently an attempt to introduce a material, and environmental, referent. By combining Shields' theory of social spatialisation and G's frames, this thesis suggests ways to acknowledge a more interactive and relational way for place perceptions and frames to evolve. The traditional dichotomisation between human beings and nature, which becomes an obstacle to studies of natural resource management, may thus be dealt with.

A third context to which this thesis contributes theoretically is rural development research. Research about the conditions and development of rural areas involves a broad spectrum of the social sciences. In Sweden, this research field is relatively fragmented and weakly developed (Waldenström & Westholm, 2006). However, efforts are currently being made to consolidate the field. An aim is to build up long term research capacity to explore the social, economic and ecological aspects of rural areas (ibid). This thesis offers insights into how questions of natural resource management and rural development are interlinked. It shows how the perceived character of a local community, for example its forestry dependence, shapes politics of natural resource management. It also demonstrates how politics of resource management, in turn, shapes the conditions for local community development. By choosing place as a conceptual point of departure, these interlinkages become evident. An including conceptualisation of place as the local community *and* its surrounding natural resources, promotes a crossing of traditional disciplinary boundaries. The contribution of this thesis to the development of this research field is thus a general argument for integrating research about natural resource management and rural development. More specifically, it points to the integrating capacity of the place concept.

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An appeal “Forest Reserves for Survival”, by a local ad-hoc coalition in Jokkmokk.

An informal memorandum supplementing the appeal, by the local coalition behind the appeal in Jokkmokk.

A disclaimer from the Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise.

An appeal “Ett bättre förvaltande av den statliga skogen”, accessed from SSNC in Jokkmokk.

Abbreviations

Appeal FRS	Appeal Forest Reserves for Survival
CA Environmental Unit	County Administration Environmental Unit
CAB	County Administration Board
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
E-NGO	Environmental Non Governmental Organisation
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
FURA	Fjällnära Urskogars Räddningsaktion
GP	Greenpeace
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
JAPE	Jokkmokk Association of Private Enterprise
JFC	Jokkmokk Forest Common
NPB	National Property Board
PEFC	Programme for the Endorsement of Forest Certification Schemes
Sámi RHC	Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities
SCA	Svenska Cellulosa Aktiebolaget
SEPA	Swedish Environmental Protection Agency
SFA	Swedish Forest Agency
SSNC	Swedish Society for Nature Conservation
SSC	Svensk Skogscertifiering = FSC certifying company
SSR	National Federation of Swedish Sámi
UNCED	United Nation Conference on Environment and Development
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
WWF	The World Wide Fund for Nature

Appendices

Interview Themes

App. 1

1. Introductory question inviting the interviewee to explain how he/she/or his/her company/organisation has become involved in the political process(es) of interest (the GP action in Pakkojåkkå, the appeal “Forest Reserves for Survival” and the formal Government Commission.
2. Questions inviting the interviewee to tell his/her “story(ies)”; his/her organisation/company perceptions of the course of events, the issues at stake and the cleavage lines between the actors.
3. Questions to clarify the meanings of relevant forests/places to the interviewee and his/her company/organisation, the motives for his/her/their engagement with these places and his/her/their perceptions of their current/desired use and management
4. Questions to explore the interviewees views on the importance of these forests to Jokkmokk municipality and the interviewees perceptions of Jokkmokk as a place (meaning of Jokkmokk + perceptions of evolution and development)
5. Questions to clarify the visions (and strategies) of the interviewee and his/her organisation/company in relation to the political processes of interest
6. Questions to clarify the actors’ views about the outcomes of the processes in question and the distribution of benefits and burdens
7. Questions to clarify specific events/activities and the motives for the interviewee to take action

1. Thematisation and Interview type

- Mix of semi structured life world interviews and narrative interviews. The semi structured life interview is focused on the informant's life world and meanings. Define a sequence of themes to be covered and a set of prepared questions, but ensure there is openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to capture and follow up the stories of the informants. Narrative interviews focus on the interviewee's stories and work out their structures and plots. Stories may come spontaneously as answers on semi structured questions, or they may be directly asked for.
- Questions will be posed in order to learn about specific activities and events. What happened when, where and how?
- Sensitivity to discourses in the interviews, i.e. how knowledge and truth is created within discourses and the power relations in discourses which may be crossing each other

2. Design

Plan the design of the study by taking into consideration all seven stages of the investigation

- produce "interview plan" including all seven stages
- decision on number of interviews (see "actors to be interviewed", Table 7)
- selection of informants (see "actors to be interviewed")
- explore available resources; time, money and typing assistance?
- work through "ethical questions" (see ethical protocol)

3. Interviews

- prepare interview guides (see app. 4)
- define "interview type" (see above)
- Plan contacts, briefing and debriefing with informants

A First contact by phone;

- who am I
- what am I doing
- why I am contacting you
- permission to make an interview
- permission to send briefing paper
- time and place for interview

Briefing before interview:

- who I am and my affiliation
- my past involvement in forest issues
- brief introduction to my project and research questions – follow up on briefing paper
- overview interview process
- confidentiality

- how the material will be used
- permission to use tape recorder
- additional questions – informants approval

Debriefing after interview:

- thank them for their cooperation
- how the material will be used for the thesis
- confidentiality again, if needed
- questions – more to say?

4. Transcription

- The interviews will be transcribed verbatim, i.e. word by word including indications of significant interruptions by for example sighs, laughter, pauses, etc. The level of detail does however not have to correspond to practice for “linguistic analyses”.
- In cases where external transcribers will be used, a test transcription will be done to check reliability.

5. Analysis

- Meaning analysis facilitated by coding of the interview material. The coding procedure will be based on theoretical pre-understanding and inductive procedures inspired by grounded theory.

6. Verification

- soundness of theoretical prepositions of study and logic of derivations from theory to research and interview questions (thematisation)
- adequacy of design and methods to purpose, ethical considerations (design)
- trustworthiness of subjects reports and quality of interviewing; continual checking of information obtained; validation “in situ” (interviewing)
- choice of linguistic style; test transcriptions (transcription)
- validity of questions put to interview and logic of interpretation (analysis)
- reflected judgment as to what forms of validation that are relevant to the study; application of specific procedures and appropriate community for dialogue on validity (validation)
- questions about whether the thesis provides a valid account of the procedures and main findings of the study; roles of readers in validation (reporting)

7. Reporting

- start to think through what the end product will look like; how the interviews are to be presented, quotes, translation
- keep record of the design procedure and the method used

- 1) What are the beneficial consequences of the study?
 - Theoretical contributions as outlined in the concluding chapter of the thesis
 - Insights which may contribute to the development of more legitimate and accountable governance of natural resources, particularly in relation to the local community level.
 - Insights about the underlying reasons of natural resources management conflicts which may contribute to their resolution, or management. This, in turn, may lead to more effective governance of valuable natural resources, and it may facilitate local community dialogue and development.

- 2) How can the informed consent of the participating subjects be obtained?

This is my procedure for obtaining an “informed consent”:

 - The first contact with the informants will be made by telephone or e-mail to ask them if they may consider taking part in an interview. At this point, they will be given a very brief introduction to objectives of the interview; why do I want to talk to them?
 - If they agree to an interview, I will (in most cases) send a “briefing paper” by mail, introducing who I am (including my background as an actor on the scene), my affiliation and a brief introduction to my project and the interview themes. I will introduce my research question on a very general level and I will say something about objectives and relevance. In cases where mailing is not suitable, I will bring the briefing paper to the interview.
 - Before the interview starts I will “brief” the informants, i.e. I will refer back to and reiterate the content of the briefing paper. I will ask if it is clear. I will ask if it is OK to tape the interview and say something about how the material will be used. I will ask if everything is clear and if there are further questions before we can start. If they agree to start, I will take that for an “informed consent”, i.e. I am seeking consent from the subjects themselves. Whether they need consent of their superiors, etc, is an issue I leave to the subjects in question. All subjects I plan to interview are, in my opinion, competent and grown up enough to make such decisions for themselves.
 - After the interview, I will “debrief” the informants, i.e. I will ask them if they have anything more to say to the subject, thank them for their cooperation and inform them about how I will go forward with the material. I will not ask them explicitly if they want to see possible quotes that I will use, but if they express an interest I will agree to do that.

- 3) How can confidentiality of the interview subject be protected?

Given the sensitivity of my research subject, it is of utmost importance that I can protect the interview subjects' confidentiality. Firstly because I believe an assurance on my part about confidentiality will be a prerequisite for them to talk with me, and secondly, because some informants may face harassment, repression, etc. in case their identity is not protected. My point of departure is consequently that the informant's confidentiality must be protected, unless the subject explicitly agrees to something else. For this reason I will keep the original interviews for myself; they will not be distributed anywhere. The identities of the informants will be protected by erasing names and affiliations, or by giving them other names. The affiliations of the informants will be presented on such a general level that the risk of recognition is minimised, e.g. Mr. X who is a shop owner, or Mrs. Y from one of the Sámi Reindeer Herding Communities. Since the community is small, there will however be cases when there is a risk for recognition, e.g. Mr. X who is a local representative of state forestry company Y. My approach to this problem is that in cases when confidentiality cannot be guaranteed, I will ask for explicit permission before publishing quotes, etc. from these informants.

4) What are the consequences of the study for the participating subjects?

Some informants may possibly face negative consequences, such as negative attitudes, harassment, in case their confidentiality is not protected. This may be the case for informants that have key (but not necessarily visible) roles in organisations that have challenged dominating interests in the community. In these cases, I will follow the guidelines for confidentiality outlined under point 3. There is also a risk that the information in the thesis, at least in the short run, may stir up conflicts rather than promote understanding between different fractions and groups of informants. There is also a risk that I, as a researcher living in the community of study, will face negative consequences if the results are not introduced in a balanced and "fair" way. My approach to these potential problems is consequently, firstly, to make an effort to be "balanced" and "fair". In my understanding this implies that I really try my best to understand the perspectives of the different actors (although they may be different than mine) and that I represent them accordingly. Secondly, I will write in English and I will not necessarily make a large effort to promote the thesis, in its original form, in the local community. Instead, I will try to attract resources for presenting the results of the study to the actors, particularly the local, in a form that is interesting to them, that may contribute to conflict resolution and that is preferable from an ethic point of view, i.e. as far as possible protecting "vulnerable" individuals, etc. This is most likely to take place after the formal dissertation. In this way I hope to minimise possible negative effects of the study, yet taking advantage of the potential benefits of it.

5) How will the researcher's role affect the study?

The fact that I both live in the community which I study and have a past as an actor on the political arena of interest will affect the study in several ways.

Firstly, my past as an actor in the environmental movement, may affect the informants perceptions of me as a researcher. Some are likely to see me as an “alloy” and open up more than if they had encountered an “outsider”. Others are likely to perceive me as belonging to the “enemy camp”, or they may simply feel unsure and insecure. Secondly, my familiarity with the subject and the actor’s positions may result in “blind spots”, i.e. my pre understanding blocking me from seeing certain things. Thirdly, the fact that I live in my research locality, and want to continue to live there, may prevent me from seeing and reporting things that may impact negatively on my social relations in the community.

My ideas on how to handle this situation are the following. Firstly, I intend to be open about my past affiliation with one (or several) groupings that are part of the process I intend to study. I will consequently introduce this issue while “briefing” the informants, and thus enable for him/her to develop the matter further if desired. My hope is also that mentioning the question and clarifying my role, may ease possible tensions. Secondly, I will go through the interview guide with myself and thus place myself in relation to the interviews and their frames. The exercise will hopefully facilitate self reflection and it will make my positions, views. etc explicit. As regards my localisation within the community and the research’s effects on my social relations, I have tried to avoid interviewing persons that I have a close personal relation to. In addition, I do not see many other ways to handle this potential problem than openness, increased self awareness and continuous, critical reflection.

Interview questions

App. 4

Interview with the NPB in Jokkmokk

1. Opening questions
 - a) Your position and responsibilities at the NPB?
 - b) You are living in Jokkmokk – are you from Jokkmokk?
 - c) Forestry education – what made you choose working with forests and forestry?

2. Role in the policy process ...
 - a) In what ways have you, at the NPB in Jokkmokk, been involved in the Government Commission to identify high conservation value forests?
 - in the formal process? Tell me about it.
 - in the public debate?
 - in the Greenpeace action in Pakkojåkkå?
 - in the appeal?

3. Policy problems and actors...
 - a) Tell me what happened in Pakkojåkkå?
 - First contact with Greenpeace
 - What did Greenpeace want?
 - Position taken by the NPB?
 - Actions taken by the NPB?
 - Interaction with other authorities?
 - Contacts with authorities, Government, certifying organisations, etc.?
 - Relations with Greenpeace in the forest?
 - Response by the general public/other actors?

4. Visions, strategy and relationships to forests...
 - a) Describe the forest in the Pakkojåkkå area?
 - b) What did this particular forest mean to you and the NPB?
 - was it of great importance if it was logged or protected?
 - What was the main reason for your decision not to give in?
 - c) What did you and the NPB want to achieve in this conflict?
 - What action did you take to reach these objectives?
 - How did you/ the authority handle the conflict situation?
 - Did you achieve what you wanted?
 - d) If we look at all areas in Jokkmokk municipality identified as in need of protection :
 - What is your opinion about these forests and their values?

- what do they mean to the NPB?
- What do you think should be done to these areas now?
- Is that what is going to happen –how can you influence this policy process?
- What do they mean for you as a person living in Jokkmokk?

- e) Do you spend time in the forest on your leisure time?
- what do you do in the forest?
 - where do you go; particular areas?
 - what is special about them?

5) Perceptions of Jokkmokk

- a) We shift focus and look at Jokkmokk as a local community – and place. Can you describe Jokkmokk?
- today?
 - its development to date?
 - future opportunities?
- b) Are you a “Jokkmokksbo” (a “Jokkmokker”)?
- if not, what are you then?
- c) What does the forest mean to the local community Jokkmokk?
- today
 - historically
 - in the future
- d) what do the areas identified as in need of protection mean for (the local community) Jokkmokk?

6) Outcomes/effects...

- a) What is your opinion about the “outcomes” of this policy process so far? Are you familiar with the procedure and decision made?
- b) What is your opinion about the survey and its outcome?
- c) What is your opinion about the outcome of the consultations with Sveaskog?
- d) What is your opinion about the conflict in Pakkojåkkå and its solution?
- e) What is your opinion about the outcome of the appeal Forest Reserves for survival?

7) Do you see any particular reasons for the disputes and tensions that evolved in this policy process?